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THE
Kansas Historical
Quarterly

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Volume X

Number 1

February, 1941

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First Newspapers in Kansas Counties

1854-1864

G. RAYMOND GAEDDERT

THIS article is designed to establish proof of the first newspaper in each of the one hundred and five counties in the state and give a few salient points about it. Before it can be decided which paper to list as first it is necessary to consider the question: When is a newspaper entitled the honor to be called first in a county? In answering, several factors must be considered which have to do with the terms editor, printer, publisher, and with the service and patronage of the paper. The meaning of the words editor and printer are generally understood. For our purpose an editor is one who edits the paper and writes editorials; a printer is one who works at the business of printing. The third term, however, is not as commonly understood. The words print and publish are often confused. A book may be printed without being published. It is published only when it is offered for sale or put into general circulation. It is therefore apparent that a newspaper publisher is one who offers his paper for sale or puts it into general circulation.

In considering the question of priority, however, it is also important to know what community or county the paper was designed to serve and where its patronage was. In many cases, at least, the paper could not have existed any length of time without patronage from its community.

For the purpose of this article, therefore, if a newspaper was the first published in a county, or in territory later included in the county, though it may have been printed elsewhere, it is considered the first newspaper in the county. This is because it was the first paper to serve the community. It gathered its news locally and distributed the finished product to its patrons. Certainly such a paper should not be disqualified because the material was printed elsewhere. Whenever the information is available it will be stated where the paper was printed. In most cases the newspapers failed to give this information, although they usually told where the paper was published. That is another reason it would be hazardous in this article to base priority on the place of printing. The information simply is not available.

This study deals chiefly with the first newspaper in each of the Kansas counties and is not concerned with the pre-territory mission

presses. A brief discussion of them will be found in Douglas C. McMurtrie's article entitled, "Pioneer Printing of Kansas," published in volume one of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*.¹

Reference is made frequently to a number of well-known secondary sources on Kansas history, such as A. T. Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas; First Biennial Report of the State Board of Agriculture to the Legislature of the State of Kansas, for the Years 1877-8*; Daniel W. Wilder, *The Annals of Kansas*. To avoid monotony of repetition, these citations are abbreviated to Andreas, *First Biennial Report*, and Wilder.

The presentation of counties follows the chronological order in which their newspapers appeared. This is preferable to the alphabetical arrangement because it will help the reader to follow the advance of the westward movement of the newspaper press, which in most cases corresponded with the movement of population. A map showing Kansas counties and the dates of their first newspapers will appear with another installment of this article in a later issue of the *Quarterly*.

LEAVENWORTH COUNTY

Kansas Weekly Herald, Leavenworth, September 15, 1854.

The *Kansas Weekly Herald* was the pioneer newspaper and its press the pioneer newspaper press in Kansas territory. One hundred and eight days after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act, which organized this territory, William J. Osborn and William H. Adams published the first issue of the *Herald*. It was Democratic and Proslavery in sentiment. During its life the paper changed hands several times. The most influential men governing its destiny no doubt were William H. Adams and Lucien J. Eastin. The latter became editor of the paper when William J. Osborn severed his relationship with it, announced in the *Herald*, October 20, 1854. Mr. Eastin had formerly been editor of the St. Joseph (Mo.) *Gazette* before he came to Leavenworth.

The beginning of the *Herald* was unique even in Kansas history. A most fitting and picturesque description of its inception was given by Capt. Henry King, one-time editor of the *State Record*, the *Commonwealth* and the *Capital*. In his annual message delivered before the Editorial and Publishers' Association of Kansas, Leavenworth, June 13, 1877, he spoke in these words:

The first Kansas newspaper fluttered out from among the scrub oaks and

1. McMurtrie, Douglas C., "Pioneer Printing of Kansas," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. I, pp. 3-8.

hazel brush of what was to be the future metropolis of the State. It was something of an anachronism, that first paper west of the Missouri. How a printing press chanced to be in such a place at such a time, we have never been told. I suppose that human nature needed it, and so it was sent here as a sort of special providence, for somehow what human nature needs the God of human nature always provides. At any rate, it was the first of our things. It came in even before our sins. The town-site folks found it here when they were staking off lots and tossing coppers for choice of building spots. It was under an elm tree, down by the river, and the Indian summer sunshine gave a touch of gold to the printed sheets, and the absurd tympan swaying to and fro there in the open air. There was not a house within thirty miles, not so much as a cow-path for a street, not a field of plowed land, near or far in all Kansas. . . . The first Kansas Governor had been commissioned on the 29th of June; the first pioneer party of thirty persons from Boston had reached the Wakarusa on the 1st of August. But here was a printing press in the very van of affairs, standing upon the yet untrodden weeds, and canopied by the leaves and the sky, waiting to catch and record the earliest whispers of history in this new land of promise; and on the 15th of September the first number of the Leavenworth *Herald* went out in search of patronage. . . .²

The *Herald* forged ahead in ardent expectations of the future and three months later, December 15, told its own story, exultingly, in these words:

Three months have now elapsed since the *Herald* was first issued, and from that time to the present it has been constantly increasing in circulation. It may now be considered on a permanent basis. It was commenced under disadvantageous circumstances, without a house to print in or even a subscription list. The first No. was set up under the shade of a large elm tree. The materials were then moved into the house we now occupy, which was the first building put up in Leavenworth. It is the pioneer press in the Territory. It was the first and only paper published in the Territory for about two months. It has acquired a character and celebrity all over the Union, of which any one might feel proud. . . . We have had to forego many of the pleasures and luxuries of life, and submit for a while to the camp life, living and printing out of doors, writing editorials on a shingle, and sleeping on the ground. But now we are comfortably situated, in a good house, with plenty to live on, a respectable sanctum, where our friends may visit us, and find us at home. . . .

While it is generally conceded that the type for the first issue was set up under the elm tree, it has been questioned whether the first issue was printed there or in the new building. The evidence is not convincing. In the first issue the *Herald* wrote: "Our publication office has been removed from the Elm Tree on the Levee to our new building on the corner of Levee and Broadway."³ What the editor meant by this statement is not clear, for the publication office is not

2. *The Kansas Editors' Annual for 1877*, . . . (Topeka, 1877), pp. 9, 10.

3. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, September 15, 1854.

necessarily the same as the printing office. Moreover, on December 8, 1854, the *Herald*, in introducing a poem written as a tribute to the elm tree, wrote: "To the Elm Tree, at Leavenworth, under the shade of which, the first number of the *Herald* was issued." The poem of twenty stanzas, written by "Dique," contained these lines:

Thy arms were kindly spread above
 The *Kansas Herald* press,
 No stronger evidence of love
 Could move a human breast.
 And from beneath thy shade was sent
 To every distant clime
 The sheet that first from Kansas went
 To tell the march of time.

Whether the poem is based on fact or fiction is impossible to determine. Very likely it was written by Eastin, who was not connected with the *Herald* until October 20, 1854.

The editors of the *Herald* capitalized on the unique picturesqueness of that office under the elm. In the issue of May 10, 1856, Col. Lucien J. Eastin, its fiery Southern editor, announced that the *Herald* had "just been presented with a beautiful and life-like Daguerreotype picture of the Elm Tree, as it stands with the buildings adjoining, taken by Mr. J. W. Hutchison." From time to time the editor also faithfully published various tributes to the elm, although most of it, wrote Herbert Flint, was "atrocious 'poetry.'" ⁴

The *Kansas Weekly Herald* survived until 1861. The *Union List*⁵ of American newspapers shows that the Library of Congress has scattering issues of this paper as late as August 3, 1861. The Society has only one issue of this paper in 1860, none in 1861, a broken file of 1859, but a good file of the earlier period.

DOUGLAS COUNTY

Kansas Pioneer, Lawrence, October 18, 1854, first issue published in the county.

The Kansas Herald of Freedom, Lawrence, January 3, 1855, first issue printed in the county.

The *Kansas Pioneer* published at Lawrence, October 18, 1854, although printed at Medina, Ohio, must be regarded as the first newspaper in Douglas county, according to the definition controlling this article. John Speer, editor of the Medina (Ohio) *Gazette*,

4. Flint, Herbert, "Journalism in Territorial Kansas," v. I, p. 28. This is a master's thesis written in 1916. Copies of this monograph are in the Watson library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, and the Kansas State Historical Society.

5. Gregory, Winifred (editor), *American Newspapers, 1821-1936, A Union List of Files Available in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1937), p. 208.

was the editor and publisher. The first issue of *The Kansas Herald of Freedom*, published by George W. Brown, dated October 21, 1854, but printed September 20, 1854, preceded the *Kansas Pioneer*, but it must be disqualified in this race for priority because it was not published within the present confines of Douglas county.

What were the factors that qualified the *Kansas Pioneer* for the first paper in the county and disqualified the *Herald of Freedom*? John Speer came to Kansas territory in the summer of 1854 to find a place to establish a newspaper. He went as far west as Tecumseh in search of a location, but was refused all privileges there by the Proslavery town proprietor, when he discovered that Speer's paper would fight the institution of slavery in Kansas. Whereupon Speer returned to the present site of Lawrence, late in September, 1854. There he wrote the editorials which later were published in the *Kansas Pioneer*.⁶ He arranged to have the material printed at the office of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Enterprise*, but when Judge Story, its proprietor, discovered Speer's attitude toward slavery, he refused to fulfill the agreement. The Leavenworth *Herald* accorded him the same treatment, whereupon Speer returned to Medina, Ohio, issued the first number there, and hurried it back to Lawrence for distribution.⁷ Although the author has been unable to verify this statement by contemporaneous reports in the *Kansas Weekly Herald*, the only Kansas newspaper published at the time, Speer's most bitter rival, George W. Brown, published the following statement in the *Herald of Freedom* March 14, 1857, confirming the essential points related above. It reads:

Mr. John Speer, who published the *Medina Gazette*, at Medina, Ohio, came to Kansas in the fall to start a newspaper. He was here in September and wrote editorials which he published in the "*Kansas Pioneer*," issued from his office in Ohio, and dated Lawrence, October 18, 1854. This paper was brought to Lawrence and distributed.

On arriving again in the Territory, Mr. Speer found the *Kickapoo Pioneer* under way, and for that reason concluded to change the name to *Kansas Tribune*, which was issued at Lawrence on the 10th of January, 1855. It appeared under the editorial care of J. & J. L. Speer.

George W. Brown, on the other hand, gathered the news for the first number of the *Herald of Freedom* in the East, wrote and arranged the material there, printed some 20,000 copies of the first is-

6. This paper should not be confused with the *Kickapoo Pioneer*, also announced as *Kansas Pioneer*, published by Messrs. Sexton & Hazzard at Kickapoo. It was the second paper printed in the territory; announced in the *Leavenworth Herald*, November 17, 1854.

7. Flint, Herbert, *op. cit.*, v. I, p. 41; Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 328; Speer, John, "Papers," in "Patriotism and Education in the Methodist Church," and "Douglas," MSS. in Kansas State Historical Society.

sue at Conneautville, Pa., and distributed them through his agents located in the states of New York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts.⁸ The *Kansas Weekly Herald*, in announcing it in the issue of November 10, 1854, wrote: This "paper bears a falsehood upon its face, in dating its publication at Wakarusa." Years later, Brown wrote Mrs. Walker, his divorced wife (the letter was dated at Rockford, Ill., January 14, 1893), that in the fall of 1854 he had expected to get to Kansas in time to get out the second number "not to exceed the 1st of November. Instead I did not reach Kan. City until about the 14th of November."⁹ The writer has no information that Brown ever was in Kansas territory before this time. The fact that John Speer was in the present confines of Douglas county in the fall of 1854, gathering information, arranging it for publication, distributing his first issue in the county, entitles the *Kansas Pioneer* to first place in the county.

The first paper printed in Douglas county, however, was the second issue of the *Herald of Freedom*, although the question of priority is somewhat complicated. Three prospective Free-State newspaper plants had decided to establish offices in Lawrence. The third rival, besides Brown and Speer, was the firm of Robert Gaston Elliott and Josiah Miller of the *Kansas Free State*. The first issues of these three papers printed in Lawrence appeared within a week of each other. John Speer lost out in the race because he could not find a printer, his own press and type having been stranded at Boonville, Mo., since late November or early December, 1854. Elliott and Miller finally agreed to print his paper, but it was obvious that they would print theirs first. The Miller family cherished a tradition that the work on the first issue of the *Kansas Free State*, dated January 3, 1855, was rushed with particular haste in order that the paper might be distributed on the third, the wedding anniversary of the Josiah Millers. It is reported that Mrs. Miller sat up all night on the eve of her anniversary while the paper was successfully made up in time to be distributed the next day.¹⁰ George W. Brown, writing in March, 1857, states that the *Kansas Free State* was issued on January 10, a week later than it was dated, and that the *Kansas Tribune* appeared on the same day. In the same article he states that the second number of the *Herald of Freedom* made its appear-

8. *Herald of Freedom*, Wakarusa, October 21, 1854. Brown was not consistent in his figures. Sometimes he said he published 21,000 copies of the first issue, at other times it was 20,000.

9. Brown, George W., "Papers," Kansas State Historical Society. This is a copy of an original letter.

10. Flint, Herbert, *op. cit.*, v. I, pp. 50, 51.

ance on January 3, 1855, though dated the 6th.¹¹ Contemporaneous newspaper reports substantiate Brown's claim in behalf of his own paper. January 20, 1855, the following appeared in the New York *Daily Tribune*:

Correspondence of the N. Y. Tribune.

Lawrence, Kansas Territory, January 5, 1855.

We have already three printing establishments, and early next week three newspapers will be sent out to greet the country far and near. One is to be called *The Kansas Herald of Freedom*; the second number was published this week in this city; . . . *The Kansas Free State* is edited by Messrs. Miller and Elliott. Mr. Miller is a native of South Carolina—Mr. Elliott was formerly a resident of Indiana. And *The Kansas Tribune*, edited by Mr. John Speer. . . .

The *Tribune* and *Free State* have not yet made their appearance, but they will be out on the first of next week. . . .

In the "Webb Scrap Books," volume II, pages 148 and 149, is an unidentified newspaper clipping with additional information supporting Brown's contention. It reads:

Lawrence, K. T., Jan. 4. Messrs. Editors:—

The Herald of Freedom issued the first newspaper, printed in Lawrence, last evening. It is a beautiful and an interesting sheet— . . . The first number of the *Free State* will be issued the fore part of next week from this place by Messrs. Miller and Elliott. The *Kansas Pioneer* will be issued from the same office soon after, the Messrs. Speer having had their press and materials left at Glasgow, on the Missouri river, by the failure of the *last boat* of the season to get up to Kansas, Mo. . . . E. D. L.

The Kansas State Historical Society has a complete file of the *Herald of Freedom*, an incomplete file of the first year of the *Kansas Free State*, including volume one, number one, but only scattering issues of the *Kansas Tribune*.

ATCHISON COUNTY

Squatter Sovereign, Atchison, February 3, 1855.

The *Squatter Sovereign* is undoubtedly the first newspaper in this county. Since the Society has a good file of it, including volume one, number one, there is no question about the date of the first issue. It was a town company paper, edited and published by Robert S. Kelley and Dr. John H. Stringfellow, both prominent Proslavery men. The office was located in a "little building fashioned from cottonwood logs . . . borne on the shoulders of Mr. Kelley." It was "situated on the river bank overlooking George Million's Ferry landing," which later became the resident property of Col.

11. *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, March 14, 1857.

John A. Martin, editor of the *Champion*.¹² The Atchison Town Company, September 21, 1854, had voted \$400 to Kelley and Stringfellow to establish the office. Some time in March or April, 1857, Kelley and Stringfellow sold the paper to a company composed of S. C. Pomeroy, Robert McBratney and Franklin G. Adams, who converted it into a Free-State paper. On September 12, 1857, the *Herald of Freedom* wrote: "We observe that the entire interest in the *Squatter Sovereign* has passed into the hands of Gen. S. C. Pomeroy." Soon after, O. F. Short began serving as editor. February 11, 1858, Pomeroy and Short sold to John A. Martin for \$2,000.¹³ Martin remained editor and publisher of the paper until October, 1889, when he sold out to Philip Krohn. Martin changed the name of the paper several times, publishing it as the *Freedom's Champion*, the *Weekly Champion* and the *Weekly Champion and Press*.

Herbert Flint characterized the *Squatter Sovereign* as "the real red-blooded, murder-seeking, Abolitionist-hanging, murder-condoning, bloodthirsty Proslavery paper of all Kansas journalism," which soon "made its voice heard even above the shrieking din of all the other Proslavery papers of the Territory combined."¹⁴ Feeling of great intensity often found expression in this paper. In the issue of March 22, 1856, the *Herald of Freedom* quoted the *Squatter Sovereign* as saying: "If we for a moment thought that a drop of Yankee blood ran through our veins, we should let it out, even though our life were sacrificed in so doing."

SHAWNEE COUNTY

Kansas Freeman, July 4, 1855.

Edward C. K. Garvey of Milwaukee, Wis., was the editor and publisher of this paper. The first issue, wrote Andreas, was "printed on the open prairie."¹⁵ The Society has a letter from George W. Brown dated October 19, 1901, stating that he "made up the forms for the first paper printed in Topeka, the *Kansas Freeman*," stopping there while on his way to attend the first session of the "Bogus Legislature," convening at Pawnee, July 2, 1855. The *Herald of Freedom*, July 14, 1855, announced the birth of the *Kansas Freeman* in these words:

12. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 378.

13. See contract of O. F. Short and John A. Martin, dated February 11, 1858, in MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

14. Flint, Herbert, *op. cit.*, v. I, p. 140.

15. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 540. This statement has been questioned.

The first number of the *Kansas Freeman*, published at Topeka, by E. C. K. Garvey & Co., has made its appearance in the shape of a half sheet, with an apology, stating that their large press had not arrived, and no intelligence could be received from it. It is possible that our Missouri neighbors took the initiative and consigned it to the watery element ere it commenced its mission in Kansas. That it was forwarded is evidenced from the arrival of several of the smaller parts of the press which were in boxes.

The Society has only three issues of the weekly *Kansas Freeman*, dated November 14, 1855 (Vol. 1, No. 6), January 9 and February 9, 1856. It was customary to run the date of the advertisements' first publication as long as it was carried. It has been observed that the oldest advertisements listed in the issue of November 14, 1855, were dated July 4, 1855, which supports the contention of the *First Biennial Report* and Andreas that it was the date of the first issue of the *Kansas Freeman*. It also goes to prove that the paper was not published regularly.

During the time of the Topeka Constitutional Convention Garvey also issued a daily *Kansas Freeman*, which published the proceedings of the convention. The Society has fourteen issues of this paper, including volume one, number one.

The *Kansas Freeman* had an interesting history. The Topeka Town Association had been on the lookout for some time for a newspaperman who would publicize their speculative interests through the press. They were happily surprised, therefore, according to F. W. Giles,¹⁶ when on the afternoon of June 5, 1855, E. C. K. Garvey from Milwaukee, Wis., accompanied by the ubiquitous George W. Brown, entered Topeka and proposed to some members of the town association his intentions to transfer "his family, his fortune, his political and business influence, his stores of merchandise and his extensive law library immediately to some point in the newly-erected Territory of Kansas." He qualified this announcement "with the expression of decided preference for Topeka, provided a satisfactory consideration was offered." And like a skillful salesman, Garvey "followed this last broadside discharge upon the bewildered Topekans with a casual remark that he had at that very hour a powerful steam press in transit up the Missouri river!" With these words he departed, to await their decision the next day. It seems that Garvey was the better salesman, for on that evening in the little log cabin—council chamber of the Topeka association—the following resolutions were adopted:

16. Giles, F. W., *Thirty Years in Topeka, a Historical Sketch* (George W. Crane & Co., Publishers, Topeka, 1886), pp. 144-146.

Resolved, That we will and hereby do donate to E. C. K. Garvey, Esq., of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, city interests Nos. 57, 58 and 59, and that any rule of the association inconsistent with our action in the premises be and hereby is suspended, so far as it may apply to our action in the present case, provided that Esq. Garvey establish a good and respectable weekly newspaper, without unnecessary delay, in Topeka, and reside or exercise his influence and identify his interests with us, agreeably to suggestions made by him before the association to-day.

Resolved, That F. W. Giles, Amos G. Adams and Dr. S. E. Martin be a committee to present the foregoing resolutions to E. C. K. Garvey.¹⁷

Before the contract was closed, however, Garvey had asked that he be furnished in addition to the three city interests, "lots 11 and 12, in block 57, constituting what are now lots Nos. 146, 148, 150, 152, 154 and 156 Kansas avenue"; also, that "the association should erect for him thereon a publishing house 18 x 24 feet and two stories high, for the sum of \$400, payable by 200 copies of the forthcoming newspaper for one year." The association consented to the conditions except that "for the lots named it was to reserve from the lots of the city interests given to Mr. Garvey other lots of like value and with the further condition that the paper should advocate 'Free Kansas.'" ¹⁸

A committee was appointed to solicit subscriptions and raise funds for the publishing house. When the building was finished, however, it refused to hold the almost "endless variety of merchandise" and household furniture that Garvey had brought with him. For a period of weeks the grounds of Kansas avenue south of Fifth street were literally "strewn with furniture, beds, bedding, books, carpets, clothing, medicines, boots, and numerous other commodities, half hidden by the tall grass." After the publishing house was enlarged it was styled the "Garvey House," and soon helped serve other functions. The post office was kept there and for a time it constituted the town's political and commercial center, besides being the publishing house and hotel.

DONIPHAN COUNTY

Kansas Constitutionalist, Doniphan, May, 1856.

Like so many of the early Kansas newspapers, the *Constitutionalist* is almost completely buried in the dust of the turbulent past. It was started by Thomas J. Key, a member of the Lecompton Constitutional Convention, to promote the Proslavery cause. The time of its establishment is obscure and the exact date is still unknown.

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Ibid.*

The *First Biennial Report* and Andreas listed it for 1856, Flint failed to mention it, McMurtrie came closest when he gave May 3 as the date of the first issue.¹⁹ Contemporaneous newspapers and correspondence have made it possible to determine the approximate time when the paper was established. On May 3 the *Kansas Weekly Herald* wrote:

Kansas Constitutionalist is the title of a paper to be issued in a week or two at Doniphan, K. T., by Thomas J. Key, late of Tuscumbia, Alabama. It was the intention of the editor to have commenced this paper at Lecompton, but hearing a paper was about to be started there in advance of his, he determined then on going to Doniphan. . . . The editor has conducted for several years one of the best papers (*Tuscumbia Enquirer*) in the state of Alabama. . . .

On May 5, 1856, John W. Forman, of Doniphan, wrote John A. Halderman that "Thos. J. Key, late of Tuscumbia, Ala., will issue next week the first No. of the *Kansas Constitutionalist* at this place. It will be the same size of the Leavenworth *Herald* & we are taking measures to give it a very large circulation."²⁰ On May 24 the *Herald* wrote again:

Kansas Constitutionalist.—The first number of this paper is before us. It is edited and published by T. J. Key at Doniphan, K. T. It is a large size, neatly printed, and its editorials evince a high order of talent. We welcome the *Constitutionalist* as an able auxiliary to the Pro-slavery cause. It is a sound, reliable Journal and deserves an extensive patronage.

The Society has one issue of this paper, dated January 7, 1857, listed as volume one, number thirty. Many of the oldest advertisements in it date back to May 14, 1856. It is possible that this was the date of the first issue. It agrees with the contemporaneous reports. Had the paper been issued regularly, the first number should have appeared the middle of June, unless the above issue was numbered incorrectly.

BOURBON COUNTY

Southern Kansas, Fort Scott, July, 1856.

The year of the establishment of this paper has been in doubt until this writing, and the exact date of the first issue is still unknown. Andreas, the *First Biennial Report* and Wilder gave the time as 1855 and August, 1855.²¹ T. F. Robley, in his *History of*

19. *First Biennial Report of the State Board of Agriculture* . . . 1877-1878, p. 184; Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 475; Herbert Flint, *op. cit.*, pp. 513, 515-517; McMurtrie, *loc. cit.*, p. 13.

20. Halderman, John A., "Papers," letter of John W. Forman to John A. Halderman, May 5, 1856, in MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

21. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1074; *First Biennial Report*, p. 119; Wilder, Daniel W., *Annals of Kansas* (1886), p. 784.

Bourbon County,²² wrote: "The Fort Scott Town Company fell heir to the press and material of the '*Southern Kansan*,' which was started and two numbers issued by Kline, who went to war, and got killed in 1856." Herbert Flint, having read Robley, questioned the year of publication and gave the time as August, 1855, or August, 1856. McMurtrie copied him.²³ The answer to this question and those relating to the editor and the name of the paper were found in the *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, July 26, 1856. The notice reads as follows:

We have received the first number of the *Southern Kansas*, published at Fort Scott, and edited by A. P. Hickey, Esq. Its typographical appearance is excellent, and its articles display much ability. The *Southern Kansas* is a pro-slavery sheet, and will no doubt prove a valuable coadjutor in the advocacy of our great cause—SLAVERY IN KANSAS.

This would seem to establish the point that the first issue of the *Southern Kansas* was published in July, 1856, and not August, 1855. The Society has no copy of this paper.

Andreas wrote that the editor of *Southern Kansas* was one Kelley. Robley left the impression it was one Kline. The *Leavenworth Herald* informs us that it was A. P. Hickey.

The secondary writers also disagreed on the name of the paper. Some called it *Southern Kansas*, others *Southern Kansan*. Again the writer is disposed to accept the statement of the contemporaneous newspaper report on this question, the statements of the secondary writers to the contrary notwithstanding, and has listed it, *Southern Kansas*.

WYANDOTTE COUNTY

The Wyandott City *Register*, May 2, 1857.

On May 9, 1857, the *Kansas Herald of Freedom* announced the establishment of the *Register* as follows:

New Paper. The Wyandott *Register*, Mark W. Delahay, proprietor, has made its appearance, and is to be published weekly after the 16th of May. It is a Free State paper, and is located at an important point in the Territory. The editor was the former publisher of the *Territorial Register*, which is baiting cat-fish at Leavenworth City.

On the same day the Kansas City (Mo.) *Enterprise* also announced that a new paper had been established at Wyandotte called the Wyandott City *Register*, and quoted from it. Andreas merely wrote that the first number appeared in May, but added that it "was

22. Robley, T. F., *History of Bourbon County, Kansas, to the Close of 1865* (1895), p. 92.

23. Flint, Herbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 600, 601; McMurtrie, *loc. cit.*, p. 12.

issued in a tent on the corner of Nebraska avenue and Third street."²⁴ The Society has only one complete issue of the *Register*, dated July 25, 1857, and listed as volume one, number ten. Since the paper was not published regularly, the date of the first issue cannot be obtained by tracing it back to the first number. The issue of July 25, however, gives the clue to the date of the first issue through its advertisements, the oldest of which bear the date of May 2, 1857. The author has accepted this fact, interpreted in the light of contemporaneous newspaper accounts, as proof that the first number of the Wyandott City *Register* was published May 2, 1857.

The Quindaro *Chindowan*, established May 13, 1857, was the second paper in the county. It missed being first by less than two weeks. It was the "third paper in Territorial Kansas acquired by the Emigrant Aid Company to further its plans," according to Herbert Flint.²⁵ Charles Robinson, agent of the Aid Company, was its chief adviser; although the paper was edited and published by J. M. Walden and Edmund Babb. The Society has a good file of this paper, including volume one, number one.

LYON COUNTY

The Kansas News, Emporia, June 6, 1857.

The Kansas News was one of the pioneer papers of Kansas territory, and according to Andreas, it was "twelve years in advance of any other paper in Emporia," and was established when there were "but three unfinished buildings" in town.²⁶ Preston B. Plumb was the editor and proprietor of the *News*, at least in name. Years later, George W. Brown wrote F. G. Adams, then secretary of the Historical Society, that the "press, type and fixtures [of the *News*] were bought on my credit, and charged to me in account, by the Cincinnati Type Foundry, though long after he paid for it." He also wrote that "G. W. Brown, G. W. Deitzler, Columbus Homsby and Lyman Allen each subscribed for 300 copies of the *Emporia News*, 1,200 copies in all, and paid quarterly in advance for the same . . ." ²⁷ These men, including Plumb, were the incorporators of the Emporia Town Company.²⁸

24. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1234. The *First Biennial Report*, p. 460, called the first paper the *Citizen*, but is mistaken, for the *Register* later changed to the *Citizen*.

25. Flint, Herbert, *op. cit.*, v. II, p. 434.

26. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 849.

27. Brown, George W., "Papers." See letter of Brown to F. G. Adams, dated Rockford, Ill., October 8, 1887, in MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

28. *Kansas Territorial Laws*, 1857, p. 304.

Plumb was a political philosopher. In the salutation to the public, printed in the first issue, he wrote that he did not "intend to promulgate any particular creed" which he designed "advocating." He preferred to remain "free to act *independently*," according to his own "convictions of right and duty." He would "admit of no middle ground between right and wrong—*no compromise with evil*"; nor would he act with any party that did not have "'Universal Freedom' inscribed on its banner.—The struggle now going on between Freedom and Slavery is a death one; one or the other must succumb. The agitation of this question will not and *should not* stop until every bondsman is made free, or until every poor man (white or black) is made a slave." Believing this, he would never cease the warfare with slavery. "'The Truth loses nothing by agitation,'" he continued, "therefore we *shall agitate*." In his opinion, public lands should be made free to actual settlers. He concluded the salutation with the following statement: "Having neither personal popularity or money, our paper must stand on its own merits exclusively. All we ask of the public is a fair hearing. With these few remarks we submit our sheet to the public."

A year later, July 31, 1858, with the commencement of the second volume of the *News*, Plumb added the name of Jacob Stotler to the firm, and substituted the letter "s" for "z" in *Kansas*. He still contended, however, that his paper was independent in politics. "If it has advocated the views of any party, either in whole or in part, it was because the objects and principles of that party, for the time being, were in accordance with those of the proprietor. We never have advocated," Plumb asserted, "and we never intend to advocate the views, or labor to promote the success of any party, farther than we believe will be in accordance with what is right, and in harmony with the public good." And he went further:

We do not even hold it to be a duty or merit to be consistent with ourselves. We hold, as we think every free man should, the opinions of to-day subject to the review and consideration of to-morrow, so far, at least, as political action is concerned. . . . Temporary combinations of our fellow citizens for the accomplishment of certain political ends, are always necessary and proper; but permanent political parties always become corrupt, and are turned into engines of evil.

He admitted, however, that as parties were then organized, he would "support the principles of what is known as the Republican party, and labor zealously for their success."

With the issue of January 22, 1859, Plumb severed his connection with the *Kansas News* and the establishment passed into the hands

of Jacob Stotler, who continued with the paper for many years. The *News* retained its name until December 26, 1889, when it became *The Weekly News-Democrat*. Under this name it sold out to C. V. Eskridge of the *Emporia Republican*, May 1, 1890, and ceased its separate existence. The Society has a good file of *The Kansas News*, including volume one, number one.

FRANKLIN COUNTY

Kansas Leader, Centropolis, June, 1857.

The *First Biennial Report* and Andreas agree that this paper was established "in the fall of 1856," whereas, Flint and McMurtrie gave the date of establishment as June 13, 1857.²⁹ The latter are more nearly correct, for thus wrote the *Herald of Freedom*, June 20, 1857:

The first and second numbers of the *Kansas Leader*, published weekly at Centropolis, Kansas T., by Austin and Beardsley are on our table. It is a neatly printed paper, with the motto "Fearless and Free," indicating that it fights on its own hook. We rather like the paper, as it gives evidence of its not being the slave of a junto, and will no doubt do much towards helping relieve the country from its present political thralldom. Success to the *Leader*.

Flint wrote that the *Leader* was "Independent free-state in politics." This would fit in with George W. Brown's appraisal of it. According to the *First Biennial Report* and Andreas, it was sold to the Minneola Town Company the following year, moved to Minneola, and was named by General Lane the *Minneola Statesman*.³⁰ The Society has no issue of this paper.

Centropolis is located about six miles north and four west of Ottawa, on 8-Mile creek. In 1855 Perry Fuller established a store, the first settlement on this townsite. Soon a very large business developed, its aggregate sales at one time amounted to \$50,000 a year. February 20, 1857, the Centropolis Town Company was incorporated, with Perry Fuller, Cyrus K. Holliday and J. K. Goodin among its prominent members. Like the Minneola project, it was a speculative venture. The plan was to make Centropolis not only the county seat but the capital of the territory and state. It is reported that at one time lots sold for \$500 each, which years later could have been bought at ten cents.³¹ Centropolis failed to achieve its goal, although some of the speculators may have made a little

29. *First Biennial Report*, p. 222; Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 614; Flint, *op. cit.*, v. II, p. 597; McMurtrie, *loc. cit.*, p. 13.

30. *Ibid.*

31. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 614; *Kansas Territorial Laws*, 1857, p. 285.

pocket money. The name of the town ceased to be listed in the *United States Official Postal Guide* after July, 1929.³²

COFFEY COUNTY

Ottumwa *Journal*, August 29, 1857.

Jonathan Lyman was the editor of the *Ottumwa Journal*, the first paper published in Coffey county. Ottumwa is located near the Neosho river about eight miles from Burlington, the county seat. Definite information as to the date of the first issue of this paper was found in the *Kansas News*, Emporia, of September 12, 1857. The statement announcing the publication reads:

The *Ottumwa Journal* is the title of a new paper which has just been started at Ottumwa, about 25 miles below Emporia, on the Neosho. The first number, bearing the date of August 29, is before us. . . . It is strongly Free State in politics. . . .

On September 12, 1857, the *Herald of Freedom* extended its welcome to the *Journal* and quoted from the first issue as follows:

We have the skeleton of an office, which awaits the *hide* to cover it. Our present office consists of a tenement 18 by 20, made of logs, which affords a shelter for an entire printing establishment, and the entire family of the printer, consisting of *ten* persons! Our first issue thus comes forth, and our *next* one will come out, "wind and weather" permitting, as soon as we can get it out!

The secondary authorities, Andreas, Flint and McMurtrie, were mistaken in the date of the first issue of the *Journal*. It was August 29, and not September, or September 15, 1857, as they listed it.³³

How long the paper operated is not known, although the secondary authorities are agreed that only a few issues were published. They disagree, however, as to what happened to the press after it discontinued. Flint wrote that it was removed to Burlington in October, 1857, where it was used to publish the *Burlington Free Press*.³⁴ Andreas contended that "the press on which this paper [*Ottumwa Journal*] was printed was removed to Linn county by Mr. Lyman in 1860."³⁵ The author has not been able to verify either of the above statements. The Society has no issue of the *Burlington Free Press*, nor of the *Linn County Herald*, the paper founded by Jonathan Lyman at Mound City in April, 1859, nor of the *Ottumwa Journal*.

32. The *United States Official Postal Guides* of July, 1930, 1931 and 1932 no longer listed Centropolis among the Kansas post offices.

33. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 660; Flint, *op. cit.*, v. II, p. 610; McMurtrie, *loc. cit.*, p. 14. The *First Biennial Report*, p. 157, failed to mention the *Journal*.

34. Flint, *op. cit.*, v. II, p. 610.

35. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 660.

MIAMI COUNTY

Southern Kansas Herald, Osawatomie, last week of November, 1857.

The *Southern Kansas Herald* apparently was the first newspaper published in this county. Charles E. Griffith was the editor and publisher. The paper was Free-State in politics and made its appearance about the last week in November, 1857.

There was a newspaper press in Osawatomie as early as the spring of 1856, but it has not been established that it ever published a paper. John Everett, in a letter to his father dated Osawatomie, April 28, 1856, wrote: "Osawatomie may now boast of a printing press. It was in Kansas [City] a week ago, and probably is now in town."³⁶ According to Herbert Flint the press was owned by Oscar V. Dayton and Alexander Gardner, of New York, who were planning to publish the *Osawatomie Times*.³⁷ Like so many other frontier projects, the *Times*, it seems, was never published. On June 9, 1856, the Lawrence correspondent of the New York *Daily Tribune*, reporting on the sacking of Osawatomie June 6, wrote that Proslavery men had destroyed a printing office at Osawatomie, "a new establishment, the unoffending types having never yet expressed a sentiment in the proscribed cause of *Freedom*."³⁸ The correspondent was in error about the destruction of the office and press. John Everett, who had read the statements published in Eastern papers, wrote, June 27, 1856: "Our printing office was not destroyed as reported I see in the Eastern papers. It was buried in the ground and they could not find it."³⁹ Moreover, James Hughes of Osawatomie, who on June 7, reported the news of the sacking of Osawatomie to Gov. Wilson Shannon, did not mention the destruction of the office and press.⁴⁰ The fact remains, therefore, that all the available evidence indicates that the *Osawatomie Times* was never published.

Andreas and the *First Biennial Report* were mistaken on the time of the first issue of the *Herald*. Andreas wrote it was established "near the beginning of the year 1857," the *First Biennial Report* wrote: "In the latter part of 1856 or the beginning of 1857, the *Southern Kansas Herald* was established at Osawatomie, by Charles

36. "Letters of John and Sarah Everett, 1854-1864," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. VIII, p. 31.

37. Flint, *op. cit.*, v. II, p. 610.

38. New York *Daily Tribune*, June 17, 1856, p. 6, col. 3. Similar reports also appeared in other out-of-state papers. See Webb, Thomas H., "Scrap Books," v. XIII, p. 103.

39. "Letters of John and Sarah Everett, 1854-1864," *loc. cit.*, v. VIII, p. 33. See, also, Flint, *op. cit.*, v. II, p. 610.

40. Webb, Thomas H., "Scrap Books," v. XIII, p. 123.

E. Griffiths." Herbert Flint and McMurtrie gave the time as November, 1857.⁴¹ The statements of Flint and McMurtrie are substantiated by contemporaneous newspaper accounts. December 12, the *Kansas News* of Emporia announced the *Herald* as follows: "A new paper called the *Southern Kansas Herald* has been started at Osawatomie within a few weeks past. . . ." The *Herald of Freedom*, December 19, 1857, wrote:

We notice on our table, among our list of exchanges, the "*Southern Kansas Herald*," published weekly at Osawatomie, by Chas. E. Griffith, Esq., editor and publisher. The second number is before us. The paper has six columns to a page, is printed on new type, and compares favorably in mechanical appearance with any other paper in the Territory. . . .

This information points to the conclusion that the first issue of the *Herald* was published either during the last week of November or the first week in December, 1857. The editor was Charles Griffith, not Griffiths as reported in the *First Biennial Report*.

The Society has two issues of this paper, one of September, 1864, with the date and number clipped, the other of April 7, 1865, listed as volume seven, number twenty.

MARSHALL COUNTY

Palmetto Kansan, Marysville, December 9 (?), 1857.

This paper was established by Proslavery men, with J. E. Clardy as editor and publisher. The date of publication given by Andreas and the *First Biennial Report* was December 18, 1857. Flint and McMurtrie gave November, 1857.⁴² On November 12, 1857, the *National Democrat* of Lecompton stated: "We have seen the prospectus of a new paper, the *Palmetto Kansan*, to be published at Marysville." On November 28, the *Kansas News* of Emporia said: "A new Pro-slavery paper called the *Palmetto Kansan* has been established at Marysville in Marshall county, . . . It is printed on the materials of the defunct Lecompton *Union*. The publisher is a Mr. Clardy, formerly connected with the *Union*." The *White Cloud Kansas Chief* of December 3, 1857, stated:

We have received a Prospectus of a paper, the first number of which is to be issued on Saturday, the 9th inst., at Palmetto, (recently Marysville,) Marshall County, Kansas, to be called the "*Palmetto Kansan*." . . . It is to be "strictly conservative and constitutional, independent in all things, neutral in nothing." . . . Address J. E. Clardy, Palmetto, Marysville P. O., K. T.

41. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 887; *First Biennial Report*, p. 315; Flint, *op. cit.*, v. II, p. 610; McMurtrie, *loc. cit.*, p. 14.

42. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 919; *First Biennial Report*, p. 301; Flint, *op. cit.*, v. II, p. 609; McMurtrie, *loc. cit.*, p. 14.

While no definite statement can be made as to the date of the first issue, the writer is inclined to believe that the *Kansas News* based its statement on the information gathered from the prospectus of the first issue, whereas the *White Cloud Chief*, located near Marysville, had more specific information as to the date when the first issue was to appear.

The office, according to Andreas and the *First Biennial Report*, was owned by the "Palmetto Town Company composed of F. J. Marshall, James S. Magill and others." Magill no doubt was a member of the Palmetto company, but Marshall was a promoter of its rival, the Marysville Town Company, and his name has not been found connected with the Palmetto Town Company. The Society has no copy of this paper.

JEFFERSON COUNTY

Grasshopper, Grasshopper Falls, June 5, 1858.

This is undoubtedly the first newspaper published in Jefferson county. The first issue appeared June 5, 1858. J. A. Cody was listed as editor and proprietor, and S. Ward Smith, publisher. Smith probably was the printer. According to Andreas, Mrs. Cody "did most of the editorial work."⁴³

J. A. Cody was "an uncle of the famous scout, Buffalo Bill,"⁴⁴ whose given name was William Frederick Cody. Isaac Cody, the father of William, also had a brother, Elijah, in Weston, Mo., whose sympathies, it is believed, were Proslavery. Soon after Kansas territory was organized Isaac registered a claim of 160 acres in Salt creek valley where he established a home. The story is told that one day as he and young William approached Rively's trading post they noticed a crowd gathering and stopped to listen. It was a Proslavery group, expounding the cause of slavery. Some men soon clamored for a speech from Isaac. Reluctantly yielding to the request, he spoke boldly in defiance of slavery, when Charles Dunn, an employee of Elijah Cody, plunged a bowie-knife into his back.⁴⁵ Isaac, although it is believed by members of his family that he later died from the wound, soon regained enough strength to leave Salt creek valley, where his life was in danger, and fled to Grasshopper Falls. Later he went to Ohio and Iowa and used his oratory to win colonists for Kansas, especially for Grasshopper Falls, where he was

43. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 507.

44. Flint, *op. cit.*, v. II, p. 529; *Topeka Daily Capital*, October 7, 1927.

45. Walsh, R. J., *The Making of Buffalo Bill* (Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, 1928), pp. 32-41.

operating a sawmill. If the above story is true it is possible that Isaac brought his brother, J. A. Cody, to Grasshopper Falls to help the Free-State cause with the press. William E. Connelley, former secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, contended, however, that Isaac Cody "moved about from place to place here in Kansas and had no influence on the Free-State cause, took no part in it, was not stabbed as has been stated and was never mistreated in any way by border ruffians."⁴⁶ At the present writing the author is unable to introduce new evidence on the point in question.

The *First Biennial Report* and Andreas agree that the first issue of the *Grasshopper* was published in May, 1858. Herbert Flint wrote, however, that it appeared in June, 1859.⁴⁷ Since the Society has the first issue of this paper, dated June 5, 1858, the question of time is settled. It is a four-page, five-column paper. Under "Prospectus," the editor wrote:

It is our design in publishing this paper to advocate the great principles of truth and religion, in government and human action. In doing this we shall be under the necessity of exposing falsehood, combating error, and subduing prejudices, as all these things unhappily exist, and stand in the way of truth. . . .

While at the same time we are disposed to yield to the South, all her constitutional rights, we solemnly protest against six millions of people controlling the action of seventeen millions—or, in other words, we are opposed to the South's dictation to the North. It is a sound political axiom that the majority shall rule.

The town of Grasshopper Falls, which derived its name from the falls in the Grasshopper, now Delaware, river, later changed its name to Valley Falls. The *Grasshopper* soon changed its name to *Jefferson Crescent*. The Society has numbers one, three, six and eight of the *Grasshopper* and *Jefferson Crescent*.

GEARY COUNTY

Junction City *Sentinel*, August, 1858.

This paper, first in the county, was established by the Junction City Town Company, officers of which were J. R. McClure, Robert Wilson and P. Z. Taylor. B. H. Keyser was editor of the *Sentinel* and George W. Kingsbury printed the first issue. The *First Biennial Report*, Andreas and D. W. Wilder were mistaken in the date of the first issue. The *First Biennial Report* and Andreas wrote that the first number was issued in June, 1858, whereas Wilder gave Decem-

46. *Ibid.*, footnote, p. 38.

47. *First Biennial Report*, p. 244; Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 507; Flint, *op. cit.*, v. II, p. 529.

ber 28, 1858.⁴⁸ On July 17, 1858, the *Herald of Freedom* published a letter, written July 10, by P. Z. Taylor of Junction City, which stated that "the *Sentinel* will be out in a few days." On August 28, the *Herald* wrote that it had received the first number of the *Sentinel* published at Junction City. The first issue of this paper, therefore, was published either the second or third week of August, 1858.

Years later, George W. Kingsbury, a printer, wrote that Robert Wilson, president of the Junction City Town Company, had sent him to the town "to get out the first number of the Junction City *Sentinel*." Some shrewd dealer in junk, he wrote, "had sold the company a ready-made second-hand printing outfit which was minus a number of essential features." There was "no platen, no roller—and nothing to print with." The company was aware of this and had sent to St. Louis for the needed parts, but no one knew when they would arrive. The editor, Keyser, had prepared his "Salutatory" and was anxious to see it in type. Kingsbury explained how he and a claim holder from near Ogden, named Lincoln, a typesetter, devised a "proof press by using the cylinder of an old engine with a blanket wrapped around it." With the help of this improvised press the salutatory was put in print and the first type-printed errors, west of Topeka, were revealed to the editor, among them the word "infernal." Kingsbury wrote that after gazing "long and earnestly at the printed slip," the editor came to him, his little finger pointing at one word of the proof, and said "that he intended that word to be *supernal* and the printer has set it 'infernal.'" Kingsbury admitted that "he didn't know there was such a word as *supernal*."⁴⁹

The *Herald of Freedom* described the mechanical appearance of the *Sentinel* as "very good," but regretted that the editor had "attached himself to the Democracy." It was his contention that "the true position of our Kansas newspapers is *independent*, until we are a State." He felt that no "*conservative* man" could "identify himself with the 'Democratic' party, as organized in the past," and concluded that by its act the *Sentinel* had very much abridged its "field of usefulness."

48. *First Biennial Report*, p. 175; Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1008; Wilder, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

49. Geo. W. Kingsbury to Geo. W. Martin, March 17, 1913.—Kansas State Historical Society.

JACKSON COUNTY

The Cricket, Holton, 1858 or 1859.

The Jackson County News, Holton, July, 1867, first newspaper printed in this county.

The *Cricket* represents a "curious effort" in Kansas newspaper history. The secondary authorities agree on two things: That it was the first newspaper published in Calhoun, now Jackson county, and that it was written in pen and ink and embellished with cartoons or drawings done with colored pencils. In most everything else said about it, however, they disagree. Andreas and the *First Biennial Report* gave the date of the first issue as the "fall of 1858"; Flint wrote it was founded about "July or August, 1858"; Elizabeth N. Barr, author of *Business Directory and History of Jackson County*,⁵⁰ merely listed the year, 1858; Martha M. Beck, who wrote an article published in the sixtieth anniversary edition of the *Holton Recorder*, March 14, 1935, said that the *Cricket* appeared in 1859. The secondary authorities also disagree on the name of its editor. Andreas gave his name as Thomas G. Watters; Mrs. Beck and the *First Biennial Report* wrote it was Thomas G. Walters; Herbert Flint had it Thomas G. Waters; Miss Barr wrote Thomas W. Watters. Most authorities agreed that the *Cricket* was published weekly for about two months, when it folded up. Herbert Flint wrote, however, that it lasted but a few issues. The *First Biennial Report* stated that the author "illustrated political events with colored pencils," but Flint wrote the paper was "non-political, apparently."

The Society has no copy of this paper nor has the writer been able to find any reference to it in the contemporaneous newspapers.

The *Jackson County News*, Holton, was the county's first regular newspaper. A. W. Moore published the first issue in July, 1867, according to the *Topeka Weekly Leader* of July 18, 1867, and not in October, as recorded by Andreas and the *First Biennial Report*. The *News* was a seven-column paper, Republican in politics. The Society's first issue of this paper is April 11, 1872 (Vol. V, No. 36).

JOHNSON COUNTY

Johnson County Standard, Olathe, March, 1859.

The *Standard* has been overlooked by the secondary authorities. They held that the Olathe *Herald* was the first paper in the county. The *First Biennial Report* wrote: "The first newspaper published in

50. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1342; *First Biennial Report*, p. 238; Flint, *op. cit.*, v. II, p. 602; Barr, E. N., *Business Directory and History of Jackson County* (1907), p. 24.

the county was the Olathe *Herald*, established September 8, 1859, by John M. Giffen and A. Smith Devinney."⁵¹ It also reported that "on the night of September 6, 1861, the office was completely destroyed by Quantrill." Herbert Flint wrote that the *Herald* was "founded August or September, 1859, by A. S. Devenny and John M. Giffin," and "was destroyed by Quantrill in 1863," linking it with the raid on Lawrence.⁵² Andreas wrote:

"The Olathe *Herald* was the first paper published in Johnson County. The first issue appeared August 29, 1859. In politics it was democratic. . . . Quantrill paid the office a visit September 6, 1862, after which John M. Giffin, its editor and proprietor, gathered up its debris and sold it for \$306; original cost having been \$3,500."⁵³

The facts in the case, proved by contemporaneous newspaper reports, are that the *Johnson County Standard* antedated the *Herald* at least five months. The *Emporia News*, September 24, 1859, wrote that the Olathe *Herald* "is the title of a new paper just started at Olathe, Johnson County, Kansas." This places the first issue of the *Herald* sometime in September, 1859. On the second of April, 1859, the *Herald of Freedom* announced the *Johnson County Standard* in these words:

The first and second numbers of a new weekly journal, with the name of "*Johnson County Standard*," published at Olathe, Kansas, by Barker & Eddy, have found their way to our table. The mechanical execution of the paper is good. It is designed as a local newspaper, and the editors seem to labor to make it such, by looking after local interests. It is *independent in politics*, and shows a determination on the part of the editors to maintain the right and oppose the wrong. We cheerfully extend to it the hand of fellowship, and welcome its conductors, with pleasure, to a place among the editorial fraternity of the independent press of Kansas.

This information definitely places the *Standard* ahead of the *Herald*. The Society has no copy of this paper.

A further correction should be made as to the date of Quantrill's raid on Olathe and the *Herald* office. The Leavenworth *Daily Conservative* of Tuesday morning, September 9, 1862, reported on the raid as follows: "About one o'clock Sunday morning Quantrile, with two hundred and thirty men, dashed into and took possession of Olathe, the county seat of Johnson county. . . . The printing offices of the *Mirror* and the *Herald* were entered and their contents demolished." That places the date of the raid early Sunday morning, September 7, 1862.

51. *First Biennial Report*, p. 256.

52. Flint, *op. cit.*, v. II, p. 609.

53. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 630.

LINN COUNTY

Linn County Herald, Mound City, April 1 (?), 1859.

Jonathan Lyman, formerly publisher of the *Ottumwa Journal*, was editor and publisher of this paper. The *First Biennial Report* and Andreas agree that the *Linn County Herald* was the first newspaper established in this county, that it began publication on April 1, 1859, that it was edited and published by Jonathan Lyman, and that it continued one year when the name was changed to the *Mound City Report*.⁵⁴ Contemporaneous newspaper reports, in the main, substantiate the above statements. On April 9, 1859, the *Kansas News*, Emporia, wrote:

We are in receipt of the *Linn County Herald*, a new paper published at Mound City, Linn county, Kansas, by Jonathan Lyman—formerly publisher of the *Ottumwa Journal*. The *Herald* is Republican in politics. . . .

The Society has no issue of this paper.

MONTANA COUNTY

Cherry Creek Pioneer, K. T., April 23, 1859.

Rocky Mountain News, Cherry Creek, K. T., April 23, 1859.

These papers are inserted here to remind Kansas readers that its territory once included Colorado to the Continental Divide. John L. Merrick, editor and publisher of the *Pioneer*, and William N. Byers & Company, editors and publishers of the *News*, were competing for priority. D. W. Working, in "Some Forgotten Pioneer Newspapers," published in *The Colorado Magazine*, told the story in these words:

Everybody knows that the *Rocky Mountain News* was the pioneer newspaper of the Rocky Mountain region now known as Colorado. Comparatively few know that the proprietors of the *News* were not the first to set up a printing-press in the pioneer community at the mouth of Cherry Creek; that honor belongs to John L. Merrick, who published the first and only issue of the *Cherry Creek Pioneer* on the day the first number of the *News* was given to the public. Even yet it is not certain that the first copy of the *Pioneer* was not actually off the press nearly half an hour before the *News* made its appearance. However, the question of priority of publication is not here at issue. . . .⁵⁵

Years ago, George W. Weed, a roller boy for the single issue of the *Cherry Creek Pioneer*, told George A. Root of the Kansas State Historical Society that the birth of the *Pioneer* preceded the *Rocky Mountain News* a few hours, and that but one issue of the *Pioneer*

54. *First Biennial Report*, p. 285; Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1108.

55. Working, D. W., "Some Forgotten Pioneer Newspapers," *The Colorado Magazine* (State Historical Society of Colorado, Denver, 1927), v. IV, No. 3, p. 93.

was gotten out.⁵⁶ These facts give the *Pioneer* priority by a few hours. However, Lawrence W. Marshall in "Early Denver History as Told by Contemporary Newspaper Advertisements," also published in *The Colorado Magazine*, wrote that the *News* came out first. His statement reads:

William N. Byers had reached the settlements but two days previously, worked feverishly with his partners to set up the press they had brought out across the plains and managed to get off the first issue of the *Rocky Mountain News*, a matter of minutes before the initial publication of the Cherry creek *Pioneer* appeared.⁵⁷

The reports therefore are conflicting and definite proof is lacking, except the testimony of George W. Weed given many years later. Both papers, however, appeared on the same day.

Cherry Creek was located in what was then known as Montana county, K. T., on Cherry creek, now Arapahoe county, Colorado.

The first issue of the *News* contains a report of a convention held at Auraria, April 15, 1859, where delegates from Fountain City, Eldorado and El Paso, Arapahoe, Auraria and Denver City decided upon a constitutional convention to be held at Denver City, June 1, 1859, to frame a constitution for a new state to be known as Jefferson, limited by the following boundaries:

. . . Its northern boundary commencing at 102d meridian of west longitude from Greenwich, Eng., with the 43d parallel of north latitude, and running west on the said parallel to its intersection with the 110th meridian of west longitude, thence south to the 37th parallel of north latitude, thence east on that parallel to the 102d meridian, and thence north to the beginning. . . .

The Society has a copy of volume one, number one, of the *Rocky Mountain News*, but none of the *Pioneer*.

RILEY COUNTY

Kansas Express, Manhattan, May 21, 1859.

This paper was established by Charles F. De Vivaldi, an Italian Republican refugee. The *First Biennial Report* wrote that the first issue was published in Riley county on the first Wednesday in May, 1859.⁵⁸ The author is inclined to believe, however, that the first issue was published May 21, 1859. This statement is based on information found in Thomas C. Wells' letter to his father written May 14, 1859, on circumstantial evidence found in the *Kansas Ex-*

56. Root, George A., "A Sketch of George W. Weed."—MS. in Kansas State Historical Society.

57. Marshall, Lawrence W., "Early Denver History as Told by Contemporary Newspaper Advertisements," *The Colorado Magazine*, September, 1931, v. VIII, No. 5, p. 161.

58. *First Biennial Report*, p. 392.

press of August 20, 1859, and on contemporaneous newspaper reports. On May 14, 1859, Wells wrote: "We are expecting to receive the first copy of the 'Manhattan *Express*' every day now."⁵⁹ The first issue of the *Express* in the Society's files is dated August 20, 1859, and listed as volume one, number seven. In this issue the oldest advertisements are dated May 21, 1859, which might indicate that it was the date of the first issue of the *Express*, for, as has been said, it was customary to date the advertisements the day the paper was published. Moreover, the *Herald of Freedom* of May 28, 1859, announced the birth of the *Express* and added:

The *Kansas Express*, edited and published by Chas. De Vivaldi, of Manhattan, Kansas, commenced publication last week. Its editor is a good writer, and seems to possess the tact and energy requisite for success in a newspaper enterprise. He is a Republican, but we should judge, conservative in his sentiments. Mr. De Vivaldi is an Italian, and of course well informed on the Italian question. . . .

On July 30, 1859, the *Kansas News* of Emporia wrote: "We have received the second number of the *Kansas Express*, published at Manhattan, Riley Co. It presents a handsome appearance, and will be published regularly hereafter."

From these sources it seems reasonable to assume that in the beginning the paper was issued irregularly, that the first issue had not been published by May 14, that it appeared the week prior to Saturday, May 28, 1859, and that in all probability it was issued Saturday, May 21, 1859.

Andreas wrote that "the first number of this paper was printed at Wyandotte," and that "the press and appurtenances of the office came by steamer on the Kansas River soon after."⁶⁰ The statement in the *Herald of Freedom*, quoted above, does not necessarily contradict Andreas' contention, for all it said is that the *Express* was "edited and published by Chas. De Vivaldi of Manhattan." It does not say where the paper was printed.

The *Express* was published under different names. The first issue was called the *Kansas Express*; beginning with the eleventh issue it was called the *Manhattan Express*; September 22, 1860, the name was changed to the *Western Kansas Express*; and on October 5, 1861, it was changed back to the *Manhattan Express*. The Society lacks the first six issues, also numbers 8, 9 and 10 of volume one.

59. Wells, Thomas C., "Letters of a Kansas Pioneer, 1855-1860," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. V, p. 399.

60. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1307.

CHASE COUNTY

Kansas Press, Cottonwood Falls, May 30, 1859.

The Society has volume one, number one, of this paper, which carries the date given above. S. N. Wood was the editor and publisher. In the salutatory the editor remarked:

Politically, in Kansas, we shall be Free State; having spent almost five years in the Free State party we feel like fighting the good fight out. . . .

In National politics, our sympathies and influence will be with the party of Freedom, and against the party of Slavery, without regard to name. Our paper will be conservative in *character*—opposed to radicalism—and will, in a legal way only, seek to remedy the evils of society.

In the issue of August 15, Wood criticised the Wyandotte convention for disfranchising whole counties, thought there was too much legislation in the constitution, but conceded that it would be “to the interest of the territory to become a state. . . .” He would, therefore, “vote for, and advocate the adoption of the Wyandotte Constitution.”

The last issue published at Cottonwood Falls appeared August 29, 1859. It was volume one, number thirteen. Wood removed the paper to Council Grove and explained his sudden departure in the first issue published there. His reasons appear in the section on Morris county, next following.

MORRIS COUNTY

The Kansas Press, Council Grove, September 26, 1859.

It is the consensus of opinion that the *Press* was the first paper published in Morris county. It was started by S. N. Wood at Cottonwood Falls, Chase county, and the first thirteen issues were published there. Wood abruptly left Cottonwood Falls for reasons explained in the first issue at Council Grove.

We decided very suddenly to remove our Press to Council Grove. . . . Our reasons are soon told. We come to Cottonwood Falls last spring, believing that a town would spring up at the Falls, and in a few months we should have business all around us; but instead, one-half of our town site was jumped by a person who dog-in-the-manger-like, would do nothing himself, or allow anyone else. Persons came to the Falls to build Mills, but the land was in dispute and they left disgusted. Others proposed establishing Stores, but our town site being in dispute, they would not venture; and thus scores of men, as well as business was driven from us. We were paying out \$25 per week to keep up our paper, and from Cottonwood Falls were receiving no support because there was nothing there. COUNCIL GROVE, on the other hand, is a business place; doing a larger business than any other town in Southern or Western

Kansas. . . . The people there wanted a paper, offered us inducements which we believe it our duty, as well as interest, to accept.

Wood listed the first issue published at Council Grove volume one, number fourteen, and continued in that way. The Society has an incomplete file of the Council Grove *Press*.

BROWN COUNTY

Brown County Union, Hiawatha, May, 1861.

The *First Biennial Report* and Andreas agree that the *Brown County Union* was the first paper in this county, and that it "was established by Dr. P. G. Parker, in the spring of 1861."⁶¹ The *White Cloud Chief* has helped to establish the approximate date of the first issue. On May 16, 1861, it informed its readers that a paper was shortly "to be started at Hiawatha, by a gentleman named Parker. The material of the late *Troy Dispatch* has been purchased and removed to Hiawatha for that purpose." On May 30 the *Chief* wrote again, saying: "We have received the first number of the *Brown County Union*, published at Hiawatha, by P. Gould Parker. It says it shall support Lincoln's Administration." This indicates that the *Union* made its appearance sometime during the last two weeks of May, 1861. The secondary authorities referred to above wrote that this paper had a hard struggle for existence, that in the winter following its establishment the office was destroyed by fire, and that no effort had been made to revive it. The Society has no issue of this paper.

WABAUNSEE COUNTY

The *Wabaunsee Patriot*, September 7, 1861.

H. M. Selden and E. J. Lines, a member of the Beecher Bible and Rifle Company, were agents of this paper. The name of the editor was omitted, but Lines' name was also listed as local editor.

The *Patriot* seems to have escaped the notice of Andreas, the *First Biennial Report*, Herbert Flint, Wilder, and even the *Alma Signal*. On August 27, 1892, this paper, under the caption, "Newspaper History," stated:

The *Wabaunsee County Herald* was the name of the first newspaper published in Wabaunsee County—April 1st, 1869. A. Sellers and Geo. W. Bertram, editors and proprietors. . . .

The *Signal* was mistaken, for the *Patriot* preceded the *Herald* almost seven years and seven months.

61. *First Biennial Report*, p. 125; Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 715.

In the salutation the editor wrote that they were embarking on a new enterprise, little expecting at first "to realize an income commensurate with" their expense in publishing the paper, but "looking forward to the time when the encouragement extended will be fully adequate, and sufficient to warrant" the permanent establishment of the same.

The Society has the first seven issues of this paper, possibly the only numbers that were published.

OSAGE COUNTY

Osage County Chronicle, Burlingame, September 26, 1863.

This paper was claimed as first in the county by the *First Biennial Report* and Andreas. They gave the date of the first issue as September 26, 1863.⁶² The first contemporaneous reference to the *Osage County Chronicle* found by the writer appeared in the *Emporia News*, August 15, 1863, which said: "M. M. Murdock is about to start a new paper at Burlingame, in this State. He has purchased the *Americus Sentinel* material." On October 8, 1863, the *Fort Scott Union Monitor* announced the appearance of the first issue in these words: "The *Osage Chronicle* is the title of a neat and spicy little sheet published at Burlingame, Osage county, Kansas, by our old friend Murdock." The earliest issue of this paper in the Society's file is dated October 17, 1868, listed as volume six, number one, which is too late to help determine the date of the first issue. The author has accepted the date given by the secondary authorities as at least approximately correct.

The editor, Marshall M. Murdock, often called "Marsh," was born in the Pierpont settlement, now West Virginia. His grandfather had engaged in rebellion against the British government about the time of the American Revolution, and came to America a political refugee. Marshall's father, Thomas, grew up in Virginia in a settlement of slaveholders and developed a strong abhorrence for the institution. He left Virginia and settled in Ironton, Ohio, where Marshall began his apprenticeship in the printer's trade. The struggle for a Free Kansas brought the family to this territory. Marshall was employed in one of the Lawrence printing offices when Quantrill raided the town and escaped the raiders by concealing himself in a well. In 1863 he married Victoria Mayberry of Douglas county, purchased the *Americus Sentinel* press, and moved to Burlingame where he started the *Chronicle*. In 1872 he removed his printing

62. *First Biennial Report*, p. 350; Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1534.

office to Wichita and founded the *Eagle*, one of the pioneer papers of Sedgwick county.

NEMAHA COUNTY

Nemaha Courier, Seneca, November 14, 1863.

Andreas and the *First Biennial Report* gave the date of the first issue of the *Nemaha Courier* as November 14, 1863, and support the contention that it was the first newspaper in this county.⁶³ The *White Cloud Chief* of November 19, 1863, announced the appearance of the first issue as follows:

We have received the first number of the *Nemaha Courier* published at Seneca, by John P. Cone, formerly of the *Sumner Gazette*, but more recently of the *Marysville Union*.

In 1869 the *Nemaha Courier* changed its name to the *Nemaha Kansas Courier*, and in 1871 it changed to the *Seneca Courier*. The paper was Republican in politics. The earliest issue the Society has of this paper is dated October 21, 1869, listed as volume six, number forty-four. The regular file, however, does not start until December 3, 1875.

ALLEN COUNTY

Humboldt Herald, November 25 (?), 1864.

The date of the first issue of the *Herald* is still uncertain, although Andreas, Wilder, and the *First Biennial Report* all gave it as November 16, 1864.⁶⁴ The contemporaneous newspapers in this case, as in so many others, failed to give full information. The *Leavenworth Daily Conservative* of November 3, 1864, wrote: "The *Herald* is the name of a paper started at Humboldt, by J. H. Young of Lawrence." From this statement it is impossible to know whether this paper had actually made its appearance or was being established. *The Kansas Patriot*, Burlington, December 10, 1864, was more definite. It wrote:

We have received No. 1, Vol. 1, of the *Humboldt Herald*, a paper just commenced at Humboldt, Allen Co.; Bond & Young, Proprietors—Joseph Bond, Editor. It is a six-column sheet, and presents a fair typographical appearance. In politics it is Republican and anti-Fraud. We like the ring of the editorials. They are able, outspoken, sound and correct in sentiment. We heartily welcome this valuable accession to the newspaperial fraternity of the Neosho Valley. Terms, \$2.00 per annum.

The earliest number in the Society's meager file of this paper is dated February 3, 1865, and listed as volume one, number nine. If the

63. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 946; *First Biennial Report*, p. 335.

64. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 672; Wilder, *op. cit.* (1875), p. 392; *First Biennial Report*, p. 95.

Herald was issued regularly once a week, the first issue should have appeared December 8, 1864. However, the first advertisements in the issue of February 3 were dated November 25, 1864. The author is inclined to believe that the first number of the *Herald* appeared on the date of the oldest advertisements.

Joseph Bond and John H. Young were the publishers, Joseph Bond was editor and John R. Goodin local editor. On March 18, 1926, the *Humboldt Union* stated that the "*Herald* was started with John R. Goodin, a young lawyer, later district judge and in 1874 congressman from this district, who came to Humboldt from Kenton, Ohio, to be its editor. . . . The *Herald* with Major Joseph Bond as financial supporter, struggled about a year and discontinued." The *Union* placed the emphasis on its honored citizen.

(To Be Continued in the May Quarterly)

The Fourth of July in Early Kansas

1854-1857

CORA DOLBEE

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

1854

Freedom's secret would'st thou know?
Right thou feelest rashly do.

—R. W. Emerson.

Following the passing of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, May 30, 1854, the wave of protest that rolled across the North spent its first force upon the Fourth of July, 1854. People everywhere were indignant. In word and act and symbol they demonstrated their feeling generally. Over a signature of three stars (***) one writer recommended devoting the day to the formation of an anti-Nebraska organization, the sole object of which should be resistance to the extension of slave territory.¹ At Lawrenceville, Pa., from fifteen hundred to two thousand persons, assembled in an orchard, actually took such a pledge. At the end of a three-hour oration by David Wilmot the audience resolved to vote for no one except "a tried and well known friend of Freedom, who had a heart and a conscience, legs of his own to stand on, and a backbone to resist" the Nebraska outrage.²

* This is the second of three articles entitled "The Fourth of July in Early Kansas." Part I appeared in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. VIII, pp. 115-139. Part III will appear later.

1. *New York Daily Tribune*, June 6, 1854.

2. *Ibid.*, July 10, 1854.

From Ontario, Ind., came the proposal to hoist the American flag at half mast, draped in black, and under it make "the firm, determined, unutterable resolve to battle manfully for Freedom."³ In Providence, R. I., the common council directed that the bells of the churches be tolled "one hour in the morning, one hour at noon, and one hour at sundown, on account of the passage of the Nebraska bill and the recent proceedings under the Fugitive Slave act."⁴ At Painesville, Ohio, a committee of sixteen, that being the number of the nominally free states, proclaimed their determined opposition to the enemies of liberty.⁵ Henry Ward Beecher was the orator.⁶

In New York City where the common council appropriated \$3,800 for fire-works, powder, band music, and bell chiming,⁷ Horace Greeley reminded his readers that the Revolutionary contest was still in progress when he wrote: "Alas that we could not all, on an occasion as fit as this, unite in tracing out the essential principles of our fathers' Revolutionary struggle, the fundamental ideas which led . . . to the magnificent destiny we have inherited."⁸ At Pierrepont the citizens resolved "that the bells be tolled and crepe be worn on the left arm" and that the people "concert measures to drive the dark spirit of Slavery back to the infernal regions from whence it came."⁹ In Warsaw the bells were tolled "for one hour in solemn and sad remembrance of the spirit of freedom."¹⁰ The citizens then "gave this banner to the breeze: No more Slave Territory! No more Slave States!! No more Slavery!!!"

Chicago also observed the Fourth as a day of mourning, public sentiment against Douglas being so extreme that he canceled his proposed visit to the city.¹¹ Other Western communities also condemned the Nebraska iniquity. One was at Decorah, Iowa. Another was at St. Anthony, Minnesota territory, where the people felt the principle of the bill exposed them also to incursions of slavery, and they urged the formation of a "Holy League of Freedom."¹²

3. *Ibid.*, June 30, 1854.

4. *Ibid.*, June 6, 1854; *Daily Commonwealth*, Boston, June 7, 8, 1854.

5. *New York Daily Tribune*, June 13, 1854.

6. *Ibid.*, June 15, 1854.

7. *Ibid.*, June 26, 1854.

8. *Ibid.*, July 1, 1854.

9. *Ibid.*, June 28, 1854.

10. *Ibid.*, July 14, 1854.

11. "Webb Scrap Books," v. I, p. 27, reprint from the *New York Courier*. In library of Kansas State Historical Society.

12. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 19, 1854.

In Massachusetts Antislavery feeling and concern for the newly opened West colored most Independence day events.¹³ Boston considered humiliation and fasting with minute guns on the Common and the tolling of bells;¹⁴ but when the day came, people marked it, "not with humiliation for the past," but with joyful hope for the actual equality of men.¹⁵ Said the orator, the Rev. A. L. Stone, before the city authorities: "Our sons and daughters must settle these new territories; there must be no laggards in the race for freedom; we must admit no more slave states."¹⁶ At Salem, Anson Burlingame answered his own question, "Can we remove the evil?" by quoting Col. James Miller at Lundy's Lane, "'We can try.'"¹⁷ Worcester would have every true son of America sign the Declaration anew.¹⁸ North Woburn erected a new liberty pole and inaugurated it at 6 a. m.¹⁹ In Pepperell the people burned effigies of President Pierce and Judge E. G. Loring.²⁰ Montague burned four effigies and had a mock slave hunt.²¹ William Lloyd Garrison, the Abolitionist, won decided approbation at Framingham for burning Judge Loring's decision and the Fugitive Slave act itself, but his consigning of the Constitution to a similar fate met with disgust, indignation, and some hisses.²² In the same meeting Henry David Thoreau took the people of Massachusetts ironically to task for their too manifest concern over Kansas and Nebraska.

I had thought that the house was on fire, and not the prairie; . . . though several of the citizens of Massachusetts are now in prison for attempting to rescue a slave from her own clutches, not one . . . expressed regret for it. . . . It was only the disposition of some wild lands a thousand miles off which appeared to concern them. . . . There is not one slave in Nebraska; there are perhaps a million slaves in Massachusetts. . . . What should concern Massachusetts is not the Nebraska bill nor the Fugitive Slave bill, but her own slaveholding and servility.²³

While Massachusetts was smarting a little from reproach of her own countryman, and the rest of the North was trying to evince its sympathy for the Kansas-Nebraska cause, the South was hastening on the burial day of its own peculiar institution. Sen. Robert

13. *The Daily Transcript*, Worcester, Mass., July 6, 1854.

14. *Daily Commonwealth*, Boston, June 7, 8, 1854.

15. *Ibid.*, July 4, 5, 1854.

16. *Ibid.*, April 22, July 6, 1854.

17. *Ibid.*, July 5, 22, 1854.

18. *The Daily Transcript*, Worcester, Mass., July 4, 1854.

19. *Daily Commonwealth*, Boston, July 12, 1854.

20. *Ibid.*, July 7, 1854.

21. *The National Era*, Washington, D. C., August 24, 1854.

22. *Daily Commonwealth*, Boston, June 30, July 5, 1854.

23. *New York Daily Tribune*, August 2, 1854.

Toombs of Georgia announced a sale of 130 negroes for July 4.²⁴ E. Marston of Columbus, Ga., wrote Horace Greeley, July 3: "You anti-Nebraska men seem to think that you'll kill the Fourth of July dead by not celebrating it in Rhode Island; but we intend to keep it up here."²⁵ Toasts at the Southern celebrations in 1854 seemed "excessively stupid" to the Northern press.²⁶ A correspondent of the Boston *Commonwealth*, therefore, recommended for Southern use the sentiment, "The Fourth of July—'The feast of Freedom, prepared by slaves.'"²⁷ At Plattsburg, Mo., a large meeting of citizens in the courthouse, July 3, resolved "to countervail the machinations of the Northern Abolitionists in Kansas."²⁸

In the much discussed, newly organized territories themselves several happenings marked the arrival or passing of July 4, 1854. Only three of the events, however, were in the nature of social celebrations, and two of those were in what is now Nebraska. The one in Kansas, moreover, was under the auspices of the anti-Abolitionists of Missouri. Only the plans for it survive.

Announced as a general territorial convention at Salt creek valley, near the trading post of Mr. Kivaly,²⁹ the gathering was to hear the reading of the Declaration of Independence and an address by Charles Grover.³⁰ An ample public dinner would follow. Although the preliminary meeting at Whitehead's on June 24 had referred to the people as "settlers of Kansas Territory," the resolutions they adopted were Southern in spirit, favoring squatter sovereignty and refusing protection to any Abolitionist settler,³¹ and the persons invited were "citizens of Missouri generally." Afterward one Missouri editor wrote, "The Fourth appears to have been celebrated with much spirit in all directions,"³² but he did not mention specifically the Salt creek valley observance. Business as well as politics and pleasure no doubt marked the day, for the books of the Doniphan county commissioners show that entry number 18 for a claim

24. A copy of the advertisement of the sale appeared in an editorial in the *Daily Commonwealth*, Boston, July 14, 1854, and gave the number as between 90 and 100. See, also, *New York Daily Tribune*, July 11, 1854.

25. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 11, 1854.

26. *Daily Commonwealth*, Boston, July 19, 1854.

27. *Ibid.*, July 3, 4, 1854.

28. *Dansan Historical Collections*, v. XV, p. 382.

29. Different records spell this name variously, as Kivaly and Rively (probably M. Pierce Rively).

30. *The Democratic Platform*, Liberty, Mo., June 22, July 20, 1854; *Industrial Luminary*, Parkville, Mo., June 27, 1854, in "Webb Scrap Books," v. I, p. 42; also *New York Daily Tribune*, July 4, 1854.

31. *The Democratic Platform*, July 20, 1854. Andreas, A. T., *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), pp. 472, 473, says that on June 24 they formed the "Squatter Sovereign Association."

32. *The Democratic Platform*, July 27, 1854.

near Whitehead bears the date of July 4, the claimant, Andrew J. Branson, having begun his residence there March 28, 1854.³³ July 4, 1854, was also the day on which Sen. David R. Atchison and a few of his Platte county friends chose the site of Atchison and dedicated the new town.³⁴

For a second time on a Fourth Wm. H. Goode, who was at Shawnee mission in 1843, rode into Kansas [City, Mo.] on horseback and crossed to the Kansas side in a skiff, this year to visit the Wyandots. Kansas [City] was "now a thriving town driving a heavy trade with the plains." At the Wyandot settlement the visitor was satisfied to find the Rev. John M. Chivington, regularly appointed missionary, in possession of the Methodist mission farm. He, therefore, had no leisure to speculate upon the seemingly ominous coincidence of his arriving twice successively in Kansas City "on the day consecrated to freedom, in connection with the struggle for freedom then commencing in that region."³⁵

Jotham Meeker, who had been in Kansas for every Fourth of July since 1834,³⁶ set out in his wagon July 3, 1854, for Westport, in company with J. Miller. He encamped on the prairie for the night of July 3 and arrived at his son-in-law's on July 4, to visit his daughters and his grandchildren.³⁷

On this same Fourth of July eve a much larger expedition of the military encamped on Grasshopper creek, Kansas territory, en route from Fort Leavenworth to New Mexico. Under command of Col. Thos. F. Fauntleroy the party consisted of "regimental headquarters, the band, and companies B and D 1st Dragoons," with 79 civilians employed as teamsters, drovers, and overseers to care for the "400 upwards public horses" of the quartermaster department.³⁸ For so large an expedition both the soldiers and band must have made some due recognition of the Independence day to dawn on the morrow, but both Colonel Fauntleroy and Sgt. P. G. Lowe were too concerned over their extensive charge and their inadequate provision for its care to note the patriotic significance of the day.

33. Andreas, *op. cit.*, pp. 472, 473.

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 369, 370. On July 20, 1854, Dr. J. H. Stringfellow and other friends agreed upon the same site.

35. Goode, Wm. H., *Outposts of Zion* (Poe and Hitchcock, Cincinnati, 1864), pp. 248, 249.

36. *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. VIII, pp. 122-138.

37. Meeker, Jotham, "Journal," v. III, p. 144, entries of July 3, 4, 1854, in MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

38. *Headquarters of the Army*, v. 178, pp. 21, 22; *Books of Various Departments*, 1817-1861, v. 153, pp. 29, 42; General Order No. 3, Headquarters of the Army, April 7, 1854, and Special Orders Nos. 27 and 51, Department of the West, April 18 and June 20, 1854. Thos. F. Fauntleroy, letter, Grasshopper creek, Indian territory, July 3, 1854, Adjutant General's Office, Document File 119-F-1854. Notes supplied by P. M. Hamer, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

Sergeant Lowe enumerated besides the troops, many officers, some families, a huge supply train, and "600 extra horses led on strings of about forty horses each."³⁹

Nebraska territory had more conventional Independence day observances. At Belleview a delightful repast at Mr. Robinson's marked the first Fourth kept in the new settlement.⁴⁰ Native and cultivated products of Nebraska constituted the meal; among them were fresh meat, new potatoes, peas, various kinds of garden sauce, wild gooseberries and raspberries, with a "good cup of coffee" and "plenty of pure ice-water." Toasts followed the food.⁴¹

On the site of what is now Omaha a party of Iowans celebrated the Fourth with a bountiful picnic.⁴² They requisitioned a wagon to convey their supplies to and from the ferry. The wagon also served as speaker's stand for the program. Two blacksmith's anvils were used to fire the salute. Just as H. D. Johnson had begun his oration, Indians appeared and broke up the gathering, lunch baskets and anvils being piled into the wagon and the audience fleeing toward the ferry.

1855

In Freedom's glorious cause we band,
Nor care to ask where man was born, . . .
—W. L. G.⁴³

By July 4, 1855, the attitude of the nation toward the Kansas-Nebraska question had become largely political. Expressions of sympathy in the North were no doubt sincere, but to make their utterances efficacious, writers and speakers found it expedient to look to the polls. To the editors of the New York *Tribune* the question confronting the Union was a fortunate trial of its virtues. Should the unmeasured territories of the plains be peopled by representatives of Freedom or of Slavery? "We hope and pray . . . that every citizen who hears the Declaration of Independence read this day, . . . will . . . resolve that the Fourth of July of 1856 shall find the policy of the Nation restored to the immortal principles with which it set out on the Fourth of July, 1776."⁴⁴

39. Lowe, Percival G., *Five Years a Dragoon* (Franklin Hudson Publishing Co., Kansas City, Mo., 1906), p. 158.

40. New York *Daily Tribune*, August 30, 1854.

41. Dick, Everett, *The Sod House Frontier* (Appleton-Century, N. Y., 1937), p. 75, Footnote 20.

42. Wakeley, Arthur C., *Omaha: The Gate City and Douglas County, Nebraska* (S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1917), v. 1, pp. 77, 78.

43. *The Liberator*, Boston, July 6, 1855, "Human Brotherhood," by William Lloyd Garrison.

44. New York *Daily Tribune*, July 4, 1855.

New York called for a Republican state convention, D. R. Anthony being the signer from Monroe county.⁴⁵ In the interior of the state friends of Freedom and Temperance united to celebrate the national holiday "with unwonted spirit." At Ogdensburgh they planned to dig the grave of alcohol and to consecrate the altar of Freedom anew.⁴⁶ In a political address at Bedford, Mass., ex-Gov. Edward Kent of Maine asserted his determination to devote his power and means to the cause of human freedom, to redress the enormous wrong to the North, and to offer himself, if necessary, as a victim.⁴⁷ R. W. Landis, in a speech at Paterson, N. J., "characterized the recent Proslavery outrages as they deserved, and gave that antique order, the Doughfaces, such a drubbing as they will not soon forget."⁴⁸ At Cincinnati, Ohio, the Rev. C. B. Boynton, author of *A Journey Through Kansas; With Sketches of Nebraska*,⁴⁹ drew editorial condemnation upon himself for a two-hour Independence-day defense of the Protestant crusade against the Catholics and Infidels, too frankly a plank of the Know-Nothing platform.⁵⁰ In Painesville, Ohio, Horace Mann used liberty as "his mighty theme" for the Fourth of July oration. The local *Telegraph* wrote that "he quietly thrust his Ithuriel spear through those philosophers who measure a man's right to the liberties and privileges of manhood . . . by the length of his heel-bones, the depression of his nose, the kink of his hair, and the color of his rete mucosum."⁵¹

Already in 1855, the South was divided in its keeping of the day. At Berea, Ky., "J. S. D." wrote of "a Liberty celebration of the Fourth in a slave state." In an address to a large collation of people Cassius M. Clay "for two hours set forth in bold relief and with telling power the disastrous influence of Slavery . . . and the responsibilities . . . of freemen."⁵² Farther South, however, in Georgia, a convention was called for July 4 at Milledgeville to nominate a candidate for governor; the preliminary meeting at Columbus in June was, irrespective of party, to form a Southern party "in consideration of the spirit of Abolitionism prevalent at the North."⁵³

45. Wilder, D. W., *Annals of Kansas* (T. Dwight Thacher, Kansas Publishing House, Topeka, 1886), entry for July 4, 1855, p. 66.

46. *New York Daily Tribune*, June 23, 1855.

47. *Ibid.*, July 9, 1855.

48. *Ibid.*, July 6, 1855.

49. This was the second book written on Kansas territory. It was published December 27, 1854.

50. *Type of the Times*, Cincinnati, Ohio, July 14, 1855.

51. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 20, 1855.

52. *Ibid.*, July 17, 1855.

53. *Ibid.*, June 7, 1855.

Many events within Kansas territory itself marked July 4, 1855. A legislature, in name, was in session at Pawnee from July 2 to July 6. The first newspaper in Topeka, a weekly, appeared July 4. In Lawrence John Speer instituted a daily that survived for one week.⁵⁴ Eight different communities made public recognition of the day. Three had conventional Fourth-of-July celebrations with reading of the Declaration of Independence, patriotic music, oration, public dinner, and toasts. One used the day for a Sabbath school festival. Another had a ball and barbecue. One tried to banish the demon liquor forever from its midst, and another found solace in its use.

The legislature was an anomaly. Two sets of candidates claimed to have won seats at the territorial polls. The Proslavery candidates who had been elected in March and whose election had been declared invalid were now in session. They had usurped the places of legitimate representatives chosen by the citizens of Kansas territory in a subsequent election when the governor had set aside the March election for alleged fraud by Missourians at the ballot boxes.⁵⁵ On July 4 five ousted members, bearing certificates of election from the governor, appeared in protest: John Hutchinson, Erastus D. Ladd, Philip P. Fowler, Augustus Wattles, and William Jesse.⁵⁶ S. D. Houston also spoke in their behalf. John Hutchinson made lengthy opposition to the majority report of the committee on credentials.⁵⁷ At the March election he had received 253 votes; his competitor, 800, but 600 were cast by persons from without the territory. At the second election the speaker had polled "almost the unanimous vote"; on certificate of that election, he now claimed his seat. Though his plea was futile, his speech ended with a glowing appeal for the principle of popular sovereignty; a government that would allow invasion upon the ballot box, he said, was not a republican government. W. G. Mathias, Proslavery chairman of the committee on credentials, declared the recognized legislators would make this Fourth of July illustrious by asserting their independence of the authority usurped by the governor. "As

54. Wilder, *op. cit.* (1875), p. 52. A case of cholera reported in Pawnee, July 4, was one reason given for the removal of the legislature from Pawnee, July 6.—*Cf. Kansas Historical Collections*, v. VII, p. 305.

55. Phillips, W. A., *Conquest of Kansas by Missouri and Her Allies* (Phillips, Sampson & Co., Boston, 1856), p. 100. The Proslavery candidates contended that the Kansas-Nebraska bill did not empower the governor to call a special election for alleged fraud. They were about to expel M. F. Conway, Free-Stater, elected in March to the senate, when he resigned. When S. D. Houston, of the house, found himself the only Free-State man remaining among the invaders, he too resigned.

56. Wilder, *op. cit.* (1875), p. 52.

57. *The Kansas Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, July 14, 1855; *Kansas Free State*, Lawrence, July 16, 1859.

long as we live," he said, "this never *shall* be a Free State."⁵⁸ The Kansas legislature, wrote an Ohio paper thereafter, "seems to be little else than an organized mob for the benefit of Missouri slaveholders, whether residing in the State or Territory . . . and yet President Pierce is as silent as an idiot in regard to the matter."⁵⁹ The Worcester (Mass.) *Transcript* declared the "infamy is without a parallel. . . . It is a 'casus' for a civil war"; yet it believed the North would submit.⁶⁰

When the people of Lawrence first proposed to celebrate this Fourth of July, 1855, in gala way, George W. Brown wrote in an editorial, "About Face," that they were already "an enslaved people, perfectly subjugated." Rather than *celebrate* he thought they had better "re-adopt the principles of the declaration of independence and . . . extend those principles over Kansas at the sacrifice of 'our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.'"⁶¹ The next week when his paper carried notice of the committee's plans and cordially invited all persons to attend the picnic dinner and exercises, he urged the people to come, armed in defense, to give the expedition from Missouri, rumored as on the way, a warm reception. "Our motto is: If we cannot have an honorable peace, let us have an honorable war."⁶² Seven days later he wrote, under the caption "Independence":

Independence! If thy name belong to us, let us wear it honorably; . . . And if Kansas is today the political focus of our country, what is expected of us . . . at such a post?⁶³

The celebration itself, however, stirred even editorial enthusiasm.⁶⁴ "A year ago and Lawrence was not." Now, on the morning of the Fourth, her streets looked like those of a thronged city. "Congratulatory musketry" announced the dawn. Visitors who had begun to arrive the night before gathered in "knots" along Massachusetts street. Families came in from their claims near by. Delaware and Shawnee Indians drove in in wagon loads. The Topeka band rode down by night to be at the levee for the parade at nine o'clock. Franklin sent its representatives in a large covered wagon, from the top of which floated the national flag, with the figures '76 among the Stars and Stripes. The Blue Mound and Wakarusa neighbor-

58. *Kansas Free State*, July 16, 1855, speech quoted in an editorial.

59. *Type of the Times*, Cincinnati, Ohio, July 28, 1855.

60. *The Daily Transcript*, Worcester, Mass., July 28, 1855.

61. *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, June 16, 1855.

62. *Ibid.*, June 23, 1855.

63. *Ibid.*, June 30, 1855.

64. *Ibid.*, July 7, 14, 28, 1855.

hoods formed a procession of their own, consisting of men and women equestrians in double column, seven double wagons driven by seven two-horse teams, and three large ox-wagons fastened together and drawn by eleven yoke of oxen. The grouping of the oxen demonstrated the proverb, "In Union is strength." The wagons were all crowded with seats, chairs, and people who waved aloft flags and colored handkerchiefs. Branches of rose trees and flowers ornamented the horses and the carriages.

From the Governor Robinson home on Mt. Oread, Mrs. Robinson watched the groups moving in from all directions.⁶⁵ The garlands of leaves and flowers, she wrote, hid the roughness of the vehicles. Dress, distinctive of the place whence they had emigrated, characterized the different groups. Some were from the East; some, from the far West; others were from Missouri.

An assembly of 1,500 to 2,000 participated in the festivities of the day. Two organized military companies in uniform led the procession through the chief city streets. At eleven o'clock near the Union Hotel the ladies of Lawrence presented a rich silk flag to the militia. As the procession moved toward the platform and seats in Clinton park, Indians in fantastic array fell in line. A trio of them had posts of honor on the speaker's stand. The exercises consisted of music, prayer, reading of the Declaration of Independence, speeches, and oration. One of the speeches was an address by William Hutchinson on "The Dignity of Labor."⁶⁶

In the oration Dr. Charles Robinson alluded to the peculiar circumstances surrounding the settlers in this new and strange country. They had come there to plant anew the institutions of the United States; but the citizens of Missouri were imposing laws upon them to force slavery upon the territory.

It is for us to choose . . . what institutions shall bless or curse our beautiful Kansas. . . . Every pulsation in Kansas vibrates to the remotest artery of the body politic, and I seem to hear the millions of freemen and the millions of bondmen in our own land . . . saying to the people of Kansas: "Do your duty!"⁶⁷

The audience cheered Dr. Robinson heartily. He had made "a most excellent oration, . . . adapted to the times."⁶⁸

65. Robinson, Sara T. D., *Kansas: Its Interior and Exterior Life* (Crosby, Nichols and Co., Boston, 1856), pp. 69, 70.

66. Hutchinson, Wm., "Sketches of Kansas Pioneer Experiences," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. VII, p. 391.

67. *Herald of Freedom*, July 7, 1855, Fourth of July "Oration" of Charles Robinson.

68. Miller, J. C., "Diary," March 13-July 4, 1855, MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society. Entry for July 4, 1855.

When the audience called loudly for Indian speakers, Mr. Fish of the Shawnees and Mr. Pechalka of the Delawares responded amid "thunders of applause."⁶⁹ Chief Pechalka of the Delawares hoped that the settlers would make Kansas a free state, for he believed that "a set of men who would crush and enslave one class . . . would crush and enslave another if they had the power."⁷⁰ They were both glad to see the Northerners coming into the territory, "not with the hatchet and sounds of war," but with the "sweet fruits of peace and civilization."⁷¹

Following the exercises the guests and the officers of the day marched between two lines of military and citizen soldiery to a sumptuous public dinner in the grove. Among the toasts and sentiments pronounced afterward from the speaker's stand, those on territorial themes are of chief interest today.

Young Kansas—The rights of her citizens trodden down for a brief period, have but aroused her to an appreciation of freedom, and inspired her sons with a spirit and vigor which shall bid defiance to her enemies.

The Day We Celebrate—An epoch in the history of the world, which shall be commemorated as long as the spirit of freedom animates the heart of man.

Lawrence—Its course is onward, and its progress as *the* city of Kansas a fixed fact.

The Pioneers of Kansas—May they reap the rewards of their toil and privations, by rearing a state which shall be an honor in the galaxy of the American confederacy.

Our Aboriginal Neighbors— . . . May we ever "smoke the pipe of peace" together.

The Laborers of Kansas—The basis of all we are or hope to be.

Of the volunteer toasts one was on the legislature and three were on the territory itself.

The Kansas Legislature—A body alien to our soil, elected by fraud: we are not responsible for their acts, and ask no favors at their hands.

Kansas—[1]. The home of our adoption. . . . [2]. An *infant* whose growth would astonish Barnum. [3]. Its prosperity and progress are dear to all the friends of freedom. May its fertile soil never be cursed with slavery.⁷²

The day passed quickly, Mrs. Robinson said, but to strengthen more the bonds of social feeling, a party of one hundred or thereabouts gathered in the largest hall in town at night and enjoyed refreshments of cake and ice cream together.⁷³

69. *Herald of Freedom*, July 14, 1855.

70. Miller, J. D., "Diary," entry of July 4, 1855.

71. Robinson, Sara T. D., *op. cit.*, p. 71.

72. *Herald of Freedom*, July 7, 1855.

73. Robinson, Sara T. D., *op. cit.*, p. 71; Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 318, says there were two social parties at night, one at Union Hall and one at Lykins' Hall, and fireworks on Massachusetts street in the evening.

Quiet and harmony had been the proud characteristics of the first Fourth of July in Lawrence. Although toward evening there was some evidence "a distillery could send its foul streams thitherward," the day closed without accident or harm.⁷⁴ *The Kansas Free State* criticized the celebration for having a wholly Antislavery oration for a Union celebration of Antislavery and Proslavery participants.⁷⁵ The *Herald of Freedom* replied that only two or three Proslavery persons could have been present, and it defended the oration for consistent sentiments upon popular sovereignty.⁷⁶ Mrs. Robinson characterized her husband's talk as a collection of opinions of Southern men upon the relative value of free and slave labor, that made "a most perfect condemnation of the whole system from their own mouths."⁷⁷

One Northerner, Charles Stearns, all of whose anticipations in behalf of a free Kansas had been blasted, would not unite in the celebration of independence, which for the people of Kansas no longer existed; instead, he used the leisure the holiday afforded to call upon Northern fanatics and agitators to redouble their efforts in behalf of Antislavery truth.⁷⁸

Two events marked the first Fourth of July in Topeka. E. C. K. Garvey and company began publishing the city's first newspaper, *The Kansas Freeman*, on this day. "The generality of the citizens" observed the holiday by wholesale destruction of the products of the distillery. Having a great antipathy to "whisky," its sale, its use, its existence, they met in the evening on the open prairie and went as a "committee of the whole," to demand of the one liquor dealer in town his entire stock. He would not give it up, but he would and did sell it to them at a stated price. They rolled out the barrels, knocked in the heads, and set fire to the fluid. It "went up," not in a 'blaze of glory,' . . . but in an inglorious blaze of *red, fiery rum.*" The newspaper commented thus:

Without one dissenting voice let the decree go forth from our midst that the demon intemperance shall be forever banished from among us, and . . . our city will . . . be *the* place of wealth and influence in Kansas Territory—founded on a basis firm as the Hill of Hills, old "Bunker Hill," and free as

74. *Herald of Freedom*, July 14, 1855.

75. *Type of the Times*, Cincinnati, Ohio, July 28, 1855, criticized *The Kansas Free State* (July 9, 1855), saying "there seems to have been but one opinion among them on the Slavery question."

76. *Herald of Freedom*, July 28, 1855.

77. Robinson, Sara T. D., *op. cit.*, p. 70.

78. *The Liberator*, Boston, Mass., July 27, 1855. In a letter dated July 9, published in *The Kansas Free State*, July 23, 1855, Stearns wrote that to celebrate without alluding to Antislavery was gross hypocrisy, yet to lug the theme in with Proslavery people participating was a breach of faith.

the winds that sweep our own beautiful prairies—using for our motto the words of the immortal Adams: "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."⁷⁹

Across the river in Indianola, Samuel J. Reader referred to the event as a "Whisky Riot."⁸⁰ Spending most of his holiday in hauling stone and walling up a well, he went in the late afternoon in a wagon to take a neighbor's dog home, shot at a wolf, and saw "Delawares & Potts at Frenchman's drunk." The Indians, returning from a hunt, had patronized the liquor dealer freely. The next day, Columbra, the dealer, told Reader that the crowd had spilled three-fourths of a barrel of whisky for him. "They damn rasks."

The Pennsylvania Emigrant Association at Washington, K. T., invited friends and neighbors to participate in formal ceremonies for the Fourth and to partake of a free dinner. "The morning . . . opened bright and lovely, and our widespread prairies seemed to smile with delight upon the first 'Independence day.'" A committee had procured a liberty pole and a flag. The program included music, prayer, reading of the Declaration of Independence, a speech by the president on principles of civil and religious liberty, and an oration by W. Y. Roberts, asserting the settlers' desire to govern themselves.

We, . . . the bona fide citizens of Kansas, wish no law of Congress to protect us from ourselves, nor do we wish the assistance of citizens of any other State or Territory, or the "fatherly care" of aid societies, or the force of revolvers or Sharps rifles to teach us the principles or practice of self-government— . . . the people of Kansas will establish a constitution, . . . and very soon shall this "bright particular star" of the west loom out upon our national banner, . . .⁸¹

Among the many toasts, both regular and volunteer, that followed the public dinner, provided by the Pennsylvania company, this one on the town itself seemed noteworthy: "*Washington*—May she become the capital of Kansas."

At three-year-old Fort Riley work was under way in all branches in erection of new quarters for the cavalry.⁸² Manhattan celebrated its first Fourth of July with a picnic. Chestina B. Allen, in her journal, referred also to "a dinner at Mrs. Dyer's, to which we were all invited."⁸³ The day, she said, passed quietly. Reminiscing

79. *Herald of Freedom*, July 23, 1855, excerpts from *The Kansas Freeman*.

80. Reader, Samuel J., "Private Journal and Daybook," entries for July 4, 5, 1855, v. III, p. 62.—MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

81. *Herald of Freedom*, July 21, 1855.

82. Lowe, Percival G., "Recollections of Fort Riley," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. VII, p. 102.

83. Allen, Mrs. Chestina B., "Sketches and Journal," entry of July 4, 1855.—MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

thirty-three years later, Isaac T. Goodnow recalled that on this 1855 anniversary his family had pumpkin pies though they had never had them so early since.⁸⁴ On this day, too, on the town site of Manhattan the blue stem was so high that he could tie it over his head as he sat on his pony.

Council City, now Burlingame, held its first Independence day festival "in a lovely grove" on Dagoon river, but the seats, tables, and speaker's stand had to be inclosed and covered by green boughs.⁸⁵ The attendance was about seventy-five. In addition to music, prayer, reading of Declaration of Independence, and oration, the program here had an original poem by M. C. Haven, and an original song, "Land of Priceless Liberty," by Mrs. J. M. Winchell.⁸⁶ The dinner, provided by mutual donation, was cold but abundant and excellent. "The toasts were drunk in cold water, *not a drop of intoxicating liquor being allowed on the ground.*" Two of the toasts seemed particularly appropriate to the place and time:

Kansas Territory—Late the home of the red man . . . the land of our choice—may she soon add another to the proud constellation of our national banner.

"*Council City*"—A promising infant—may she soon be able to "go alone . . ."

No toast proposed Council City for the capital of Kansas, but the New York *Tribune* correspondent believed that the location of the community in what must be the center of the state would necessitate its being the permanent capital.⁸⁷

At Leavenworth City the Sabbath school, composed of "juvenile pioneers" and their teachers, celebrated the day "in fine style." At ten o'clock a procession of children marched through the principal city streets to a grove, where addresses, songs, and a neat repast entertained the "scholars." An original song, "We Will Join the Celebration," by J. I. Moore, a lawyer of Leavenworth, proved a felicitous strain for the occasion.⁸⁸ "The little girls were neatly and tastefully dressed in white—emblematic of purity—with a bright display of ribbons and wreaths." Their banners bore the inscription, "Our Country's Hope." Pleasure and hilarity characterized the proceedings of the day, "and the little 'Masters' and 'Misses' dispersed hav-

84. Goodnow, Isaac T., "Personal Reminiscences and Kansas Emigration, 1855," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. IV, p. 251.

85. New York *Daily Tribune*, July 20, 1855; Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1531.

86. Copy of this song, as written in 1855 by Mrs. Winchell, with music composed by Lillian Forrest in 1933, is now on file in the MSS. division of the Kansas State Historical Society. The music used in 1855 is not now known.

87. New York *Daily Tribune*, July 20, 1855.

88. *The Kansas Territorial Register*, Leavenworth, July 7, 1855.

ing drank 'to their heart's content,' of the golden cup of mirth." Their toasts, no doubt spoken by their elders, hoped for *Kansas*, the rigid maintenance of the doctrine of non-intervention; and as for *Leavenworth*, "her true destiny is a commercial compeer of Cincinnati, St. Louis, Chicago and Buffalo."⁸⁹ Another, on "Sabbath schools," asserted that law-abiding citizens were the only salvation of *Kansas*.

Delaware planned a "fine Ball and Barbecue" for its Fourth of July, 1855.⁹⁰ In Atchison, "in absence of the customary facilities for a due commemoration," the editor of the *Squatter Sovereign* thought "a pleasant pastime . . . would be the hanging of abolitionists."⁹¹ Proslavery in sympathy, he regarded the Northern attempts at organized free settlement as "oppressions sought to be imposed upon us." Subject to such "tyrannical and arbitrary rule," he could not contemplate the holiday with any emotion of pleasure. Later he reported that "On the Fourth there was no observable difference between the Maine Law men and their opponents. Both were observed very busy in 'putting down liquor.'"⁹²

1856

From the bloody plains of *Kansas*,
 From the Senate's guilty floor,
 From the smoking wreck of Lawrence,
 From our Sumner's wounds and gore,
 Comes our country's dying call—
 Rise for Freedom! or we fall.

.
 Speak! ye Orators of Freedom,
 Let your thunder shake these plains;
 Write! ye Editors of Freedom,
 Let your lightning rive their chains;
 Up! ye Sons of Pilgrims, rise!
 Strike! for Freedom, or she dies!

—From "Song of Freedom."⁹³

Unrest characterized the spirit of the American people at the approach of July 4, 1856, and *Kansas* was the immediate occasion of the widespread concern. For two years the North and the South had been pouring their emigrants into the territory, each in hope of establishing its favored form of government there. In each group were

89. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, July 7, 1855.

90. *Ibid.*, June 29, 1855.

91. *Squatter Sovereign*, Atchison, July 3, 1855, in "Webb Scrap Books," v. IV, p. 254.

92. *Squatter Sovereign*, August 14, 1855.

93. New York *Daily Tribune*, July 9, 1856, poem "The Song of Freedom" commemorating the eightieth year of the Republic.

willing leaders and loyal followers who welcomed the publicity attendant upon the cause they represented. Many emigrants, however, more interested in the homes they were founding than in the political destiny of the region, found themselves, literally, victims of circumstance. Caught on the chosen battlefield of the national issue, they not only had to bear indignities of local border strife but they also had to endure public sympathy and public censure. Kansans and the Kansas cause were now the common theme of the common tongue. The press pictured their hardships; editors dwelt on every new injustice; sympathetic friends gave personal letters publication; philanthropists and church societies tried to replace material losses with material gifts; and ever politicians brooded over—and talked of—the ultimate political fate.

The eightieth anniversary of American Independence, therefore, dawned amid circumstances of peculiar solemnity. "It is the crisis of our country's existence, the turning point in her history."⁹⁴ Indorsement by the federal administration of Missourians' invasion of the Kansas ballot boxes and election of a Kansas legislature from their own number had at last stirred the nation. In the North orators and clergymen doubled their efforts in serious defense of freedom. In the South toastmasters and after-dinner speakers treated their views more lightly and briefly, but with feeling that was not all jest.

The North took political action at once. On June 20 the Cleveland convention of Free-State Kansas committees recommended the formation of a county committee of Free-State friends of Kansas on July 4.⁹⁵ The New York State Kansas Committee invited all unorganized counties to call meetings at their courthouses on July 4 to appoint county Kansas committees to aid in the present territorial crisis and to appoint delegates to the adjourned convention to be held in Buffalo, July 9. "Prompt, energetic and concerted action can alone save our brethren in Kansas from starvation, persecution and destruction, and preserve to future generations the immense empire consecrated to Freedom by the Missouri Compromise."

Several counties responded to this call. Eastern towns in Washington county, New York, and western towns in Rutland county, Vermont, held a mass meeting at Fair Haven and set efficient measures "on foot to render substantial aid to Kansas."⁹⁶ Ellenville,

94. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 4, 1856.

95. *Ibid.*, June 28, 1856.

96. *Ibid.*, July 8, 1856.

Ulster county, celebrated the day on the platform of "Free Speech, a Free Press, and Free Territory."⁹⁷ The Onondaga county mass meeting was called at Syracuse to "mingle their sympathies with their friends and brethren in Kansas who . . . will be compelled to sit mute and mourn in silence over their *Independence lost*." This group also asked for a large contribution for Kansas relief.⁹⁸ Five days later, July 9, 1856, in Buffalo, the friends of Kansas, sent as delegates from the county gatherings of the Fourth, "chose a National Kansas Committee without the Territory, sixteen in number, one from each of the Free States, with supplementary working members from Illinois and Kansas."⁹⁹ This committee was to act in concert with the Central Kansas Committee of thirteen, chosen July 4, 1856, by the Free-State citizens of Kansas themselves in convention at Topeka.¹⁰⁰ In a Republican ratification of the nomination of John C. Frémont for President, held in Yonkers, July 11, George W. Curtis "asked if, when the merry Fourth of July bells were ringing, the people of the North did not hear the wails of their suffering-brethren in Kansas, and when everything betokened peace around them they did not feel that there was no peace."¹⁰¹

At Paterson, N. J., July 4, A. Oakey Hall of New York, likened the present contest for freedom of a new colony in Kansas to the Revolutionary contest to free the American colonies.¹⁰² He reviewed recent outrages in the territory, and he disapproved the President's being empowered to appoint commissioners to determine the fate of Kansas.

Massachusetts manifested much sympathy in the cause she had already generously furthered. As early as June 1, the Rev. Edward N. Kirk of Boston proposed keeping the Fourth of July as a day of national humiliation and prayer; "for," said he, "surely we shall feel more of shame and fear than of pride and hope at the next recurrence of that day."¹⁰³ Reported observances seem to have been of more secular nature than Mr. Kirk recommended. At Springfield the friends of freedom and Frémont celebrated in spirited manner,¹⁰⁴ although Charles Sumner declined their invitation to give the

97. *Ibid.*, July 9, 1856.

98. "Webb Scrap Books," v. XIII, p. 227, unidentified clippings.

99. *New York Daily Tribune*, October 11, 1856, letter from Thaddeus Hyatt.

100. Twelve of these thirteen represented the twelve districts into which Kansas was divided; the thirteenth person was from Lawrence.

101. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 12, 1856.

102. *Ibid.*, July 8, 1856.

103. *Ibid.*, June 24, 1856, excerpt of a sermon delivered June 1, 1856.

104. *Ibid.*, July 8, 1856.

address. In Abington G. P. Lowery, private secretary of ex-Governor Reeder, addressed a political convention on the outrages to Free-State men in Kansas; John A. Andrew of Boston also spoke on the mischief of the Nebraska bill and asked for sympathy and material aid for Kansas.¹⁰⁵ All friends of freedom here were invited to join the Plymouth county organization. Citizens of Easthampton abandoned their arrangements for a Fourth of July celebration and appropriated the money, raised for the occasion, to Kansas; the Kansas subscription there reached nearly \$1,200.¹⁰⁶ The North parish of Greenfield, after hearing its pastor, the Rev. Dr. Chandler, make an excellent address on Kansas affairs, contributed \$23 "to aid the suffering free state emigrants in that territory."¹⁰⁷

In Vermont the impulses toward Kansas were all generous. The "Ladies of Burlington" held a Kansas levee on July 4, at which they sold food and flowers all day for the benefit of freedom in Kansas.¹⁰⁸ They decorated their Union Hall with wreaths of evergreen and mottoes lettered in green cedar; beneath a large spread eagle was "Love thy neighbor," "Who is my neighbor?," "Aid for Kansas," and "Remember the widow and the fatherless." Ice-cream, strawberries, and more substantial viands were the foods offered. People flocked in from adjacent towns making the lively day a "never-to-be-forgotten Fourth." The sale netted between five and six hundred dollars, "a very handsome amount which will carry relief and encouragement to many a needy dwelling in Kansas." At Danby, when the Rev. Jason F. Walker, in his Fourth of July discourse, referred to Kansas and urged upon Vermonters their duty at the ballot box, the enthusiastic response from the thousand sunburnt faces was "a glorious augury for the cause of human Liberty."¹⁰⁹

Sen. William Bigler, speaking in Independence Square, Philadelphia, on the Kansas question and the state of society in Kansas, asserted "the difficulties in Kansas were the inevitable consequences of the undue officiousness of outsiders. Fanatical abolitionists on the one hand and fire-eating Southerners on the other."¹¹⁰ But Pennsylvania had become skeptical of Fourth of July celebrations,

105. *The Atlas*, Boston, Mass., July 7, 1856, "Webb Scrap Books," v. XIV, p. 89.

106. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, July 12, 1856, excerpt from *Springfield (Mass.) Republican*.

107. *Springfield (Mass.) Republican*, July 9, 1856, "Webb Scrap Books," v. XIV, p. 138.

108. *The Free Press*, Burlington, Vt., July 5, 1856; *The Atlas*, Boston, Mass., July 9, 1856; *Springfield (Mass.) Republican*, July 9, 1856, in *ibid.*, pp. 75, 138, and 139.

109. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 14, 1856.

110. *Daily Pennsylvanian*, Philadelphia, July 9, 1856, in "Webb Scrap Books," v. XIV, pp. 143, 144.

letting them collapse. The reason, wrote "W. H. F." to the New York *Tribune*, "may be . . . that as a people we are not sincere. We have lied away our inheritance. When we wrote the Declaration . . . we were not prostituted to Slavery."¹¹¹ At Clarkville, Pa., when a clergyman tried to address a Fourth of July gathering of all parties, in "regular abolition, disunion harangue" and referred to the President as "a murderous villain," the audience simultaneously forced him to sit down.¹¹²

In Washington, D. C., where the report of the Kansas investigating committee had just been published, revealing a state of things one hundred-fold worse than was expected, the day was a sad Fourth of July. "Instead of liberty," wrote "Daniel" of *The Morning Star*, "slavery surrounds us. . . . The Fourth of July, is it? . . . On this very day our brethren are in prison in Kansas, for speaking and acting for freedom—not for violating any law of this land!"¹¹³

For a third time Painesville, Ohio, heard of the needs of Kansas on a Fourth of July. On this occasion Gov. Salmon P. Chase talked of the wrongs and the remedy.¹¹⁴ The wrongs to the new territory were greater than those to the young nation eighty years ago; the effective remedy now, however, was not revolution, but the peaceful use of the ballot.

Two Wisconsin communities manifested their sympathy July 4. The neighborhood of Waupun, Dodge county, raised "*over a thousand dollars*" in response to an appeal for Kansas.¹¹⁵ The editor of *The Sentinel*, wrote: "The heart of the people beats warmly for Freedom everywhere." In Burlington, Racine county, a political gathering sympathized with "the Freemen of Kansas in their heroic struggle to maintain those rights of American citizens," established in 1776, by reversing the national flag as a signal of distress and by resolving to support through the candidates of the Republican party the "sacred rights of Humanity, . . . treacherously betrayed on the soil of Kansas by the Sham Democracy of Pierce, Douglas, Buchanan, & Co."¹¹⁶

In Iowa the State Central Committee for the benefit of Free Kansas, July 4, 1856, issued a circular announcing the establishment

111. New York *Daily Tribune*, July 9, 1856.

112. *Squatter Sovereign*, Atchison, August 12, 1856.

113. Manchester (N. H.) *Democrat*, July 23, 1856, in "Webb Scrap Books," v. XV, pp. 100-102.

114. New York *Daily Tribune*, July 10, 1856.

115. *Fountain City Herald*, Fond du Lac, Wis., July 15, 1856, in "Webb Scrap Books," v. XIV, p. 225.

116. *Daily Sentinel*, Milwaukee, Wis., July 16, 1856, in *ibid.*, p. 236.

of the Lane trail through Iowa and Nebraska, an overland route planned by James H. Lane and other territorial leaders for safer passage of Northern emigrants to Kansas.¹¹⁷ One of a party of emigrants en route to Kansas that day entered in his diary in Keokuk county, "Today . . . men on their road to Kansas are compelled to carry arms for the preservation of their rights."¹¹⁸ He was Richard J. Hinton, then himself carrying arms supplied through Thomas Wentworth Higginson.

All the Southern sentiment expressed on the Fourth of July, 1856, and now preserved, is in the form of toasts following conventional celebrations of the day. At Grahamville, S. C., the constitution of the United States was "The apple of discord"; the Union was "Nominal in form but dissolved in spirit"; and Kansas—"May her streams become rivers of blood and her forests charnel houses, before her soil shall be contaminated and her atmosphere polluted by the free soil partisans of the North."¹¹⁹

The toasts at Healing Springs, S. C., were not only politically Democratic but frankly anti-Republican.

Massachusetts—We have always beaten her in the debates on the Union. We have whipped her in Kansas, and we have caned her in the Senate Hall.

The Hon. P. S. Brooks—May the cause of Southern Brooks ever flourish over the growth of Northern Free Soil.

Gen. Atchison—Hoping that he may live to see Kansas a Slave State in the Union or out of the Union.

Kansas Strike while the iron is hot—
Strike with men and means;
And let the Yankees see we've got
*The right to hold the reins.*¹²⁰

The Milwaukee *Sentinel* commented satirically upon the "sectional" character of these sentiments voiced by the "Sham Democracy" that called itself the only "national party."¹²¹

At the Sandy Level Church in the Fairfield district, South Carolina, *Kansas* was "The lovely spot where the issue must be decided. May the South send an enlightened and intelligent emigration thither." The Fairfield district gathering also toasted Preston S. Brooks as one of Carolina's "distinguished representatives"; and Franklin Pierce, as "the fearless advocate of the Constitution."¹²²

117. Connelley, W. E., "The Lane Trail," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XIII, pp. 268, 269; Pride, W. F., *The History of Fort Riley* (1926), p. 119.

118. Hinton, Richard J., "Journal," entry, July 4, 1856.—MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

119. *The Atlas*, Boston, Mass., July 18, 1856, in "Webb Scrap Books," v. XV, p. 27.

120. *Daily Sentinel*, Milwaukee, Wis., July 26, 1856, in *ibid.*, p. 130.

121. *Ibid.*

122. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 11, 1856.

Charleston held a spirited celebration. The great struggle going on in the Western territory between slavery and Abolitionism was the theme of "noble" spokesmen. They alternated praise of President Pierce and their congressmen with varied sentiments on Kansas and Kansans. *Missouri*, "Beset by hordes of Northern Abolitionists from without, and ingrates and traitors within," was "the Banner State of the South." *South Carolina* herself "*Brooks* no insult, and when one is offered . . . resents in a Sumnery manner." *Atchison* received gratitude for his faithfulness to the South and his kindness to Carolinians. Of the nine toasts on Kansas, these seemed to voice the general attitude:

Kansas—The Star in the West; it points the way to the salvation of the South.

Kansas—Clouds and darkness attend her dawn. May they not prefigure a brilliant meridian when, as a bright particular star, she enters the Southern constellation?

Kansas—It has risen like the ghost of Banquo, to sear the eyeballs of rampant fanaticism; but ere they clutch it, they must cross many *Brooks* whose *Caney* growth will resist them.

Kansas—The Marathon of Southern Institutions; when Slavery is exterminated there by Sharps rifles the South may prepare for the same kind of moral suasion for its abolition nearer home.¹²³

The last sentiment alone, and it "by the Chair," seemed understanding and prophetic.

Within Kansas territory itself the citizens awaited the arrival of July 4, 1856, with even greater concern than had the sympathetic nation. Topeka was the center of interest, for there, at noon, was to reassemble the Free-State legislature adjourned March 1. Or wasn't it to reassemble? Thereby hung the tale; therein lay the common anxiety.

New border warfare threatened.¹²⁴ Proslavery men had arranged muster and review drills for Lecompton, Tecumseh, and Atchison on July 4.¹²⁵ Rumor to the effect that James H. Lane was bringing in a large force from the north had agitated the Missouri border to try "to march 400 Missourians of baser sort to Topeka."¹²⁶ Lieutenant McIntosh of Company E, First cavalry, intercepted this plan on July 4.¹²⁷ Meantime, federal troops from Fort Riley and Fort

123. *Ibid.*; *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, August 2, 1856.

124. Clark, Edward, letter, Lawrence, June 21, 1856, to "Dear Gen'l [C. K. Holliday, Topeka]," in MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society. Lawrence merchants offered to send a supply of flour to Topeka for use at the anniversary gathering, provided Topeka could get it safely there and could furnish water-tight storage.

125. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 2, 1856.

126. *Daily Tribune*, Detroit, Mich., July 15, 1856, in "Webb Scrap Books," v. XIV, p. 227.

127. *The Atlas*, Boston, Mass., July 24, 1856, in *ibid.*, v. XV, p. 111.

Leavenworth, under command of Col. E. V. Sumner, concentrated around Topeka, presumably to maintain "Law and Order" there. When Acting Governor Woodson had first conferred with Colonel Sumner about the proposed assembly of the legislature, the colonel had advised the presence in Topeka of a justice of the peace and a marshal to join Major Sedgwick in drawing writs on all the members of the legislature the minute they assembled. Woodson, however, asked Sumner to come with two troops. Accordingly he concentrated five companies and two pieces of artillery there on July 3.¹²⁸

Preliminary to the legislative assembly the Free-State party met in convention in Topeka July 2-4, with headquarters in the new hotel.¹²⁹ On July 2 the delegates met by districts; on July 3-4 they held a mass convention.¹³⁰ Some 800 persons were in attendance, among them many members of the legislature. Only from the settlements near by, however, had people ventured to come in numbers. Fear of border depredation in their own communities had detained many at home.¹³¹

The Free-State legislators had come to Topeka resolved to hold their legislative meeting in spite of any Border-Ruffian interference.¹³² Many of them brought in arms privately, though they did not mean to appear with them unless necessary. Some laid double floors in wagon bottoms and packed weapons between; others hid them under loads of wood, hauled in "for sale."¹³³ Both the legislature and the assembled people, however, now resolved to offer no resistance to the government troops. Gov. Charles Robinson, in prison near Leecompton, sent instructions to make no opposition unless the troops wantonly fired on the legislature or the people; and, if ordered to disperse, they should disperse.¹³⁴

July 3 and 4 the mass convention carried on its business. It passed resolutions indorsing the state movement and the Topeka constitution. It elected the Kansas State Central Committee to determine, among other things, upon the management and control of

128. Shindler, Henry, "Manuscript of the History of Fort Leavenworth," pp. 251, 252.

129. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 19, 1856.

130. *The Kansas Tribune*, Topeka, July 9, 1856; Chapman, J. Butler, letter to "Dear Will," written in Kansapolis, K. T., July 5, 1856. Typescript of letters from J. B. Chapman, printed in the *Northern Indianian* (July 31, 1856), supplied by George A. Nye of Warsaw, Ind., who owns the file.

131. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 10, 1856. In his *Conquest of Kansas*, p. 393, W. A. Phillips says there were fewer than 800 Free-State men, besides the legislators in Topeka.

132. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 12, 1856.

133. *The Semi-Weekly Times*, New York, July 22, 1856, in "Webb Scrap Books," v. XV, p. 82.

134. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 10, 1856.

the Free-State party. It memorialized congress to admit Kansas into the Union.¹³⁵

On the afternoon of July 3 people learned that the military force about the town was itself to forbid the assembly of the legislature. Both branches of the legislature met on July 3 and resolved to assemble in regular session, agreeable to adjournment, at noon on July 4.¹³⁶ The business transacted here secretly, by authority of Acting Gov. John Curtis, was to be security for the perpetuation of their power lest they be prevented from meeting the next day.¹³⁷

Topeka was full of people both indoors and out. To one young man it "look[ed] lively, animated with the tents of volunteers, the covered wagons and camp fires scattered all about, and the scores of horses picketed in every vacant space near them."¹³⁸ Holiday celebration began on the evening of July 3 when the "ladies of Topeka" presented a banner of white silk, lettered in blue, to a military company of the city. The men wore uniforms of white pants, blue shirts, and Kossuth hats.

The morning of the Fourth broke cloudily, but fresh prairie breezes soon blew the clouds away.¹³⁹ "Naturally a more beautiful, politically a more important day, never rose in Kansas," wrote James Redpath.¹⁴⁰ At sunrise the army artillery fired a cannon thirteen times in salute.¹⁴¹ Flags floated from every public building. "Franklin Pierce was found hung in effigy at the back of one of the outhouses."¹⁴² Armed, determined men filled the streets.¹⁴³ Martial music and gruff commands mingled with the tramp of drill and the roar of firearms. Half a dozen military companies paraded about. Women promenaded with little banners flying from their parasols.¹⁴⁴ Ladies from Lawrence waved on the tops of their sunshades the United States flag embroidered for the occasion and trimmed in mourning.¹⁴⁵

Gaiety and assumed indifference ill concealed the suppressed excitement with which people awaited the crucial noon hour. The convention, gathered around the hotel, however, continued the

135. *The Kansas Tribune*, Topeka, July 9, 1856.

136. Gihon, John H., *Geary and Kansas* (Chas. C. Rhodes, Philadelphia, 1857), pp. 45, 46; Phillips, *op. cit.*, p. 396.

137. Chapman, J. B., letter to "Dear Will," Kansapolis, July 5, 1856.

138. *New York Chronicle*, July 26, 1856, in "Webb Scrap Books," v. XV, p. 142.

139. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 19, 1856.

140. *Daily Sentinel*, Milwaukee, Wis., July 17, 1856, in "Webb Scrap Books," v. XV, p. 2.

141. *New York Daily Times*, in *ibid.*, pp. 82, 83.

142. *Semi-Weekly Tribune*, New York, July 18, 1856, in *ibid.*, p. 34.

143. *Hartford Courant*, July 23, 1856, in *ibid.*, p. 93; Chapman, J. B., letter to "Will," July 5, 1856.

144. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 19, 1856.

145. *Ibid.*, July 30, 1856.

semblance of business. About nine o'clock messengers from "the Northern States" arrived with word that "the people of the North were not prepared to stand by us in resisting the federal government."¹⁴⁶ At ten o'clock Marshal I. B. Donalson and Judge Rush Elmore, mistaking the assembly for the legislature, interrupted proceedings to read proclamations of the President and the governor for dismissal.¹⁴⁷ Learning their error, they retired in chagrin, the lanky, jean-clad figure of Donalson with "iron-grey whiskers and imbecile-looking eyes"¹⁴⁸ leading the way back to his Proslavery accomplices—S. D. Lecompte, Judge Sterling G. Cato, and Sec. Daniel Woodson—now in the camp of Colonel Sumner. The convention meantime resumed its business.

The day and the temperature advanced together. Toward twelve o'clock the thermometer stood at 100°. Crowds milled through the streets. The band played. Companies F and G of Topeka marched to the legislative hall where the ladies were now to present Company G with a banner bearing the inscription, "Our lives for our rights."

Then word came that Colonel Sumner was approaching in full military array, with the battle flag flying.¹⁴⁹ Beside him, at the head of the procession, was the military band; and close behind were three squadrons of dragoons and two loaded brass cannon," with their muzzles pointing down the street, the gunners at their stations, and the slow matches lighted and burning." The army surgeon had his case of instruments open, ready for use.¹⁵⁰ A committee from the convention at once waited upon Colonel Sumner to inquire whether he meant to disperse the convention or disband the local military companies. He replied that he would disperse only the legislature. Some one then gave three cheers for Colonel Sumner; James Redpath proposed three cheers for Governor Robinson; and some one else, three cheers for Liberty. Since the camp was only 200 yards out of town, the dragoons debouched rapidly into Kansas avenue, formed into position, and pressed upon the Topeka companies at once, the latter stepping out of rank only far enough

146. *The Daily Transcript*, Worcester, Mass., July 24, 1856, in "Webb Scrap Books," v. XV, pp. 110, 111.

147. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 19, 1856. The proclamations read were three: That of Pres. Franklin Pierce, February 11, 1856, for preservation of constituted authority in the territory of Kansas; the second, the proclamation of Gov. Wilson Shannon, June 4, 1856; and the proclamation of Acting-Gov. Daniel Woodson, July 4, 1856. The Woodson proclamation is in the *New York Daily Tribune*, July 17, 1856.

148. *Daily Sentinel*, Milwaukee, Wis., July 17, 1856, in "Webb Scrap Books," v. XV, pp. 2, 3.

149. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 19, 1856.

150. *The Semi-Weekly Times*, New York, July 18, 1856, and *Burlington Free Press*, July 19, 1856, in "Webb Scrap Books," v. XV, pp. 32, 33 and 50. Also, Phillips, *op. cit.*, p. 402.

not to be trampled on. The band played; the drummers drummed until the drumsticks nearly touched the noses of the advancing horses. One little boy beating the kettledrum, rattled it manfully without even turning to look at the dragoons.¹⁵¹ As Colonel Sumner dismounted and walked toward the legislative hall, Mrs. Gates, of Lawrence, said to him, "We have met to present a banner to one of these Topeka companies on the day of our would-be-independence"; and he replied, "Madame, I hope you will be independent."¹⁵²

When he entered the hall to dismiss the house, "the rooms were crowded by the citizens . . . and some ladies, . . . to witness the spectacle." To secure a quorum for roll call the sergeant-at-arms had to summon absentees. Then Colonel Sumner read his order for dismissal.

Gentlemen: I am called upon this day to perform the most painful duty of my whole 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 in Kansas. I have just returned from the Borders, 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 whole life.¹⁵³

All contemporary reports of the occasion indicate that Colonel Sumner did his duty in a gentlemanly way. He and members of the house exchanged civilities. Judge Philip C. Schuyler asked whether they were to understand the legislature was "driven out at the point of the bayonet." Colonel Sumner replied, "I shall use all the forces in my command to carry out my orders." Then he left the hall, mounted his horse, and was about to ride away when some one reminded him that he had not dismissed the senate.

Entering the senate chamber, he found the members had not assembled; therefore, when he read the order for dispersion, the president, T. G. Thornton, informed him that since they had not convened they could not conform. Colonel Sumner replied that his orders were to prevent their meeting. Then Marshal Donalson brought more ignominy upon himself by threatening every member with arrest, should they try again to assemble. Ignoring this "outrageous demand," several senators let Colonel Sumner know they would respect his order. J. H. Pillsbury said that since they were

151. *Daily Tribune*, Detroit, July 15, 1856, in "Webb Scrap Books," v. XIV, p. 227. A correspondent states that Sumner directed two cannon toward Constitution Hall and four toward the principal street.

152. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 19, 1856.

153. *Ibid.*

in no condition to resist United States troops, they would of course have to disperse.

As Colonel Sumner came down stairs, he recognized W. A. Phillips and nodded to him.

"Colonel," said Phillips, "you have robbed Oliver Cromwell of his laurels."

Sumner did not speak, but the expression of his eye clearly indicated what he thought.

He looked startled at first, then serious, angry, and agitated.

He . . . saw at once the full enormity of the orders he had been compelled to obey. . . .¹⁵⁴

Outside some one cheered for Sumner to let him know the people did not hold him responsible for the order he had just executed. A new American flag, with an extra star in the corner but not in the Union, was hoisted over Constitution Hall.¹⁵⁵ Three cheers were then given for the flag, three for the orphan star—Kansas coming into the Union—three for Frémont, followed by three groans for Pierce and the present government. The three groans for Pierce, wrote Dr. John H. Gihon, "fairly shook the building and startled the horses of the soldiers,"¹⁵⁶ making them break out of line.

The crisis in an historically eventful day had passed. For Kansas and for the nation it was a unique Fourth of July. What was left of the holiday the people of Topeka now settled down to keep in a more traditional way. One reporter asserted Colonel Sumner was under orders to arrest any gathering of people assembled to celebrate the Fourth of July.¹⁵⁷ This report must have been erroneous, for he now proffered use of his cannon and gunners to make noise for a boisterous celebration.¹⁵⁸ Some of the boys among the rallied Free-State volunteers "begged the officers, with tears in their eyes, to be led against the dragoons."¹⁵⁹ Many, in their excitement, insulted the soldiers, but no collision ensued. J. S. Emery, one of the men just returned that morning from a tour of the North, said in an address in the afternoon that no great emigration would come from the East at present; people were afraid to come. The North was blind to its own interest; it might raise money, but money without men would now be nearly useless to Kansas territory. At night a throng of men and women filled the

154. *Daily Sentinel*, Milwaukee, Wis., article by James Redpath, in "Webb Scrap Books," v. XV, pp. 2, 8.

155. *The Semi-Weekly Times*, New York, private letter from Topeka, in *ibid.*, p. 81.

156. Gihon, *op. cit.*, pp. 46, 47. See, also, clipping from the *Chicago Democratic Press*, in "Webb Scrap Books," v. XV, pp. 32, 33.

157. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 12, 1856, excerpt from *Chicago Tribune*.

158. *Daily Tribune*, Detroit, July 15, 1856, in "Webb Scrap Books," v. XIV, p. 227.

159. *The Daily Transcript*, Worcester, Mass., July 24, 1856, letter from J. H. M. in *ibid.*, v. XV, pp. 110, 111.

lower room of Constitution Hall to hear LeGrand B. Cushman, "the renowned vocalist and delineator," of Bloomington, K. T., who kept them "in a roar of laughter."¹⁶⁰

While Topeka kept the day thus variously, some other communities in the territory held their own Fourth of July celebrations. Free-State groups, if near enough, were generally content to share in Topeka affairs; Lawrence willingly went there, arduous as was the twenty-eight mile trip in the heat of July, 1856.¹⁶¹ Wabaunsee rather reluctantly gave up its first plans for the day when requested by Topeka to attend the convention, but at the last only two representatives were able to go, by saddle horses. The rest of the colony then on July 3 hastily and vigorously reconsidered its original plan for celebration. A sunrise salute from the Prairie Guard and display of the American flag ushered in the Fourth. At four o'clock the military escorted a procession of about one hundred to tables spread under an awning on the prairie. Eight women and fifteen children were in the gathering. There were no seats except the grass, but the tools were plentiful, consisting of tin plates, cups, and pans, with all the knives and forks in the company. The food, got up under great disadvantages by George Coe, Esq., consisted of roast and canned beef, cold tongue, baked Indian and rice puddings, pear and apple pies, three kinds of cake, and lemonade. Songs, numerous toasts, and an address by the president, C. B. Lines, constituted the program. At sundown the Prairie Guard fired another salute and then "the boys 'cut up' in a sort of general dance, after a fiddle played by one of the old settlers."¹⁶² Manhattan had its own picnic.¹⁶³ In Indianola Samuel J. Reader heard the cannon shots morning and noon. He looked through a glass at Topeka; he could see two flags; he realized the legislature was broken up. "No war. Pshaw! on it all." His regret, however, did not deter him from his private pleasures of swimming in the river, gathering berries and cucumbers and playing the fiddle. The next day he wrote, "les wars est passe" and noted, as native foods, potatoes, cucumbers, early cherries, and gooseberries.¹⁶⁴

160. *Kansas Tribune*, Topeka, July 9, 1856.

161. *The Daily Transcript*, Worcester, Mass., July 24, 1856, letter from J. H. M. in "Webb Scrap Books," v. XV, pp. 110, 111.

162. *Daily Palladium*, New Haven, Conn., July 24, 1856, in *ibid.*, p. 109. Also, C. B. Lines, "Scrap Book," pp. 84-86.

163. Allen, Mrs. Chestina B., "Sketches and Journal," entry of July 4, 1856.

164. Reader, Samuel J., "Private Journal and Daybook," v. III, p. 86, entries of July 4, 1856.

At Lecompton observance began with a discharge of cannon to salute the rising sun; a procession, conventional exercises, a free barbecue, toasts, and sentiments filled the day, spent in a grove where "luxuriant foliage formed grateful protection against the warm beams of the meridian sun"; and at night in a hall in the Lecompton hotel "our *beaux* and *belles* engaged themselves to the fullest extent."¹⁶⁵

Allen county held a celebration just south of Cofachiqui where the twenty settlers mashed down the tall bluestem and seated themselves *a la* Indian to hear a young lady read the Declaration and Gen. William Barbee of Fort Scott deliver an oration. When the orator developed the drunken hiccoughs so badly that he could not talk, the people called for "Rice, and more Rice," meaning Cyrus R. Rice, Methodist missionary to the Indians. At this juncture Chief Townmaker with twenty-odd Osage braves rode up to "swap." For "flour, hoggie meat and bac" the braves all engaged in a war dance to the accompaniment of two tin whistles, a tambourine, and a long-handled gourd with pebbles in it, each dancer flourishing a tomahawk and scalp. When the white women became so frightened that they wanted to leave, the Indians ended the dance with war whoops. Then Townmaker proposed a smoke, for which he used his own tomahawk pipe, first taking a puff himself, wiping the stem on his shirt, and then passing it around for every one else in the circle, Indian and white, to follow his example.¹⁶⁶

To keep the nation's birthday in Anderson county Free-State settlers assembled under a large oak tree at the cabin of W. L. Frankenberger, about two miles east of Garnett, where C. E. Dewey read the Declaration; H. H. Williams, Capt. Samuel Anderson, and Judge James Y. Campbell delivered orations; and the women sang patriotic songs. Judge Campbell felt a settled gloom on every one. W. A. Johnson likened the people in this "new and wild country" to the Pilgrim Fathers and commended their "Christian fortitude" in trying to found a free commonwealth.¹⁶⁷ At Osawatomie a fallen oak tree served for seats for a celebration on the open prairie. Indians of confederated tribes near by dressed in their best attire,

165. Richmond *Whig*, July 22, 1856, letter from Lecompton, K. T., in "Webb Scrap Books," v. XV, p. 87.

166. Rice, Cyrus R., "Experiences of a Pioneer Missionary," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XIII, pp. 308, 309.

167. Johnson, W. A., *History of Anderson County, Kansas* (Kauffman & Iler, Garnett Plaindealer, 1877), pp. 47, 48; Campbell, James Y., *First History of Anderson County* (Garnett Weekly Journal Print, 1876), p. 8; Johnson, H., *A History of Anderson County, Kansas* (Garnett Review Co., Garnett, 1936), pp. 4, 8.

with as many as six silk handkerchiefs flowing from their shoulders, and came riding in on their ponies. The bountiful foods supplied by the settlers held their attention. No one had any whisky. A spring furnished cool water.¹⁶⁸ In Leavenworth the children of the different Sabbath schools, with their teachers and other men and women of the city, met at Union Church to hear "a handsome and beautiful address, appropriate to the occasion," by Dr. S. A. Marshal.¹⁶⁹ Delaware City marked the day for itself and the surrounding country with a barbecue, the reading of the Declaration of Independence, and speeches; "the beauty and chivalry, the gallant beaux, the old and the young . . . would do honor to older and more densely populated cities."¹⁷⁰

Merriment and self-righteousness vied for eminence in the observances at Kickapoo and Palermo. Kickapoo centered its events in Salt creek valley which on July 4, 1856, looked "like a paradise on earth," with its waving wheat, its magnificent corn, and its variegated wild flowers.¹⁷¹ In this naturally charming setting, the festivities were strangely militaristic. The Fourth regiment of Kansas militia paraded through the valley. Maj. M. P. Kivally, with his staff in uniform, the Kickapoo Rangers, and the Union Guards, led the march to the barbecue grounds in "real military style." The large assembly of men and women at the stand listened to formal exercises followed by presentation by the ladies of Kickapoo of a flag, of their own workmanship, to the Kickapoo Rangers. After the dinner, sentiments and patriotic toasts were read from each end of the long table. The day closed with a grand military ball at the American Hotel, where "beauty and chivalry of town and country were in attendance." Prefacing with opinion the story of the holiday in this law-ordered, prosperous squatter area, Leavenworth editors lamented the fearful commotion now abroad in the land, the wild fanaticism prevailing in certain quarters, and the appeal of wily politicians to evil passions in men, but believed the nature of the American government would enable it to weather the crisis.¹⁷²

The correspondent in Palermo was more blunt, attributing the absence of "broil and battle" in his portion of the territory to freedom from "the curse of any 'Aid Society' interference." The settlers had

168. "Miami County Clippings," v I, p. 3, in library division, Kansas State Historical Society. Once in the article Mr. Brown refers to the year of this celebration as 1855.

169. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, July 12, 1856.

170. *Ibid.*

171. *Ibid.*

172. *Ibid.* For M. P. Kivally see Footnote 29.

come to this region with families, horses, cattle, and plows to improve the country and themselves. While arson and murder had run riot elsewhere, they had quietly engaged in industrial avocations and social quiet. Therefore, on July 4, they had been able to invite "the multitudes" from Doniphan, Whitehead, Wathena, and the intervening country to join with them in harmonious celebration of the birthday of the Republic. As a result the day was "an epoch in Palermo." A band from St. Joseph caused the hills to echo with soul-stirring strains. The Doniphan Blues made "the streets glitter with their polished bayonets and dizzy with their intricate revolutions." At ten o'clock the people congregated "in the shadows of some noble elms" for the conventional Independence day exercises. At noon they feasted in the spacious dining hall of the new hotel. Then they removed the cloth, drank toasts, and exchanged sentiments joyously "until that witching hour that Vesperus woos Terpsichore, when her votaries assembled in a large room above, and in the maze of dance and whirl of waltz they sped the night, as if by magic, into morning." 173

The Fourth of July, 1856, was over, but word of its occurrences in Kansas had yet to reach the nation. Colonel Sumner wrote, "I consider myself very fortunate in having accomplished my object without using an angry word or receiving one the slightest degree disrespectful." 174 On July 5, when he passed through Lecompton en route to Leavenworth, he called on Governor Robinson at the prison camp. The Free-State men, he said, had injured their own cause by not dispersing at the reading of the governor's proclamation. Governor Robinson replied that had he been in Topeka they would not have dispersed until the colonel fired upon them.

On July 4, Mrs. Robinson had written ironically in her diary, "Was there ever such a glorious country as this, with petty tyrants made weak-headed by a little power?" Now, after the call of Colonel Sumner, her next entry was without irony: "Another scene in this dark and tragic drama of crushing out a free people has been enacted. . . . The people of this mighty nation wear sackcloth and mourning. The star-spangled banner . . . is dragged through the blood of those slain, at the bidding of a merciless administration, on Kansas plains." 175 In his *Conquest of Kansas* W. A. Phillips wrote that the territory was now politically prostrate. "But Kan-

173. *The Republican*, St. Louis, July 11, 1856, in "Webb Scrap Books," v. XIV, pp. 174, 175.

174. Shindler, Henry, "Manuscript of the History of Fort Leavenworth," p. 253, letter from E. V. Sumner dated August 11, 1856, to adjutant general at Leavenworth.

175. Robinson, Sara T. D., *op. cit.*, pp. 309, 310.

sas, though conquered by Missouri and her allies, is not yet subdued . . . a liberty-loving people remain." 176

"For Freedom's battle once begun
Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son
Though baffled oft is *ever won*."

On the Fourth and the days immediately subsequent the letter-writers in Kansas began their slow and laborious long-hand task of informing the press and the people of the latest territorial happenings. They wrote from Topeka and they wrote from their home towns after their return from the convention. Most of them were Northerners whose correspondence both related and interpreted events. Some of them, attached to metropolitan dailies, sent short messages by telegraph via St. Louis, but the fuller accounts had to depend upon the mails for delivery. Through July and half of August, 1856, the story of the Fourth in Topeka was current in the American press. Letters were printed and reprinted, copied, clipped, quoted and cited, until signatures became almost as well known as the stories and opinions above them.

"Driven out at the point of the bayonet," 177 the stories read, or "dispersed at the peril of their lives." Thus had a "legislature of the people, legally and lawfully assembled," 178 yielded to Uncle Sam in his game of "playing smash"; 179 or, in the more expressive language of Stephen A. Douglas, they had "permitted themselves to be 'subdued.'" 180 "Popular sovereignty! popular sovereignty!" exclaimed one writer, "where is its realities, as promised by Douglas and Co.?" 181 Here, in the contested territory for its trial, had a United States marshal with proclamations of the President and two governors annulled "the proclamation of the people, dated July 4, 1776." 182 Four days later the same paper characterized these recent proclamations as "flummery and nonsense," and supposed the dignitaries who read them at the convention must have felt they had come on a fool's errand. 183 On the day of dispersal W. A. Phillips in Topeka wrote the *New York Tribune* that Franklin Pierce had today done what had been done only thrice in history: Cromwell had forcibly dissolved the Long Parliament; Napoleon with force of

176. Phillips, *op. cit.*, pp. 407, 412.

177. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 10, 19, 1856.

178. *The Courant*, Hartford, July 23, 1856, in "Webb Scrap Books," v. XV, p. 93.

179. *The Daily Spy*, Worcester, July 24, 1856, in *ibid.*, p. 111.

180. *The Daily Sentinel*, Milwaukee, July 25, 1856, in *ibid.*, p. 119.

181. *The Republican*, Peoria, July 18, 1856, in *ibid.*, p. 22.

182. *The Atlas*, Boston, Mass., July 24, in *ibid.*, p. 111.

183. *Ibid.*, pp. 151, 152.

arms had dispersed the National Assembly; now Pierce had employed the national troops to drive from a legislative hall the representatives of a free people.¹⁸⁴

One Proslavery eye-witness, using the signature "Kaw," wrote from Leavenworth county, July 7, in defense of the use of government troops to thwart the "treasonable" attempt of the "bogus legislature" to reassemble. The local military companies which paraded the Topeka streets under pretext of celebrating the Fourth, he said, were really there secretly to enable this legislature to enact laws and establish a government of its own. The federal interference, he believed, had been completely successful, preventing even assembly with adjournment. The episode was but "the degrading result of the efforts of the Aid Society, and the 'Free-State movement.'" As for the delegates to the Topeka convention, they were all "abolitionists." He admitted the general cheers in support of Governor Robinson and the groans for President Pierce and Governor Shannon; but he added satirically that "Notwithstanding they groaned the President in the morning, still, they in the evening, passed a resolution . . . to memorialize him."¹⁸⁵

Editors of Northern sympathy at once used the new outrage in their long-continued pleas to evoke aid for ruffian-ridden Kansas. The editor of the *New York Times* compared the dispersal by Pierce to the entry of Cromwell into the British Commons; but Cromwell was a usurper whereas "Our military dictation . . . is perpetrated in a Republic, under forms of law and a written Constitution, . . . an admirable comment upon the 'true intent and meaning' of the Nebraska bill."¹⁸⁶ The *New York Tribune* feared that the high-handed acts of tyranny in Kansas, "each more flagitious" than the last, would in their rapid succession dull rather than waken the public sense; and in comparing the last offense to its only parallel in American history—the Dorr movement in Rhode Island in 1842—found the Free-State men of Kansas who sought to form a government where no valid government existed, less reprehensible than the Free-Suffrage Rhode Islanders who sought to supplant a legally recognized charter.¹⁸⁷ The *Detroit Advertiser* asserted, in an article called "The Point of the Bayonet," that there was "no

184. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 19, 1856. W. A. Phillips was the Kansas correspondent at this time. Sara T. D. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 310, in editions of 1856, refers to the author as "Mr. P." In the edition of 1899, p. 360, she gives the full name "W. A. Phillips." In all editions she quotes his *Tribune* article of July 19 entire.

185. *The Republican*, St. Louis, July 11, 1856, in "Webb Serap Books," v. XIV, p. 174.

186. *The Semi-Weekly Times*, New York, July 14, 1856, in *ibid.*, p. 223.

187. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 10, 1856.

point in geography harder to weather than that, especially for a Yankee people"; and that the American people, though slow to anger, were now indignant at the unprecedented course of government towards Kansas.¹⁸⁸ The *Janesville Gazette* felt there was still much uncertainty as to the future of this unfortunate territory.¹⁸⁹ The *Kansas Bulletin* also asserted that "The end is not yet."¹⁹⁰ The editors united in believing Colonel Sumner performed his revolting service with reluctance. The *Bulletin* quoted the New York *Evening Post*, and expressed doubt that he would be allowed a fair trial.¹⁹¹ Another paper saw the characteristic cowardice of the administration in its endeavor to evade the odium of the Topeka affair by throwing the whole responsibility upon the military representative.¹⁹² The *Tribune* believed Colonel Sumner had no alternative but retirement from the service.¹⁹³ The colonel himself, meantime, spent a busy month of August, on leave in New York, corresponding with the War Department over its criticism of his conduct.¹⁹⁴

In Kansas territory, meantime, as life settled back into the pre-Fourth routine, the people had detached holiday reminders of varying worth. At Atchison all Proslavery sympathizers feasted jubilantly in triumph; at the head of their table was the "blood-red flag" with one lone star, the motto of "Southern Rights" on one side and "South Carolina" on the other—the same flag that first floated on the rifle pits of the Abolitionists and on the Free-State Hotel at Lawrence. They drank toasts to *Kansas*, which they would make a slave state or die in the attempt; to *Atchison*, which by the close of 1857 would be the capital of a Southern republic; to *Disunion*, which was the surest remedy for Southern wrongs; and to the *Distribution of Public Lands*, one hundred and sixty acres of which they would assign to every Proslavery settler, and to every Abolitionist six feet by two.¹⁹⁵ On July 5 near the hour and the place of Mrs. Robinson's diary entry about "sack-cloth and mourning . . . for a crushed people," three Proslavery men shot a Free-State man named Hudson, a Quaker, as he was returning from the convention in Topeka to his home in Leecompton.¹⁹⁶ Two days later Governor

188. *Daily Advertiser*, Detroit, July 12, 1856, in "Webb Scrap Books," v. XIV, p. 200.

189. *Janesville Gazette*, July 19, 1856, in *ibid.*, v. XV, p. 42.

190. *Kansas Bulletin*, Tecumseh, in *ibid.*, v. XVI, p. 101.

191. *Ibid.*

192. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

193. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 10, 1856.

194. Shindler, Henry, "Manuscript of the History of Fort Leavenworth," pp. 256-259, letters of E. V. Sumner to Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War, August 11, 31, 1856.

195. Phillips, *op. cit.*, p. 411.

196. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 18, 1856.

Robinson, still a prisoner in the camp of the United States cavalry there, wrote Colonel Sumner a letter exonerating him for carrying out the orders of the commander-in-chief before the territorial legislature July 4.¹⁹⁷ In Topeka, the scene of the momentous occurrence, *The Kansas Tribune* had space to print but brief remarks upon the proceedings.¹⁹⁸ It carried someone's advertisement, though, for "a green silk crepe shawl,"—lost at the celebration, and offered a liberal reward. The Garvey House politicians and pressmen began to speculate upon the political integrity of the lieutenant-governor.¹⁹⁹ On July 12 Philip C. Schuyler remembered to note that there was "not the least intoxication visible" in Topeka on the Fourth.²⁰⁰ He also ventured that the Free-State question had now passed its most "critical crisis." On July 28, however, *The Kansas Tribune*, describing various robberies and attempted murders, asked the whereabouts of four valiant companies of dragoons that had been brought up in battle array before Constitution Hall on the Fourth of July. "Where are they? Echo answers, where? when they are called upon to disband a company of proslavery men" at the log fort of Coleman, on Bull creek.²⁰¹ Other crises were too obviously still ahead. On a Missouri river steamboat on August 2 a Northern letter-writer learned of one—a new "Fourth," the fourth of August, now a crucial date in Kansas for all who, according to the provisions of the Toombs bill, wanted to qualify as voters on November 4 to help decide whether Kansas was to be a free or a slave state.²⁰² Richard J. Hinton foresaw the outcome of that contest when he wrote that "the long drawn patient watching of centuries, with all its hopes," would not,—could not be overthrown.²⁰³

1857

Though the hands that guide the nation,
Tighten every link and band—
Freedom's spirit only slumbers,
And the time is near at hand.

—F. B. Gage.

National interest in independence for Kansas had spent its strength in 1856. In 1857 while the territory itself bided its time,

197. *The Semi-Weekly Times*, New York, July 25, 1856, in "Webb Scrap Books," v. XV, pp. 126, 127. This letter has five other Free-State signatures: Geo. W. Smith, Gaius Jenkins, John Brown, Jr., Harry H. Williams, and Geo. W. Deitzler.

198. *The Kansas Tribune*, Topeka, July 9, 1856.

199. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 17, 1856.

200. *Ibid.*, July 30, 1856.

201. *The Kansas Tribune*, Topeka, July 28, 1856. Coleman was the murderer of Dow.

202. *New York Daily Tribune*, August 25, 1856.

203. Hinton, Richard, Jr., "Journal," entry for August 29, 1856.

the solicitude of the nation slept. The New York *Tribune*, to be sure, recommended the use of the approaching Fourth of July by the friends of Freedom in the free states and territories "to renew their fealty to old principles, and trace out anew the old landmarks. The attempts . . . to nationalize Slavery, and sectionalize Freedom . . . call loudly for a reassertion of the doctrines. . . . The claims of Freedom . . . should everywhere be . . . held up in contrast with Slavery, its bitter antagonist."²⁰⁴ The editorial evoked little response.

Only at Berea, Ky., does there seem to have been any Fourth of July consideration of Freedom in 1857 as it might affect Kansas. Here Cassius M. Clay "enchained the attention of the audience for 2½ hours" by an address upon the practical superiorities of freedom over slavery. To show the tyranny of slavery, he cited the rule of the slave power in Kansas; to prove the advantage of free labor over slave labor, he used figures of the United States census. As a final result of human progress he prophesied universal freedom to all men. At the end, he and his audience of 2,000-3,000, "*Resolved*, that the principles of 1776 are again in jeopardy and whether attacked by a foreign or *home foe*, will be again defended by all constitutional means to the death."²⁰⁵ Down in South Carolina, however, the militia, after toasting P. S. Brooks who "Though dead, yet liveth in the hearts of the sons of Carolina," and slavery which the "wants of society keep in existence" with negroes in the South and white slaves in the North, declared "*the hemp crops of Kansas*—ought to be applied in a domestic way, to hang Free-State agitators in the Territory."²⁰⁶

In the territory itself in 1857, the Fourth of July had wide observance. Twenty-two communities are known to have kept the day more or less formally. The territorial press recommended local festivals. Kindly recollections of times gone by, thought one editor, might not be without benefit to the people of Kansas.²⁰⁷ The roar of cannon, soul-stirring music, and an oration would "refresh and invigorate the inner man," said a second; or a good dinner, the dance, or any other convivial party would strengthen feelings of fellowship.²⁰⁸ Another liked to hear spoken words of gratitude to the old veterans to whom we owe our liberty.²⁰⁹ To him, moreover, "the

204. New York *Daily Tribune*, June 23, 1857.

205. *Ibid.*, July 23, 1857.

206. The Wautoma (Wis.) *Journal*, July 25, 1857.

207. *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, June 27, 1857.

208. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, June 20, 1857.

209. *Elwood Weekly Advertiser*, July 9, 1857.

bright and beautiful shades of Kansas" seemed especially suitable for social gatherings. With "unprejudiced hearts" the people should assemble to rejoice over the glorious change that had come over the territory within the last twelve months. "From a disturbed and almost ruined land," Kansas now seemed to them all prosperous and at peace.²¹⁰ In that spirit the people of Kansas met on July 4, 1857, to enjoy themselves and their blessings.

Editors of the two newspapers in Lawrence urged the citizens all through June, 1857, to arrange a formal celebration of the Fourth.²¹¹ They desisted, however, from making plans for the day itself, apparently because of a political rally at Clinton, eight miles to the southwest, that would use talent of Lawrence and no doubt draw on her citizenry for attendance. On July 3, however, the young people of Lawrence welcomed the approach of the Fourth by an anniversary ball at the Central House, which the *elite* of the town and of the country around attended.²¹² On the same evening other citizens collected at the Morrow House to talk politics and censure persons not choosing to see things as they did.²¹³ On the evening of the Fourth itself a party dressed in fantastic costume paraded the streets, to the great mirth of the children and to the apparent satisfaction of themselves.²¹⁴ Since their spirit assumed a harmless form, their activity won editorial approval; not so the intemperance, which swept in on flood tide on the evening of July 3, threatening "the fair fame of Lawrence."

The celebration at Clinton was used to vindicate the Topeka constitution.²¹⁵ T. Dwight Thacher, editor of the *Lawrence Republican*, who was himself the orator of the day, wrote colorfully of the occasion. He rode out in the morning with the Lawrence Cornet Band on board a four-horse wagon. Through the valley of the Wakarusa he enjoyed "the broad fertile meadows, with the waving grass . . . and fine fields of corn." Clinton he found "more ideal than actual." The events of the day included a procession of ox-teams, covered carriages, and horses, from the store to the adjoining grove, under escort of the Lawrence band; formal exercises; and a free dinner with toasts around long rustic tables beneath the shade of giant trees. Mr. Thacher praised the citizens of Clinton for their enter-

210. *Ibid.*, July 2, 1857.

211. *Lawrence Republican*, June 4, 11, 1857; *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, June 27, July 4, 11, 1857.

212. *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, July 4, 1857.

213. *Ibid.*, July 11, 1857.

214. *Ibid.*

215. *Ibid.*

prise and energy in getting up so spirited a celebration; and he congratulated the "Kansas ladies," who with their babies formed half the audience of 1,500. To him the presence of the women and children was good indication of the present peace and prosperity of the community.²¹⁶ One accident marred the day; "premature explosion of a cannon blowed off an arm for the person loading, and severely injured him in his face."²¹⁷ Between sundown and nine o'clock the editor-orator and the band tramped wearily home by moonlight through the valley of the Wakarusa to the music of "Life on the Ocean Wave" and "Rory O'More."²¹⁸

Prairie City, consisting of a dozen houses, a two-story log hotel, a half-completed stone hotel, and a foundation for a church and a seminary, invited the surrounding country to join in a varied all-day observance of the Fourth. Between 500 and 600 people responded. Among the visitors were the Lawrence "Stubbs," the Ottawa Rangers, the Centropolis Sunday school, in wagons decorated with flags and banners, and three newspaper men, Wm. A. Phillips of the New York *Tribune*, Norman Allen of the Lawrence *Republican*, and William Austin of the Centropolis *Kansas Leader*.²¹⁹ Early in the morning the Sabbath schools assembled at the large cloth tent, called the U. B. Church, marched to an arbor near the liberty pole with the Stars and Stripes floating on top, and listened to addresses "by three Reverends."²²⁰ At noon all the people shared in the free dinner; people of Prairie City noted a shortage of table furniture and of some foods, but visitors called the repast bountiful. In the afternoon S. N. Wood delivered an oration on Kansas politics, and Wm. A. Phillips spoke briefly and appropriately. The evening brought out fireworks on Liberty hill. Later, one Mr. Winton opened his home to a happy company of "lads and lasses" for a dance. Both the *Kansas Leader* and the Lawrence *Republican* felt the oration too political for the occasion; said the former, "We were celebrating the birthday of a Nation and not that of the Northern States."²²¹

Ohio City held a spirited Fourth of July celebration in 1857.²²² Making the best of their limited resources, the settlers mounted old

216. Lawrence *Republican*, July 2, 9, 1857.

217. *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, July 11, 1857.

218. Lawrence *Republican*, July 9, 1857.

219. *Freemen's Champion*, Prairie City, July 9, 1857.

220. Lawrence *Republican*, July 9, 1857.

221. *Freemen's Champion*, Prairie City, July 9, 1857.

222. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 618; Lawrence *Republican*, July 16, 1857. The *Republican* editor lost the story of the celebration submitted to his paper.

muskets for salute service, morning, noon, and night.²²³ A private letter from "Louis" to "Dearest Darling 'Birdie'" presents the fullest surviving account of the day.²²⁴ After the formal morning program of Declaration read by W. E. Kibbie and oration delivered by the Hon. Dean Andrews,²²⁵ "Louis," who was obviously an official of the Ohio City Company, took matters into his own hands. Learning that the beautiful flag just presented to the Ohio City company had been made by the young ladies of the vicinity, he ordered that the dinner already prepared by the company hotel landlord "be made *free to all present.*" The flag was then hoisted on a tall liberty pole where it floated in the constant Kansas breeze. As further compliment to the citizens and especially to the young women flag-makers, "Louis" then ordered "the House thrown open and music furnished till twelve o'clock and we all joined in and had a regular *Kansas Dance, the first Ball ever given south of Lawrence in the Territory.*" "Louis's" delight in the "noble-hearted young men and women" present was equal to his pleasure in the celebration at which there was no drinking except of "cold water and Lemonade."²²⁶

Anderson county observed the day patriotically in a grove north of Greeley. The settlers regarded the occasion, as "a season of refreshment" where they rehearsed the hardships of 1776 and of their own days in the territory. The stream of emigration now flowing into Kansas from the North had heightened their hopes somewhat. The people generally engaged in songs and toasts; C. E. Dewey and J. Y. Campbell were among the speakers.²²⁷

The people of Burlingame had a "glorious time" on the Fourth. The gathering was in a wood. Philip C. Schuyler was president. James Rogers was the orator. A free dinner preceded the toasts arranged by A. J. Parish.²²⁸

The celebration farthest south in 1857 was that of the surveyors of the southern boundary of Kansas territory, encamped on the west bank of the Arkansas river near the thirty-seventh parallel. The military forces, under command of Lt. Col. Joseph E. Johnston,

223. *Ottawa Republican*, July 26, 1877, in "Franklin County Clippings, 1856-1890," v. I, pp. 39-59.—Kansas State Historical Society.

224. "Louis" to "Dearest Darling 'Birdie,'" letter dated Ohio City, K. T., July 7, 1857, in MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society. "Louis," who indicates earlier in the letter that he was an engineer in the employ of Whitman and Searl, Lawrence, was evidently Louis de Steiguer, C. E., who laid out both Ohio City and Prairie City. (Cf. letter of L. de Steiguer, C. E., July 3, 1912, to R. H. Jenness, attached to correspondence of R. H. Jenness with Geo. W. Martin, May 9, through July 6, 1912.)

225. Andreas gives this title as the "Rev. Mr. Andrews."

226. "Louis" to "Birdie," letter dated Ohio City, K. T., July 7, 1857, in MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

227. Johnson, W. A., *op. cit.*, pp. 70, 71.

228. *Osage City Free Press*, August 18, 1876, in "Osage County Clippings," v. I, p. 57.

fired a military salute of thirty-two guns from the howitzers at noon.²²⁹ "A grand Fourth of July dinner" followed, at which the observatory surveyors from camp one mile north shared honors with the military officers. Eugene Bandel wrote in his diary of a parade, "a horse race in the cavalry, a few extra tunes of the fifers and drummers, and a great deal of lonesomeness." The day he found beautiful, being clear and cool. The Arkansas, already high, was still rising. The army wagon beds served as boats to ferry the surveyors across.²³⁰ While encamped here the soldiers enjoyed fish in abundance from the swollen stream.

Various communities to the northeast also kept Independence day, 1857. Indianola had "A horse race. Sorrel beat gray." Samuel J. Reader, who told of it, spent his morning making four tenons and two mortises at his claim, and his afternoon hoeing his potatoes, washing in the creek, writing, and reading the last of *Little Dorrit*. "An awful time it was."²³¹

Tecumseh made the Fourth of July memorable by laying the cornerstone of the bridge across the Kaw river. It advertised the occasion "to be one of brotherhood and friendship, to manifest the influence of peace and prosperity, and our fellow citizens of all portions of the territory, and from all parts of the Union, are invited to meet together at Tecumseh, the 'Neutral Council Ground,' and have a glorious time."²³² Delegations from five Indian tribes were also invited. Masonic and Odd Fellow fraternities participated in the impressive ceremonies.²³³ Speakers for the occasion included L. J. Eastin, E. O. Perrin, Walter Oakley, and Dr. Stringfellow. A public dinner and a ball in the evening, got up in "hilarious style," provided lighter entertainment. To the Topeka editor the general sobriety of the occasion was gratifying.

Wilmington, a town not yet a yearling, at the junction of the Leavenworth and Westport branches of the Santa Fe road, saluted both the sunrise and the sunset with 31 guns. At ten o'clock the neighborhood, numbering more than 100, and its visitors formed a

229. Johnston, Joseph E., "Journal," edited by Nyle H. Miller, *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. I, pp. 115, 116; Campbell, Hugh, "Journal," edited by Martha B. Caldwell, *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. VI, p. 354; Bandel, Eugene, *Frontier Life in the Army*, edited by Ralph Bieber (Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale, Calif., 1932), v. II, pp. 156, 157. Miller located the military camp "slightly over five miles east of Chilocco, Okla., and Hugh Campbell wrote that the surveyor's camp was one mile north "to be nearer the parallel." The Bieber map, accompanying the Bandel diary, makes the line of survey and the parallel virtually identical at this point.

230. Bandel, Eugene, *loc. cit.*

231. Reader, Samuel J., "Private Journal and Daybook," v. III, p. 120, entry of July 4, 1857.

232. *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, July 4, 1857; *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, July 4, 1857.

233. *Kansas Tribune*, Topeka, July 11, 1857.

procession to a grove where they had arranged seats suitable for formal exercises. E. P. Ingersoll delivered the oration. The Wilmington Quartette Club and the Germania Glee Club of Havana City furnished "very fine" music. The collation, a "bountiful supply of nice things," was sufficient for 300 people. "The eatables," wrote J. E. D., "would have tempted an epicure." The toasts reflected general good feeling; the day "passed off very fine," strengthening the good will of adjoining neighborhoods for Wilmington.²³⁴

New and enterprising Burlington, which marked its age only in weeks, had an old-fashioned holiday in commemoration of "the day that made us free." Its youthful patriotism was at high tide. The committee on plans had expected but a scanty gathering. With the day, however, came squatters to the number of 300; from twenty miles they came. O. E. Learnard was the president; Wm. B. Parsons was the orator, speaking with "the polish of a scholar and the fervor of a patriot." A band of four members supplied music. The dinner at two o'clock was "in city order"; abundance and luxury were there and enough for all and to spare. Among the toasts was one by William Hutchinson of Lawrence, who spoke at length on "Kansas—The youngest and smartest child in Uncle Sam's family." At the merry dance in the evening youth and age were upon an equality. "Ladies" were "abundant." One of the most accomplished dancers was a woman of French descent, a mother of thirteen children.²³⁵

Five-months-old Emporia planned its first public meeting for July 4, 1857. To disseminate good feeling and information it invited neighboring towns and communities to participate in addresses and a free dinner. Committees were to procure the necessary meat, with power to draw on the treasurer to pay for the same. Settlers were to bake and bring such provisions as suited their convenience. At the last, however, sickness in the neighborhood made public celebration inexpedient.²³⁶

Settlers who had been in El Dorado but three weeks drew on nature's storehouses for food for their Independence day feasting. One of them caught a buffalo fish in Walnut creek; another shot a wild turkey; and a third brought in a deer. While the meats roasted,

234. *Ibid.*, July 4, 1857; *The Kansas News*, Emporia, July 18, 1857.

235. Lawrence *Republican*, July 9, 1857; Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 654. In "Sketches of Kansas Pioneer Experience," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. VII, p. 396, Wm. Hutchinson wrote of riding in from cross country 60 miles from his claim at Mapleton to Burlington, July 3, to take part in a celebration July 4, but he gave the year as 1858. Probably the trip was to the 1857 celebration.

236. *The Kansas News*, Emporia, June 6, 20, July 4, 1857; Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 846, wrote that the first public meeting at Emporia was the Fourth of July celebration, 1857.

the settlers with their wagons in a circle to serve as a fort against possible Indian attack, listened to an address by Judge John A. Wakefield of Lawrence.²³⁷ In the center of the circle they kept "the stars and stripes erect."

Wabaunsee observed the national anniversary with a parade. Most of the wagons were drawn by oxen. Garlands hung from the yokes and horns. Snowy canopies decorated with floral and ever-green designs covered some of the wagons. A canopy of pink pleased the children especially. The most attractive "rig" received a prize.²³⁸

The observance in Wyandotte²³⁹ consisted of speaking and an unseasonal and extravagant assemblage of foods for free eating. George H. Hildt²⁴⁰ wrote of John Diehl's hearing Governor Walker²⁴¹ and others speak. Every one received an invitation to the dinner, offering such luxuries as oysters, beef, ham, nuts, raisins, and ice cream. The affair "went off first rate," according to the report. Mr. Hildt, a Kansas pioneer from Canal Dover, Ohio, settling in Johnson county, himself "fixed up and went to Olathe" on the morning of the Fourth, and in the afternoon "went again after cattle" lost on the open range.

Other towns, bare fact of celebrations in which survives, were Delaware, and Moneka.²⁴² Brownville had a pleasant gathering with speeches and singing by the Brownville musical association; among the themes for toasts there was a new one—"Taxation and Representation."²⁴³ From Leroy someone wrote to a friend in Lawrence: "The 4th of July was here, and *lots of other folks*—had a good time generally."²⁴⁴ Just beyond Manhattan, 300 people gathered at a picnic to renew old acquaintances and form new ones;²⁴⁵ a good dinner, speeches, sentiments, and song constituted the formal entertainment.

The gayest and most sophisticated keepings of the Fourth in Kansas territory in 1857 were, as in 1855 and 1856, to the northeast along the Missouri river, but the settings were in different

237. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1431.

238. *Semi-Centennial Wabaunsee Congregational Church* (Alma Enterprise Print., June 27, 28, 1907), pp. 6, 47.

239. *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, July 4, 1857. Mere notice of a celebration appears in this paper.

240. Hildt, George H., "Diary," entry of July, 1857, in MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

241. "Governor Walker" was evidently Gov. William Walker.

242. *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, July 4, 1857.

243. *Lawrence Republican*, July 9, 1857.

244. *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, August 1, 1857.

245. Allen, Mrs. Chestina B., "Sketches and Journal," entry of July 4, 1857.

towns. White Cloud announced a lot sale for the day. River towns as far east as St. Louis and as far north as Council Bluffs responded enthusiastically.²⁴⁶ One boat on its downward trip sold 500 tickets. The town company chartered two boats, the *Watossa* and the *Morning Star*, to bring in the prospective and pleasure-seeking buyers.²⁴⁷ They engaged the St. Joseph brass band to provide music for a "grand ball" at night on the *Morning Star*. They brought in a "baby-waker," a 24-pound "field-piece," to provide the necessary noise. As the size of the promised crowd increased, the committee on foods added to the beeves, sheep, pigs, and fowl held in readiness for cooking. They set their tables near a good spring of water. The St. Louis (Mo.) *Republican* said that the barbecue would be free, that "lots of champagne would be opened, and of course drank," and that "sport, profit, Fourth of July, and music" awaited the large party from St. Louis that would spend the week en route aboard the *Morning Star*.²⁴⁸ The St. Joseph (Mo.) *Gazette* believed there was "no question but what White Cloud is the point in the Territory above Leavenworth City."²⁴⁹

On the afternoon of July 3 the *Morning Star* picked up the band and 200 passengers at St. Joseph; more recruits boarded at Elwood, among them the senior editor of the Elwood *Weekly Advertiser*, who had received a free excursion ticket.²⁵⁰ Fifteen miles below White Cloud the boat "hauled up at a woodyard and lay by for the night." When music was called for, "gay lads led forth their bonnie lasses, and

"Tripped it lightly as we go,
On the light fantastic toe."

White Cloud ushered in the Fourth by the firing of cannon. The Stars and Stripes were thrown to the breeze. People poured in from the adjacent country. About eight o'clock the report of cannon down the river announced the approach of the *Morning Star*. White Cloud answered with a national salute from the bluffs. The *Watossa* and a third boat, *Emma*, arrived with more visitors.²⁵¹ "Other jubilistic and patriotic demonstrations" occurred on shore. To the Elwood editor White Cloud seemed "extensively laid out, but very thinly settled." Already a large concourse of people from far and

246. White Cloud *Kansas Chief*, June 18, July 2, 1857.

247. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, June 27, 1857.

248. White Cloud *Kansas Chief*, July 2, 1857, quoting the St. Louis (Mo.) *Republican* of June 26, 1857.

249. *Ibid.*

250. Elwood *Weekly Advertiser*, July 9, 1857.

251. White Cloud *Kansas Chief*, July 9, 1857.

near thronged the streets. "The rapid tread and cheering shouts of the young," he thought, "gave animation and vigor to the old." The weather was propitious. In the holiday air he sensed joy mingled with reverence for a great cause and the memory of great men.²⁵²

"Business before pleasure" was the motto of the town company for the day.²⁵³ For one and one-half hours they sold lots. Then a procession formed, and the band led the way to a grove below the sawmill where everyone partook of the barbecue of bread and meat—plenty of it, in old Kentucky style. In the "exercises of the lungs" that followed, James Craig, congressman-elect from the St. Joseph district, speaking in behalf of the town company, presented two shares of city stock to the *Morning Star* and one share to the *Watossa*; and Judge S. A. Williams of the territory gave an oration. Then the lot sale was resumed for an hour. At night two dances completed the program, one on the *Morning Star*, participated in by some of the townsfolk, and another in the room under the office of the *Kansas Chief*, where the dancers "exercised their agility to the music of the violin." The boats waited until morning to leave.

Sol Miller felt the company's expectations were realized. He estimated the attendance at 2,000. "The crowd presented a motley array of men, women, children, babies, Indians, and niggers," he wrote, "all full of patriotism, intent upon celebrating the Fourth, and getting their dinner." He did note considerable drunkenness and a number of fights. Otherwise "everything passed off finely. So mote it always be."

Doniphan began its celebration also on the eve of the Fourth with a dance.²⁵⁴ Banners and evergreens tastefully decorated the spacious rooms of the hotel for "the light-hearted and light-footed." The junior editor of the *Weekly Advertiser*, who was there, wrote gaily, ". . . Give us border towns forever. No hoops to obstruct the progress of the waltz—always a hearty 'yes, sir' when you propose a dance." The next day, in a shaded rural retreat, B. O'Driscoll read the "immortal Declaration" and J. R. Boyd gave the oration. The barbecue tables groaned under the loads of substantial and delicacies of the season. The editor was tempted "to ask the hand of some of the fair ones," but paying for paper and ink from St. Louis interfered too much with his paying for "pork and beans." All the celebrators at Doniphan, however, were not so

252. Elwood *Weekly Advertiser*, July 9, 1857.

253. White Cloud *Kansas Chief*, July 9, 1857.

254. Elwood *Weekly Advertiser*, July 9, 1857.

light-hearted. A Free-State man named Mitchell took issue with the orator over his Southern views.²⁵⁵ "Boyd knocked Mitchell down. Mitchell challenged Boyd to a duel." The two were arrested and bound over to keep the peace. Meanwhile Col. James H. Lane and his men seized upon United States muskets and threatened Proslavery men, "declaring they could whip them with fists, clubs, muskets, pistols, bowie-knives, or anything else." All parties finally gave up arms, but Governor Walker was requested to issue a proclamation.

Brown county, just west of Doniphan county, kept its first Fourth of July in 1857 with a public gathering in the wood of John Poe²⁵⁶ on Mulberry creek. W. C. Foster presided. Daniel McFarland delivered the oration. Noah Hanson read the toasts. W. G. Sargent and others made appropriate speeches. Settlers to the number of 200 to 300 were present.²⁵⁷

To chastise the Indians for their depredations on the overland routes the War Department had sent Col. E. V. Sumner to Fort Kearny and Maj. John Sedgwick along the Santa Fe trail, both en route to Fort Laramie. Although in setting out the two detachments had hoped to meet on July 4, the troops under Major Sedgwick, in camp below Fort St. Vrain,²⁵⁸ were somewhat startled to have their anniversary salute of 32 guns answered by a boom of 32 guns down the river, recognized as from Colonel Sumner's command, and found afterward to be 15 miles below. The next day Sedgwick's force moved down the river and the two commands established camps side by side.²⁵⁹

Two months later in Kansas territory P. B. Plumb, who had tried so hard for an Independence day gathering in Emporia to develop good will, wrote bitterly:

The Union is a glorious theme for buncombe Fourth of July orations and for Democratic Governors to befog and bewilder a people whom they have really come to bedevil and sink lower down into the hell of despotism. We in Kansas know that the Union is to us a huge tyrant—that Federal officials are our worst and most baneful foes. . . . Ask of the men of Kansas to

255. *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, July 9, 1857.

256. Harrington spells this name Powe; Andreas, Roe.

257. Ruley, A. N., *History of Brown County* (1930), p. 30; Harrington, Grant W., *Annals of Brown County, Kansas* (Harrington Printing Co., Hiawatha, 1903), p. 11; Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 711.

258. Lowe, *op. cit.*, pp. 262, 263; Peck, Robert Morris, "Recollections of Early Times in Kansas Territory," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. VIII, p. 493, wrote that Fort St. Vrain was in ruins.

259. *National Tribune*, Washington, D. C., March 14, 1891, "Rough Riding on the Plains," by Robert Morris Peck, and Lowe, *op. cit.*, pp. 261-263. Peck was with Major Sedgwick, Lowe was with Colonel Sumner. See, also, Robert Morris Peck's "Recollections of Early Times in Kansas Territory," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. VIII, p. 493.

love the Union. The remains of the Free State Hotel, and the ruins of our printing presses laugh you to scorn. . . . Go ask the shades of Barber, Brown, Buffum, Hoyt and Hupps²⁶⁰ for an answer. Turn to the Fourth of July, 1856, and to the white prison tents that gleamed on the prairie that memorable summer, guarded by the troops of the Union, and you will receive your reply. "Love the Union?" Ask not us. . . . Come not near us with your mockery.²⁶¹

To Mr. Plumb and other Kansans of his ilk the Union as it now existed was but a libel on the name.

260. This is a misspelling of Hoppes.

261. *The Kansas News*, Emporia, August 29, 1857.

The Annual Meeting

THE sixty-fifth annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society and board of directors was held in the rooms of the Society on October 15, 1940.

The annual meeting of the board of directors was called to order by the president, T. M. Lillard, at 10 a. m. First business was the reading of the annual report of the secretary.

SECRETARY'S REPORT, YEAR ENDING OCTOBER 15, 1940

This annual meeting ends my tenth year as secretary of the Society, and in many respects it has been the busiest of the decade. In addition to routine work, the staff has devoted much time to the highway historical sign program, to the restoration of the North building at Old Shawnee Mission and to the building of a new caretaker's cottage on the First Capitol grounds. During the year there was a material increase in the number of persons using the resources of the Society, as well as in the organization of our various collections. The supervision of federal projects also requires continuous attention. Details of these activities will appear in the reports of the various departments.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Pres. T. M. Lillard reappointed Thomas Amory Lee, Robert C. Rankin and Chester Woodward to the executive committee, the members holding over being Justice John S. Dawson and T. M. Lillard. The members of the committee have been consulted on all matters of unusual importance, and I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to them for their encouragement and advice.

BUDGET REQUESTS

Appropriation requests for the next biennium were filed with the state budget director in September.

For the Historical Society two additional cataloguers were requested. Increases of \$500 a year were asked for the book and microfilm funds and \$1,500 was requested for the purchase of new catalogue cases, a book truck and other equipment.

For Old Shawnee Mission: The mission has no fire protection, the only water coming from an adjoining golf course through a small pipe. Through lack of funds, the furnace in the East building has never been placed in working condition. Grass and shrubbery should be planted on the grounds, and a power mower is needed. Since it is impossible for one caretaker to show the thousands of visitors through the buildings and keep up the property, much work has to be done by extra laborers. The contingent fund of \$1,000 a year is inadequate and an increase of \$1,000 a year was asked.

LIBRARY

During the year approximately 4,000 persons did research work in the library. Of these more than a thousand were helped in genealogical research, and more than 200 were served by mail from the loan file on Kansas subjects.

New sections were added to the Kansas catalogue, the general catalogue

and the Library of Congress catalogue. This necessitated a reorganization of several hundred thousand cards.

The Society's clipping service is an outstanding feature of the library. It is widely used and copied. During the year several institutions sent representatives to study our methods. In this division about 350 clippings are mounted each month. They are classified and catalogued and then become a part of the permanent library. These clippings cover biographical material on prominent men and women of Kansas, including a classified section for artists, sculptors, musicians, authors and actors. They also include articles on the histories of counties and towns, as well as churches, organizations, schools, education, economics, crimes, railroads, science, Indians, wars in which Kansas has had a part, agriculture, oil industry, aviation, radio and motion pictures. These clippings now constitute quite a remarkable library in themselves.

From our duplicate collection last year a large number of magazines were donated to Bethany College at Lindsborg, and many books and magazines were given to the Kansas Vocational School. A selection was also made from these duplicates to help with the work for the shut-ins, a WPA project supervised by the Topeka Public Library.

The library receives many gifts of genealogies, and of books by Kansas authors. The Kansas Daughters of the American Revolution have presented typed copies of historical and biographical material gathered by various chapters. From the Historical Records Survey have come 170 volumes of inventories of county and town archives, church archives, calendars of manuscript collections, census records from all the states, and check lists of imprints from several of the states.

The library is now coöperating with the American Library Association in a revision of the *Union List of Serials*. When completed this list will show all publications of a serial nature, such as magazines, publications of societies and reports of institutions, including foreign publications, and in what libraries they may be found. The files of the Society contain many valuable publications which did not appear in the previous edition, some of which probably are not available anywhere else in the country.

PICTURE COLLECTION

During the year 483 pictures were classified, catalogued and added to the picture collection. Through the courtesy of Elsie Evans, librarian of the Leavenworth Public Library, the Society was able to purchase at small cost copies of 90 pictures of early Leavenworth and Fort Leavenworth which are of great interest. Mrs. Will R. Christian of Ulysses lent pictures of Ulysses and Mrs. Mildred C. Beason of Gove lent pictures of Sharon Springs and Wallace from which copies were made. The Topeka *State Journal* donated 120 pictures of individuals and Kansas scenes.

WORLD WAR POSTERS

A valuable addition to the Society's World War posters was a collection of 51 colored lithographs from Mrs. Bennett R. Wheeler. Most of these were printed in the United States.

STATE ARCHIVES

Major accessions for the year were eight charter copybooks from the office of the Secretary of State and 3,025 booklets containing the statistical rolls for 1932 as returned by assessors to the State Board of Agriculture.

Work was continued on the loose-leaf catalogue of old townsites, discontinued post offices and railroad stations of Kansas. This list comprises 5,693 names and fills 26 volumes.

There are now 189 volumes listing state charters and amendments in this division, covering dates from 1863 to 1938. During the year 17,560 index cards were made from these records, raising the grand total to 189,685 cards. From the 28 volumes of amendments approximately 40,000 entries were made.

The work of indexing the 1860 census is nearing completion—this list numbering close to 140,000 cards. Index slips for the 1875 census now number approximately 21,800.

Requests come almost daily from welfare agencies for age verifications of persons seeking aid. 434 certifications were issued from this department during the year.

PRIVATE MANUSCRIPTS

Thirty-seven manuscript volumes and 581 individual manuscripts were received during the year in addition to two unorganized collections on which figures are not yet available.

Several hundred letters and documents were received from the estate of the late Harriet Parkerson, niece of Isaac T. Goodnow. The letters are mainly personal in character; the documents include records of Bluemont College and the Kansas State College of Agriculture.

About fifty items from the papers of Acting Territorial Gov. Daniel Woodson were given by his granddaughter, Mrs. Nelle Woodson Curry.

A valuable collection of letters from the papers of Oscar E. Learnard was received from his son, Tracy Learnard, of San Jose, Calif. O. E. Learnard was a leader in the Free-State and Republican parties, a member of the territorial council, one of the founders of Burlington, an officer in the Union army and holder of several public offices in the state.

George J. Remsburg, Porterville, Calif., archaeologist and historian, who has written extensively on Kansas subjects, sent several hundred letters from his correspondence files.

Judge J. C. Ruppenthal, of Russell, through whose efforts many valuable historical records of Russell county have been preserved, presented his private docket of the 23d judicial district during his terms as judge, 1907-1919, 1923-1930, 24 books in all.

One volume of typed copies of letters by James R. Mead to members of his family, 1859-1910, was given by his son, James L. Mead, Chicago. James R. Mead was a prominent early-day figure, famous hunter and trader and associate of Jesse Chisholm.

The four letter-press books from the offices of Thomas Ewing, Jr., and the Leavenworth law firm of Sherman, Ewing & McCook, lent to the Society for copying by Thomas Ewing, New York, have been presented as gifts. The collection includes, also, miscellaneous letters and two volumes of financial records.

NEWSPAPERS

During the year twenty reels of microfilms of old newspapers have been added to the Society's collections. These films represent about six years of daily and thirty-three years of weekly newspapers. The papers include the Kansas City (Mo.) *Daily Journal of Commerce* from December 17, 1858, to June 30, 1865, the Kansas City (Mo.) *Enterprise* from November 10, 1855, to October 3, 1857, the *Weekly Western Journal of Commerce*, Kansas City, Mo., from October 17, 1857, to June 23, 1866, the *Oskaloosa Independent* from July 11, 1860, to August 20, 1870, the *Lawrence Republican* from May 28, 1857, to November 13, 1862, the *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, from September 15, 1854, to December 26, 1857, the *Integral Cooperator* of Enterprise and parts of the *American Nonconformist* of Winfield. Most of these papers were microfilmed in coöperation with other libraries, which greatly reduced the cost to the Society.

It has been asked how we can continue to find space to store our newspaper collections. The microfilm suggests the answer. One reel of film may be said to approximate 850 newspaper pages, the equivalent of a two-months' volume of the *Topeka State Journal* of 1940. This means that one small Recordak film file with a capacity of 383 reels could hold all the Society's files of the *Topeka Daily Capital* from 1879 to December, 1940, plus our files of the *Topeka State Journal* from 1880 to 1895, a total of seventy-six years of daily newspapers.

In this department several WPA workers are listing all past changes in names of newspapers, editors, publishers and owners. About half the Kansas weekly newspapers have been completed.

Use of our newspapers increases each year. Researchers spend weeks and months here, compiling historical data. During the year 4,298 patrons were registered, coming from a dozen states. In this time they examined 25,390 bound newspaper volumes and 12,252 unbound issues.

The 1940 *List of Kansas Newspapers and Periodicals* was published in July. The *List* shows the issues of 745 newspapers and periodicals being received regularly for filing. Of these, 61 are dailies, 13 semiweeklies, 489 weeklies, 25 fortnightlies, one trimonthly, 17 semimonthlies, 76 monthlies, nine bimonthlies, 20 quarterlies, 28 occasionals, three semiannuals and three annuals, coming from all the 105 Kansas counties. Of these 745 publications, 165 are listed republican, 45 democratic and 279 independent in politics; 94 are school or college, 29 religious, 19 fraternal, 17 local and 97 miscellaneous (including four Negro publications).

On January 1, 1940, the Society's collection contained 46,612 bound volumes of Kansas newspapers and more than 10,000 bound volumes of out-of-state newspapers.

Among the year's other accessions are the following: Helen Shirk of Topeka contributed a number of issues of her father's monthly publication, *The School and Home*, Abilene, also eight miscellaneous issues of *Trench and Camp* of Camp Doniphan, Fort Sill, Oklahoma; Mrs. Robert Merrick of Topeka donated seven issues of the *Night Hawk*, Washburn College; the Woman's Kansas Day Club gave a number of miscellaneous papers to the Society. Among the other donors the following should be mentioned: Mr. and Mrs. R. L. Barker of Kansas City, Mrs. Fenn Ward of Highland, L. H. Ruppenthal

of McPherson, Harry Mangold of Hutchinson, Mrs. Loyal F. Payne of Manhattan, Mary M. Smelzer of the Watson Library, Lawrence, Mrs. Vernon McArthur of Hutchinson, Mrs. W. G. Cooper of Blakeman, Everett G. Barber of Salina, Mrs. Merebah Clark of Terre Haute, Ind., Mrs. Hattie Wade Leisening of Sedalia, Mo., George Remsburg of Porterville, Calif., Mrs. Herbert W. Geer, Jennie Small Owen, Paul Parrish, Ernest F. McNutt and Horace G. Black of Topeka.

MUSEUM

The attendance in the museum for the year was 31,112. Between April 9 and May 29, 2,159 students from 36 counties, representing over 100 schools, made class pilgrimages to view the exhibits.

There were 49 accessions. Among the most interesting was a printer's proof galley from the *Oskaloosa Independent*, in constant use for 79 years, donated by Mrs. F. H. Roberts through the Woman's Kansas Day Club. John J. McKnight, Baileyville, donated a buggy in which his uncle, Dr. George C. McKnight, Hiawatha, had traveled 27,500 miles in the practice of his profession.

During the year a complete index of the Goss collection of birds was made.

SUBJECTS FOR RESEARCH

During the year the following have been subjects for serious research: *Biography*: John James Ingalls; Solomon Miller; Joseph E. Bristow; Charles R. Jennison; Theodore Roosevelt; Jesse James; Walt Whitman; John Brown in American literature; Joseph Ralph Burton. *County and town history*: Decatur county; Frankfort; early Baxter Springs and its development; Norton county; Hamilton county; the Rawlins county-seat fight; community of Mullinville; Kansas City. *Education*: Education in Russell county; common school education in Territorial Kansas; Cloud county schools; the University of Kansas; the schools of Ford county. *Economics*: Banking in Bourbon county; banking in Cherokee county; unemployment; the manufacturing of starch; meat packing industry; Kansas Gas and Electric Company; comparison of hog prices at five different markets. *General*: Mennonites in McPherson, Reno and Harvey counties; public assistance in Dickinson county; party platforms in Kansas; Osage ceded lands; pioneer life in Kansas as revealed in fiction; organization and administration of Kansas troops in the Civil War; Kansas Grange, 1870-1890; Wilson's raid in Virginia; sectionalism and local color in the plains states; Coronado; Catholic church on the Kansas frontier; storm studies; migration of the Negro into early Kansas; settlements in northwest Kansas; Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad; campaign and patriotic songs; Kansas Day banquet speeches.

ACCESSIONS

July 1, 1939, to June 30, 1940

Library:		
Books (volumes)	1,105	
Pamphlets	3,225	
Magazines (bound volumes)	169	
Archives:		
Separate manuscripts	3,025	
Manuscript volumes	none	
Manuscript maps	none	

Private manuscripts:	
Separate manuscripts	581
Volumes	37
Printed maps, atlases and charts.....	83
Newspapers (bound volumes).....	858
Pictures	483
Museum objects	49

TOTAL ACCESSIONS, JUNE 30, 1940

Books, pamphlets, bound newspapers and magazines....	390,462
Separate manuscripts (archives).....	1,073,009
Manuscript volumes (archives).....	27,897
Manuscript maps (archives).....	583
Printed maps, atlases and charts.....	11,354
Pictures	19,257
Museum objects	33,005

THE QUARTERLY

The Kansas Historical Quarterly is now in its ninth year, eight volumes already having been published. Much of the credit for the high standard the magazine has achieved among the state historical magazines of the country should go to Dr. James C. Malin, associate editor, who is professor of history at Kansas University. Doctor Malin's criticisms of articles submitted is invaluable. The *Quarterly* is widely quoted by the newspapers of the state and is used in many schools.

FEDERAL WORK PROJECTS

Thirteen to sixteen persons have been employed four days a week on the Society's unit of the state-wide WPA museum project. They are supervised by the staff, and mention of their work is made in departmental reports. Federal expenditures for the year from October 6, 1939, to October 7, 1940, were \$12,579.27 for salaries. The Society's expenditures for the same period were approximately \$230 for materials.

Much credit for work accomplished is due Robert Beine, WPA supervisor assigned to the Society. Mrs. Mary Parkman, head of the Professional and Service division of WPA, and Harold J. Henderson, supervisor of the Historical Records and Imprints surveys, have cooperated in these projects.

Two state-wide work-relief projects have been sponsored by the Society.

The Kansas section of the American Imprints Inventory, sponsored since October 1, 1938, has examined over two million volumes in Kansas libraries. Of these, titles of 55,677 have been listed. An inventory was made of 4,057 volumes. The survey will soon be carried to twenty-three additional city and college libraries. On the basis of total holdings of all Kansas depositories it is estimated that the imprints inventory is approximately seventy-five percent complete. A *Check List of Kansas Imprints* was published in December, 1939. The project employs ten persons.

The Historical Records Survey sponsored since September 1, 1939, has issued nine inventories of county records. The Shawnee county inventory, now being mimeographed, is tenth of the series. The project is operating in seventy counties, and first listing of records has been completed in sixty-nine. One hundred twenty workers are employed on this survey.

KANSAS HISTORICAL MARKERS

Six years ago a committee of the Kansas Chamber of Commerce headed by Fred Brinkerhoff, of Pittsburg, Roy Bailey, of Salina, and Samuel Wilson, of Topeka, met with the secretary of the Historical Society to discuss plans for marking historic sites on state highways. As a starter, the Historical Society compiled a list of 100 sites. From these fifty were selected for the first signs. Gov. Walter Huxman and the Highway Commission approved the project and one marker was constructed before the change in administrations. In July, 1940, Gov. Payne Ratner and D. J. Fair, director of the new Highway Commission, resumed the program, and it is now being energetically carried out.

Texts for the signs are written by the Historical Society after careful research. Frequently as many as a dozen drafts are made before final approval. Highway employees rout and burn these inscriptions in white pine signs, six to eight feet long by five or six feet deep. At the sites the markers are suspended from logs supported by upright posts placed in concrete. Warning signs—small ovals with the silhouette of a buffalo—are placed on highways a quarter of a mile on each side of the signs.

Twenty of the first fifty inscriptions have been turned over to the Highway Commission and fourteen markers have been completed. Half of these have been placed on the highways, each with special unveiling ceremonies.

Public response has been gratifying. Much credit should be given to Mr. Fair and his assistants. Their work includes selecting the marker sites, securing easement papers when land is not already available, preparing location sketches for their construction divisions, and grading the sites for the markers.

OLD SHAWNEE METHODIST MISSION

Work on the restoration of the North building at the mission, made possible by the appropriation of \$15,000 by the 1939 legislature, was begun last winter. The state architect, Roy W. Stookey, and his assistant, Charles Marshall, who drew up the plans and supervised the work, have taken a keen personal interest in this unique project. It was necessary to tear down the west end of the building and build a new foundation. The old brick, now nearly one hundred years old, was cleaned and relaid. All other exterior brick and stone have been repaired and pointed up. All beams and supports were reinforced and a new roof was laid. Much of the long two-story veranda had to be replaced. The accumulated paints and varnishes of one hundred years were scraped off the interior floors and woodwork and the native oak and walnut were restored to their natural finish. Replacements of wood and hardware, where necessary, have matched the originals as closely as possible. Plastering has just been completed. From an architectural standpoint this is the most attractive of the three old brick buildings at the mission. When it is restored and the grounds are landscaped it will be a beautiful addition to the historic shrines of Kansas.

During the year minor repairs have been made on the other buildings. The large signs were repainted this fall. Last spring a wide border of native shrubbery was planted along the east and south property lines south of the road. Drought in recent years has killed much of the bluegrass to which the grounds were sown six years ago. Several acres were plowed up and reseeded this fall.

The Society is indebted to the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society and to the state departments of the Colonial Dames, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Daughters of American Colonists and the Daughters of 1812 for their splendid coöperation at the mission. The number of visitors increases each year. Harry A. Hardy, caretaker at the mission, and his wife, Kate Hardy, deserve special mention for the excellent manner in which the buildings and grounds are maintained.

FIRST CAPITOL OF KANSAS

The legislature of 1939 appropriated \$3,000 for a cottage for the caretaker at the First Capitol building on US-40 in the Fort Riley reservation. The state architect designed this cottage to conform with the old building, which was restored by the Union Pacific railway in 1927. For the past eight years the caretaker has been living in an unsightly box car which can now be removed. Minor repairs have been made on the capitol building and this fall the large signs on the highway were repainted. One of the new highway markers is to be placed on this site in the near future.

PIKE-PAWNEE MONUMENT

Repairs were made this fall on the fence and the flagpole at the Pike-Pawnee monument in Republic county. On September 20 a historical marker describing the events commemorated by the monument was dedicated at Scandia on US-36 eight miles south of the park.

A TEN-YEARS' SURVEY

As mentioned at the beginning of this report this annual meeting ends my tenth year as secretary. During that period a continuous effort has been made to organize, catalogue and repair the vast collections of the Society, so that they might be more useful, and to give them more frequent publication. A brief statement of some of the accomplishments of the decade will be of interest.

PUBLICATIONS

The Kansas Historical Collections, published biennially, were discontinued and the *Quarterly* was substituted, of which eight volumes have appeared. Nine newspaper lists, showing publications received, and several pamphlets have been issued. One book, *The Annals of Shawnee Mission and the Indian Manual Labor School*, was published last year. A general index to both *The Kansas Historical Collections* and *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* is being prepared.

NEWSPAPERS

New steel shelves costing \$3,600 have been installed, for the first time permitting a systematic arrangement of newspapers and keeping them from deterioration. A record of every paper belonging to the Society was published in the *Union List of Newspapers*. Many valuable accessions were acquired, including 81 volumes of early Leavenworth papers, 90 issues of the *Atchison Squatter Sovereign*, and a large file of the *Emporia Kansas News*, 1857-1878. A microfilm projector and 1,829 feet of newspaper film are recent additions.

ARCHIVES

Correspondence of Governors Reed, Woodring, Landon and Huxman was received, as well as large accessions from other state departments. An index of corporation charters consisting of 190,000 cards was made. Alphabetical listings of 168,000 persons in the census records of 1855, 1860 and 1875 were prepared. A record of 7,000 dead towns is nearing completion. Certificates of age, based on the census, were issued to 1,400 persons.

MUSEUM

More than 30,000 relics and pictures were cleaned, repaired and relabeled. The Billard airplane was acquired, perhaps the most interesting object in the museum.

LIBRARY

Of exceptional value are the following: A list of legislators from 1855-1939; an index of the Civil War roster; an index to early volumes of biographical clippings; a list of the Society's holdings for publication in the *Union List of Serials*; classification of 45,000 books and pamphlets in the library annex; filing of 500,000 Library of Congress cards; assisting in the preparation of the *Inventory of Kansas Imprints*; classifying and cataloguing the Society's 20,000 pictures; and cleaning and mounting on muslin 12,000 maps and broadsides.

PRIVATE MANUSCRIPTS

Hundreds of valuable papers were cleaned and repaired by methods developed at the Library of Congress and the whole department was reorganized. Among the accessions were: Seven truck loads of books and papers brought from the attic of the old post office when it was razed, probably the largest and most valuable single collection ever acquired by the Society; 25,000 papers of Charles S. Glead; 12,000 items from the law department of the Union Pacific railroad through the courtesy of T. M. Lillard; 17,000 records of livestock brands, 1855 to 1937, from the state planning board; papers and diaries of Isaac Goodnow; papers and diaries of Elam Bartholomew; Thomas Ewing letter books; Chas. Robinson papers from Hannah Oliver; Gov. John P. St. John letter books; and photostats of John Brown letters, and documents in the national archives.

SHAWNEE MISSION

Much has been done at Shawnee Mission. Work in the East building includes installation of new supporting timbers, removal of partitions on second floor, restoration of the original flooring and installation of a club room. A frame garage was torn down and replaced by a brick garage and workshop. The West building was repaired, renovated and reroofed. Restoration of North building, with \$15,000 appropriated by the legislature, has been mentioned. The grounds were landscaped and replanted.

FIRST CAPITOL

The appropriation of \$3,000 for a caretaker's cottage at the First Capitol has been mentioned.

THE STAFF OF THE SOCIETY

The various accomplishments noted in this report are due to the Society's splendid staff of employees. Visitors from all parts of the country almost invariably go out of their way to compliment the Society on the spirit of

coöperation they find in every department. I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to them. At this annual meeting special mention must be made of Mrs. Mary Embree, who began a leave of absence the first of September. Mrs. Embree joined the staff on February 1, 1911, as accountant and treasurer. During these thirty years she made an invaluable contribution to the upbuilding of the Society. She leaves with the sincere best wishes of every member of the staff.

Respectfully submitted,

KIRKE MECHEM, *Secretary.*

At the conclusion of the reading of the secretary's report, T. A. McNeal moved that it be accepted. Motion was seconded by John S. Dawson.

Mr. Lillard then called for the report of the treasurer. In lieu of a report by Mrs. Mary Embree, absent on leave, the audit by the state accountant of the Society's funds was presented by Mrs. Lela Barnes.

AUDIT REPORT

AUGUST 11, 1939, TO AUGUST 31, 1940

MEMBERSHIP FEE FUND

Balance, August 11, 1939:			
Cash		\$1,141.29	
Treasury bonds (par value, \$3,500).....		3,441.81	
		<hr/>	\$4,583.10
Receipts:			
Life memberships	210.00		
Annual dues	116.00		
Interest on bonds.....	146.25		
Postage returned	434.00		
Postage received	1.00		
Total receipts		<hr/>	907.25
			<hr/>
			\$5,490.35
Disbursements:			
Travel expenses	262.86		
Annual meeting	24.75		
Postage	316.00		
Dues and subscriptions.....	233.00		
Shawnee Mission pageant.....	40.00		
Supplies	36.93		
Drayage	17.50		
Surety bonds	10.00		
Flowers	9.53		
Christmas gifts to janitors.....	8.50		
Plaques	5.00		
Safety deposit box.....	3.30		
Extra typing	3.00		
Notary commission	2.00		
Total disbursements		<hr/>	972.37
Balance, August 31, 1940:			
Cash		1,076.17	
Treasury bonds (par value, \$3,500).....		3,441.81	
		<hr/>	4,517.98
			<hr/>
			\$5,490.35

JONATHAN PECKER BEQUEST

Balance, August 11, 1939.....	\$68.00
Treasury bonds	950.00
	\$1,018.00
Interest received:	
Bond interest	\$27.78
Interest on bank balance.....	.43
	28.21
	\$1,046.21
Disbursements, books	\$18.21
Balance, August 31, 1940:	
Cash	78.00
Treasury bonds	950.00
	\$1,046.21

JOHN BOOTH BEQUEST

Balance, August 11, 1939.....	\$76.75
Treasury bonds	500.00
	\$576.75
Interest received:	
Bond interest	\$13.88
Interest on bank balance.....	.22
	14.10
	\$590.85
Disbursements, books	\$77.50
Balance, August 31, 1940:	
Cash	13.35
Treasury bonds	500.00
	\$590.85

THOMAS H. BOWLUS, DONATION

This donation is substantiated by a United States treasury bond in the amount of \$1,000. Interest is credited to the membership fund.

On motion of Mrs. W. D. Philip, seconded by Mrs. Bennett R. Wheeler, the report was accepted.

The report of the executive committee on the audit by the state accountant of the funds of the Society was called for and read by the secretary.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

OCTOBER 15, 1940.

To the Board of Directors, Kansas State Historical Society:

The executive committee being directed under the bylaws to check the accounts of the treasurer, states that the state accountant has audited the funds of the State Historical Society, the First Capitol of Kansas and the Old Shawnee Mission from August 11, 1939, to August 31, 1940, and that they are hereby approved.

THOMAS AMORY LEE, *Chairman.*

Justice Dawson moved that the report be accepted; seconded by T. A. McNeal.

The report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society was read by the secretary:

NOMINATING COMMITTEE'S REPORT

OCTOBER 15, 1940.

To the Board of Directors, Kansas State Historical Society:

Your committee on nominations submits the following report for officers of the Kansas State Historical Society:

For a one-year term: James C. Malin, Lawrence, president; Charles H. Browne, Horton, first vice-president; W. E. Stanley, Wichita, second vice-president.

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

Respectfully submitted,

T. A. McNEAL, *Chairman*,
M. R. McLEAN,
JOHN S. DAWSON,
MRS. A. M. HARVEY,
MRS. BENNETT R. WHEELER.

The report was referred to the afternoon meeting of the board.

There was an informal discussion of ways of interesting greater numbers of people in the work of the Society. This was followed by a short talk by John G. Ellenbecker, of Marysville, on the Oregon trail and the increasing need for Western pioneer history to be taught in the schools.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned until the annual meeting of the Society at 2 p. m.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY

The annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society convened at 2 p. m. The members were called to order by the president, T. M. Lillard.

The annual address by Mr. Lillard follows:

Address of the President
BEGINNINGS OF THE KANSAS JUDICIARY

T. M. LILLARD

SHORTLY after the acquisition of the Louisiana territory through purchase from France in the year 1803, Congress enacted a law dividing it into two parts, the northern part which included Kansas being attached to the territory of Indiana for governmental purposes. Later, in 1812, a portion of the Louisiana territory, including Kansas, was reorganized under a territorial government known as the Missouri territory. After the admission of Missouri as a state in 1820, Kansas and the remainder of the former Missouri territory, which was not included in the state of Missouri, was left without any territorial government. From 1820 until 1854 this section of the country was treated under federal laws simply as Indian land, practically the only statutes applicable thereto being those dealing with the Indian tribes. There was no organized local government, and certainly there were no courts or other judicial bodies functioning in any part of this great expanse of prairie country.

It was into a land in this almost barbaric condition so far as laws and organized government were involved that the earliest settlers came as they journeyed out by steamboat and covered wagon to become citizens of the proposed new state of Kansas, following the enactment of the Kansas-Nebraska law in the spring of 1854. Under the terms of the enabling act passed by Congress, the governor, who was to be appointed by the President, was to call an election at which a legislative body would be chosen. The legislature so chosen would adopt a body of laws to govern the people in the territory and would establish the usual governmental agencies. Some months would necessarily elapse before the actual machinery of the territorial government could be set up, before a set of laws to govern the settlers could be enacted, and before courts could be established to administer these laws. During that interim the first Kansas settlers were dwelling in what was quite literally an almost lawless country.

Just when the three judges appointed by President Pierce—who were to serve in Kansas territory as district judges as well as supreme court judges—began to hold district courts is not at all clear. It is certain that they did not meet as a supreme court until July 30, 1855. A few justices of the peace appointed by Governor

Reeder, shortly after he reached Kansas in the latter part of the year 1854, apparently constituted the only judicial officers actually functioning in the territory until well along in the year 1855.

In some sections of the territory, at least, these early settlers seemed able to proceed in homely fashion to provide themselves with the missing laws and the missing courts. In Connelley's *Kansas and Kansans* he quotes a set of resolutions promulgating some home-made laws adopted early in 1855 at a joint meeting of the "Wakarusa Association," a group of Slave-State advocates from Missouri, and the "Actual Settlers' Association," a group of Free-State advocates from New England. In these resolutions there were embodied a set of rules fixing the method for staking out, settlement on, proving up of land claims, and for disposing of disputes with reference to such claims.

This documentary record showing how these two rival or even hostile groups met amicably, as they did, out on the big ridge that separates the Kaw valley and the Wakarusa valley a few miles west of Lawrence and there created for themselves a body of laws to establish and protect their mutual rights in the things that were of most immediate concern to them is startling proof of the fact that they had found themselves practically in a state of nature, without benefit of any governmental agencies that were actually functioning.

The resolutions thus adopted provided for the following officers: One chief justice, one register, one marshal and one treasurer. I quote the following provisions establishing the judiciary:

The duty of the Chief Justice shall be to try and decide all disputes between settlers in reference to claims or otherwise, and to try all criminals or persons guilty of the violation of the laws of the Territory. The said Chief Justice shall always take justice between man and man as his guide; and upon the demand of either party shall summon a jury . . . to try all disputes or violations of law. . . .

Further proof of the difficulties that surrounded the early settlers by reason of the uncertainty as to the laws that they must live under is found in the petition addressed to President Pierce by the territorial legislature in the summer of 1855, that Governor Reeder be removed from office. One of the recitals in that petition was that neither the governor nor the people knew what local laws were in force, as some of the justices of the peace were enforcing the code of laws from Pennsylvania, others the laws from Ohio, and still others the laws from Missouri.

But as the year 1855 progressed the governmental machinery of the new territory was gradually set up and put to work, many difficulties and much bitterness being encountered as each step was taken.

The first Kansas territorial legislative assembly upon call of Governor Reeder convened on July 2, 1855, the meeting place chosen by the governor, to the great disgust of the members, being at Pawnee (now a part of the Fort Riley Military Reservation). Practically all of the members were Proslavery advocates who had come from Missouri, their election the previous March having been notoriously fraudulent. Desiring to hold their sessions as near as possible to the Missouri state line, immediately after organizing the first session at Pawnee, the legislators passed a resolution adjourning to the Shawnee Methodist Mission, located in what was later to become Johnson county. There the legislature began the task of enacting a body of laws to govern the people of the territory.

Governor Reeder refused to sign the first statute enacted by the territorial legislature after it had adjourned to Shawnee mission, the particular statute involved being one to provide for a public ferry across the Missouri river at Kickapoo. The ground for the governor's objection was that the legislature had no right to adjourn from Pawnee and hold its sessions at Shawnee mission, and that any laws enacted at that location were invalid.

President Franklin Pierce in June, 1854, had appointed as the three judges of the supreme court of the territory, Samuel Lecompte, of Maryland, chief justice, and Saunders W. Johnston, of Ohio, and Rush Elmore, of Alabama, as associate justices. Upon the request of the legislature, the United States district attorney arranged for the three territorial judges to assemble as a supreme court at Shawnee mission on July 30, 1855. He there presented to the judges a resolution of the legislature soliciting a decision of the supreme court as to the validity of the legislative session then being held at Shawnee mission, and of the statutes enacted by the legislature while assembled at that place. On the journal of the court it was noted that the court, having taken the communication under consideration, would rule upon it in view of the great importance of the matters involved, but that the ruling would not be made as a court, but simply as the individual views of the judges. Chief Justice Lecompte and Associate Justice Elmore thereupon, in an opinion that is printed in the appendix to the *House Journal* of the territorial legislature of 1855, upheld the validity of the legislative session at

Shawnee mission and of the statutes there enacted. Mr. Justice Johnston in a short written opinion which has been preserved dissented vigorously on the ground that the members of the court had no right to render opinions except in cases regularly presented for hearing.

In this rather incongruous fashion, for the first time a supreme court of any character functioned in Kansas. The dissenting judge apparently had the better of the argument from a purely legal standpoint. However, as a practical matter, the territorial legislature in reliance upon the informal ruling of the two judges, proceeded forthwith to enact a general body of laws to govern the territory, something of which there was sore need.

While the judiciary alone is included in the scope of this paper, some passing reference must be made to the legislature which enacted at Shawnee mission the general code of 1855. This legislative body was most cordially hated and distrusted by the Free-State settlers. It has ever since been contemptuously referred to as the "Bogus Legislature." The outrageous frauds perpetrated when its members were elected and the high-handed manner in which its members disregarded the authority of the executive, Governor Reeder, call for vigorous condemnation. The same may be said of the lengths to which the "Bogus Legislature" went in establishing and protecting slavery in the territory, and of the statutes fixing the qualifications of voters so as to practically disfranchise all Free-State advocates.

We think of Kansas as having always been non-slavery territory. However, it is doubtful if any state of the Union ever had a set of laws establishing and protecting within its limits the institution of human slavery with more emphatic vigor than is found in Chapter 151 of the *Laws of 1855* as enacted by the territorial legislature of Kansas. Section 12 of this statute reads:

If any free person, by speaking or by writing, assert or maintain that persons have not the right to hold slaves in this territory, or shall introduce into this territory, print, publish, write, circulate or cause to be introduced into this territory, written, printed, published or circulated in this territory, any book, paper, magazine, pamphlet or circular, containing any denial of the right of persons to hold slaves in this territory, such person shall be deemed guilty of felony, and punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a term of not less than two years.

When a Free-State legislature finally came into power in Kansas, it was not satisfied with an immediate repeal of these laws,

but ordered a public burning of the volume in which they were contained.

Aside from the laws dealing with slavery, the "Bogus Legislature" did, however, perform a very creditable job in promptly adopting a general body of statutory law. Under these statutes the courts began to function, and continued to do so through the territorial period, with what may be termed fair success when we consider the turbulent conditions that prevailed.

Under the terms of the act of Congress creating the territory the three supreme court judges were also to function as judges of the district courts. On February 26, 1855, Governor Reeder had assigned the three judges to district court service as follows: Chief Justice Lecompte to preside in the First district, sitting at Leavenworth; Judge Elmore in the Second district, sitting at Tecumseh; and Judge Johnston in the Third district, sitting at Pawnee.

There were frequent changes in the territorial judges—new appointees sometimes appearing with commissions from the President and claiming the positions over the vigorous protests of the former judges who had received no previous notice of their displacement.

Of the territorial judges Samuel D. Lecompte was the only one who appears to have left any great impression on the history of those times. One cannot read the record of his life and activities without being impressed with the fact that he was a man of great force of character. In addition to his judicial service, he presided over the Lecompton Constitutional Convention. He was bitterly charged with having through the powers of his judicial office given undue and unfair support to the Proslavery party.

The judge cannot be charged with ever having run to cover or to have shown any symptoms of cowardice. Born and raised in the slave-holding state of Maryland, he frankly and openly declared his belief in the blessings of slavery as an institution and his desire to use all lawful means to establish slavery in Kansas.

He resided at Leavenworth for many years after the close of the Civil War, joined the Republican party, and was elected probate judge of the county and served as a member of the legislature. In 1873 D. R. Anthony published a number of severely condemnatory articles in his newspaper, reviewing the activities of Judge Lecompte during the territorial period. Upon complaint of Judge Lecompte, Anthony was prosecuted for criminal libel, and after trial in the criminal court of Leavenworth county, was found guilty and fined \$500. Lecompte in 1875 published a lengthy and highly rhetorical

article in the *Troy Chief*, defending in great detail his official conduct. Judge Lecompte about this time declined with some bitterness a request to send his photograph to the Kansas State Historical Society, intimating that he thought the request was made for the purpose of preserving his likeness as an enemy rather than as a friend of Kansas. The rather stormy career of Judge Lecompte as chief justice of the territorial court extended throughout the most trying territorial days, and did not terminate until March, 1859, when he was replaced through the appointment by President Buchanan by Honorable John Pettit of Indiana as chief justice of the court.

Honorable James McCahon, a prominent attorney of Leavenworth, in 1870 collected and published in a small volume, known as *McCahon's Reports*, all available decisions of the supreme court of Kansas territory. The opinions included in this volume were all rendered in the years beginning with 1858, and unfortunately fail to throw any light upon the court through the more turbulent period from 1855 to 1858. A thumbing through of this small volume discloses the usual run of controversies over contracts, partnerships, land disputes, procedural questions, etc. It is interesting to note, however, that the general statutes enacted by the "Bogus Legislature" were applied by the court and afforded a workable body of statutory law through the territorial period.

In *McCahon's Reports*, at page 185, is a record of the proceedings in the case of *United States v. Lewis L. Weld* had in the district court of Leavenworth county on April 18, 1860. The subject matter, as well as the decision in this case, were extremely interesting to me, and I will review them briefly. A negro slave named Peter Fisher had escaped to Kansas from Kentucky. The owners of the slave were two infant children named Hutchison, who had inherited the slave from their father, recently deceased. The guardian of the two children came to Kansas with an appropriate order from the Kentucky authorities issued under the fugitive slave law, and took the slave into his custody in Leavenworth county. While about to return to Kentucky with him, defendant in the case, Lewis L. Weld, on January 24, 1859, as the indictment charged, did with force and arms, to-wit, with a club, knife, pistol, and other hurtful weapons, knowingly and willfully aid, abet and assist the said Peter Fisher, so owing service or labor as aforesaid, to escape. The fugitive slave law under which Weld was prosecuted made it a criminal offense for any one to aid and assist a fugitive slave in escaping when he had

been taken into the custody of his owner, or the owner's "agent or attorney." Motion to quash the indictment of Weld having been filed, it was argued before Judge Pettit, and sustained; the ground of the ruling being that the guardian of the minor owners of the slave was not shown to have lawful custody of the slave, because he was neither the owner nor the "agent or attorney" of the owners, and for this reason the fugitive slave law had not been violated when Weld with the use of a club, knife, pistol, and other hurtful weapons aided the slave in escaping from the guardian of the infant owners.

It requires no stretch of the imagination to believe that if this case had been tried before Judge Lecompte, instead of Judge Pettit, the result would have been very different. Judge Pettit's opinion winds up with the following paragraph:

This opinion has been hastily written in the midst of turmoil, interruption and confusion—in the absence of a library to consult, and without time to correct or pay much attention to legal diction, but I am confident that, in its main features, it will stand the test of the most searching and rigid legal and judicial criticism.

If Judge Pettit had had "a library to consult," it is likely that he would have had considerable difficulty in finding any authority to sustain his conclusion that the relationship of a guardian to his infant ward is of lower order than that of agent or attorney.

However, the decision was undoubtedly popular. When we remember that at the time the case was heard the Free-State people were definitely in the majority, we can get a pretty clear picture of the conditions referred to by Judge Pettit when he said in his opinion that the case was heard "in the midst of turmoil, interruption and confusion." A decision, even in Leavenworth in 1860 sending one of the Kansas Free-Staters to prison because he had prevented the return of a slave from Kansas to Kentucky, would no doubt have resulted in a pitched battle in the courthouse.

The work of the territorial court ended upon the admission of Kansas into the Union as a state on January 29, 1861. The members of the supreme court elected to serve under the Wyandotte Constitution assembled in their first session on October 28, 1861. The court as then constituted, consisted of Thomas Ewing, Jr., chief justice, Samuel A. Kingman and Lawrence D. Bailey as associate justices. The first five district judges were McDowell, Lee, Safford, Thacher and Learnard, and David J. Brewer was judge of the criminal court of Leavenworth county. These first Kansas judges

were all men of good character and ability. Many of them later made outstanding records.

Thomas Ewing, the first chief justice, served only about a year, resigning in October, 1862, to enter military service as colonel of the Eleventh Kansas regiment which he had recruited. Ewing was shortly thereafter advanced to the rank of brigadier general, and his record as a soldier was one of distinction. As commander of the army in the District of the Border, he issued the famous Order No. 11, the effect of which was practically to remove the civilian population from Kansas City and vicinity. After the war, Judge Ewing practiced law in Washington, D. C., and in New York City, and was at one time a member of congress from the state of Pennsylvania. He was a gallant soldier and an able lawyer.

Judge Kingman, a native of Massachusetts, served on the supreme court until 1876. An able and distinguished judge, he rendered a valuable service to his state through the learning, fairness and industry with which he applied himself to the difficult legal problems that came before the court while the law of the new commonwealth was in a formative period. Prior to his service on the bench, Judge Kingman had been one of the leaders in the framing of the Wyandotte Constitution and is credited with being the father of the beneficent homestead provision in the Kansas constitution. In the later years of his life Judge Kingman served as secretary of the State Historical Society.

Judge Bailey, a native of New Hampshire, whose home, after he came to Kansas, was at Emporia, was a man of outstanding character and ability. He served upon the court until January, 1869, when he was succeeded by the Hon. Daniel M. Valentine.

I will not take time to attempt a review of the work of the courts even in the early years of statehood. The opinions of the judges of the supreme court are preserved in the official reports of the court; and these opinions reflect also the work done by the district courts whose decisions came up for review. By these early judicial decisions the law of the new state was settled and determined in admirable fashion.

The members of the Kansas judiciary who assumed their official duties in those historic days when the nation was just entering into the throes of Civil War did so with a full sense of their responsibilities. They had each had some part in the struggles of the territorial days from which Kansas finally emerged as a free state. When we review the difficulties that surrounded the birth of Kansas, we can

better appreciate the significance of the inscription on the official seal of our state, "Ad Astra Per Aspera."

A talk by Paul Jones, chairman of the Kansas Coronado Cuarto Centennial Commission, on "Coronado and Quivira" followed the address of the president. Mr. Jones spoke interestingly of incidents in his research on the life of Coronado and the expedition of 1540-1541; also of plans for the cuarto centennial celebration in Kansas.

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

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS FOR DIRECTORS

OCTOBER 15, 1940.

To the Kansas State Historical Society:

Your committee on nominations submits the following report and recommendations for directors of the Society for the term of three years ending October, 1943:

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

Respectfully submitted,

T. A. McNEAL, *Chairman*,
M. R. McLEAN,
JOHN S. DAWSON,
MRS. A. M. HARVEY,
MRS. BENNETT R. WHEELER.

On unanimous vote of the members of the Society the report of the committee was accepted and the members of the board were declared elected for the term ending October, 1943.

The reports of representatives of other societies were called for. Mrs. J. W. Quarrier, retiring president of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society, presented the report of that organization. The report of the Douglas County Historical Society was presented by Robert C. Rankin. The Rev. Angelus Lingenfelter, secretary of

the Kansas Catholic Historical Society, presented the report of that society, and Charles M. Correll that of the Riley County Historical Society.

The president called upon the secretary to comment briefly on the Coronado expedition.

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

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The afternoon meeting of the board of directors was called to order by Mr. Lillard. He asked for a rereading of the report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society. On motion of Robert C. Rankin, seconded by Chas. M. Correll, the following were unanimously elected:

For a one-year term: James C. Malin, Lawrence, president; Charles H. Browne, Horton, first vice-president; W. E. Stanley, Wichita, second vice-president.

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

There being no further business the meeting adjourned.

DIRECTORS OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AS OF OCTOBER, 1940

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1941

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

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1942

Beeks, Charles E., Baldwin.	Mechem, Kirke, Topeka.
Beezley, George F., Girard.	Morrison, T. F., Chanute.
Bonebrake, Fred B., Topeka.	Norris, Mrs. George, Arkansas City.
Bowlus, Thomas H., Iola.	Philip, Mrs. W. D., Hays.
Brinkerhoff, Fred W., Pittsburg.	Rankin, Robert C., Lawrence.
Browne, Charles H., Horton.	Ruppenthal, J. C., Russell.
Embree, Mrs. Mary, Topeka.	Ryan, Ernest A., Topeka.
Gray, John M., Kirwin.	Sayers, Wm. L., Hill City.
Hamilton, R. L., Beloit.	Schulte, Paul C., Leavenworth.
Harger, Charles M., Abilene.	Simons, W. C., Lawrence.
Harvey, Mrs. A. M., Topeka.	Skinner, Alton H., Kansas City.
Haucke, Frank, Council Grove.	Stanley, W. E., Wichita.
Kagey, Charles L., Wichita.	Stone, Robert, Topeka.
Kinkel, John M., Topeka.	Trembly, W. B., Kansas City.
Lee, Thomas Amory, Topeka.	Walker, B. P., Topeka.
McFarland, Helen M., Topeka.	Woodring, Harry H., Lecompton.
Malone, James, Topeka.	

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1943

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

Bypaths of Kansas History

NEWS FROM MORMON GROVE

From the New York *Daily Tribune*, January 24, 1856.

Mormon Grove, Friday, January 11, 1856.

The road which leads from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Laramie, runs through the prairies to the back of Atchison and Doniphan, at a distance of some six or eight miles. Along this road the attention of the traveler is often arrested by the graves on the wayside. The frequent occurrence of these is sad evidence of many a painful story, long deferred perhaps, but sure and sorrowful, conveyed to the relatives of those who thus sleep beneath the prairie sod. The rumbling of the emigrant wagons or the Government train makes their resting-place a busy thoroughfare. A few of these graves have a fence around them, but most of them are marked only by the mound and broken sod. Some of them had been torn up, and the prairie wolf had made a banquet on the poor relics of mortality.

There is a road leading from Atchison into this military road. This is now the route for the Mormon emigration on its way to Salt Lake; and here, at the distance of some six or seven miles from Atchison, they have a starting station. I was on my way from Doniphan to Ocena, when I came in sight of Mormon Grove. It stands on high ground in the prairie, and is of young hickory trees, which can be seen at a great distance, their feathery outlines giving the scene a picturesque effect. I had no intention of stopping, but something in the appearance of the place arrested me. There was a large farm, some 160 acres, neatly fenced with sod. I had often seen sod fence before, but never had occasion to admire it, as the hogs and cattle always seemed to honor it "more in the breach than in the observance;" but this appeared to be constructed on a more scientific plan, and is, I think, worthy of imitation in a prairie country. On the outside there is a ditch some three feet deep by four feet wide, sloping to a point at the bottom; from this the materials of the dyke have been taken. The sods from the surface form the face of the wall, which is only two-and-a-half feet high. The earth from the trench is thrown behind these and slopes away very gradually. When well built this will, I think, be very durable. The hogs and cattle are prevented from knocking it down by the trench, and cannot jump the trench for the wall. I was told that a man could put up from three to four rods of this fence per day.

There are one or two Mormons living at the Grove and its vicinity, but as I have stated, this is merely an outfitting station for the Salt Lake trains. Whether the polygamy feature of domestic bliss flourishes here, is a problem which my observation had not enabled me to solve. The people appear to be very quiet, and seem to possess some little intelligence. One elderly lady had quite a matronly and dignified appearance, and one girl was rather pretty—in fact, decidedly good-looking. For the first time in some weeks I have heard a "blessing" asked at table, and in the quaint and semi-religious conversation of my host I almost forgot the few peculiarities that startled me at Mormon Grove. [From Our Special Correspondent.]

BUFFALO BULLS ON SENTRY DUTY

From the *Walnut Valley Times*, El Dorado, July 1, 1870.

The bulls selected for sentry duty take up their position on all the prominences of the divide, leaving unoccupied, as we discovered on the day referred to, and always afterwards, not a single point from which an approaching enemy may be commanded. The buffalo, widely different from the antelope, depends scarcely at all on his scent; but those great round eyes of his, glowing in their earnestness or anger, like balls of fiery asphaltum, possess a length of range, and an inevitability of keenness, scarcely surpassed by those of any quadruped running wild on our continent. Crouch and crawl where you may, you cannot enter the main herd without half a dozen pair of them successively, or at a time, focussing full upon you. Instant retreat of their owners follows; at first no faster than a majestic walk, but, if your pursuit be hot, with increasing graduations of speed up to the heavy cow gallop; and then comes the stampede of the late quietly feeding herd, in a cloud of dust, and with a noise of thunder like a general engagement.

I have said it is impossible to get by the sentries: but there is an exception for the case of a hunter, who, disguised in a wolf or antelope skin, is willing to crawl slowly, dragging a rifle, for two or three miles; or the still rarer case of one who, lying down completely out of sight in the grass, wriggles himself painfully along, like a snake, till he gets within range.

 ANOTHER USE FOR A PRINTING OFFICE

From the *Wichita Vidette*, November 24, 1870.

We have seen printing offices used for almost everything, but never knew of one being used for a jail until last night. On said night our office was made a place for the safe keeping of three prisoners. As the county is too poor to build a jail, and we are wealthy, we shall not present a bill for jail fees.

 "AN ENJOYABLE TIME WAS HAD BY ALL"

From the *Kinsley Reporter*, November 23, 1876.

The Lyceum, last night, was except the paper, a stupid affair. A part of the disputants stayed at home and the others didn't have anything to say; one of the singers had a cold, and consequently there was no music. The meetings will hereafter be held on Friday nights instead of Wednesdays.

 DING, DONG, BELL

From the *Kirwin Chief*, July 17, 1878.

Two hogs fell into the well on the Public Square Tuesday evening, but were recovered in the morning after a long-suffering community had listened to their melody all night.

NO PLEASURE IN HIS WORK

From *The Republican*, Fordham, Hodgeman county, July 9, 1879.

A. A. Lord says that going for buffalo chips with a pair of wild steers is not as much fun as one might think.

THE ARKANSAS RIVER RAN DRY IN 1879.

From the *Inland Tribune*, Great Bend, September 27, 1879.

The Arkansas river is tetotally dry; not a drop of water in it; it would make a splendid race course. The question is, what has become of the water? The Baptist brothers can't turn a wheel while this thing lasts.

A CHURCH WITHOUT A MORTGAGE

From the *Lane County Gazette*, California, Kan., June 17, 1880.

The cheapest church in the United States was recently built in Kansas, at a cost of \$10. Its walls and roof are of sod and the floor of earth. No mortgages.

NOT FERDINAND!

From the *Sherman Center News*, March 17, 1887.

One morning last week F. W. Flowerdew was out on his claim stepping off a portion to plow when he noticed a range steer about half a mile distant. He went on with the measurement, but presently heard something approach, turned and saw the steer coming at him at full speed, head down and about 20 yards away. Mr. Flowerdew was not armed and his only way to avoid being struck by the first charge was to dodge it, which he did. The steer turned and came again but with not so much force, and Flowerdew succeeded in getting hold of a horn and his right hand into his nostrils. Here the battle began between man and beast. To one it meant life or death, to the other it made no difference. For an arena they had 200 miles square of level plain in the center of which the sky dropped to the earth to form the boundary of the scene of action. No Caesar was there to crown the hero and no amphitheater as in ye Roman grandeur, to applaud the victor. It was the best place Flowerdew could have got hold of the maddened brute and backward and forward they struggled. The steer was three years old and as Flowerdew is a tall and powerful man it made a good fight. For over a half an hour the struggle continued, all the while Flowerdew was working his way to the house where there was some 2 x 4 pieces of lumber. When he got hold of these he had a little better show, and commenced to pound the steer over the nose, which he stood and suffered, but the minute the pounding stopped his steer-ship charged, and had to be beaten off. After two or three pieces had been broken up the animal was so weak from loss of blood that he turned tail and left, with his nostrils torn almost out. Flowerdew is not hurt, only his feet which were trampled, and being sore in the body and muscles.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

A concise review of the origin and laying out of the Chisholm trail, written by George Rainey of Enid, Okla., appeared in the October, 1940, number of *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, published at Austin, Tex., by the Texas State Historical Society. This famous trail, laid out in 1865 by the Indian trader Jesse Chisholm, ran from Wichita to Anadarko in present Oklahoma, a distance of approximately two hundred miles, and later was extended farther south to Fort Sill. Joseph McCoy's cattle trail, projected in 1867 from Abilene to the Red river, followed Chisholm's trail from Wichita to a place south of Kingfisher, Okla. This Texas cattle trail came to be known as the Chisholm trail even beyond the Red river, though most of its distance was an original route and not part of the true Chisholm trail.

On October 3, 1940, the story of Mrs. John Verhoeff, as told to Mildred Cass Beason, began in the *Gove County Republican-Gazette*, of Gove City. Mrs. Verhoeff's grandfather came from Holland to Pella, Iowa, with Dominic Scholte in the late 1840's. Mrs. Verhoeff was born in Pella and lived there until her marriage. In 1879 she and her husband came to Kansas and settled near Grainfield. In January, 1880, a son was born, the first white boy, she believes, to be born in what is now Gove county. The pioneer reminiscences of Mrs. Geo. S. Tustin were also recorded by Mrs. Beason, the first installment appearing November 21. The *Grinnell Record-Leader* reprinted the articles.

Historical articles printed recently in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* include: "Cattle Rustlers Still Are Active—Livestock Men Declare a New War," November 1, 1940, and "Dodge City's First Bond Issue Gave a Novel Cowboy Twist to Financing," by Paul I. Wellman, December 24; "Funston's Life Was an Adventure Story in the American Tradition," by E. R. Schauffler, February 7, 1941.

Among Victor Murdock's historical feature articles appearing in the Wichita (Evening) *Eagle* during the past few months were: "Memories of Wichitans of Day [fifty years ago] Much Enlivened by a Host of Newcomers," November 2, 1940; "How Primeval Prairie Beckoned Pioneer Spirit to Frontier Adventure," November 7; "Looking Into Childhood Through the Vivid Pages of Dr. [Arthur E.] Hertzler's New Book [*The Doctor and His Patients*]," Novem-

ber 9; contribution of Kansas to the world through Barber county's "Mine of Pure Gypsum," November 13 and 14; "Memories of Mr. Knight, Once Conductor on Line, Attica to Medicine Lodge," November 18; "Of Candied Grasshoppers and of a Kansan's [Steve Balch's] Ability to Make Most of Misfortune," November 22; "Very Earliest of the Origins of the Chisholm Trail, First of the North-South Arteries in the Country Between This City and the Gulf," November 25; "When City of Wichita Gave Santa Fe Railroad Bulk of Cattle Shipment," November 26; "Memorial to Kansans, Mr. and Mrs. Leonard Blood, at Arkansas Institution [John Brown University at Siloam Springs]," December 7; "Getting the Low-down on Buffalo Bone Prices When Market Here Boomed," December 11; "Old Missouri Document Showing Sale of Slaves Brings Back Memories," December 18; "Prairie Stockade Corral That Changed in Aspect When It Happened to Rain," December 20; "First of Christmases Observed on Prairies Just Ninety Years Ago," December 24; "Most Colorful Party Ever Given in Wichita Not a Christmas Event [gathering of Indian tribes in fall of 1865]," December 28; ". . . an Incident Out of the Past Which Presents the Perils of the Early Prairies [Indian battles after the Civil War]," December 30; "One Prairie Business [Trade in Buffalo Bones] That Closed Financially in a Big Blaze of Glory," January 3, 1941; "First Scheduled Trips Into a Little Wichita Three Times a Week," January 17; "Evidence Now Offered Is That Ton of Buffalo Bone Was Carried in a Wagon," February 3; "Prophet From Emporia Over Wichita's Cradle Foretold Town's Future," February 4; "Trio of Famous Women Who Were Responsible for a Notable Luncheon," the guests being Susan B. Anthony, Anna B. Shaw and Carrie Chapman Catt, February 6; "Barter Under July Moon Westward of Wichita Put an End to a War [100 years ago between the Comanches and Osages]," February 8; "Spotlight Was Seized by Wichita Nationally First Sixty Years Ago," February 21; "Some of the Air Pilots First to Fly in This City Recalled by Bert L. Jones," a few facts relating to the start of aviation in Wichita after the arrival of the first army Jenny, February 28.

The Clark County Clipper, of Ashland, is continuing its Clark County Historical Society notes started in July, 1939. Articles which have been printed since November 1, 1940, include the story of Sam Kyger, for whom Kyger creek was named, November 7; a history of the Englewood Methodist Church, which was organized in 1885, November 14; a history of the Methodist Church at

Minneola, organized in December, 1886, November 21; "Fred Tainter," the story of a pioneer cattleman by the late M. W. Anshutz, November 28; a history of the Ashland Methodist Church, December 5; "A Brief Family History of Gamaliel Rogers as Compiled by Tena Rogers-Schwoerke," contributed by Ida Bare, December 12; "Merit Morton Cosby," by Ida Bare, in two installments, December 19 and 26. Editors of the Clark County Historical Society notes are Mrs. Jesse C. Harper, secretary of the society and Mrs. R. V. Shrewder, chairman of the historical committee.

An account of "Startling Changes In the Small Town Scene Since Sinclair Lewis Wrote of It . . . Kansas Communities Cited as Examples," appeared in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, November 7, 1940. Other articles of historical interest to Kansans include: "Tide of Civil War Carried Kansas Into Federal Union 80 Years Ago," January 29, 1941, and "Kansas Legend Is Hard to Down in Dispute Over the Flag Pledge," by Cecil Howes, February 8.

In observance of the fiftieth anniversary of the Bison Methodist Church, William Crotinger reviewed the history of Methodism in Rush county from the first religious service on May 18, 1873. His paper, which was read November 3, 1940, during the anniversary meetings, was published in the La Crosse *Republican*, November 14.

Nearly forty corporations, not including oil and railroad companies, have been chartered in Russell county during its history, J. C. Ruppenthal recalled in the Russell *Record*, November 14, 1940. One charter, which was issued June 15, 1871, before the county was organized, authorized the Russell County Live Stock Company to engage in buying, selling and herding livestock.

"A Pioneer Story of Early Days," by Mrs. Naoma Seymour-Prather, was printed in the Leon *News*, November 15, 1940. Mrs. Prather came to Kansas in 1883 from Iowa and remembers many incidents of pioneer life on the frontier.

Frankfort's First Presbyterian Church observed its seventieth anniversary November 16, 1940, reported the Frankfort *Daily Index* of the same date in an article which included a brief history of the church from its organization.

A note on the first services for Methodists in Wilson and vicinity, prepared from original church records by the Rev. Joseph A. McClellan, was published in the Wilson *World*, November 20, 1940.

Kansas Historical Notes

This is Coronado year in Kansas. Spanish colors, yellow and red, on automobile license plates everywhere remind Kansas citizens and tourists of the journey to this area, four hundred years ago, of Francisco Vasquez de Coronado and thirty picked horsemen. The party remained in Quivira (now Kansas) for a month during the summer of 1541, and it is the anniversary of this visit, the first made by white men, that Kansas is celebrating.

Gov. Payne H. Ratner in 1939 appointed a Kansas Coronado Cuarto Centennial Commission to plan for the observance. Paul Jones of Lyons, a Coronado historian, was named to head the committee. Other members are: Roy Bailey, Salina; Robert K. Lindsley, Wichita; Kirke Mechem, Topeka; Jess Denious, Dodge City; A. W. Relihan, Smith Center, and Mrs. R. H. Turner, Independence. The commission believes the celebration should be statewide, with all communities participating and benefiting. Every village, town and city has been encouraged to provide something of interest for tourists during the summer of 1941. An appropriation from the 1941 legislature enables the commission to print and distribute advertising folders and historical information on Kansas. Copies of these publications may be secured by writing commission offices at Lyons. The Kansas State Highway Commission and the Industrial Development Commission have also printed attractive folders and maps telling the story of Kansas to the nation. The State Historical Society is coöperating with these organizations and others at all times. The program to mark historic sites of Kansas along the state's major highways, planned several years ago and mentioned in previous issues of this magazine, is proceeding at a rapid pace. By summer fifty markers will have been erected. The State Chamber of Commerce is assisting the Highway Commission and the Historical Society with this work.

The Oregon trail marker, erected at St. Marys by the Department of Kansas, United Spanish War Veterans, was dedicated September 15, 1940. The monument, of Silverdale limestone, stands at the east edge of the city near US-40. Another of a series of historical markers being placed by the U. S. W. V. was the plaque for the Memorial building at Topeka to Spanish-American War veterans who offered their lives in Cuba in 1900 to eradicate yellow fever. Dedication ceremonies were held April 21, 1940.

An oil men's reunion was held in El Dorado September 26, 1940, to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the discovery of oil in the El Dorado field. As a highlight of the convention a marker was unveiled at the site of Stapleton No. 1, dedicated as the discovery well of the pool. J. B. McKay, of Wichita, was master of ceremonies. Principal addresses were made by William G. Skelly, of Tulsa, Okla., president of the Skelly Oil Company, and Herbert R. Straight, of Bartlesville, Okla., president of the Cities Service Oil Company. Mr. Straight presented the marker and easement to the Kansas State Historical Society through H. K. Lindsley, of Wichita, director and past president of the Society, who accepted for the state. The granite monument bears this inscription: "Site of Stapleton No. 1, Discovery Well of El Dorado Field October 5, 1915. Dedicated September 26, 1940."

On November 23, 1940, the Douglas County Historical Society met at Lawrence for its eighth annual meeting. Sen. Robert C. Rankin, the president, discussed the need for permanent housing of the society's collections and suggested that an annual display of historical materials be sponsored in order to encourage their preservation by private owners. W. L. Hastie, chairman of the committee to preserve records of rural cemeteries, reported on progress made during the year. Dr. Edward Bumgardner gave the principal address, his subject being "Abraham Lincoln and Kansas." The officers, all of whom were reelected, are: Sen. Robert C. Rankin, president; Miss Irma Spangler, first vice-president; John Akers, second vice-president; Miss Ida G. Lyons, secretary, and Walter H. Varnum, treasurer. Dr. A. R. Kennedy was elected to a one-year term as director, and Miss Cora Dolbee, Mrs. George Barker, Otto Fischer, Elmer E. Brown and L. M. Walters were chosen directors for three-year terms.

The Shawnee County Early Settlers Association held its annual meeting at Topeka, December 5, 1940. Seventy-three members assembled to hear an address by T. A. McNeal, editor of the *Topeka Daily Capital*, and to elect the following officers to serve during the ensuing year: Oscar Swayze, president; Roy Boast, vice-president, and Florence Eckert, secretary-treasurer.

On December 11, 1940, at Pittsburg, the Crawford County Historical Society held its first meeting since its formation in September. The principal speaker, Kirke Mechem, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, reviewed the history of the state organization and mentioned the work done by local groups in Kansas

counties interested in studying and preserving Kansas history. Dr. Ralph H. Smith, president of the county society, presided. The report of the committee to nominate a board of directors was received, and the following directors were elected: for three-year terms, George F. Beezley of Girard, G. H. Dyer of McCune and J. T. Fowler of Arcadia; for two-year terms, H. W. Shideler of Girard, Mrs. L. H. Dunton of Arcadia and Mrs. J. U. Massey of Pittsburg; and for one-year terms, J. H. Tharp of Cherokee, Miss Ellen Davidson of Mulberry and F. W. Brinkerhoff of Pittsburg.

The Chase County Historical Society issued its first book early in 1941 under the title *Chase County Historical Sketches*. It is Volume I of what the association intends to be the first of a series of historical studies concerning the county. The preface was written by William Allen White, who said: "I suppose I had my origins in Chase county." He went on to explain that his mother taught school in Cottonwood Falls, and his father was a storekeeper there. ". . . So I was born into this world in Emporia, but it all started in Cottonwood Falls." The book contains a variety of interesting and valuable information about the county. Included among the contributors were: Howel H. Jones, Henry Rogler, George A. Root, C. W. Hawkins, G. W. Starkey, Herman Allen, Mrs. Frank C. Montgomery, Helen Proeger Austin, Albert Rogler, Carrie Breese Chandler, Mrs. Annie S. Frey, Clara Brandley Hildebrand, Inez M. Brickell, Charles A. Sayre, John Madden, Mrs. Oscar Altemus, Laura J. Wells, Mrs. Frank Calvert, Harry McCandless, Mildred Mosier Burch, Col. Court Crouch, Lee M. Swope and F. W. Schneider. Of particular note is a list with drawings of 598 registered Chase county brands and earmarks. More than 300 of the book's 448 pages are devoted to biographical sketches of Chase county families. A map showing old trails and the county's rivers and creeks was featured. The book is indexed.

The Belleville *Telescope* absorbed the *Republic Advertiser* in January, 1941. The name and subscription list were purchased from R. R. Furse of Clay Center, Neb. This marks the twelfth consolidation of the *Telescope* with other Republic county papers over a period of 71 years. A. Q. Miller is publisher.

At the annual meeting of the Augusta Historical Society January 7, 1941, Miss Stella B. Haines was reelected president. Other officers include Mrs. W. W. Cron, vice-president, Mrs. Clyde Gibson, treasurer, and Dr. Glenn T. Gough, secretary. At the meeting Mrs. K. L.

Grimes reviewed the book *Coronado and Quivira* by Paul Jones. The society is engaged in restoring the first log building erected in Augusta. This building, located in the third block on State street, housed a general store in the early days and the upper floor was used for the first school and for various other purposes as the town grew.

The annual meeting of the Lyon County Historical Society was held at the society's museum in the civic auditorium at Emporia, January 31, 1941. The following officers were elected: W. L. Huggins, president, H. A. Wayman, first vice-president, Geo. R. R. Pflaum, second vice-president, E. C. Ryan, secretary, J. S. Langley, treasurer; directors, Clarence Paine, Robert D. Lumley, Mrs. J. C. McKinney, Richard Langley, Alice Evans Snyder and Miss Margaret Lowe; historians, Mrs. Fanny Randolph Vickery, Miss Lucinda Jones, Mrs. Lulu Purdy Gilson. Two hundred seventy-nine persons attended the society's annual dinner program which was held at the Broadview Hotel the same evening. Dr. S. D. Mock, professor of history at the Kansas State Teachers College, spoke on the importance, purpose and work of a historical society.

A meeting of the Riley County Historical Society was held at the parish house of St. Paul's Episcopal Church February 1, 1941. Featured speaker was Jay M. Lee, of Kansas City, who recalled his early life in Manhattan and the life of his parents, the Rev. and Mrs. James Hervey Lee who came to Manhattan in 1866 from Ohio. The program followed a dinner at noon.

Several Wilson county residents met at the courthouse in Fredonia, February 1, 1941, to encourage the formation of a Wilson County Historical Society. W. H. Edmundson presided. A committee of five was appointed to act as a planning group. They are: J. T. Cooper, W. H. Edmundson and Mrs. Harry Smith of Fredonia, and O. L. Hayes and Mrs. Frank Pingrey of Neodesha.

The Ness County News, of Ness City, February 6, 1941, announced the regular meeting of the Ness County Historical Society to be held February 8. Mrs. Bess Barrows was scheduled to address the group on "Some Stamps and Their Stories."

An analysis and application of the cultural approach to history was the theme of the December, 1939, meeting of the American Historical Association held in Washington, D. C. A selection from the papers presented before the association was recently published

in a 359-page volume by the Columbia University Press, of New York, under the title *The Cultural Approach to History*. "Local Historical Studies and Population Problems," as discussed by Dr. James C. Malin, of the University of Kansas, appeared on pages 300-307. One of the points brought out from the study of Kansas census records is that population movements did not conform to the generalizations drawn from the Turner "frontier interpretation of American history, by which individuals are represented as following successive frontiers, each new frontier being peopled by the last adjacent frontier." It is shown that "at the peak, direct migration [from the state of birth] constituted 46 percent to 60 percent of the native migration . . . and direct migration from non-contiguous states accounted for approximately half of the native migration at the highest point of its flow." Another conclusion emphasizes the stability rather than mobility of the Kansas farm population since the World War and even during the decade of the depression; a conclusion that runs contrary to the popular conception of mass migration.

A Guide to Hillsboro Kansas, compiled by workers of the Writers' program of the Work Projects Administration in Kansas and sponsored by the Hillsboro Chamber of Commerce appeared early in 1941. The 91-page *Guide* relates the history of the Mennonite settlement in Marion county. It covers points of historical interest and gives up-to-date information concerning schools, churches, business establishments and life in general in Hillsboro. Biographical sketches and photographs of some of Hillsboro's prominent citizens, past and present, were included. The history of Fort Scott and its places of interest were discussed in *A Guide to Fort Scott, Kansas*, also compiled under the Writers' program. The sixteen-page booklet was sponsored by the Fort Scott Chamber of Commerce and was issued in February, 1941. Herington history and points of interest were discussed in a small illustrated folder recently published by the Herington Chamber of Commerce, with editorial assistance from the Writers' program.

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Biographical mention of HUGH M. MOORE will be found on the opposite page.

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Letters of Hugh M. Moore, 1856-1860

I. INTRODUCTION

HUGH M. MOORE and his brother, J. Frank Moore, of Juniata county, Pennsylvania, settled in Topeka in 1857. The brothers formed a partnership with a Mr. Hill and engaged in the sale of real estate. The Topeka city directory, published in the *Topeka Tribune*, October 6, 1860, listed Hugh as a speculator. He was one of the promoters of the first bridge over the Kansas river at Topeka.

Although a Free-State adherent in principle, Moore apparently could not give whole-hearted support to the Republican party. He seemed unable to reconcile himself to prevailing party trends and yearned for the resurrection of the Whig party, the only one "that ever breathed true national patriotism." For this reason his political views may be considered less biased than those of the average participant in the Kansas struggle.

In May, 1861, Moore enlisted in the Second Kansas Volunteer infantry and was mustered out October 31, 1861. His name again appears as having enlisted in the Fourteenth Kansas Volunteer cavalry August 28, 1863, serving this time until June 25, 1865. After the war Moore probably left Topeka, for no other mention of him was found. This Hugh Moore is not to be confused with a Hugh M. Moore who was a resident of Leavenworth during the same years. The Leavenworth Moore was active in Democratic affairs and was a delegate to the Lecompton constitutional convention in 1857.

The following letters, except one by the brother, were written by Hugh M. Moore, of Topeka. Because of their interest to Kansans, Glenn D. Bradley of the University of Toledo, sent them to the Kansas State Historical Society for copying. The originals are in the possession of Moore relatives in New Bloomfield, Pa.

II. THE LETTERS

Nebraska City October 2nd 56

Dear uncle

I have never written to you since I left home I have now A moment of Leisure time & I will im Prove it By writing to you as I deem you one of my most cincere friends & I think I am not mistaken. I think of you dayly but have neglected to write so I hope you will excuse for the Past I will Promice better for the future. Let this Suffice for A Pology well uncle to give you A short history of my western Life I must commence at the Beginning we came on

the cars to Iowa City then bought A Pair of Match gray 4 year old Horses for 250 A Light wagon for 40 dollars A pair of harness for 30 dollars making in all 320 dollars thus being ready to start we stole A dog & started in 4 days Reached Ft des moine City Stayed there 4 days saw Mr Lease & dr Gustine who gave me all the instruction they could we then started South west Canvassed all the vacant Land & found none to suit us So we stoped at Indianola warren co. 18 miles south of Fort des moines I then started to trade my team of [f] for Property I traded for 160 Akers of Land and have since been offered 6 dollars per Aker which would be 960 dollars thats what I got for my team. I then bought 80 akers of Land for 2.87 cts Per aker which I have refuse[d] 8 dollars per Aker for I bought A house & Lot in Indianola for 425 dollars and held it 4 days & Sold it for 700 dollars. I bought some 20 lots in different towns which is bringing me from 50 to 100 per cent I bought & Sold Several Horses & have done well on them. I have now A Pair of match Sorrel Horses that I have Refused 500 dollars for But I will keep them for my own use they are hard to beat I tell you.

I started for Kansas About 5 weeks ago with 4 as good men as my Self we Crossed the Missouri River at Council Bluffs & went through nebraska which is A beautiful Country but Rather Cold. it was with great difficulty we got through at the Kansas Line we met general Lane & his company of 400 men¹ we camped with him that night he thought it was A great Risk to go through Alone so he gave us Each A Sharps Rifle & sent General Cutler with us to Escort us through to Lawrence we ha[d] not gone more than 10 miles when we was accosted by 10 georgians who came within A mile of us & fired but with out doing any hurt we returned the fire Killed one horse & shot A man in the Hip the ballance of the Ruffians Retreated at the Speed of the antelope So we went on our way Regoice after travelling some 15 miles we was again stopped by A party of 23 Missourians who sent A man to talk to us he envited us to give up our arms which we of Course Refused to do we Showed him all our arms & told him we would give them 10 minutes to disperse or we would shoot every damd one of them they got to gether & Left. So we had no more trouble. we landed at Lorrence [Lawrence] saw all the Ruins,² went to Franklin³ Saw the Ruins there we then went to Leavenworth City & to Lecompton Saw

1. Lane's "Army of the North" reached the northern border of Kansas territory early in August. It opened what was known as the Iowa route.—Andreas, A. T., *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 141.

2. The first sacking of Lawrence occurred May 21, 1856.

3. Free-State men attacked Franklin August 12, 1856.

the Governor [Geary] had A chat with him he is A proslavery man we Likewise saw 15 hundred government troops all in uniform we then went to Topeka City which is but small but it is the best Location for A City I ever saw Topeka is on the South bank of the Kansas River here we found Governor Robinson the free state Governor in Constitutional Hall. 4 miles south of this city is Websters Peak⁴ as beautiful a sight as I ever saw the bottom Covers some 4 Akers then running to a peak some 230 feet high on the shape of a sugar Loaf & what is more remarkable it is all covered with grass from 1 to 3 feet high & not A Stick of would About it

I bought an interest in topeka 2 weeks Ago for 300 dollars & refused 1,000 dollars this morning for it. if Kansas is A free state it will make me A fortune if not I wont Lose anything there is some 50 Lots in one share the Kansas Prarie is by far the best I ever saw the Prarie is gently Rolling with plenty of timber & A fine wattered Country there is Plenty of stone Principally Lime stone & grannet

I must now close. we are now on our way home to Iowa

Please write soon. give me all the news

Direct to Indianola, Warren Co. Iowa give my Love to all the friends

do write soon. yours in hast H. M. Moore

I see dave Lukens often but have not saw him for over A month he is in Fort des moin George irvin is there too keeping hotell and doing well

I occasionally see Miss Gustine who is at Fort des moines

Nothing more of impotence

John & Bob why dont you write

[From J. Frank Moore to William Moore]

Topeka Kansas May 22 /57

Dear and most respected uncle

I received your kind letter yesterday I was much pleased to know that you had not forgot that you had two nephews in the great West I was much pleased to hear that you were all well— —

Hugh is not at home now He started to (Iowa) about three weeks ago. I have not heard from him since He is going to travel through part of Nebraska teritory before he returns he will probably be away til the 20th of June we are in the land Agency Business in company with Mr. Hill of Penna we are doin a very good

4. Now called Burnett's mound.—See *Topeka Daily Capital*, August 14, 1927.

business charge five percent for selling matters are all quiet now in the territory, but no telling how long they may remain so. the free state legislature meets here on the 9th of June and the Bogus governor says that he will have them Disbursed by bringing on his troops— now we want to see the lick he does it with we have got two 24 pounders besides three thousand Sharps rifles and we have got the boys that are ready to use them. so we think they had *better* not bother our legislature Speculation is raging in the free state towns while the pro-slavery towns are doing nothing in the way of improvement no person goes near them to buy property flower is selling here at \$7.00 per hundred corn at \$2.00 per bu potatoes \$4.00 per bu. Pork from 18 to 20 cts per pound Oxen sell at \$100 to 150 per yoke. horses from \$150 to 300 a head. Indian Ponies 75 to 100

Boarding from five to seven per week the Spring has been very backward and cold it is at least six weeks later than usual for this country My pen is so bad I will come to close and write in a few days again I will send you some newspapers in this mail

Give my love to all

Aunt in particular

Yours most affectionately

J. Frank Moore.

Wm. Moore

there has been several of the Juniata Boys here this spring Latimer Wilson & Jim North of Patterson North has went home Wilson is in the territory yet they bought property which has payed them well their property has ris fifty per cent since they bought Dave Myers is here now Sam Leonard was here but is gon to Iowa now one of the Shelenbargers was here he has gon to Nebraska excuse bad pen and hast

A Mr. John Lytle after

best respects

Topeka Kansas Ty

Sept 28th 1857

Dear uncle A Long time has Elapsed Since I wrote to you or heard from you only by A Line that was dropped to me by Cousin Harriet while she was paying you A visit

Well uncle I am at A Loss to know what to write that would interest you. the Kansas Stories I presume you hear every day though I may profisy something

Our election Comes of [f] the 5th of October Trouble is anticipated at that time by the most of the Free State men though I think we shall not be invaded any more the Free State men are all Regularly Organized in Military Companies throughout the Territory and there motto is Give me Free access to the ballot Box & its protection or Give me Death.

this is the motto of the entire Free state Party and they mean it all.

We have 4 military Companies in Topeka Numbering 60 men Each well drilled and well armed Standing Ready to move when Called on

Business has been verry dull for the Last month the excitement had Kept out Emigration though we expect A heavy fall Emigration yet

I just Returned from A trip to the South part of the territory was gone 2 weeks Found A Beautiful Country Layed out one Town & found another Location that we will attend too this Fall I had 9 shakes with the Ague while Away one Chill every day after I took the first untill I got home I feel pretty well now though very weak

Frank has been Pining Away all Summer untill he started home he reached home safely & is Rather Better I Learn I hope he will take Care of him self & get well so he can Return in the Spring I am Rather Lonesome without him I hope you are all Enjoying good health & all the Comforts of Life

I must say that I am not Enjoying quite all the Comforts of Life for I have not had A Single meals victuals for the Last month that was fit for Pa Dog to eat it seems hard but we have to grin & bear the Damd yankies dont know how to do any thing Right

Well I suppose you will get tired Reading Before you get this far Give my Love to all who may upon it call that will be few I can assure you

Write Soon & tell the Boys & girls to write often

Yours most Respectfully

Uncle

H. M. Moore.

Topeka Kansas ty
Dec 8th 1857

Dr uncle

A Long time has Elapsed since I have had any Communication with you or your family though I occasionally heard from you By our folks at home the case of the decease of my Brother has been A great Bearing upon me and in fact all most more than I was able to stand we had been together all our Lives & Little did I think of his case being so desperate A one when he left topeka

although he had been ill for some time before he Left I thought A change of Climate would be beneficial to him though it Proved not to be so

I am only Sorry now that I did not go home with him & stay with him untill he died But I did not get the word untill it was too Late to get home & see him A Live I intended to go home this winter But find now that it is all most impossible the journey is A Long one & it is an Expensive one But that would not stop me my time is worth money & more than money at this preasant time

I am aspiring to something in the Course of time may Prove worth Considerable to me & that money wont buy

We are now Building A bridge Across the Kansas River the Contract is Let at 14,000 dollars & I have the Superintending & inspecting of all the work and material at A Salery of from 800 to 1,000 dollars⁵ I devote about one hour of my time every day to the work the Bridge will be Completed the 1st of May next

in Regard to the politics of Kansas the Free state men are carrying the day the Legislature meets tomorrow I think the great question that has so long agitated the Public mind is now settled & Kansas will come in A free state

the Fall has been very Pleasant the thermomiter stands at 60 and at no time has the ground been frozen over one inch the cattle are still Living on the Praries & are in fine case you will Excuse Bad writing &c

Write soon for I am very Lonesome tell the Boys to write give my Love to all

Yours most Respectfully

Write soon uncle

H. M. Moore

5. The Topeka Bridge Company was organized September 3, 1857, with the following officers: President—John Ritchie; Secretary—F. W. Giles; Directors—C. K. Holliday, H. M. Moore, F. L. Crane, S. E. Martin, J. F. Hill, W. W. Ross, H. B. Burgess, and S. T. Walkley.—*Kansas Tribune*, Topeka, September 5, 1857.

On March 13, 1858, the *Tribune* noted: "Our bridge is progressing steadily. The middle pier, on which the turn table is to be placed, is nearly completed, and as the frame work is all ready to be put together a very few days will make a great difference in the appearance of the work."

The bridge was opened for travel May 1, 1858, but a flood swept it away the following July.—Root, George A., "Ferries in Kansas," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. II, p. 369.

Topeka K. T.
January 9th 60

Wm Moore Esq
Newbloomfield Perry Co. Pa.

Dear Uncle

Your very kind letter of Dec 28th came to hand this morning I was truly glad to hear from you but Sorry to hear of your tenacious views in Regard to politics. There must be a new era in the political world in Pa

1st you ask whether I have gone over to the Democracy I answer, no. I stand firm on the Stern principals Laid down by our forefathers Clay, Webster, & Adams &c

the Republican party of the present day in my opinion is Equally as corrupt as the Democratic party So I take but Little Stock in either party but Look forward to the time when the old national Whig party shall be Reserected the only party that ever Breathed true national patriotism

2nd you Refer to the Harper's Ferry insurrection & May I understand by your Language that you approve of John Browns course in the invasion of Virginia. I hope not. I trust not While I am personally acquainted with old John Brown & Caji [Kagi], Stevens, Cobby [Coppoc], & Cook. Knowing there Course in Kansas I of course am better able to judge of there motives than one who knew nothing of them Brown was a peculiar man & a blood thirsty villin he was the Cause of a great deal of Blood shead in Kansas he was a murderer & hanging was too good for him in my opinion He Mr Brown Boasted in Kansas that he had a deadly Enmity against all proslavery men & that he him self had killed 13 men in cool blood. was he the Leader of the Republican party or is that the class of men we Sons of Penna shall be led by

I answer for one, no, it is truly disgusting to me & as for the administration party I take no part at all in it, there must be a 3rd party organised for the union Loveing conservatives, for the honest part of the community who can Calmly look at both sides of the question dispassionately & who are not so likely to A Rive at hasty conclusions and has the good of our common Country at hart— — — the North is allways harping about Slavery and adjutating the South, interfering with there Rights, and they in Return are Crying dissolution of the union & thus we are kept in a perfect uproar all the time

You in the states do not feel it as we do in Kansas our people have got tired of the question of Slavery That question has been happily settled in our Territory & to the satisfaction of the majority

Enough on that subject for the present

Our Legislature convened the 2nd at Lecompton but as yet have done but Little the House stands Rep 26 to Dem 13 Council or Senate 9 to 5 Dem A motion before the house to adjourn to Lawrence to hold the session was entertained & past both houses sent to the governor & was vetoed taken up again & past by a $\frac{2}{3}$ majority so the Republicans went to Lawrence and the Democrats Remained at Lecompton there will be no good done in our Legislature this winter.

Our great hope now is to get in to the union this winter if we are not admitted this winter it will be a death blow to us Every effort is being made for a state organising with the Expectation of being admitted The President in his message never speaks of Kansas at all but treats us with silent Contempt My own opinion is that Congress will not admit us this winter & if that be the case we shall have to dance to the tune of old hundred for another year

There is nothing to pay on your Topeka *Tribune* I had to take a certain number of copies to keep the paper up so I had one copy sent to you it was not intended as an insult at all but the most kindly feeling but for fear of future difficulty I will have it discontinued

that all of importance

Write often & give me the news I am most happy to hear from you at all times & will answer punctually

Give my Love to all

Respectfully

H. M. Moore

Topeka Kas Jan. 9th 60

Wm Moore Esq

Dr uncle

I suppose I have written Enough of politics So I will give you the general news

Times have been verry hard in deed there is but Little money in Circulation The Summer & fall has been verry fine indeed Crops have been verry fine & are yielding well corn is worth 20 cts potatoes 30 wheat 100 butter 20c pork 6 to 8 beef 5 to 7 cts

Horses are worth from \$50 to 200 mules 300 dolls per pair those are about the prices current

the general health of the neighborhood has been verry good for the Last year.

I took a trip this last fall to the indian ty & Texas was away some 6 weeks had a verry pleasant time, past through the buffalo country saw millions of Buffalo and killed a great many Texas is a fine Country if I ever Leave this place I shall go to Texas or California but the probability is that I shall Live & die here

I expected to have been home before now, but on account of the hardness of the times I may not go East this winter you speak of not Receiving any letter from me this summer at all I wrote to you the same time I wrote to Wm Mcmeen but presume you did not get it I should be glad to Corrispond with you all the time, there is no harm in Exchanging views I presume you will be put too to Read this Letter for I have written it in ahurry You will Excuse it

you will please give my Love to all the friends

Respectfully

H. M. Moore

P. S.

I am Single yet but dont know how soon I may adopt Southern blood in my family⁶

6. On May 5, 1860, the *Topeka Tribune* reported that Mr. Moore had commenced the erection of a first-class dwelling on Monroe street.

The work was again mentioned by the *Tribune* July 14: "We have been anxiously looking for that immense quantity of stone and brick which has so long been accumulating at a point below Monroe, on Sixth Street, to come to some kind of a head. It belongs to Hugh Moore, Esq., and according to rumor is soon to be transformed into a large and costly residence.—Here's to the health of its mistress."

First Newspapers in Kansas Counties

(Continued)

1865-1871

G. RAYMOND GAEDDERT

ANDERSON COUNTY

Garnett *Plaindealer*, March, 1865.

THE *Plaindealer* probably made its appearance sometime during the last two weeks in March, 1865. This statement is based on newspaper reports found in the Leavenworth *Daily Conservative* and the Lawrence *Kansas Daily Tribune* of 1865. On April 5 the *Conservative* wrote: "*Plaindealer* is the name of a paper just started at Garnett, Anderson county, Kansas. The first number presents a creditable appearance." The following day the *Tribune* stated: "I. E. Olney, who last year published the Hampden *Expositor*, has taken his printing materials to Garnett, Anderson county, and has commenced the publication of the Garnett *Plaindealer*." The Emporia *News* did not announce the *Plaindealer* until May 13. It wrote that the paper "commences under favorable auspices, with all the prestige and character of the Hampden *Expositor*. It is being published on the same type and edited by the same editor." Andreas, the *First Biennial Report* and the author of *History of Anderson County* all stated that the *Plaindealer* was established in January, 1865.¹ They may have had in mind the establishment of the newspaper plant rather than the date of the first publication.

I. E. Olney, who formerly published the Hampden *Expositor*, was editor and publisher of the *Plaindealer* until his death in the fall of 1866, after which Mrs. Olney carried on until 1870, when the office was purchased by Leslie J. Perry. The regular issues of the Society's file of this paper do not start until January 7, 1876.

SALINE COUNTY

The Salina *Herald*, February, 1867.

The year 1867 was eventful for Salina. In February B. J. F. Hanna gave the town and county its first newspaper, the Salina *Herald*, and in April the Union Pacific railroad reached the town.²

1. Andreas, A. T., *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 1327; *First Biennial Report of the State Board of Agriculture to the Legislature of the State of Kansas, for the Year 1877-8* (Topeka, 1878), p. 99; Johnson, Wm. A., *History of Anderson County* (Garnett, 1877), p. 188.

2. Wilder, D. W., *The Annals of Kansas* (Topeka, 1875), p. 461, had the following entry for April 8: "The locomotive within five miles of Salina." For April 29 he wrote: "Trains run to Salina."

Andreas wrote that the *Herald*, "the oldest newspaper in the county, . . . was established at Salina in 1866." This statement may have been based on an account which appeared in the *Herald* March 16, 1878: "The oldest established newspaper is the *Herald*, which is now approaching its thirteenth year." If regularly issued this would mean the first number appeared in 1866. The *Herald* must be mistaken. The Society has an early issue dated December 18, 1869, listed as volume III, number 45. Retracing its issues, if regularly published, would make the first number February 13, 1867. The *First Biennial Report* gives this as the date of the first issue.³ Moreover, the *Junction City Weekly Union* of February 9, 1867, wrote: "We understand the Salina paper will come out this week. We are anxious to see that which has advanced beyond us westward." On February 23 the same paper wrote again: "The Salina *Herald* has failed to come to hand. We, however, have seen a copy. It is a sprightly sheet, full of interest and earnestly devoted to the 'material interest' of Saline county." In the same issue the *Union* quoted from the Salina *Herald*. On March 1, 1867, the *Emporia News* described the first issue of the *Herald* as follows:

We have received No. 1 of the Salina *Herald*, a new paper printed at the thriving town of Salina, Kansas. It is one of the best looking and ablest country papers in the State, and if the first number is a specimen of what the paper is to be, it will be of great benefit to western Kansas. Mr. Hannas is the editor and publisher. . . .

While the exact date is still unknown, it is likely that the first issue of the *Herald* appeared sometime during the second or third week in February, 1867.

A recent publication in a colorful but erroneous description asserted that Hanna established the paper after the Union Pacific railroad reached the town. The statement reads:

It was a great day in Salina history [when the railroad reached Salina] and marked the beginning of a new era. Before long settlers began to arrive by rail and one of these newcomers, F. B. J. Hanna, brought type and a printing press and began to publish the *Herald*, Salina's first newspaper.⁴

It has already been pointed out that the railroad did not reach Salina until sometime in April, 1867. By this time the *Herald* office had published its paper for more than a month.

3. *First Biennial Report*, p. 408.

4. *A Guide to Salina, Kansas*, Federal Writers' Project (August, 1939), pp. 25, 26. The name is B. J. F. Hanna.

POTTAWATOMIE COUNTY

Pottawatomie Gazette, Louisville, July 17, 1867.

The *Pottawatomie Gazette*, established ten years after the county was organized, is considered the first paper in the county.⁵ A. Sellers, Jr., and R. S. Hick were the editors and A. Sellers, Jr., the proprietor. After September 16, 1870, it became the *Kansas Reporter*. In the meantime the paper had changed owners and editors.

Under the caption "Our Position," the *Gazette* wrote that it "will be independently radical, supporting such measures as we believe it to be right, and condemning those that we deem to be wrong." It promised to chronicle local events and favored "universal suffrage in its broadest sense—the giving of the ballot to all alike, whether male or female, black or white," provided they met the usual qualifications. On the question of reconstruction the *Gazette* wrote, July 17, 1867:

It will sustain the present reconstruction policy of Congress, and such other measures as in its wisdom shall be deemed necessary for the protection of the loyal people of the South, whether black or white; and we trust that Congress, through its commanders of departments, Johnson and Stanberry to the contrary notwithstanding, will hold a firm grip until the same respect is shown for law and order as in the northern States; until they relinquish their pastime amusement of shooting negroes, and getting up New Orleans massacres, and Mobile and Memphis riots. . . .

The Society has a good file of the *Pottawatomie Gazette*, including Vol. I, No. 1.

CHEROKEE COUNTY

Baxter Springs *Herald*, October, 1867.

This paper may have made its appearance the first week in October, 1867. On October 9, 1867, the Fort Scott *Monitor* announced the *Herald* in these words:

Baxter Springs *Herald*.—This is the title of a new six-column paper in Cherokee county. It is Republican in politics, and constitutes and appoints itself "the especial advocate, without fee or reward, of the claims of every good, honest settler upon the Cherokee Neutral Lands, to his home, and promise to do all in our power to secure his title for him." Henry T. Sumner is the editor, and B. R. Evans publisher. It is a neat and spicy sheet, and will materially benefit the settlers. Success to the enterprise.

The paper was suspended the following summer.⁶ The Society has only three issues of the *Herald*, the earliest dated February 8, 1868,

5. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 976; *First Biennial Report*, p. 370.

6. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1162; *First Biennial Report*, p. 144.

and listed as volume I, number 18. If issued regularly the date of the first number should have been October 12, 1867. However, by October 9 the Fort Scott *Monitor* had already received the first issue.

A rival paper had been contemplated by P. A. Russell, formerly of the Paola *Free Press*. On August 14, 1867, the *Monitor* wrote: "A weekly journal is soon to be started in the above named county, by P. A. J. Russell, formerly of the Paola *Free Press*." In the next issue, however, the *Monitor* spoke of the failure of this project:

Mr. Russell says the arrangement between himself and D. C. Finn of Cherokee county, relative to publishing a paper at Pleasant View, is "busted"—the latter failing to "come down with the stamps." Mr. Finn called on us yesterday, and said his part of the contract was for and in behalf [of] the Pleasant View Town Company. He thinks the Crawfordville people will try and secure Mr. Russell's press.

This gave the Baxter Springs *Herald* undisputed claim as the first paper in the county.

ELLIS COUNTY

Hays City *Railway Advance*, November 9, 1867.

Floyd B. Streeter, librarian at Fort Hays Kansas State College, who has a framed copy of the first issue of the *Advance*, the only known copy of this number in existence, wrote that the date of the first issue is November 9, 1867.⁷ The secondary authorities, except Wilder, were uncertain about it, listing merely the year. Wilder gave the date of the first issue as November 5, 1867.⁸ The Junction City *Union* announced the first issue on November 16. The announcement read:

The Hays City *Railway Advance* is the name of a tri-weekly paper which has made its appearance at the terminus of the road, and published by Joseph Clark, W. H. Bisbee and Willis Emery, all of Leavenworth. The thing looks like a huge joke, considering all things. They advertise for a boy to learn the business and add "one from the country preferred, of course." They evidently mean that they want a young Cheyenne.

The paper expired the following year.⁹ The Society has one issue of the *Advance*, dated June 23, 1868, and listed as Vol. I, No. 66. At that time the paper appeared twice a week.

The Topeka *State Journal*, March 13, 1941, had an interesting article on the *Railway Advance* with quotations from the first issue. Among the statements made was one which needs further explana-

7. Streeter, Floyd B., to G. R. Gaeddert, May 2, 1941, Kansas State Historical Society.

8. Wilder, *op. cit.* (1886), p. 468; Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1292; *First Biennial Report*, p. 209.

9. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1292; *First Biennial Report*, p. 209.

tion, viz.: "Thus began the first newspaper in Kansas west of Junction City." The writer of the article no doubt had forgotten about the *Salina Herald* which made its appearance sometime in February, 1867, making the *Railway Advance* the second paper west of Junction City. Hays City, at the end of the Union Pacific, Eastern division, was only three months old when the *Advance* appeared.

ELLSWORTH COUNTY

Ellsworth Advocate, March, 1868.

The *First Biennial Report* stated that "In April, 1868, P. H. Hubbell started the *Ellsworth Advocate*, which existed for six months."¹⁰ Andreas, who gave quite a detailed account of the history of Ellsworth, made no mention of this paper. The *Junction City Weekly Union* on March 14, 1868, reported:

The *Ellsworth Advocate* is the name of a new weekly paper just started at Ellsworth, with Mr. P. H. Hubbell as publisher. The *Advocate* presents a fine appearance, and it is in every respect a "live journal." It is neutral in politics and its columns are devoted to morals, education, art, science, literature, and the general interests of the county and State it represents.

The *First Biennial Report* apparently was in error as to the month the *Advocate* appeared. While the exact date is still unknown, it is likely that the first issue appeared sometime during the first or second week in March, 1868. The Society has no copy of this paper.

NEOSHO COUNTY

Neosho Valley Eagle, Jacksonville, May 2, 1868.

This paper enjoyed the unusual reputation of having been claimed by three counties: Labette, Crawford and Neosho. It was published at Jacksonville, located where the counties joined. The corporation records show that the town was located on parts of sections 34 and 35, T. 30 S., R. 21 E., and on part of section 3, T. 31 S., R. 21 E. Section 34 is in Neosho county, 35 in Crawford county, and 3 in Labette county.¹¹ The *U. S. Register of 1871*, however, located the postoffice of Jacksonville in Neosho county, and according to W. W. Graves, who has written a *History of Neosho County Newspapers*, the *Eagle* was published in that county.¹² The *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, May 7, 1868, announced the paper and substantiated Graves' statement. It reads:

10. *First Biennial Report*, p. 212.

11. "Corporation Records," v. I, pp. 425, 446, 447.—Kansas State Historical Society.

12. Graves, W. W., *History of Neosho County Newspapers* (St. Paul Journal, St. Paul, 1938), pp. 4, 5.

The Neosho Valley Eagle is the title of a new weekly paper issued at Jacksonville, Neosho county, the first number of which we have received. B. K. Land, Esq., is editor and proprietor.

The only known file of this paper is preserved in the vault of the *Erie Record*.

The history of this paper reveals many changes, typical of frontier newspapers. Graves, who has examined the issues of the *Neosho Valley Eagle*, wrote that "Land was one of those fighting editors who did not feel good unless he was shooting broadsides at the *Osage Mission Journal*, so much so that his paper contained almost no local news."¹³ Land claimed that the citizens of Jacksonville had made guarantees which they neglected to keep. He brought suit against those who had failed him and moved the paper to Erie. He published the first issue of the *Neosho Valley Eagle* in Erie on October 24, 1868. He continued the paper until May 11, 1869, when he sold it to E. E. Kimball and C. G. Burton, a law firm. The *Eagle* continued under the old name until May 25, 1869, when it was changed to the *Neosho County Dispatch*. On December 9, 1870, the *Dispatch* passed into the hands of J. A. Trenchard who converted it into an anti-monopolist paper, with the cry of "down with Land Monopolies and up with Settler's Rights." The paper continued to change hands and titles. In 1871, J. A. Wells published it as the *Erie Ishmaelite*. Wells sold it to J. H. Scott and H. T. Perry, who moved the plant to Osage Mission in 1871, and used it "in reviving the [Osage Mission] *Journal* which had been asleep for a month."¹⁴

The town of Jacksonville is no longer on the map. It was overtaken by adversity in the midst of prosperity. Neighboring railroad towns played havoc with it, so that by 1883 Andreas could write that "today nothing remains to mark the site where it stood, excepting a postoffice, in a lonely farmhouse."¹⁵

LABETTE COUNTY

The *Oswego Register*, May or June, 1868.

Three newspapers have contended for first place in this county: The *Chetopa Advance*, the *Neosho Valley Eagle*, Jacksonville, and the *Oswego Register*. Daniel W. Wilder, in the *Annals of Kansas* for February 18, 1880, referred to A. S. Corey as having "started the *Chetopa Advance* in 1867."¹⁶ That he was mistaken is gathered

13. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 5.

15. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 842.

16. Wilder, *op. cit.* (1886), p. 866.

from a statement found in the *Emporia News*, January 15, 1869, which reads: "We have received the first number of the *Chetopa Advance*, a very creditable looking six-column, Republican paper, just started at Chetopa, Labette county." This statement, substantiated by the *First Biennial Report*, eliminates the *Advance* as a contender.¹⁷

The *First Biennial Report* listed the *Neosho Valley Eagle* as the first paper in the county. Its statement reads: "The first newspaper published in Labette county was the *Eagle*, published at Jacksonville in April, 1868, by B. K. Land."¹⁸ The *Eagle* ante-dated the *Oswego Register*, but in this case another factor must be considered, namely, the location of the place of publication. The *Eagle* of Jacksonville was claimed by three counties because the town was located on parts of Neosho, Labette and Crawford counties. This question, considered in the article on Neosho county, was decided in favor of that county. The author accepted the statements of Graves and the *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, that the office of publication of the *Eagle* was in Neosho county, thus eliminating it for first place in Labette county.

The *Oswego Register*, therefore, is considered first in the county. The date of the first issue, however, remains undetermined. The secondary authorities agreed that the *Register* was established in 1868, and was the first newspaper published in Oswego, but failed to give the day or month of the first issue.¹⁹ A part of this information was found in a contemporaneous newspaper published in Franklin county. On June 11, 1868, the *Western Home Journal*, Ottawa, announced the *Register* in these words:

The *Oswego Register* is the name of a new paper that has come to us, published at Oswego, Labette county, Kansas, and edited by E. R. Trask. It is neatly gotten up, and no doubt will be liberally patronized in their flourishing county of Labette. The names of Grant and Colfax at its masthead, show that it is the right stripe. . . .

It is safe to say that the *Oswego Register* made its appearance either during the latter part of May or the first days in June, 1868. The Society has only four issues. The first is dated July 30, 1869, and listed as Vol. II, No. 3.

17. *First Biennial Report*, p. 263.

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Andreas, op. cit.*, p. 1467; *First Biennial Report*, p. 263.

GREENWOOD COUNTY

The Eureka *Herald*, July 10, 1868.

The *Herald* was the first journalistic venture in the county, although secondary writers disagree on the date of the first issue. Andreas wrote that "Its first issue bears date August, 1866, and has the motto 'Be sure you're right—then go ahead.'" The *First Biennial Report* stated that the first number "was issued July 4th, 1868," whereas Wilder's entry for July, 1868 is: "S. G. Mead starts the Eureka *Herald*."²⁰ George G. Wood, the present editor and publisher of the Eureka *Herald* and owner of its early files including Vol. I, No. 1, writes that the first issue is dated July 10, 1868.²¹

The Fort Scott *Weekly Monitor* of July 22, 1868, announced the paper in these words: "New Paper—The Eureka *Herald* is the name of a new paper published at Eureka, Greenwood county, by S. G. Mead. It presents a neat appearance, and it gives us pleasure to place it on our exchange list."

The Society's regular file of the *Herald* does not start until January 27, 1876, but it has three earlier issues, the first listed as Vol. I, No. 16, and bearing the date October 30, 1868. The Society is now arranging to have film copies made of the *Herald's* early volumes.

WOODSON COUNTY

Frontier Democrat, Neosho Falls, October, 1868.

This paper no doubt made its appearance in October, 1868, although the secondary authorities give the date as October, 1869.²² This statement is based on the announcement of publication found in the *Kansas Weekly Tribune*, Lawrence, October 29, 1868. It reads as follows:

The *Frontier Democrat* is the title of a new paper published by I. B. Boyle, at Neosho Falls. It is intensely Democratic in politics, and makes a fierce onslaught on the Republican state nominees, by giving copious extracts from one of our city contemporaries. The outside is printed at Chicago, and the inside at Neosho Falls.

The paper changed to the Neosho Falls *Advertiser* "about January, 1870," according to the Society's *History of Kansas Newspapers*,²³

20. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1200; *First Biennial Report*, p. 228; Wilder, *op. cit.*, p. 480.

21. Geo. G. Wood to G. R. Gaeddert, May 27, 1941, K. S. H. S.

22. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1194; *First Biennial Report*, p. 451; *History of Kansas Newspapers* (Topeka, 1916), p. 316.

23. *History of Kansas Newspapers*, p. 316.

and became the *Woodson County Post* in 1873. It is still published, but at Yates Center. Harry L. and Cranston M. Covert are the present editors and owners.

The *Frontier Democrat* was printed on a Washington press, according to Paul I. Wellman, feature writer of the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*. His statement reads as follows:

The Washington press upon which it [the *Neosho Falls Post*] was first printed was originally brought to Leavenworth, Kan., for free state service in the John Brown days, taken to Lawrence for a similar purpose, and thence to Burlington when the *Patriot* was founded there. Afterwards it went to Le Roy, and finally to Neosho Falls, when I. B. Boyle founded the *Frontier Democrat*. The following year W. H. Sains purchased the *Democrat* and changed its name to the *Neosho Falls Advertiser*. It became the *Woodson County Post* subsequently, and after the removal of the county seat was once more renamed the *Neosho Falls Post* by a new owner, Nathan Powell.²⁴

The writer has not checked sufficiently on the statement regarding the historic Washington press mentioned above to be in a position to affirm or challenge it. It may be that its history is shrouded in mystery like that of the Meeker press. There must have been a number of Washington hand presses in Kansas at that time. They were manufactured by Robert Hoe and Company.²⁵ The significance of the name lies in the make of press. It obtained its power from the straightening of a toggle joint, the knee-joint being pressed in.

The Society has no issues of the *Frontier Democrat* or of the *Advertiser*, but it has a file of the *Post* beginning September 24, 1873.

WASHINGTON COUNTY

The Western Observer, Washington, March 25, 1869.

"Be Just, and Fear Not," was the maxim of M. J. Kelley, editor of *The Western Observer*, Washington county's first newspaper. In the first number, dated March 25, 1869, he professed to be "a live, wide awake, Radical Republican," ever ready to battle "for liberty, freedom to all, regardless of race or color; and also, favoring universal, or in other words, Female Suffrage."²⁶ That he had the courage of his convictions is evidenced by the fact, that on at least one occasion he refused to publish "a communication from Water-ville," on account of its personalities. He warned that those sending him communications should please remember "that we will not pub-

24. *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, October 17, 1937.

25. Mechem, Kirke, "The Mystery of the Meeker Press," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. IV, p. 70.

26. *The Western Observer*, Washington, March 25, 1869.

lish abusive letters. . . . We do not propose to allow one or the other to be abused through these columns." 27

The *Observer* was a small, four-column, four-page, paper. Kelley wrote that it was started on a small scale "for one of the best reasons in the world—that is, we had not the money to make it larger." He hoped that the paper would be well received so that he might enlarge it in the near future.

Commenting on the rapid growth in population, he wrote:

Three years ago we passed through the western part of this and Republic county. In passing through Washington county we saw but four houses on the road, the entire length of the county. Now, passing over the same road, we see near one hundred neat little farms opened and appearance of plenty. In Republic county we did not see a house, and now on the same road we count upward of fifty. . . . 28

Andreas credited the *Observer* with having drawn to Washington "some of her most influential citizens." 29

Kelley also published other papers. On August 21, 1869, he started *The Little Blue*, at Jenkins Mills, Nebr., and October 19, 1870, he published the first issue of the *Washington Kansas Daily Republican*. The Society has a good file of these three papers including the first issue of each.

CRAWFORD COUNTY

Crawford County Times, Girard, April 16, 1869 (?).

Girard Press, November 11 (?), 1869.

No positive statement can be made about the first paper in this county. Most secondary authorities regard the *Crawford County Times* as first, listing the date of the first and only issue as April 16, 1868, and April 16, 1869.³⁰ This paper was published by John H. Scott, editor and publisher of the *Osage Mission Journal* and C. E. Cole of Girard. They moved the *Journal* office to Girard, published one issue there, then moved it back again because the object of its issue was thereby accomplished, namely, "the bringing of the Osage Mission people to time."³¹ The Society has no copy of this paper, nor has the writer found sufficient evidence to prove that the paper

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*

29. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1057.

30. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1121, and *A Twentieth Century History and Biographical Record of Crawford County, Kansas*, by Home Authors (Chicago, 1905), p. 130, had it April 16, 1869; *First Biennial Report*, p. 169, and Blackmar, F. W., *Kansas*, v. I, p. 473, gave the date as April 16, 1868.

31. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1121.

was ever published. In the Fort Scott *Monitor* of April 7, 1869, appeared the following statement:

Paper in Crawford County.—We received a call from Mr. Cole, of Girard, last week, who informs us that he contemplates, in connection with J. H. Scott, of the *Mission Journal*, starting a paper at Girard. They have not yet decided upon a name, although Mr. Cole says they may call it "*The Tender*," as it will be *after* Maj. Cox's *Locomotive*. . . .

If this statement foreshadowed the *Times*, it would indicate that the paper started in 1869 rather than 1868.

Years later this same C. E. Cole wrote an article published in the *Wichita Daily Eagle*, February 3, 1907, which leaves the question in confusion. He wrote it in answer to an article in an unnamed eastern paper which he called "a very incorrect account of the early days in Girard and Crawford County." He said he was on the scene "in the stirring events of those days" and would give "some inside history yet unpublished." Referring to the county-seat contest, he wrote:

At that time Crawfordsville, a little town then the seat of government, lay three miles to the eastward along the banks of Cow Creek. During the winter a court order was issued calling an election to be held the last of April, to decide which should be the county seat: Crawfordsville or Girard. In the contest the latter town was chosen by a small majority.

He then proceeded to explain why Girard won the election:

. . . I saw there was one thing lacking, and very much needed for our success, and that deficiency was a newspaper. Our rival had such a small sheet called the *Crawfordsville Times*. I made our wants known to Mr. Hull and others. The matter was left to me. In the meantime I had learned there was a second-hand Washington hand-press and a few fonts of type for sale or trade at the town of Osage Mission. I borrowed a horse and struck out for the coveted prize. In due time I arrived at my destination, and soon made a bargain with Mr. Oliver, the owner, for a half interest.

Two days later found us unloading and setting up our printing outfit in a modest board house, 12 x 16 feet, in the rear of Senet and Vickers's store. My partner, Mr. Oliver, took charge of the labor and mechanical end of the business, and your humble servant assumed the roll of editor and manager. Everything being in readiness on the 10th day of April, 1869, the *Girard News*, fresh from a Washington hand-press, went forth dressed in its spring garb of mechanical and editorial beauty to the waiting throng on the outside as the first paper published in Girard, and was considered by all a masterpiece of mechanical and editorial beauty; this five-column 12 x 16 sheet!

This article, although full of errors, raises the question whether Crawfordsville ever published a newspaper, and if so, when? On August 21, 1867, probably the first contemporaneous statement pertaining to a Crawfordsville paper appeared in the *Fort Scott Moni-*

tor. It stated that D. C. Finn of Cherokee county had been in Fort Scott and remarked that the Crawfordsville people "will try and secure Mr. Russell's press."³² No information has been found, however, to show whether they succeeded. On November 18, 1868, the Fort Scott *Weekly Monitor* again referred to a proposed newspaper. The statement reads: "Col. Daniels informs us that a Radical paper is soon to be started at Crawfordville." But again, apparently nothing came of it. The Pittsburg *Daily Headlight*, May 19, 1926, under the caption: "Old Cottonwood and Town Well Mark Place Where Crawfordsville Thrived," described one newspaper venture in this town as follows:

The late E. A. Wasser was a citizen of Crawfordville for a time against his will. Mr. Eddy tells the story: [This has reference to William L. Eddy, a merchant there.]

"Wasser came to Crawfordville with the intention of starting a paper. A fellow with him was to get the money from friends or relatives. The money seemed slow coming and Wasser's partner borrowed a pony from me to ride to some point over in Missouri. He wanted to hurry the funds along. Several weeks later nothing had been heard from him or the money. One day the pony was brought back to me more dead than alive. The fellow never appeared.

"Wasser stayed. He couldn't leave. One day Jones came to me and asked if I had any money to spare. He said that Wasser had a chance to go to Fort Scott and get into the newspaper business but that he had no money with which to pay his board bill and Dr. D. W. Crouse, with whom he boarded, wouldn't let him leave town without paying the bill. I advanced the money and Wasser got out of town."³³

Cole's memory apparently failed him on several major points. The election on the county-seat question was held in December, 1868, and not in April. Moreover, Cole refers to the Girard *News* "as the first paper published in Girard." There was a *Crawford County News* published at Girard but it did not make its appearance until August 6, 1875, published by T. P. Fulton and C. C. Covell. The Girard *News* was not established until December 13, 1878. Cole's statement therefore does not fit into the picture unless we overlook a number of important factors.

The Girard *Press*, established by W. H. Warner and E. A. Wasser, was the first paper to succeed the *Times*, and undoubtedly the first paper regularly published in the county. It made its appearance in November, 1869. The Fort Scott *Monitor*, November 24, 1869, wrote that it had received the first issue of the *Press*. The Society

32. The Russell press referred to is that bargained for by P. A. Russell and D. C. Finn of Cherokee county, spoken of in connection with the Cherokee county paper.

33. "Crawford County Clippings," v. III, p. 114, in library of Kansas State Historical Society. The Society does not have the Pittsburg *Daily Headlight* before May 14, 1928.

in its *Newspaper History* has it that this paper was "a continuation of the Fort Scott *Press*, a Democratic paper published in the late '60s in Fort Scott." In 1869 Warner and Wasser moved it to Girard, changed the name to the Girard *Press* and established it "as an independent paper politically." The Society has several issues of the *Press* prior to May 28, 1874, when its regular file of this paper begins. The earliest is dated January 6, 1870, and is listed as Vol. I, No. 9, for Girard, and Vol. IV, No. 46, for Fort Scott and Girard, inclusive.

MONTGOMERY COUNTY

Independence *Pioneer*, about September 11, 1869.

The first effort at journalism in this county was made by E. R. Trask in the publication of the Independence *Pioneer*. The paper was Republican in politics. The Fort Scott *Monitor*, September 29, 1869, announced its appearance as follows:

We are in receipt of number two, of the Independent *Pioneer*, published at Independence, Montgomery county. It is edited by E. R. Trask, who is also the editor of the Oswego *Register*, and the former is probably an offshoot of the latter paper. May they both meet with success.

According to Andreas, the *Pioneer* was printed at Oswego until March, 1870, after that in Independence "with David Steel as editor."³⁴ Several other papers followed closely in the wake of the *Pioneer*, the Westralia *Vidette*, started at Westralia, by McConnell and McIntyre in the spring of 1870, and the Parker *Record*, by G. D. Baker, at Parker, June, 1870.³⁵ The Society has no issues of the *Vidette* or *Record*, but it has two of the *Pioneer*. The first is dated November 13, 1869 (Vol. 1, No. 10), and the other, January 1, 1870. If published regularly the *Pioneer* should have made its appearance September 11, 1869. The *First Biennial Report* gave the date of the first issue as September 4.³⁶ The paper made its appearance, no doubt, sometime during the first two weeks of September, 1869.

Independence, in 1869, was still very much in the pioneering stage, but it was a growing town. On January 1, 1870, the *Pioneer* wrote:

Independence is growing. Forty frame buildings have been erected in as many days. Since our saw mills have been turning out lumber, the work of building has went on right merrily, and substantial frame buildings have taken the place of booths, tents and hay houses, that a few weeks ago were scattered

34. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1567.

35. *First Biennial Report*, p. 326.

36. *Ibid.*

promiscuously over our beautiful town site. Four months ago, the tall prairie grass waved where to-day are rows of buildings and the scenes of busy life. . . . Since the first of September last, more than one hundred families have settled in this place, and every day witnesses new arrivals. . . .

In the issue of November 13, 1869 (the inside of which bears the date of November 27), the editor told about an interesting incident that happened to a resident of Montgomery county the previous week. The story reads as follows:

In the night he [the resident] was awakened from his slumbers by the cries of his first-born, and upon feeling found that it was not in bed. He struck a light, and continued his search, but failed to find it in the house. Upon the suggestion of his wife, he looked out doors, and found it upon the ground, where it had fell, having rolled off the bed between the logs of the house. Since the above occurrence, the woman of the house says the old man must stay at home now and chink and daub the cracks of his house instead of fooling around about the county seat.

Those were the "good old" frontier days.

WILSON COUNTY

The Wilson County Courier, Fredonia, January 20, 1870.

The secondary authorities agree that the *Courier* was the first newspaper in the county. John R. Jennings was the editor and publisher. The paper was Republican in politics.³⁷ On January 28, 1870, the *Kansas Daily Commonwealth* announced *The Wilson County Courier* as a new paper, and thereby confirmed the statements of the secondary authorities that it made its appearance in January, 1870. The *Commonwealth* referred to the *Courier* as presenting "a creditable appearance, barring its ill-proportioned length." It advised "Brother Jennings to cut off about four inches from the bottom."

The History of Kansas Newspapers contended that the *Courier* was first published at Le Roy by William J. Kent and William Higgins during the years 1866 to 1868, when it was suspended; that on October 30, 1869, the second Le Roy *Courier* was established by John R. Jennings, "who used the old stereotyped heading of the first *Courier*, which he found in the town and appropriated to his use for economy's sake. This paper was continued until January, 1870, when it was discontinued and the office moved to Fredonia, where it passed into the hands of Messrs. Peffer and Wellman."³⁸ The *Com-*

37. Neodesha *Citizen*, March 3, 1871; Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 902; *First Biennial Report*, p. 446.

38. *History of Kansas Newspapers*, p. 314.

monwealth, however, spoke of Mr. Jennings as editor of the first issue, subsequently it may have passed into the hands of Messrs. Peffer and Wellman, as the *History* said it did. The *First Biennial Report* stated that Jennings moved the material from Le Roy "where he had been using it in the publication of the Le Roy *Pioneer*."³⁹ The writer is not in a position to determine whether the Le Roy paper was known as the *Pioneer* or *Courier*. The Society does not have this paper nor *The Wilson County Courier*.

DICKINSON COUNTY

The Western News, Detroit, January 20 or 21, 1870.

This was the first newspaper published in Dickinson county, Andreas' statement to the contrary notwithstanding.⁴⁰ The Society has a photostatic copy of volume one, number two, dated January 28, 1870. In several advertisements of this issue appeared the date "Jan. 20-tf." Since the paper was published every Friday, as listed in the masthead of the second issue, the first number should have made its appearance January 21, 1870, although the date on the advertisements would place it on the 20th. The *First Biennial Report* stated that *The Western News* and the *Abilene Chronicle* both made their appearance in February, 1870.⁴¹ The Society has volume one, number two, of the *Chronicle*, dated March 3, 1870. If regularly issued this would place the first number on February 24, 1870, which is also the date given by Wilder.⁴² It follows, therefore, that *The Western News* was established about a month earlier than the *Abilene Chronicle*. In addition to the photostatic copy of *The Western News*, the Society also has the issues of February 11 and July 5, 1870.

The *News* was started by A. W. Robinson during the last county-seat fight in Dickinson county. The paper was full of the contest. Among the remarks noticed in the issues were the following: "COUNTY SEAT or BUST," "ABILENE is DEAD, will be BURIED next TUESDAY NIGHT." Shortly after the election, however, it was the *News* that gave up the ghost.

39. *First Biennial Report*, p. 446.

40. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 687, wrote that the *Chronicle* published at Abilene was first in the county.

41. *First Biennial Report*, p. 180.

42. Wilder, *op. cit.* (1886), p. 516.

BUTLER COUNTY

Walnut Valley Times, El Dorado, March, 1870.

Andreas and the *First Biennial Report* agree that the first number of the *Times* was dated March 4, 1870. The *First Biennial Report* regarded it as the first paper published in the county.⁴³ The earliest contemporaneous information appears in the *Emporia News*, January 21, 1870. It stated that "T. B. Murdock has returned, and says their printing establishment for Eldorado ought to be here this week, if it is not delayed on the route. The paper, we learn, will be called *Walnut Valley Times*." On February 11, the *News* reported again: "The printing material for the *Walnut Valley Times* passed through town, on Wednesday, *en route* to Eldorado. We will look for the new paper in about three weeks." On March 18, the same paper announced the new paper: "The second number of the *Walnut Valley Times* reached us yesterday. It is the liveliest and best printed paper in the country. Bent and Dan are a newspaper team." The *News* had reference to T. B. Murdock and one Danford as the editors and publishers. The first issue the Society has of this paper carries the date of July 1, 1870, listed as volume one, number eighteen. If it was issued regularly this would place the first number on March 4, 1870, which agrees with the date given by the secondary authorities. The information points to the conclusion that the *Walnut Valley Times* appeared during the first or second week of March, 1870. The *Times* was published until April, 1918, although Murdock severed his connection with it in March, 1881.

CLOUD COUNTY

Republican Valley Empire, Clyde, May 31, 1870.

This newspaper, now known as the *Concordia Blade-Empire*, was established by Henry Buckingham at Clyde, May 31, 1870. It was Republican in politics. Andreas and the *First Biennial Report* merely gave the year 1870, and regarded the *Empire* as the first newspaper published in Clyde.⁴⁴ Years later Henry Buckingham wrote that it was "the first paper established in that region," but failed to qualify the word "region."⁴⁵ Unless further information disproves the statements of the above authorities, the *Republican Valley Empire* must be regarded as the first newspaper in Cloud

43. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1434; *First Biennial Report*, p. 130.

44. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1017; *First Biennial Report*, p. 153.

45. Hollibaugh, Mrs. E. F., *Biographical History of Cloud County, Kansas* . . . (1903), p. 170. The article was written July 12, 1894.

county. Twenty-three issues were published at Clyde, when the paper was moved to Concordia, which meanwhile had become the county seat. The *Empire* has been published there ever since, although under different names. The last issue published at Clyde was dated November 1, 1870, the first published at Concordia was dated December 24, 1870.

In the first issue, now in the files of the Society, the editor described the site of Clyde as "a beautiful one," located "on the great highway to points in the far west." Clyde was featured as a natural center of trade. It boasted three hotels, three stores, a drug and hardware store, two blacksmith shops, a tin shop, a fine steam saw and grist mill. A large kiln of brick was being put up. The town company offered to give "a lot 65 by 150 feet" to any person who would "put up a building worth \$150." Into this thriving little town Buckingham brought his press and material. They were hauled from Manhattan by Messrs. E. Kennedy, E. Kline and Charles Davis. Buckingham placed the press in a log cabin built by the Heller brothers, a building about twenty feet square, the first erected in Clyde. It had been used as "a dwelling, post office, hotel, store and court house."⁴⁶

The editor of the *Empire* was a liberal Republican. In the editorial of the first issue he wrote:

We are in favor of: 1. Universal suffrage; 2. Universal education; 3. Universal emancipation; 4. Universal temperance. We had seriously thought of adding universal salvation, but when we think of the rascally thieves in our State, who have stolen thousands "in the name of liberty," and not one of them has returned a dollar of "conscience money," (a custom which is getting popular,) we do not think it would be doing justice to the rest of mankind to add the plank to our platform.

The Society has a good file of the *Republican Valley-Empire* from May 31, 1870 (Vol. 1, No. 1), to November 23, 1872, but lacks the issues from November, 1872, to January, 1876.

SEDGWICK COUNTY

The Wichita *Vidette*, August 13, 1870.

On August 13, 1870, the Wichita *Vidette* unfurled its banner to the breeze. W. B. Hutchison and Fred A. Sowers were the editors and publishers. The paper was Republican in politics. Since the Society has a file of the *Vidette*, including volume one, number one, there is no question about the date of its appearance, although An-

46. *Ibid.*, pp. 169, 170.

dreas and the *Wichita Eagle* gave the date of the first issue as August 15 and 18, 1870, respectively.⁴⁷

The project for a *Wichita* paper was started by the *Wichita* town company. They offered Joe Clarke of Leavenworth, editor of the *Leavenworth Daily Call*, a bonus if he would start a newspaper. Clarke, who had a similar offer from Parsons, referred the propositions to Fred A. Sowers, formerly his co-worker on the *Daily Times*. They reached an agreement by which Clarke would furnish the material and receive the bonus money. They selected *Wichita* and Sowers took charge of the office. "The material of the *Vidette* was hauled by one of Wm. Griffenstein's teams from Fort Hays. Mr. Wm. B. Hutchison, after the contract had been made between Messrs. Clarke and Sowers, was selected by Mr. Sowers and given a half interest in the office as publisher, he being a practical printer." Together they issued the *Vidette* for six months when Sowers sold out to Hutchison and returned to Leavenworth. In May, 1872, Hutchison sold the paper to one Rev. Perkins, who died in the fall of the same year. "The *Vidette* was then sold to parties in Wellington where it was taken and issued for a short time under the name of the *Wellington Banner*."⁴⁸

The word *Vidette* is French, but spelled *Vedette*. It has been defined as "an outpost, or picket," or rather "sentinel on horseback." The editors were conscious of the fact that they had changed the spelling of the word and asked the critics to be reasonable. They regarded their paper as "the sentinel or picket of journalism in Southwestern Kansas," and assumed the right to spell the word as they saw proper.⁴⁹

The *Vidette* reflected the life and spirit of the time. Many farmers in Sedgwick county were contemplating planting cotton and hoped to harvest a bale to the acre. Red Turkey wheat was still unknown in Kansas, and farmers were experimenting with crops. The Texas cattle trade was in its glory. The *Vidette* reported that three thousand head of cattle had passed "over the trail on Friday morning. A large herd came in this morning." The paper also spoke of the great need of "a daily mail, every interest demands it; and as we have two stages running daily between this place and Emporia, it can be obtained if the proper efforts are made."⁵⁰ In another column the editors recounted a highly successful fishing trip:

47. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1392, and the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, July 28, 1940, gave the date as August 18, but the *Eagle* of May 6, 1875, gives it as August 15.

48. The *Wichita Eagle*, May 6, 1875.

49. The *Wichita Vidette*, August 13, 1870.

50. *Ibid.*

Last week, we in company with J. C. Burke and Captain Payne, "went fishing" in the Little Arkansas about a mile and a quarter above town. We had Mr. Burke's net and fish-rack. This rack consists of narrow plank framed together, and when a haul is made the fish is taken from the net and placed in the rack, which is floated after the net. We made five hauls and took out about 500 pounds of fish, the largest cat-fish weighing fifty-two pounds gross. We like fishing when we can do as well as we did this time. . . .⁵¹

In a later issue the editors admonished their patrons to trade at home, writing: "Those who are compelled to go to Emporia to purchase goods, will do well to examine our advertising columns before starting. They will find the names of some firms among them it will pay to call upon."⁵²

Among the firms advertising in the *Vidette* were the following: R. C. Haywood & Co., wholesale and retail dealers in common, parlor and chamber furniture; Matsell & Hubbard, dealers in general merchandise, dry goods, groceries, hardware, tin ware, saddlery, &c.; J. B. Albaugh, wagon, carriage and blacksmith shop, and many others. The Society has twenty-two issues of the *Vidette*, including the first eighteen.

COWLEY COUNTY

Cowley County Censor, Winfield, August 13, 1870.

The *First Biennial Report*, Andreas and Wilder gave the date of the first issue of the *Censor* as August 13, 1870.⁵³ The *Cowley County Telegram*, Winfield, of May 14, 1879, substantiated the above statement. This no doubt is correct, for the *Emporia News*, August 19, 1870, wrote:

The *Cowley County Censor* is the name of a paper published at Winfield, in this State, the first number of which appeared last week. It is a vivacious little sheet, and in every respect a credit to the lively town of Winfield.

A. J. Patrick was the editor and proprietor. The paper was Republican in politics. The *First Biennial Report* stated that the first two numbers were "struck off at Augusta, Butler county, the type having been set up at Winfield and sent in galleys to the former town." The *Cowley County Telegram* stated that the third number was printed at Winfield on the historic Meeker press,⁵⁴ which is incorrect.⁵⁵ The fact that the paper was published in Cowley county,

51. *Ibid.*

52. *Ibid.*, September 1, 1870.

53. *First Biennial Report*, p. 163; Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1590; Wilder, *op. cit.* (1886), p. 517.

54. *Cowley County Telegram*, Winfield, May 14, 1879.

55. For a detailed study of the history of the Meeker press, see, Kirke Mechem, "The Mystery of the Meeker Press," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. IV, pp. 61-73.

although printed in Butler county, entitles it to first place in Cowley. The *Telegram* gave the following history of the *Censor*:

On the third day of June, 1871, L. J. Webb succeeded Patrick as its editor, and on the 5th of August following Webb and Doud bought out Patrick, and continued the publication of the paper until the 26th of the same month, when E. G. Nichols succeeded Doud, and the firm became Webb & Nichols. January 6th 1872, Webb & Nichols sold to W. H. Kearns, and the *Censor* ceased to exist.⁵⁶

The Society has no copy of this paper.

The Arkansas City *Traveler* should be mentioned as a very close second. It probably made its appearance the last week in August, 1870, for the Emporia *News* reported, September 2, 1870, that it had received the first number of the *Traveler*. The earliest number the Society has of this paper bears the date of January 26, 1876.

OTTAWA COUNTY

The Solomon Valley Pioneer, Lindsey, September, 1870.

The first newspaper published in this county was *The Solomon Valley Pioneer*, which must have appeared about the second week in September, 1870. Little is known about it except what can be gathered from secondary authorities and contemporaneous newspapers. Andreas failed to mention it, but the *First Biennial Report* wrote that it was the "first paper published in Ottawa county, was issued at Lindsey, in September, 1870, and continued until May, 1873."⁵⁷

On September 17, 1870, the Junction City *Weekly Union* described the first issue as follows:

We have received the first number of the *Solomon Valley Pioneer*, published at Lindsay, Ottawa county, "Westward the Star of Empire," &c. A handful of people get together in this country, and the first thing they want is a newspaper, which is correct, provided they pay for it. But the people of the Solomon Valley are liberal, and we predict for the *Pioneer* a comfortable time.

Lindsey at one time was the county seat of Ottawa county, but lost it to Markley's Mill, now Minneapolis. At present it is all but extinct. A map based on the 1940 census gives its population as 15.

The Minneapolis *Independent* made its appearance October 25, 1870, and was a close second to the *Pioneer*. George MacKenzie was the editor and publisher. The Society has the first issue of the *Independent* but has no copy of *The Solomon Valley Pioneer*.

56. *Cowley County Telegram*, Winfield, May 14, 1879.

57. *First Biennial Report*, p. 357.

MARION COUNTY

The Western News, Marion, September, 1870.

In 1875 *The Marion County Record*, of Marion Centre, published a history of the Marion county press. In it appeared the following statement:

In July or August, 1869, an organization was effected in Marion Centre, county-seat, for the purpose of securing a paper for the county. The organization consisted of the following named gentlemen: J. N. Rogers, J. H. Costello, A. E. Case, Levi Billings, W. H. Billings and A. A. Moore.

Arrangements were soon effected with A. W. Robinson to remove his office from Detroit, Dickinson county, to Marion Centre, which he did in the fall of 1869; receiving a small bonus and in September, 1869, the first paper in Marion county was born, and christened *The Western News*.

In 1871 the name of the paper was changed to *The Western Giant* and later it became *The Marion County Record*.⁵⁸

According to contemporaneous newspapers the *Record* was mistaken in the date of birth of *The Western News*. On September 23, 1870, the *Emporia News* announced the first issue as follows:

We have before us the first number of the *Western News*, printed at Marion Center, in Marion County. We hope this paper will prove a valuable aid to the development of that excellent county.

On September 21, 1870, the *Daily Kansas State Record* of Topeka wrote: "Mr. A. W. Robinson has removed his *Western News* to Marion Centre, Marion county." The *First Biennial Report*, no doubt, had taken its information from *The Marion County Record*, for it also gave the date of the first issue as September, 1869.⁵⁹

The Western News was small enough to be designated a "Handkerchief Sheet," and was printed on an inferior jobber. These early papers had their financial difficulties. As late as 1875 *The Marion County Record*, successor of *The Western News* and *Giant*, wrote: "If our employees were cannibals we'd feed 'em awhile on delinquent subscribers." This drew from the *Southern Kansas Gazette*, Augusta, the remark: "Ugh! tough eating."⁶⁰

The Society has no issues of *The Western News* nor of *The Western Giant*. Its first issue of *The Marion County Record* is of July 23, 1875, listed as Vol. IV, No. 35.

58. *Marion County Record*, Marion Centre, December 31, 1875.

59. *First Biennial Report*, p. 294; Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1257, wrote that A. W. Robinson came to Marion in September, 1869, and started the *News*.

60. *Marion County Record*, Marion Centre, December 31, 1875.

REPUBLIC COUNTY

The Bell[e]ville *Telescope*, September 30, 1870.

The first issue of this paper made its appearance September 30, 1870, rather than September 20, as recorded in Andreas and the *First Biennial Report*.⁶¹ This assertion is based on information received from A. Q. Miller, present publisher of the *Telescope*. James C. Humphrey was the editor. Mark J. Kelley announced the first issue in his paper, the *Kansas Washington Republican*, Washington, October 6, 1870, as follows:

We have got a *Telescope*; that is to say when the mail came in from the West on Tuesday we received No. 1 Vol. 1 of the Bellville *Telescope*, published at Bellville, Republic county, by J. C. Humphrey. It is published on the same press and type with which we published the *Western Observer* in this city nearly two years ago and is the same size of the old *Observer*. From its columns we get a Telescopic view of Bellville and surrounding county. Its local columns are well filled with local matters, while in his editorials, Mr. Humphrey, displays rare ability. He is one of the best practical printers in Northern Kansas, and we hope to ere long see him sending forth from that remote region, a sheet equal in size to the *Republican*. We heartily wish Humphrey and his *Telescope* success.

On June 28, 1901, Humphrey sold his paper to A. J. Basye, and in his "Farewell" he wrote: "Thirty-one years ago the thirtieth day of the coming September we established the *Telescope*, and with but two short intervals have published it ever since."

J. C. Humphrey's newspaper maxim for the first years was, "Hew to the Line, Let the Chips Fall Where They May." By April 6, 1876, however, he had abandoned it. In the "Farewell" mentioned above, he wrote:

Of course we have made enemies, but we have no apologies to make, for when we gave any one a swat we generally got one in return; nor are we going to say that if we have made mistakes they were "mistakes of the head and not of the heart," for we have always endeavored to track head and heart in the same class. . . .

We have no sore spots to heal as a result of our newspaper career, and we know of no wounds we have inflicted that require special treatment at our hands, hence we step down and out with the kindest of feeling toward all.

The *Telescope* is still one of the prominent newspapers in Kansas.

At first Belleville was spelled with only two "e's" (Bellville). The Society has several issues of the *Telescope* of the years 1870, 1871 and 1872, which omitted the middle "e." The issue of April 6, 1876,

61. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1033; *First Biennial Report*, p. 380.

also in the Society's file, conforms to the present spelling. The Society's continuous file of the *Telescope* starts April 6, 1876, except for a gap of twenty-five issues between October 12, 1876, and April 5, 1877.

ELK COUNTY

Elk Falls *Examiner*, before February 17, 1871.

The *First Biennial Report* stated that the Elk Falls *Examiner* was established by C. L. Goodrich in the fall of 1870. Andreas wrote that Goodrich began his publication "in the spring of 1872."⁶² The *Daily Kansas State Record*, Topeka, September 13, 1870, stated: "A newspaper is being 'talked up' for Elk Falls, Howard county." On September 21 the same paper wrote again: "Mr. Meade, of the *Eureka Herald* is to issue a new paper at Union Centre, Howard county." Nothing further was found in the contemporaneous papers, however, until February 17, 1871, when the *Neodesha Citizen* reported:

We are in receipt of the first number of the Elk Falls *Examiner*, a neatly gotten up paper of 24 columns, published at the young but promising town of Elk Falls, in Howard county, by C. L. Goodrich & Co. . . .

This would indicate that Andreas and the *First Biennial Report* were mistaken in the date of the first issue. The Society has no copy of the *Examiner*.

A close second to the Elk Falls *Examiner* was the *Howard County Ledger*, published at Longton. The first issue must have appeared between the dates of March 25 and April 24, 1871. Adrian Reynolds was the editor. Andreas claimed the *Ledger* as the "first newspaper printed in Howard county." He wrote that Reynolds began publishing it "in the spring of 1871."⁶³ He was mistaken about the *Examiner* but correct in the time of the *Ledger*. The *First Biennial Report* wrote that the *Ledger* was established in September, 1870.⁶⁴ This statement is not substantiated by contemporaneous accounts. On February 18, 1871, the *New Chicago Transcript* wrote: "A. Reynolds, formerly of the *Garnett Plaindealer*, intends to start a paper at Longton, Howard county, soon." On March 25 the *Transcript* wrote again: "A new paper, called the *Ledger*, is to be started at Longton, Howard county, by A. Reynolds who represented Howard county in the last Legislature." On April 24, 1871, the *Daily*

62. *First Biennial Report*, p. 203; Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1179.

63. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1173.

64. *First Biennial Report*, p. 203; *History of Kansas Newspapers*, p. 184, merely gave the year, 1870.

Kansas State Record, Topeka, quoted the *Ledger*. While the exact date of the establishment of this newspaper remains undetermined, sufficient information has been found to discount Andreas' claim that it was the first newspaper printed in Howard, now Elk county. The credit goes to the Elk Falls *Examiner*. The Society has no copy of the *Ledger*.

MITCHELL COUNTY

Mitchell County Mirror, Beloit, April, 1871.

The first newspaper in Mitchell county was the *Mitchell County Mirror*. Its initial number appeared sometime during the first or second week in April, 1871. Andreas and the *First Biennial Report* gave the date of the first issue as April 5, 1871.⁶⁵ The Society has two issues of the *Mirror*, the earliest is dated May 17, 1871, and listed as volume one, number six. If regularly issued this would place the first number on April 12. The *Republican Valley Empire* of Concordia, on April 15, 1871, announced the first issue of the *Mirror*. The exact date of the first number, therefore, is still unknown. A. B. Cornell was the editor and publisher. The paper appeared irregularly. In 1879, the Beloit *Gazette* characterized it as "issued somewhat irregularly and 'semi-occasionally' for several months and then died from exhaustion."⁶⁶

The pioneer settlers of this county braved great hardships. In 1879 the Beloit *Gazette* gave a vivid description of the Indian troubles.

There was neither poetry nor romance in living in Mitchell county nine years ago, for many reasons; the noble red man was entirely too familiar, and showed neither the slightest hesitancy nor the smallest compunctions of conscience in incontinentally letting the life-blood out of every pale face he met, and many a true and worthy citizen sleeps beneath the sod of the prairie, cut off in the prime of life by the unerring bullet of the unseen, stealthy, treacherously savage foe.

Into this environment Cornell brought the *Mirror*. Here less than a year earlier, on May 9, 1870, the savage Cheyennes had killed W. P. Kenyon and Solomon Meisser, pioneer settlers of western Mitchell county, and in the same month, May 29, another band of Indians "drove off the largest part of the horses in that part of the county."⁶⁷

65. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1023; *First Biennial Report*, p. 321.

66. Beloit *Gazette*, December 27, 1879, *Gazette Holiday Supplement*.

67. *Ibid.*

SUMNER COUNTY

Oxford *Times*, June 22, 1871.

The first paper in this county evidently was the Oxford *Times*, edited and published by W. H. Mugford and E. S. Hughes. The first issue is said to have appeared June 22, 1871. In 1883 John P. Edwards published a brief description of the *Times* in the *Historical Atlas of Sumner County, Kansas*, here quoted in part:

The first newspaper issued in Sumner county was the Oxford *Times*, the initial number of which appeared at Oxford, then a village of less than a dozen houses, on the 22nd day of June, 1871. The *Times* was a seven column folio and presented a very neat appearance. . . . It was edited and published by W. H. Mugford and Em. S. Hughes, both excellent printers and writers. The material was a conglomeration of several of the first newspaper offices brought into the Territory of Kansas, among which were the heads of the Wyandotte *Democrat* and *The Herald of Freedom*. The Washington hand press belonging to the office had been thrown into the Mississippi river twice and as often recovered, and again used in disseminating free state doctrines. It was afterwards captured by Gen. Price, in 1864 and used for a time in the interest of the rebellion. Finally it settled down at Pleasanton, in Linn county, where it rested until purchased by Mugford & Hughes about June 1, 1871. . . .⁶⁸

Andreas and the *First Biennial Report* wrote that the *Times* was started in June, 1871.⁶⁹ The *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, of June 30, 1871, wrote that it had received the first number of the Oxford *Times*. It described it as a twenty-eight column sheet, "filled with select reading and local news." The Society has no copy of this paper but the Wellington City library has a good file.

CLAY COUNTY

Clay County Independent, Clay Center, August 31 (?), 1871.

The *First Biennial Report* listed the *Independent* as the first paper in the county, and its statement appears correct.⁷⁰ On February 18, 1871, the *Republican Valley Empire*, of Concordia, stated that it had received the prospectus of "a paper to be issued at Clay Center on or about March 23, to be called the *Clay County Courier*, by M. C. Davis. It is to be Republican in politics." On July 29 the same paper reported that for some reason the project of the *Courier* had miscarried. The same issue also stated that "a press and type have been shipped to Clay Center," and that "in a few weeks a paper will be issued." It was not until September 2, 1871, that the

68. Edwards, John P., *Historical Atlas of Sumner County, Kansas* (1883), p. 9.

69. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1507; *First Biennial Report*, p. 433.

70. *First Biennial Report*, p. 149.

Republican Valley Empire announced "the first number of the *Clay County Independent*, published at Clay Center by Messrs. [E. P.] Huston & [David] Downer." The paper was independent in politics. The secondary authorities give the date of the first issue as August 20, 1871.⁷¹ The *Clay Center Times*, January 5, 1882, also stated: "Ten years have come and gone since the first paper of these files was published—Aug. 20th, 1871, E. P. Huston and David Downer, publishers. . . ." The Historical Society has one issue of this paper, dated October 12, 1871, listed as volume I, number 7. If issued regularly the first number should be dated August 31, 1871, rather than August 20, as reported by the secondary authorities. As the writer has no way of telling whether the paper was issued regularly, the date of the first issue remains undetermined.

71. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1314; *First Biennial Report*, p. 149.

(To Be Continued in the August Quarterly)

Walt Whitman in Kansas

ROBERT R. HUBACH

WALT WHITMAN, like John Greenleaf Whittier, was deeply interested in the Antislavery cause; his unbounded faith in democracy and freedom is evident in many pages of *Leaves of Grass*. As early as 1872, Whitman had contributed two poems, "The Mystic Trumpeter" and "Virginia—the West," the latter of which dealt with the Secession, to the first issue of *The Kansas Magazine*.¹ In 1879, Whitman had accepted the invitation of Col. John W. Forney and the Old Settlers of Kansas committee to be present at the quarter-centennial celebration of the settlement of Kansas at Bismarck Grove, near Lawrence, on September 15 and 16 of that year. The gathering proved to be one of the largest political meetings in the history of the state up to that time; one newspaper correspondent estimated that between 25,000 and 30,000 people were in attendance.² Among the speakers were Edward Everett Hale, John Forney, S. N. Wood, George Julian, George A. Crawford, D. R. Anthony, ex-Gov. Charles Robinson, and Gov. John P. St. John of Kansas. One of the chief subjects of declamation, of course, was John Brown and the winning of Kansas for the forces of freedom after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill.³

Whitman minutely describes his long trip West in *Specimen Days*.⁴ He left Philadelphia by train with Colonel Forney on September 10, 1879,⁵ staying with his brother and family in St. Louis on the night of September 12. A St. Louis reporter, interviewing the poet at this time, asked his purpose in going West:

"On your way to the Kansas celebration, are you not?"

"Yes, Col. Forney asked me to accompany him, and I embraced the opportunity of briefly visiting my brother [Water Commissioner Thos. J. Whitman] and his family here. Go to Kansas on conditions, however," and Mr. Whitman smiled quaintly.

1. *The Kansas Magazine* (The Kansas Magazine Publishing Co., Topeka, 1872), pp. 113, 114 and 219 (January-June, 1872).

2. *Kansas City (Mo.) Mail*, September 16, 1879.

3. For a full account of the old settlers' reunion, see Chas. S. Gleed (ed.), *The Kansas Memorial, A Report of the Old Settlers' Meeting . . . Bismarck Grove, Kansas, September 15th and 16th, 1879* (Ramsey, Millett & Hudson, Kansas City, Mo., 1880). The Kansas and Missouri newspapers also contain many informative notices.

4. Richard M. Bucke, Thomas B. Harned, and Horace L. Traubel (eds.), *Complete Writings of Walt Whitman* (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London, 1902), "Prose," v. I, pp. 252-254.

5. Rollo G. Silver, "Walt Whitman Interviews Himself," *American Literature*, v. X, p. 87 (March, 1938). This article contains Whitman's own account of his experiences in the West and his impressions of Denver.

"And those conditions were?"

"I agreed to go, provided I was not asked to speak nor eat any public dinners. I am only to show myself. I call myself a half paralytic, and yet I am not so feeble after all, nor so old as I look, for that matter. I was born in 1819. After the Kansas celebration, if I feel as well as now, I shall go out to Denver before I return to pay my brother a more extended visit."

"What do you expect to do in Kansas?"

"As I told you, I shall not make speeches or eat public dinners, but the people will have an opportunity to see this big, saucy red rooster, whom they might otherwise think would speak."⁶

At Kansas City, which Whitman reached on the evening of September 13, a specially appointed committee of four men met him and Forney to accompany them by train to Lawrence.⁷ Both Whitman and Forney resided in Lawrence at 1425 Tennessee street, the home of Judge John P. Usher, Secretary of the Interior under Lincoln and mayor of Lawrence at the time of their visit. The poet signed the Usher family autograph album on his first day at Lawrence:

Walt Whitman
visiting Kansas
Sept. 14, 1879

Whitman sat on the speaker's platform during the first session of the old settlers' meeting. Charles Gleed, editor of *The Kansas Memorial*, erroneously attributed H. C. Work's "The Song of a Thousand Years," sung by the Larned quartet for the occasion, to Whitman;⁸ but the poet took no part in the program. Perhaps the best newspaper account of Whitman as he appeared at the time of the celebration was in the Topeka *Daily Capital*:

Walt Whitman is a man well advanced in years and his snow-white hair and the long white beard which grows upon a large portion of his face give him a decidedly venerable appearance. He wore a gray traveling suit and his shirt-bosom was left open at the neck, something after the fashion of the Goddess of Liberty as shown on a fifty-cent piece. He walks with a cane, using considerable care, as he has not fully recovered from a paralytic stroke.⁹

On the second day of the reunion, Whitman had been erroneously billed to read a poem. Linton Usher, whom Whitman affectionately mentioned along with a brother, John Usher, Jr., in *Specimen Days*,¹⁰ and who is now living near Pomona, Kan., has told me that Whitman suffered from the heat and was in poor health while in Law-

6. St. Louis (Mo.) *Globe-Democrat*, September 13, 1879.

7. Lawrence *Daily Journal*, September 14, 1879.

8. See p. 15.

9. Topeka *Daily Capital*, September 16, 1879.

10. Bucke, et al. (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 254.

rence.¹¹ The poet did not attend the celebration on September 16, but rested at the Usher home, where he enjoyed hearing the mayor's sons tell of their experiences in the West. Mr. Linton Usher, who was only a boy in his teens when Whitman visited his father, says that Whitman was fascinated by his descriptions of ranch life in Texas, from which state the youth had just returned. He recalls that Whitman sat talking with friends in the west parlor and on the front porch of his father's house. The poet and Judge Usher doubtless reminisced about Lincoln, during whose administration they were together in the Interior Department. Hon. T. Dwight Thacher, Lawrence publisher, who was to have introduced Whitman at Bismarck Grove, was surprised to find him not present to read his poem; he excused Whitman's absence, however, on the grounds of the poet's poor health and his fatigues of travel.¹² In *Specimen Days*, Whitman wrote that he visited the University of Kansas on Oread Hill and took pleasant drives around the city. He found Lawrence and Topeka, "large, bustling, half-rural handsome cities."¹³ Before he left for Topeka, Whitman again signed the Usher autograph book:

Walt Whitman
 accompanying Col. Forney as above
 Sept. 16, '79

Whitman spent September 17 in Topeka. He and Colonel Forney and party resided at the Tefft House, where, according to the *Topeka Commonwealth*, the poet passed most of his time conversing with men in the lobby.¹⁴ The same paper reported that he also visited the state house.¹⁵ Since he at one time was employed by the Interior Department and was interested in Indian affairs, Whitman accompanied a group of officials to see some Indian prisoners at Topeka, who refused to recognize any of the government men, but who extended their hands to the poet and greeted him with "How."¹⁶ That evening Whitman was expected to be present at a lecture given by Colonel Forney on "Some of the Men of America I Have Known," but newspapers the next day did not report that he attended.

11. Colin C. Alexander has printed a post card which Whitman sent to John Usher, Jr., on January 14, 1880. See "A Note on Walt Whitman," *American Literature*, v. IX, pp. 242, 243 (May, 1937).

12. Gleed (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 153. See also, *Lawrence Tribune*, September 17, 1879.

13. Bucke, et al. (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 255, 256.

14. *The Commonwealth*, Topeka, September 18, 1879.

15. *Ibid.*

16. Emory Holloway, *Whitman, An Interpretation in Narrative* (Alfred A. Knopf, New York and London, 1926), p. 223.

On September 18, Whitman and Colonel Forney were honor guests at a dinner at the Palace Hotel.¹⁷ Following the meal, the poet's party left for Denver.¹⁸

Before leaving Kansas, Whitman visited Atchison and Wallace. Linton Usher believes that poor health forced the poet to stop at the latter town. It was here at Wallace, an army post near the Colorado border, on September 19, that Whitman, inspired by the Kansas celebration and yet probably not physically able to write anything new, recollected and sent back to Lawrence a few appropriate lines from his early poem "Resurgemus," first printed in the New York *Daily Tribune* of June 21, 1850.¹⁹ Whitman later recast this youthful piece of work, lengthening the lines and calling it "Europe—the 72d and 73d Years of These States."²⁰ It is curious that the poet should have quoted the earlier, short-line version of the poem:

Not a grave of the murdered for Freedom
But grows seeds of a wider Freedom,
Which the winds carry afar and sow,
And the snows and the rains nourish.²¹

Whitman arrived in Denver by the Kansas Pacific railroad on September 20 and stayed in Colorado for four days. On his return east he visited his old friend, "E. L.," at Sterling, for the day and night of September 24, where, he said in a letter to Peter Doyle, "I had hard work to get away from him—he wanted me to stay all winter."²² The *Rice County Gazette*, of Sterling, and the *Sterling Weekly Bulletin* both published short notices of his presence in the town. The former paper's article is the more adequate:

Walt Whitman, the poet, of Philadelphia, . . . visited Sterling on yesterday. . . . The old poet says that much as the grandeur of the mountains impressed him, the impression of the plains will remain longest with him. We hope Mr. Whitman will embody these impressions in some of his elegant poetry.²³

Whitman returned by way of the Santa Fe railroad to Kansas City, and from there went back to St. Louis, where he spent almost three months with his brother.

The impression which the prairies made upon Whitman is remark-

17. *Topeka Daily Blade*, September 18, 1879.

18. *The Commonwealth*, Topeka, September 19, 1879.

19. Emory Holloway (ed.), *The Uncollected Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman* (Doubleday, Page, New York, 1921), v. I, p. 29.

20. Bucke, et al. (eds.), "Poetry," *op. cit.*, v. II, p. 29.

21. Gleed (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 4.

22. Bucke, et al. (eds.), "Prose," *op. cit.*, p. 270. For the letter to Peter Doyle, see Bucke, *op. cit.*, v. V, pp. 163-166.

23. *Rice County Gazette*, Sterling, September 25, 1879.

able. The Illinois, Missouri, and Kansas country were to Whitman, "America's Characteristic Landscape." He saw that in the Mississippi valley region, more than even in the majestic Rocky Mountains, lay the future of American culture.²⁴ In a short speech which he had planned to deliver at the Bismarck Grove meeting, he exhorted the people of Kansas to pattern their creative efforts after "that vast Something" peculiar to the "interminable and stately prairies."²⁵ Whitman repeated time and again in *Leaves of Grass* the fact that he saw in the West the coming fruition of what would someday be a truly American contribution to the arts—something uninfluenced by foreign conventions or models and as boundless and free as the plains themselves.²⁶ Particularly in his poem "The Prairie States," written in 1880 after his trip to the West, did he look with prophetic vision to the Great Plains as they are today, and saw that to them the entire past had been working:

A newer garden of creation, no primal solitude,
Dense, joyous, modern, populous millions, cities and farms,
With iron interlaced, composite, tied, many in one,
By all the world contributed—freedom's and law's and thrift's society,
The crown and teeming paradise, so far, of time's accumulations,
To justify the past.²⁷

24. Bucke, et al. (eds.), *op. cit.*, v. I, pp. 275-277.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 255, 256.

26. Newton Arvin, *Whitman* (Macmillan, New York, 1938), pp. 99-101, feels, however, that Whitman's joy in the apparent prosperity of the West and his immense optimism indicated a lack of consciousness on the poet's part of the American farmer's poverty-stricken condition at the time.

27. Bucke, et al. (eds.), "Poetry," *op. cit.*, v. II, p. 177.

Development of Common and Employers' Liability Law in Kansas

DOMENICO GAGLIARDO

TWO fundamentally different systems of legal relationships regarding liability for compensating industrial injuries prevail in Kansas: the common law and the modern system of workmen's compensation. The unmodified common law was the basis for settling all damage suits for only a few years, as statutory modifications were soon introduced in the form of employers' liability laws. The workmen's compensation act of 1911 established a radically different set of principles and procedures, adoption of which was made optional. But in employment not covered by workmen's compensation, the common law alone, or the common law as modified by employers' liability acts, is still the basis for determining liability. Furthermore, in the occupations covered by the compensation law, employers electing to pay benefits as provided in that act may in some cases plead the common-law defenses against workers electing not to accept, but these defenses are not available to employers rejecting the compensation law if their employees accept. Thus the common law, employers' liability acts and workmen's compensation are all integral parts of our labor code today. It is the object of this article to describe the development in Kansas of the common law and its modification by statutes.

THE COMMON LAW

The legal relationships between employer and employee in Kansas regarding compensation for injuries were at first determined by the common-law doctrines of reasonable care, assumption of risk, contributory negligence and coservice.¹

DUTIES OF THE EMPLOYER

According to the doctrine of reasonable care, it is the master's duty to exercise reasonable care and diligence in providing a safe place in which to work, safe machinery, tools and materials, suitable

1. Another rule limiting recovery was the general maxim that *actio personalis cum persona moritur*. That rule was abolished by the wrongful death statute of 1868, which gave personal representatives of fatally injured persons any right that the deceased might have had to sue for damages.—*The General Statutes of the State of Kansas* . . . 1868, ch. 80, sec. 422, Article XVIII of the Code of Civil Procedure. A supplemental act conferring the same right, under special circumstances, to other than personal representatives, was adopted in 1889.—*Laws, Kansas, 1889*, ch. 131, upheld in *Berry v. K. C. Ft. S. & M. Rld. Co.*, 62 Kan. 759. Principles to guide in the assessment of damages were laid down by the supreme court. See *Union Pacific Rly. Co. v. Milliken*, 8 Kan. 647; *A. T. & S. F. Rld. Co. v. Brown, Adm'r.*, 26 Kan. 443.

and competent fellow workmen, and to warn of hidden or unusual dangers known to him but not to the servant.² For an injury resulting from failure or neglect to perform any part of this duty, the master is liable for damages, whether the failure or neglect is his own or that of one to whom the performance of this duty has been delegated.³ But the master's negligence is never presumed; it must be proved by the plaintiff.

ASSUMPTION OF RISK

The servant assumes all the ordinary risks and hazards incident to or attendant upon his employment; that is, all those risks and hazards which are purely fortuitous or open to common observation and are as fully known to him as to his master, or which he is, or may reasonably be expected to be, capable of knowing and measuring.⁴ And even though it is the employer's duty to furnish a reasonably safe workplace, machinery, tools and materials, yet if any of these are deficient or defective and the employee knows or should know of the deficiency or defect, and appreciates or should appreciate the consequent danger, and continues in the employment without any promise on the part of his employer that it will be remedied, or continues for more than a reasonable time with that promise, he is deemed as a matter of law to have assumed the risk of injury from such deficiency or defect.⁵ Extraordinary risks are assumed only if known to and appreciated by the employee.⁶

Two reasons are offered in justification of this doctrine: first that, knowing he will be exposed to these risks, the servant in effect contracts to bear them; second that it best promotes the public interest by making injuries less liable to occur to the servant himself and to third persons.⁷ Floyd R. Mechem says the real reason is that a loss must rest where it falls unless it can be attributed to the fault of

2. *Allen v. Shell Petroleum Corp.*, 146 Kan. 67; *West v. Packing Co.*, 86 Kan. 890. In a place where conditions and hazards are constantly changing as the work progresses, the hazards incident to the work are assumed by the worker.—*McCoy v. A. T. & S. F. Rly. Co.*, 129 Kan. 781.

3. *Dow v. Kansas Pacific Rly. Co.*, 8 Kan. 642; *A. T. & S. F. Rld. Co. v. Moore*, 29 Kan. 632, 646; *Brice-Nash v. Barton Salt Co.*, 79 Kan. 110; *Tuttle v. Detroit, etc. Rly.*, 122 U. S. 189.

4. *Brown, Adm'r. v. A. T. & S. F. Rld. Co.*, 31 Kan. 1; *Fritchman v. Chitwood Battery Co.*, 134 Kan. 727. "The maxim *volenti non fit injuria* is a terse expression of the individualistic tendency of the common law, which, proceeding from the people and asserting their liberties, naturally regards the freedom of individual actions as the keystone of the whole structure."—Francis H. Bohlen, *Studies in the Law of Torts* (Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, 1926), p. 441.

5. *Morbach v. Mining Co.*, 53 Kan. 731; *Tschreppel v. Missouri-Kan.-Texas Rld. Co.*, 134 Kan. 251.

6. *A. T. & S. F. Rld. Co. v. Schroeder*, 47 Kan. 315; *Rly. Co. v. Johnson*, 69 Kan. 721; *Lively v. Railway Co.*, 115 Kan. 784; *Monteith v. Litchenburger*, 144 Kan. 70.

7. *Dow v. Kansas Pacific Rly. Co.*, 8 Kan. 642.

some one else, and the risks here concerned cannot be attributed to the fault of the master.⁸

CONTRIBUTORY NEGLIGENCE

It is a general rule of the common law that where the plaintiff's negligence in conjunction with that of the defendant contributes to his injury, the plaintiff cannot recover. In Kansas, three degrees of negligence were at one time recognized: slight, ordinary and gross. Slight negligence did not bar recovery,⁹ but ordinary negligence did, even though the worker's negligence was less than that of the employer, unless of course the employer's was willful or wanton.¹⁰ A worker who at the express command of the master incurs a danger not so inevitable or imminent that an ordinarily prudent man would refuse to incur it and is as a result injured, is not guilty of contributory negligence.¹¹ This "academic" classification of negligence into three degrees came to be ignored, and was definitely eliminated from the body of law by the supreme court in 1908, and the rule now is merely that there is negligence when "the care, diligence or skill demanded by the peculiar circumstances of the particular case" has not been exercised.¹² Kansas courts have consistently held that contributory negligence is an affirmative defense and must be pleaded and proved by the employer. Where no evidence is introduced on this point it is assumed as a matter of law that there was no contributory negligence.¹³

COMPARATIVE NEGLIGENCE AND "THE LAST CLEAR CHANCE"

The doctrine of comparative negligence, which is, briefly, that where both employer and employee are guilty of negligence contributing to an employee's injury the worker may recover proportionate damages, provided his negligence is less than that of his employer, has never prevailed in Kansas aside from statutory enactment.¹⁴ But the doctrine of the "last clear chance" is accepted.

8. Mechem, Floyd R., *A Treatise on the Law of Agency* . . . (Callaghan and Co., Chicago, 1914), 2d ed., v. I, pp. 1210, 1211.

9. *Union Pacific Rly. Co. v. Rollins*, 5 *Kan.* 167; *Sawyer v. Sauer*, 10 *Kan.* 466, 472; *Gibson v. Wyandotte*, 20 *Kan.* 156 (1878); *Union Pacific Rly. Co. v. Adams*, 33 *Kan.* 429.

10. *Union Pacific Rly. Co. v. Young*, 19 *Kan.* 488. Justice Valentine said in this case: "There are we suppose a few exceptions where a person who has himself not exercised ordinary care may recover, but these exceptions are very few."—p. 496.

11. *St. Louis, etc., Rly. Co. v. Morris*, 76 *Kan.* 836.

12. *Railway Co. v. Walters*, 78 *Kan.* 39, 41.

13. *Kansas Pacific Rly. Co. v. Pointer*, 14 *Kan.* 37, 50; *Central Branch Union Pacific Rly. Co. v. Walters*, 24 *Kan.* 504.

14. *Laws, Kansas, 1911*, ch. 239, sec. 2; *Kansas Pacific Rly. Co. v. Pointer*, 14 *Kan.* 37; *Railway Co. v. Walters*, 78 *Kan.* 39. *Rly. Co. v. Davis*, 37 *Kan.* 743, does seem to lend countenance to the doctrine, but later cases positively repudiate it.

According to this rule, the test of wrongful conduct is that if just at the very moment when an accident occurred or became inevitable only one party had power to prevent it and neglected to do so, then the legal responsibility was his alone. But if each had power to prevent it and each neglected to use that power, then neither can recover from the other.¹⁵

FELLOW SERVANT

The widest common-law principle governing liability is that every person shall be liable to others only when he is at fault. The rule of *respondeat superior*, which holds that the master is vicariously liable to a stranger for the misconduct of his servants, *i. e.*, railways to their passengers for the misconduct of their servants, is an exception to this wider principle. The suggestion that *respondeat superior* might be interpreted to make the master liable to one servant for injuries caused by the negligence of a fellow servant was first made in England in 1837 by counsel for plaintiff in *Priestly v. Fowler*, but was not accepted.¹⁶ In *Murray v. South Carolina Railway Company*, an American case decided in 1841, it was held that *respondeat superior* did not apply in cases of this kind, but the decision was divided, did not become well known, and did not settle the question.¹⁷ The question first received mature consideration in *Farwell v. Boston and Wooster Railway Corporation*, 1842.¹⁸ There it was decided that the rule did not apply; and the fellow-servant rule, that employers are not liable for injuries caused by the negligence of fellow servants, was firmly established.

The fellow servant rule was introduced into Kansas by the supreme court in 1871, in its first decision disposing of a damage suit arising out of an industrial accident to an employee.¹⁹ Dow, a brakeman, was injured while coupling freight cars, allegedly because the conductor carelessly, negligently and unskillfully conducted the train, and he sued for damages. He alleged everything necessary to recover except that he carefully avoided alleging that the railroad was negligent in employing or retaining the conductor who caused the injury. An elaborate and able brief was prepared by the defense. The action was apparently brought for the mere purpose of getting the fellow-servant rule established in Kansas. The court

15. *Dyerson v. Railroad Co.*, 74 Kan. 528. See, also, *Himmelwright v. Baker*, 82 Kan. 569, and *Whately v. Chicago G. W. Rld. Co.*, 123 Kan. 187.

16. 3 M. & W. 1 (1837).

17. 1 McMull, L. S. Car. 385, 36 Am. Dec. 268 (1841).

18. 4 Metc. 49, 38 Am. Dec. 339.

19. *Dow v. Kansas Pacific Rly. Co.*, 8 Kan. 642, following the *Farwell* case.

specifically noted that more solicitude was entertained concerning the question involved and in the precedent to be established than concerning the case itself, and implied that the defense was responsible even for the presentation of the plaintiff's case.

In an exceedingly brief opinion, considering the importance of the question involved, the court held for the company. "It is probable," said the court, "that both authority and reason are with the defendant." Why so? Because it is the "policy of the law to make it to the interest of every servant or agent of the railroad company to see that every other servant or agent of the company is competent and trustworthy." Workers are in the best position to know who is incompetent and careless, and either they should inform the company "of every act of any other employee showing a want of skill, care or competency," or quit. If an employee is willing to work with an incompetent or untrustworthy fellow worker without informing the company, "let him bear the consequences." And if he is willing thus to endanger the lives of other human beings, "he deserves punishment." This reasoning showed but little understanding on the court's part of modern industry and the position occupied in it by the worker.

For the negligence of a mere fellow servant the master is liable only if he employs the servant without due inquiry as to his fitness; or employs him with notice of unfitness; or, having notice of unfitness, continues him in his service; or where the servant's unfitness is so gross and notorious that for the master not to know it constitutes negligence.²⁰

"SUPERIOR SERVANT" RULE

Because in modern industry there are many grades of labor, it was inevitable that in applying the fellow-servant doctrine it would frequently be difficult to determine who are fellow servants. The superior-servant rule was developed as a solution of these difficulties. Two theories underlie the cases involving the rule. The first is that the doctrine of common employment is sometimes not applicable because the negligent servant was of a higher grade than the injured servant, the second that it does not apply because the negligent employee was at the time performing some task which it was the master's absolute duty to perform with reasonable care. Considerable confusion resulted.

That this confusion is reflected in the Kansas decisions is not surprising. As between co-employees, the Dow case seemed to establish

20. *Railroad Company v. Doyle*, 18 Kan. 58.

that only higher officers were representative of a company and that the company was responsible only for the negligence of these higher officers, but that case did not clearly establish a foundation for the superior-servant doctrine. The distinction between superior and inferior servants was apparently made to lie in the fact that it is the duty of the former to hire and discharge the latter.²¹ In later cases, however, the master's liability was clearly based upon the nondelegability of certain duties irrespective of the rank involved. The rule was stated clearly by Mr. Justice Valentine, in words quoted as authoritative in many states and by the U. S. supreme court, as follows:

And at common law, whenever the master delegates to any officer, servant, agent or employé, high or low, the performance of any of the duties above mentioned, which really devolve upon the master himself, then such officer, servant, agent or employé stands in the place of the master and becomes a substitute for the master, a vice-principal, and the master is liable for his acts or his negligence to the same extent as though the master himself had performed the acts or was guilty of the negligence.²²

But the clearness of this principle was dimmed in subsequent decisions. In a case involving injury to an engineer caused by the negligence of a section foreman, the reasoning of the court is confused, but the conclusion was finally in line with previous decisions.²³ In 1898, in a case involving injury to a brakeman because of a conductor's negligence, the court held that the doctrine of common employment was not applicable simply because the negligent servant was of a higher grade than the injured servant.²⁴ This decision was based directly on the United States supreme court decision in the Ross case,²⁵ already branded as "extreme" by the Kansas court,²⁶ from which the United States supreme court had already receded²⁷ and which it expressly repudiated in 1899.²⁸ It was later cited as authority for other decisions.²⁹ The theory was soon repudiated, however, and the court readopted the theory that the master's liability is based on the nondelegability of certain duties, irrespective of the rank involved.³⁰

21. But see *Bridge Co. v. Miller*, 71 *Kan.* 13, 26.

22. *A. T. & S. F. Rld. Co. v. Moore*, 29 *Kan.* 632, 644.

23. *St. L. & S. F. Rly. Co. v. Weaver*, 35 *Kan.* 412. See, also, *Mo. Pac. Rly. Co. v. Peregoy, Adm'x.*, 36 *Kan.* 424.

24. *Walker v. Gillett*, 59 *Kan.* 214.

25. *Chicago, M. & St. P. Rly. Co. v. Ross*, 122 *U. S.* 377.

26. *St. L. & S. F. Rly. Co. v. Weaver*, 35 *Kan.* 412.

27. *B. & O. Rld. Co. v. Baugh*, 149 *U. S.* 368.

28. *New England Rld. Co. v. Conroy*, 175 *U. S.* 323.

29. *Foundry Co. v. Secrist*, 59 *Kan.* 778; *Refining Co. v. Peterson*, 8 *K. A.* 316; *Mirick et al., v. Morton*, 64 *Pac.* 609.

30. *Bridge Co. v. Miller*, 71 *Kan.* 13.

It has been said that Kansas "is probably one of the states in which an employer is not absolved on the ground that the negligence of the vice-principal was committed in doing work usually done by a servant."³¹ But that is not and has never been true. As early as 1905 it was held that "A foreman under whom workmen are employed is a fellow servant with the workmen when engaged with them in accomplishing the common task or object."³² Four years later, two laborers were pushing a loaded truck which became stalled, and the foreman jerked one of the wheels. The sudden turning of the shafts which resulted injured a worker. The court ruled that this was the negligence of a fellow servant.³³ Again it was held that a city park superintendent driving a team and wagon was performing an act of a workman and that the city was not liable for his negligent driving.³⁴ Still later it was held that a foreman assisting others move a stove is a fellow servant.³⁵

CONSOCIATION AND DEPARTMENTAL RULES

Kansas has also been cited as a state where the rule of association or consociation prevails. That rule limits application of the coservice principle to those servants employed by the same master who are cooperating in the particular work being done, or who are in habitual association or in such relations that each can exercise some influence promotive of proper caution over the conduct of the others and in this way provide to some extent for their own security. Although discussed at different times by the court, this rule was not used as a basis upon which to rest decisions involving fellow servants.³⁶ Nor did the Kansas supreme court follow the "departmental" rule, which limits the doctrine of coservice to those servants working in the same general department. The rule in Kansas has always been that "all employees of the same master, engaged in the same general business, whose efforts tend to promote the same general purpose and accomplish the same general end, are fellow servants."³⁷ It was held, however, that if different departments are so far disconnected that each one may be regarded as a separate undertaking, then the rule

31. Labatt, C. B., *Commentaries on the Law of Master and Servant* . . . (Lawyers Coöperative Pub. Co., Rochester, N. Y., 1913), 2d ed., v. IV, p. 4364, citing Refining Co. v. Peterson, 8 K. A. 316, 55 Pac. 673. See, also, Clark, Lindley D., *The Law of the Employment of Labor* (The Macmillan Company, New York, N. Y., 1911), p. 162.

32. *Crist v. Light Co.*, 72 Kan. 135, Syl. 3.

33. *Lunn v. Morris*, 81 Kan. 94. See, also, *Henry v. Boiler Works*, 87 Kan. 571, 574.

34. *Nelson v. City of Salina*, 123 Kan. 522 (1927).

35. *Barnaby v. Sears, Roebuck & Co.*, 132 Kan. 447.

36. See *St. L. & S. F. Rly. Co. v. Weaver*, 35 Kan. 412.

37. *Bridge Co. v. Miller*, 71 Kan. 13; *Burroughs v. Michel*, 142 Kan. 814.

of coservice is not applicable.³⁸ Both the consociation and departmental rules are offshoots of one of the reasons advanced for the rule adopted in the Farwell case; namely, that fellow servants, because of their association in employment, were so situated that each could observe and influence the conduct of others, could inform the master of any misconduct, incapacity or negligence of any other servant, and in these ways secure their own safety.

MODIFICATIONS OF THE COMMON-LAW RULES

Thus, under the common law, three elements are essential to the existence of actionable negligence on the part of the employer: (1) a duty on the employer's part to protect the worker from the injury he received, which implies knowledge of the danger and power to prevent harm, and realization that the employee did not or was not likely to realize the danger; (2) a failure of the employer to perform that duty; and (3) an injury caused by that failure. All three elements must be proved by the injured worker, and the absence of any one of them bars recovery. The employer has the three powerful affirmative defenses of assumption or risk, contributory negligence, and coservice. That framework of law was too narrow and rigid for an expanding and changing economy and statutory changes became necessary. Modifications of the common-law rules in certain employments began early in Kansas.

RAILROAD LIABILITY FOR DAMAGES TO PERSONS OR PROPERTY

In 1870, railroads in the state were made liable "for all damages done to persons and property, when done in consequence of any neglect on the part of the railroad companies."³⁹ The language of the act is sufficiently vague to admit of almost any interpretation. Was it the legislature's intention to wipe out the contributory negligence and fellow-servant rules? The supreme court interpreted the law to mean that a railroad company would be liable for damages to an injured servant only when it was negligent "as a company," but not for the negligence of a fellow servant.⁴⁰ Nor did the act abolish the doctrine of contributory negligence.⁴¹ According to these interpretations, the act made no change in the common-law liability of railroads to their workers, except that by confirming a right to damages already existing put it on a firmer basis and in the class of

38. *Bridge Co. v. Miller*, 71 *Kan.* 13.

39. *Laws, Kansas*, 1870, ch. 93.

40. *Kansas Pacific Rly. Co. v. Salmon, Adm'x.*, 11 *Kan.* 83, 91, 93.

41. *K. C. Ft. S. & G. Rld. Co. v. McHenry*, 24 *Kan.* 501.

rights which, as a matter of public policy, may not be contracted away.⁴²

The exact purpose of this law was never clear to the Kansas supreme court, for its wording was exceedingly general and therefore vague.⁴³ The chief justice believed that it was intended to abolish the doctrine of contributory negligence, which in his opinion would have made the act unconstitutional.⁴⁴ A study of its legislative history reveals the interesting fact that the law was never intended as a labor law at all. It began its career as a bill "to compel railroads to fence their roads, or pay for stock injured," and was amended to make railroads liable for all damages, but without any idea that its purpose was thereby being changed.⁴⁵

RAILROAD FELLOW-SERVANT LAW OF 1874

A second attack on the common law was made in 1874, when every railroad company organized or doing business in the state was made liable for all damages done to any person, including its own employees, in consequence of any negligence of its agents, or by any mismanagement of its engineers or other employees.⁴⁶ Although liability was stated in general terms, the act was intended to, and did, abolish the fellow-servant doctrine. When first enacted, the law was practically identical with the Iowa statute of 1862 on the same subject.⁴⁷ The Iowa supreme court had interpreted the law as applying only to those engaged in such work of operating railroads as is hazardous.⁴⁸ Since this interpretation preceded the Kansas act, our supreme court followed the general rule applicable in such

42. *Sewell v. Rly. Co.*, 78 *Kan.* 1, 16, 24.

43. *Kansas Pacific Rly. Co. v. Salmon, Adm'x.*, 11 *Kan.* 83; *St. Jos. & D. C. Rld. Co. v. Grover*, 11 *Kan.* 302, 307; *Sewell v. Rly. Co.*, 78 *Kan.* 1, 16, 21.

44. *K. C. Ft. S. & G. Rld. Co. v. McHenry*, 24 *Kan.* 501, 504.

45. Senate Bill No. 13, session of 1870; *Senate Journal*, p. 455; *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, March 3, 1870; *Kansas State Record*, Topeka, March 9, 1870.

46. *Laws, Kansas, 1874*, ch. 93, sec. 1, effective March 4, 1874; *General Statutes, Kansas, 1876*, ch. 84, sec. 29. It should be observed that the liability established was not merely to an injured employee, but to any one injured. Furthermore, there was no intention to make a distinction between agents and engineers and other employees, or between negligence and mismanagement.—*Missouri K. & T. Rld. Co. v. Kellerman*, 39 *Tex. Civ. App.* 274; 87 *S. W.* 401.

47. *Laws, Iowa, 1862*, ch. 169, sec. 7. Upheld as constitutional in *McAunich v. the M. & M. Rly. Co.*, 20 *Iowa* 338. The Kansas law was amended in 1903, to provide that notice of injury, stating time and place, must be given within ninety days after its occurrence.—*Laws, Kansas, 1903*, ch. 393. This time limit was extended to eight months in 1905, and for injured workers in hospitals or under charge of the company or unable to give notice because of injuries, the time limit does not begin to run until after discharge from the hospital or from the care of the company. Such notice may be served upon any person designated by the railroad company, upon certain specified persons, or by leaving a copy at any of the company's depots, in the county in which the action is brought, with the ticket agent, or the person in charge. It need not state whether or not the worker intends to bring suit.—*Laws, Kansas, 1905*, ch. 341, secs. 1, 2. In 1907 it was provided that notice was unnecessary where an action was commenced within eight months after injury, or when the injured employee died within that time as a result of his injuries.—*Laws, Kansas, 1907*, ch. 281, sec. 1.

48. In *Deppe v. The Chicago R. I. & P. Rld. Co.*, 38 *Iowa* 592, 595, it was held that unless limited to those engaged in the hazardous work of operating railroads, the act would be manifestly unconstitutional as class legislation.

cases and adopted the Iowa interpretation as to its scope.⁴⁹ Furthermore, if an employee knew that a fellow servant was incompetent or habitually negligent, and, without protest and without inducement on the company's part that a change would be made, continued to work with that servant, he assumed the risk of such negligence and could not recover despite the law.⁵⁰ Judges have generally interpreted such situations as being within the rule of assumption of risk, and the law did not specifically abrogate that rule.⁵¹ Contributory negligence also barred recovery.⁵² The act applied only to railroad corporations. Individuals, partnerships and firms having servants or employees engaged in hazardous work upon roads or trains of railroad corporations were not included.⁵³

The constitutionality of the act was duly challenged, and upheld almost without argument.⁵⁴ It was challenged again in 1885 on the grounds that railroads were deprived of property without due process of law, and denied the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the federal constitution. Again the Kansas supreme court upheld the act.⁵⁵ An appeal was then taken to the United States supreme court.⁵⁶

The company there contended that the law of 1874 imposed a liability without any wrong or negligence on its part for injuries caused by the negligence or incompetency of a fellow servant, a liability which previously did not exist and in the enforcement of which property could be taken, and that therefore the law authorized the taking of property without due process. In answer, the federal supreme court pointed out that a state may prescribe the future liabilities of corporations organized under its laws unless its power in this respect is limited by the terms of its charters. The law was held merely to extend to employees the liability of railroad companies for damages suffered by passengers through the negligence or incompetence of its servants. If hardship or injustice exists in the one case it exists in the other, and relief lies with the legislature. Railroad operations involve sufficiently peculiar hazards to warrant

49. *Union Trust Co. v. Thomason*, 25 *Kan.* 1.

50. *McQueen v. C. B. U. P. R. C.*, 30 *Kan.* 689; *Jackson v. K. C. L. & S. K. Rld. Co.*, 31 *Kan.* 761; *Kansas Pacific Rly. Co. v. Peavy*, 29 *Kan.* 169; *Railway Co. v. Green*, 75 *Kan.* 504, 513.

51. *Railway Co. v. Sledge*, 68 *Kan.* 321; *Brinkmeier v. Railway Co.*, 69 *Kan.* 738.

52. *Union Pacific Rly. Co. v. Young*, 19 *Kan.* 488. ". . . the plaintiff must have exercised ordinary care, and not have been guilty of ordinary negligence, or he cannot recover." —p. 496. See, also, *Mo. Pac. Rly. Co. v. Mackey*, 33 *Kan.* 298.

53. *Beeson v. Busenbark*, 44 *Kan.* 669.

54. *Mo. Pac. Rly. Co. v. Haley, Adm'r., etc.*, 25 *Kan.* 35.

55. *Mo. Pac. Rly. Co. v. Mackey*, 33 *Kan.* 298.

56. *Missouri Rly. Co. v. Mackey*, 127 *U. S.* 205. Meanwhile the act had again been upheld by the Kansas court in *A. T. & S. F. Rld. Co. v. Koehler*, 37 *Kan.* 463.

special legislation for the protection of employees and the public. The law was held not to violate either the due process or the equal protection clauses.

The question of constitutionality was again brought before the United States supreme court. The Kansas supreme court had ruled that a bridge carpenter injured while unloading timbers was covered by the act.⁵⁷ The railroad contended that bridge carpenters were not exposed to peculiar hazards incident to the use and operation of railroads, and that if they were included within the scope of the law of 1874, then the law violated the equal protection clause of the federal constitution. The United States supreme court insisted that although the worker concerned was a bridge carpenter by trade, yet when injured he was performing work which was directly connected with the operation of the railroad, and held against the company.⁵⁸ Thus the constitutionality of the law was definitely established.

An interesting situation arose in 1908 involving the fellow-servant act of 1874. A railroad and an express company had a contract whereby the express company assumed the risk of all costs and damages for injury to its employees and agreed to hold the railroad company harmless from them. The express company in turn contracted with its employees that neither the railroad nor the express company should under any circumstances be liable to them for damages for any injury received while at work on the railroad's trains. An express messenger was killed in a railroad wreck and his widow sued the railroad company for damages on the ground of negligence.

The trial court held the contract binding as between the railroad company and the worker and gave judgment accordingly. The Kansas supreme court upheld the judgment, on the ground that although the railroad as a common carrier generally does not deal on an equal footing with its customers and consequently a contract waiving liability will generally be regarded as having been secured by extortion, yet in the carriage of express matter a railroad company does not act as in ordinary cases, since the services performed are of a private and not of a public nature. Therefore the contract as between the two companies was considered valid; and the express company could transfer this risk back to its employees as a part of the employment agreement.

Three justices dissented from this position. Shortly after the opinion was filed, Mr. Justice Greene, who had voted with the ma-

57. *C. K. & W. Rld. Co. v. Pontius*, 52 *Kan.* 264. A stonemason employed on a depot was held not covered.—*Railway Co. v. Medaris*, 60 *Kan.* 151.

58. *Chicago, etc., Rld. Co. v. Pontius*, 157 *U. S.* 209.

majority, died and was replaced by Mr. Justice Benson. On a rehearing of the case, Mr. Justice Benson voted with the three justices previously dissenting, and the judgment of the court was reversed with direction to enter judgment for the widow. The contract in question was declared void because the statute of 1870 making railroads liable for all damages to persons or property in consequence of any negligence on its part put the right to damages in the class of rights that cannot be contracted away, and because of the law of 1874 abrogated the fellow-servant rule.⁵⁹ It was conceded by the court that at common law the contract would have been valid.

THE RAILROAD LIABILITY ACT OF 1911

In 1911 the Kansas legislature adopted what is a virtual copy of the federal employer's liability act.⁶⁰ The object was to stop the practice by railroads of taking cases to the state or federal court depending upon which body of law was the more favorable to them.⁶¹ Railroads were made liable in damages for injury or death to workers resulting in whole or in part from the employer's negligence, or from insufficiency in the clearance of obstructions, strength of roadbed, tracks, machinery, equipment, lights, signals, rules and regulations, number of employees, or from any defect in any equipment due to the negligence of the employer. The employer was deprived of the defense of contributory negligence, but the doctrine of comparative negligence was introduced and it was provided that damages should be reduced in proportion to the employee's negligence. However, in cases where violation by any railroad official or any of the road's employees of any federal or state railroad safety act contributes to the injury or death, the defenses of assumption of risk and contributory negligence are not available to the employer.⁶² Contracts, rules, regulations or any other devices designed to exempt railroads from the liability imposed by this law are void.⁶³

59. *Sewell v. Railway Co.*, 78 Kan. 16; *Kansas Pacific Rly. Co. v. Peavy*, 29 Kan. 169; *Railway Co. v. Fronk*, 74 Kan. 519. The railroad company carried this case to the United States supreme court, but it was dismissed with costs on motion of the railroad company's counsel.—215 U. S. 612.

60. *Laws, Kansas*, 1911, ch. 239.

61. *Topeka Daily Capital*, February 25, 1911.

62. *Defenbaugh v. Railroad Co.*, 102 Kan. 569. There have been very few Kansas acts prescribing detailed requirements for the safety of railroad employees. Frogs, switches and guardrails on tracks must be filled, blocked and guarded in a proper manner.—*Laws, Kansas*, 1909, ch. 188. Sheds must be erected over tracks used exclusively to build or repair railroad equipment at division points where shops are located, to protect all men permanently employed.—*Laws, Kansas*, 1907, ch. 283. Detailed regulations are laid down regarding the construction of way cars or cabooses.—*Revised Statutes, Kansas*, 1923, secs. 66-220. Attempts to enact full-crew and train-limit bills failed.—*House Journal, Kansas*, 1913, H. B. 286 and 908.

63. The legislature made no attempt to fit the act into the scheme of laws already existing, but left that difficult task to the state supreme court. An analysis of the problem will be found in *Fuller v. A. T. & S. F. Rly. Co.*, 124 Kan. 66. Other important cases in which the act was applied are: *Palomino v. Railway Co.*, 91 Kan. 556; *Hisle v. Railway Co.*, 91 Kan. 572; *Rockhold v. Railway Co.*, 97 Kan. 715; *Harwood v. Railway Co.*, 101 Kan. 215; *Defenbaugh v. Railroad Co.*, 102 Kan. 569.

The same rules of law control under both the state and federal acts.⁶⁴ Since almost the entire railroad industry in Kansas is interstate in character, the law applicable is practically all federal and will not be discussed here.

COAL MINING ACT OF 1883

A series of mine disasters led, in 1883, to the enactment of a law regulating the conduct of the coal mining industry.⁶⁵ Miners and operators were consulted in drafting the bill, and there was no opposition.⁶⁶ The act provided that a map or plan of every coal mine should be made, prescribed detailed regulations for safeguarding openings, workplaces, ventilation, escapement shafts and hoisting and signaling apparatus, established the office of mine inspector, and made compulsory the employment of an inside "mining boss" to oversee the ventilating apparatus, airways, traveling-ways, pumps and drainage, and to secure loose coal, slate and rock from falling upon the traveling-ways, and the appointment of a "competent person" to inspect gaseous mines. A right of action was allowed for any injury or death occasioned by violation of the law.

In construing the law in 1902, the state supreme court refused to hold that because it prescribed the appointment of a "fire-boss" and his duties, it therefore superseded the common-law duty of the mine operator to furnish a safe place in which to work, nor that it made the "fire-boss" a fellow servant of other mine workers. But it held on the contrary that the master was liable for the negligence of the "fire-boss" in failing to perform the duties imposed upon him by law.⁶⁷ Again, in 1914, it was held that a mining company was liable for damages to a miner for an injury which resulted because a mule driver neglected to deliver props needed to support the roof.⁶⁸

As interpreted by the southern department of the Kansas Court of Appeals in 1896, the law was held not to abolish the defenses of assumption of risk and contributory negligence.⁶⁹ Later, however, it was held that these defenses were abolished. In 1908 the state supreme court held that "A miner, in performing the work assigned to him, although bound to exercise due care for his own safety, may assume, in the absence of notice to the contrary, that the owner and

64. *Kasper v. Railway Co.*, 111 *Kan.* 267; *Koshka v. Railroad Co.*, 114 *Kan.* 126.

65. *Laws, Kansas, 1883*, ch. 117.

66. *Topeka Daily Capital*, February 23 and 24, 1883.

67. *Schmalstieg v. Coal Co.*, 65 *Kan.* 753; see, also, *Cheek v. Rly. Co.*, 89 *Kan.* 247, 267. Relatively few cases have been brought under the mining act, and these for the most part not until after 1900.

68. *LeRoy v. Rly. Co.*, 91 *Kan.* 548.

69. *Cherokee & P. Coal & Mining Co. v. Britton*, 3 *K. A.* 292; 45 *Pac.* 100.

the overseer have performed their duty. . . ."70 And later, that the law "in effect debars the defense of contributory negligence," that it "entirely shifts the risks of the employment from the laborer to the employer. Care for his own safety may impel a miner to watch for treacherous mine roofs, but he is not legally required to do so. . . ."71 That the law abolished the defense of assumption of risk was definitely settled in 1913.⁷²

ROAD AND BRIDGE LAW

A road and bridge law of 1887 which gave to anyone who without contributory negligence on his part sustained damages by reason of defective bridges, culverts or highways a right to recover such damages, under certain conditions, from a county or township, was designed for the benefit of travelers.⁷³ Yet it was held to apply to workers as well as to travelers.⁷⁴ A law enacted in 1931 made state and local public corporations except boards of education, fire or police departments, jointly and severally, liable with their motor operators or chauffeurs for damages caused by the latter's negligence while driving on highways in the course of their employment.⁷⁵ That law was held to abrogate the fellow-servant rule.⁷⁶

THE FACTORY ACT

In 1903 a factory act was passed which requires that elevators, hoisting shafts and well-holes be secured, that stairways be equipped with handrails and secured at the sides and ends, that certain doors open outward and be kept unlocked, requires fire escapes, and provides for the guarding of dangerous machinery and appliances where practicable. A right of action for damages is given in case of injury, and in order to recover damages it is only necessary to prove in the first instance that the accident resulted from or was directly contributed to by the failure to provide the safeguards required by law.⁷⁷

70. Barrett v. Dessy, 78 Kan. 642, Syl. 4.

71. Baisdrenghin v. Rly. Co., 91 Kan. 730.

72. Cheek v. Rly. Co., 89 Kan. 247, 267, 268, following the line of reasoning previously applied to the factory act, for which see below.

73. Laws, Kansas, 1887, ch. 237; *General Statutes*, Kansas, 1897, ch. 42, sec. 48.

74. Vickers v. Cloud County, 59 Kan. 86; Cloud County v. Vickers, 62 Kan. 25; Hollinger v. Dickinson County, 115 Kan. 92.

75. Laws, Kansas, 1931, ch. 80, sec. 23.

76. Cashin v. State Highway Comm., 136 Kan. 659, Mr. Justice Burch dissenting.

77. Laws, Kansas, 1903, ch. 356. None of its sections was borrowed from any other state, and this left the supreme court free to follow its own ideas in interpreting it. Two years later an act for the protection of building workers was passed. Any workman noticing dangerous or defective scaffolding, staging or other supporting appliances, elevator, derrick or hoist, or missing or improper safeguards on construction, repairing or painting jobs, may report the same to the state factory inspector, who is required to make an inspection and notify the proper person of any defects that should be remedied. The person in charge must then remove the danger, and failure or refusal to do so is made a misdemeanor punishable by a heavy fine.—*Laws*, Kansas, 1905, ch. 527.

Just what modifications this act made in the common law did not appear for some time. As early as 1906, the Kansas supreme court, following what it considered to be well-settled law, held that the factory act did not exclude the defense of contributory negligence.⁷⁸ At that time the question of assumed risk was not involved, and so, although mentioned and discussed, was not decided. Some lower courts, however, proceeded on the theory that the common law of assumed risk was in no way affected.⁷⁹

In 1907 the question of whether the factory act did or did not abolish assumption of risk was squarely before the supreme court.⁸⁰ An exhaustive inquiry was made and great difference of judicial opinion noted. In the leading federal case holding that such acts do abolish the rule, Judge Taft had argued that since assumption of risk is a term of the employment contract, to allow it where a safety act exists is essentially to waive the benefits of the statute, and that considerations of public policy will not permit such a waiver to be given effect.⁸¹ The state supreme court had already accepted these general propositions,⁸² but it had never before had occasion to apply them. It now held that in Kansas assumption of risk could not be pleaded in cases involving a violation of the factory act.⁸³

Three years after it had interpreted away the assumption of risk defense, the court again considered the question of contributory negligence. At that time the general rule was that factory acts did not abolish this defense, and in conformity with that rule the defense had previously been held available.⁸⁴ But judicial opinion throughout the country was undergoing a change, though that had not as yet proceeded very far.⁸⁵ The Kansas court was by this time satisfied of the injustice of the general principle, and aligned itself with the new trend by reversing itself and holding the defense no longer available.⁸⁶ The court saw clearly the inadequacy of the common-law doctrines as applied to modern industry. These doctrines, it said, "took their rise at a time when shoes were made at

78. *Madison v. Clippinger*, 74 *Kan.* 700.

79. *Ibid.*; also *Manufacturing Co. v. Daniels*, 72 *Kan.* 418.

80. *Manufacturing Co. v. Bloom*, 76 *Kan.* 127.

81. *Narramore v. Cleveland, C. C. & St. L. Rly. Co.*, 96 *Fed.* 298.

82. *The first in Railway Co. v. Bancord*, 66 *Kan.* 81; the second in *Kansas Pacific Rly. Co. v. Peavey*, 29 *Kan.* 170.

83. *Manufacturing Co. v. Bloom*, 76 *Kan.* 127.

84. *Madison v. Clippinger*, *supra*.

85. *Labatt, op. cit.*, v. V, p. 5047.

86. *Caspar v. Lewin*, 82 *Kan.* 604. Just three months before the court had remarked that "The statute . . . fairly admits of a construction which would exclude contributory negligence as a defense as well as assumed risk, but does not do so expressly, and the courts have presumed that such was not the intent and have permitted the commonlaw defense."—*Lewis v. Salt Company*, 82 *Kan.* 163, 167.

the bench, the weaver had an apprentice or two, and the blacksmith a helper.”⁸⁷ But “common experience everywhere, registered in tables of gruesome statistics, affords fresh demonstration every day of the inadequacy of the common-law doctrine of reasonable care to provide places and instrumentalities reasonably safe against foreseeable occurrences to meet the situation of men, women and children who must manipulate, and must work in the midst of, the mechanical products of modern inventive genius.”⁸⁸ The court held that “the factory act cuts squarely across the common-law doctrine of reasonable prudence and supplies that foresight in reference to the places, structures and appliances which it specifies.” It further stated that “to submit to a jury the question of prudence and foresight where the law has been ignored [by the employer] would be to reopen a subject which the legislature has closed by a final decision.”⁸⁹ It is interesting to note that the original bill contained a provision, eliminated by amendment, excusing an employer guilty of gross negligence if he could prove equal negligence on the part of the injured worker.⁹⁰

The court went far in liberally interpreting the scope of the factory act, which was held to apply to any worker regardless of his rank or grade, to any duty of a worker, whether ordinary and general or exceptional and occasional, and to any accident caused by the absence of a prescribed safeguard even though such accident could not have been anticipated with reasonable prudence by the employer. And the court went so far as to hold that if an injury is caused or directly contributed to by the absence of safeguards, then the plaintiff need not prove the practicability of such safeguards, but that the burden of proving safeguards impracticable is on the employer.⁹¹ The act does not, however, add to the common-law rights of the father of a minor son to sue for the loss of services resulting

87. *Caspar v. Lewin*, 82 *Kan.* 631, 632. Three years later the court said: “The doctrines of assumption of risk and contributory negligence are not the creatures of any constitution or of any legislative enactment. They are court-made rules, invented to meet certain ideals of justice respecting certain social and economic conditions and relations. Should the conditions and relations be completely changed, and those ideals wholly fail of realization, the reason for the rules, which is the life of all rules of the common law, would then be wanting, and the court which would go on enforcing them would be a conscious minister of injustice and not of justice.”—*Burgin v. Railway Co.*, 90 *Kan.* 194, 198 (1913).

88. *Caspar v. Lewin*, 82 *Kan.* 624.

89. *Ibid.*, p. 625.

90. *Senate Bills*, Kansas Legislature, 1903, Bill No. 4.

91. *Caspar v. Lewin*, 82 *Kan.* 604, overruling part of *Henschell v. Rly. Co.*, 78 *Kan.* 411. To this two justices dissented, holding that the plaintiff would still have to prove safeguards practicable. See, also, *Gambill v. Bowen*, 82 *Kan.* 840, and *Slater v. Rly. Co.*, 91 *Kan.* 226, 237. It has been held that an employee injured while at rest under the direction of the employer is engaged in the performance of duty and included within the act.—*Brick Co. v. Fisher*, 79 *Kan.* 576. The court refused to limit the scope of the act by interpreting that section requiring belt shifters or safe mechanical contrivances for throwing on or off belts or pulleys as applying only to workmen engaged in shifting belts, but interpreted it to apply also to workers operating the machine.—*Rank v. Packing Box Co.*, 92 *Kan.* 917.

from an injury by reason of a violation of the act. Only the minor can recover.⁹² Because the act is chiefly remedial in nature and intent, rather than penal, it is controlled by the two-year statute of limitation.⁹³

The constitutionality of the factory act was upheld by the state supreme court in *Caspar v. Lewin* as a legitimate exercise of the state's police power. The remedy prescribed for its enforcement was held not obnoxious to either the state or the federal constitution. An appeal from this decision was taken to the federal supreme court, but it was dismissed without consideration, per stipulation of counsel.⁹⁴ The constitutionality of the act was later passed upon and upheld by the United States supreme court. A superintendent of the Lawrence Paper Manufacturing Company, whose duty it was, among other things, to provide safeguards for the machinery, was crushed and killed by unguarded rolls. His widow sued for damages under the factory act. The main contention of the company was that the superintendent's control of safety details removed him from the class of employees protected by the factory act. But the Kansas supreme court ruled that the act was intended to protect all employees regardless of employment, rank or grade.⁹⁵ From this decision the company appealed. It contended that the interpretation put upon the act by the Kansas court was repugnant to the federal due process clause, because the superintendent's employment contract provided that he himself was to see to the safeguarding of the machinery. The United States supreme court held it strictly constitutional to impose an absolute duty to provide safeguards of which no employer may relieve himself by any form of contract.⁹⁶ The company also contended that the law violated the equal protection clause of the federal constitution, because corporations can only carry out the duty of safeguarding machinery by contracting with agents and employees, while individual employers may perform this duty themselves. The supreme court pointed out the obscurity of this reasoning, and suggested that it rested upon a misconception, for the law imposed an absolute duty binding upon corporations and individuals alike.

92. *Gibson v. Packing Box Co.*, 85 *Kan.* 346.

93. *Slater v. Railway Co.*, 91 *Kan.* 226.

94. *Lewin v. Caspar*, 223 *U. S.* 736.

95. *Smith v. Bowersock*, 95 *Kan.* 96, following *Caspar v. Lewin*.

96. *Bowersock v. Smith*, 243 *U. S.* 29.

RECOVERIES

No investigation has ever been made of the amounts recovered by Kansas workers or their dependents under the common-law principles of liability. The data are not available. No doubt only a few cases arose where the unmodified common law was applicable, for legislative modifications were made early in Kansas history. But the experience of other states suggests that the percentage of recoveries and the amounts involved were probably not great. The common-law defenses of the employer were almost invulnerable. Nor has any study been made of the recoveries under the common law as modified by employer's liability acts. Here, too, it seems reasonable to infer that the experience of other states has been repeated in Kansas. The percentage of recoveries was certainly greater after employer's liability acts than before them.

Table I combines the recoveries in fatal cases investigated in three states prior to 1911. The percentage of fatal cases in which no compensation was received is high, amounting to almost a third of the total. In almost half of the cases the amount received did not exceed \$500. Compensation exceeding \$1,000 was received in very few cases. In some of these, the figures were well above \$5,000.

TABLE I.—Recoveries in 604 fatal cases under employers' liability laws in three states prior to 1911*

AMOUNT RECEIVED.	N. Y.	Pa.	Minn.	Totals.	Percent.
No compensation.....	93	80	14	196	32.5
Less than \$100.....	23	113	7	143	23.7
\$100 to \$500.....	72	61	13	146	24.1
\$500 to \$1,000.....	16	41	6	63	10.4
Over \$1,000.....	23	19	14	56	9.3

* 227 cases by the New York State Liability Commission; 323 cases from Pennsylvania by Crystal Eastman; and 54 cases from Minnesota. This material is taken from Rubinow, I. M., *Social Insurance*. . . . (Henry Holt & Co., New York, N. Y., 1913), pp. 93-95.

Some idea of the small number of recoveries in cases of nonfatal accident may be obtained from the following figures for Wisconsin.⁹⁷

	Cases	Percent
Received nothing from employer.....	72	23.5
Received amount of doctor bill only.....	99	32.4
Received amount of part of doctor bill only.....	15	4.9
Received something in addition to doctor bill.....	91	29.7
Received something but not doctor bills.....	29	9.5

97. Taken from James H. Boyd, *Workmen's Compensation and Insurance* (1912), v. I, p. 61.

The following figures on recoveries in Kansas are not adequate, but are offered for what they are worth. From 1871 to 1911, when Kansas enacted its first workmen's compensation law, there were fifty-nine suits settled by the state supreme court in which workers were awarded damages for injury. The average amount of compensation received was \$4,320. This appears to be a higher average than is usually reported, and it is no doubt very much higher than the average recovered in all cases, including those settled out of court. For undoubtedly most accidents were either not settled for at all, or were settled for out of court; and it is usually the cases involving large sums that are carried to the state supreme court. The highest award was \$15,000, which was paid by a railroad company to an individual for the loss of both legs.⁹⁸ The average compensation awarded for nineteen fatal accidents was \$5,135, only slightly more than the average award for injury. This also appears to be larger than the amount usually reported. The largest amount received for a fatal accident was \$10,000; the lowest, \$500.

Supreme court records for the years 1871-1911 show that contested cases were seldom disposed of in less than three years after the accident occurred. The average time was four years, both for injury and death. In many cases there was a delay of five, six and seven years. Three cases were in the courts for more than nine years, and one for more than ten years. Following is a distribution of sixty-six cases definitely disposed of by the state supreme court during the years 1871-1911, inclusive, on the basis of time involved.

Less than one year.....	0
One year but less than two.....	6
Two years but less than three.....	18
Three years but less than four.....	13
Four years but less than five.....	9
Five years but less than six.....	7
Six years but less than seven.....	7
Seven years but less than eight.....	1
Eight years but less than nine.....	1
Nine years but less than ten.....	3
Ten years and over.....	1

The doctrines of assumption of risk and contributory negligence account for almost all the failures to recover up to 1902. After the defenses of contributory negligence and assumption of risk were no longer available under the various acts designed to protect workers,

98. *Dowell v. Railway Co.*, 83 Kan. 562. This is a striking example of the wide discrepancy that is often found in the amounts awarded for injuries by juries. In not a single case of death in Kansas, so far as the data available to the writer go, did the award exceed \$10,000; and injuries more serious than the one sustained in this case, and under circumstances as bad or worse, were awarded much less. The next highest amount of compensation awarded for injuries was \$12,000.—See *Railway Co. v. Lloyd*, 68 Kan. 369.

recoveries became more numerous. This probably helps to explain the willingness of many employers to adopt workmen's compensation laws. Recoveries were based in about equal numbers on the grounds of failure of the employer to furnish safe tools or equipment, unsafe workplaces, and the negligent acts of an agent or vice-principal.

Recent Additions to the Library

Compiled by HELEN M. McFARLAND, Librarian

IN ORDER that members of the Kansas State Historical Society and others interested in historical study may know the class of books we are receiving, a list is printed annually of the books accessioned in our specialized fields.

These books come to us from three sources, purchase, gift and exchange, and fall into the following classes: Books by Kansans and about Kansas; books on the West, including explorations, overland journeys and personal narratives; genealogy, local history and out-of-state directories; and books on the Indians of North America, United States history, biography and allied subjects which are classified as general.

We receive regularly the publications of many historical societies by exchange, and subscribe to other historical and genealogical publications which are needed in reference work.

The following is a partial list of books which were added to the library from October 1, 1939, to September 30, 1940. Government and state official publications and some books of a general nature are not included. The total number of books accessioned appeared in the report of the secretary in the February issue of the *Quarterly*.

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Bypaths of Kansas History

NEWS FROM FORT LEAVENWORTH

From the *Daily Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, June 15, 1853.

FORT LEAVENWORTH.—Below we give some items of interest which we gathered at Fort Leavenworth, a few days since. We learn that Gen. Garland has been ordered to Santa Fe. He is daily expected up on the *St. Paul*, with about two hundred troops. He goes out to relieve Col. Sumner, in command at that post.

The court martial which has been in session at Fort Leavenworth for several days past, has not closed its labors. They now have under consideration the charges preferred against Maj. How, while in New Mexico. A large number of officers from abroad are in attendance; among them we notice Brev. Lt. Colonel Bragg, of "a little more grape, Capt. Bragg," memory. Also, Gen. Clark, and others of high rank in the army.

The spectacle of the fine looking officers, with their shining epaulettes and glittering swords, reminded us of like scenes we had witnessed on the plains of Mexico, "in the days when we went fighting, a long time ago."

On the 28th a train with quartermaster and commissary stores, left for the new post on the Kansas river.

The Mail (Express) arrived at Fort Leavenworth on Tuesday last, from the new post [Fort Riley] at the mouth of Republican Fork, on the Kansas river. The place is reported to be in good health, and officers stationed there are busily employed in making preparations for putting up the necessary buildings, &c.

Major Chilton, with Company B, 1st Dragoons, left Fort Leavenworth on yesterday, en route for the new post to be established at the mouth of Walnut creek, on the Arkansas river—Fort Atkinson having been ordered to be broken up and abandoned, and Company D, 6th Infantry, now stationed there, to be removed and stationed at the post at the mouth of Walnut creek.—*Weston Reporter*.

ARMS FOR KANSAS

From the Kansas City (Mo.) *Enterprise*, October 25, 1856.

We noticed yesterday, at the freight depot of the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad, a new *U. S. six pounder* and *seven boxes of U. S. muskets*. They are consigned to T. B. Eldridge, at Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, who is recruiting at that point for the "Free State Army" in Kansas. These are the kind of *Agricultural Implements* that the peaceable "Free State settlers are taking into Kansas." We have seen an account going the rounds of the papers, for the past few days, that there was recently stolen from Xenia, Ohio, a brass six pounder, and a lot of U. S. muskets. Wonder if these are the same? Gov. Geary will please take notice.—*Burlington Gazette*.

THIS ONE WASN'T ON THE INDIANS

The Independent, Oskaloosa, September 3, 1864.

There was a big scare on the bottom on Monday afternoon and night. A report got out that 200 Pottawatomie Indians were at work burning, killing and scalping at a horrible rate; and some of the settlers began to flee before the supposed danger. Capt. McCain, and some of his neighbors started for the scene of devastation, leaving everything ready for a hasty flight if necessary, to this place. As they went towards Rising Sun the story grew larger and larger, and there was a terrible scare. But arrived at the spot, the facts were about these. A couple of Indians had been in Rising Sun and two white men wanted to trade ponies with them, but the Indians would not trade. The whites were drunk, and when the Indians left followed them some distance threatening to shoot them if they did not trade; and while flourishing their revolvers about their heads, one of them went off and shot the fellow who held it through the leg, the ball going through the saddle and into the horse upon which he sat. They then returned and reported that the Indians had fired upon them and done the mischief. Some Indians had been encamped near the place previously which gave a show of plausibility to the big stories that grew out of this small affair. Whisky does a great deal of mischief, and might have led to something serious in this case, but for the accident which happened to the chaps in question.

 HUNTING BUFFALO VIA THE UNION PACIFIC IN 1868

From *Sheridan's Troopers on the Borders: A Winter Campaign on the Plains*, by De B. Randolph Keim (Philadelphia, 1870), pp. 37-41.

The "end of the track" was one of those indefinite expressions in plains parlance, having reference to the terminus of the railroad, somewhere in the wilderness of waste, far to the westward. In times of active construction on the road the expression was particularly applicable, for the last traveler would find himself penetrating regions which his itinerary predecessor of but a few days before had never thought of and probably no white man before, except the surveying party, had ever visited. The "end of the track," therefore, meant precisely where the locomotive stopped running.

At eleven o'clock on the morning of the second of October, the train for the west arrived at Hays City. I was one of a party of about half a dozen persons who had been awaiting its arrival for two long and monotonous hours.

My fellow passengers altogether numbered about twenty persons. . . . The conductor of the train was a man of sense and good address. He had much experience in life on the plains and was the man for the position he held. He always had his rifle by his side and pistols, either about his waist, or where he could conveniently put his hands upon them. He was an excellent shot, and had several bullet scars as mementoes of early conflicts.

We had hardly proceeded fifteen miles on our journey when we came in sight of several large herds of buffaloes, each numbering not less than two

thousand animals. We were promised a "wonderful sight" of the beast by the conductor of the train. Indeed, so marvelous were his stories that he was listened to with evident incredulity.

As we increased the distance from the last settlement, buffaloes rapidly grew in numbers. Thirty miles on the way the country was literally overrun. The main herds lay on the northern side of the track and as far as the eye could reach, not less than a distance of ten to fifteen miles, the plain was perfectly black with them. The herds nearest the track, alarmed at the strange sounds issuing from the locomotive, set off at a rapid lope, heading towards the north, in turn setting in motion the herds before them. The huge animals raised such a dust that for some minutes it was impossible to see more than a long line of hind-quarters and elevated tails. A number of isolated smaller herds which had crossed to the south upon the approach of the train, invariably raised their heads, looked at us for an instant, and then with heads down and tails up galloped towards the track making extraordinary exertions to get across ahead of the locomotive. In trying this strategic feat one specimen found himself forcibly lifted into the air and thrown into the ditch, where he lay upon his back, his cloven feet flourishing madly.

Several animals had been shot from the cars out of this herd. The train now stopped to afford time to bring in a few "rumps." While this operation was going on, a party of six or eight of us started down the track to dispatch the buffalo, still kicking and bellowing with a mixture of suspense and rage, displaying certain serpentine and spasmodic motions of the dorsal column, which indicated an effort to get on his feet. When our party got within fifty yards a shot was fired at the animal which seemed to have a peculiarly vitalizing effect. At all events it called the buffalo to a sense of his ludicrous and unnatural position. With one desperate effort the old beast regained his feet. Several more shots were instantly fired, but none seemed to take effect. Instead of retreating the irate quadruped made for our party, coming at a "full jump," head down, tongue out, bleeding and frothing at the mouth, eyes flashing, and to cap the climax of his terrible exhibitions of infuriation, roared fearfully. As there was no time to lose, and to fire at him "head on" would be but a waste of ammunition, the party scattered in all directions. For my own part, I took occasion to make a few long and rapid strides across the track into the ditch on the other side. The rest of the party imitated this dexterous movement without many moments of reflection. Losing sight of us, the enraged animal, smarting under the blow he had received from the locomotive, and the tickling he had sustained from our rifles, wreaked his anger upon the opposite side of the embankment of the railroad by rending great furrows in the earth, stamping on the ground, raising a great dust, and making a terrible noise. It was very certain there was no time to waste. Should his lordship of the plains spy any of us he would doubtless renew the offensive. Raising up so as to get a partial sight of his carcass, not over thirty feet off, three of our party fired, the rest holding in reserve. Every ball seemed to take effect. Almost instantly the animal fell upon his knees. The rest then fired, when the animal rolled completely over. His tenacity of life was perfectly wonderful. By this time he must have had a dozen bullets in his body. Notwithstanding all this he struggled and swayed to and fro until he again brought himself to his feet. But all power to harm had fled. Plant-

ing himself firmly, moving his head to the right and left, his eye still full of fire, the noble beast looked even more defiant. From his nostrils ran streams of blood.

To put the animal out of misery was the first sense of recovery from our stampede. Repeated shots were fired into his body. Thug, thug, the bullets could be heard penetrating his thick hide. As each ball entered, a slight turn of the head and switch of the tail were the only external indications of the effect of the bullet. At length after having been literally "peppered" with lead, a sudden quiver passed over the animal's entire frame, he staggered and fell. One deep gasp, a convulsive motion of the jaws, one sudden flash of the eye, a quantity of dark clotted blood ejected from the nostrils, and the buffalo was dead.

Never before had I seen such an exhibition of tenacious rage and vitality. Had the animal been less injured by the locomotive, it would be difficult to say what would have been the result of his charge upon our party. It is a question, however, whether a buffalo would attack from the mere impulse of destruction. I have found the buffalo, compared with his remarkable physical strength, rather disposed to be timid. Several horsemen could ride into the midst of a herd of ten thousand with comparative safety, select their game and dispatch it; but when wounded the whole nature of the animal seems changed. He turns upon his pursuers, and death it is to him who ever falls into his power. Not satisfied with goring his victim until he is a mangled mass, he frequently plunges upon the remains until mashed into a perfect jelly. The vital spot in a buffalo is immediately under the shoulder, penetrating the heart or the lungs. On the forehead the bullet of the most powerful rifle has no effect whatever, the force being entirely expended on the immense mat or "mop" of hair, eight or ten inches in length, between the eyes.

After our somewhat exciting battle, taking a last look, and I must say I felt a pang of shame as I left the inanimate carcass a useless waste, we hastened back to the train which was ready to move on and had been signaling us for some minutes.

For sixty miles the same great multitudes of buffaloes appeared in sight without signs of diminution in numbers. Beyond this, as we approached Sheridan station, the herds grew less in size and more isolated until they disappeared from view. I computed, during the entire day there were in sight from the train, not less than two hundred thousand animals of all ages.

At six o'clock in the afternoon we reached the end of steam travel on the Kansas Pacific railway. The end of the track presented all the appearance of work very abruptly terminated. At the very extreme point was a plain wooden mile-post painted white, with the characters "405 to S. L.," 405 miles to the State Line, that is of Kansas, at Kansas City. The objective point of the road, contemplated in the law, is the Pacific ocean, with a branch to Denver. The Pacific is to be reached by a more southerly route passing through Albuquerque, N. Mex., Southern Arizona, into Southern California. The length of the road from its initial point will be over two thousand miles.

THE VELOCIPEDE ARRIVES IN KANSAS

From the *Fort Scott Monitor*, February 24, 1869.

Fort Scott, as usual, is ahead of the rest of the Kansas towns, by building the first velocipede in the state, if not west of the Mississippi river. Quite a number of our citizens have been to Scott avenue during the past week to see this stranger travel. A good many tried to ride it but failed. Our friend Bailey says he could easily "ride the wheelipede if the darned thing would only stand up." It was built by G. Endicott, and is similar to the two-wheeled ones used in the East. It will not be long before they will come into general use in Kansas, as our good natural roads seem to have been designed for the use of these wheeled bipeds.

WANTED FOR MARRIAGE

From the *Walnut Valley Times*, El Dorado, July 1, 1870.

WANTED.—Fifty young ladies to make husbands from fifty well-to-do bachelors residing in and about El Dorado. While our population is increasing very rapidly there is yet half the material here to further comply with the governor's request, if we only had the other half.

From the *Wichita Vidette*, September 9, 1870.

GIRLS ATTENTION!—We are authorized to state that the first good, respectable young lady who settles on Slate creek [Sumner county], will receive a present of a fine saddle horse, saddle and bridle, and a husband if she wants one. Here girls, is a chance for you. We will guarantee that the parties making the offer will carry out the part of his bargain in good faith, provided the young lady in question accepts the proposition.

PAY DAY FOR THE POTTAWATOMIES

From the *Daily Kansas State Record*, Topeka, October 30, 1870.
[Note: The Indian agency building described in this article still stands at the east edge of St. Marys near US-40.]

The payment of the Pottawattamies, to which so many persons of both the white and colored "persuasion" have looked forward with anxious interest, has been in progress since Thursday, and yesterday the whole "arrangement" was "interviewed" by our reporter.

Indian payments are an old story in Kansas, and there are few, if any, of the old settlers of the state who have not at one time or another witnessed one. To a newcomer, however, the scene of one of these periodical "settlements" of the government with its interesting "wards" generally possesses the charm of novelty, and even a written description may be of interest to those whose misfortune it is to live outside the limits of this state, and who have never seen the Indian even in his naturalized and domesticated condition.

The scene at St. Mary's mission on Saturday, the 29th of October, 1870, was

probably one of the most utterly forlorn, dismal and miserable spectacles which this "mundane sphere" has ever witnessed. It had been raining since Friday, as it only can rain in what some fool or other has called this "drouthy country," and the one long street of St. Mary's, which is as yet innocent of sidewalks, was a swamp, trodden into black, slimy stickiness and nastiness by the feet of men and horses.

The place of payment was the old government agency, near the Catholic mission buildings. The building is a one-story edifice, built of stone, and once made some pretensions to comfort and taste; it undoubtedly cost our benevolent Uncle Sam money enough to possess both, but the picket fence has been broken down, the fancy cornice is destitute of paint, and the premises generally bear an air of decay. The two low, dirty, smoky rooms were devoted to the business of payment. In one of them Mr. Williamson, of the Interior Department, the paymaster, had his station. The other was occupied by the paymaster's clerk; the interpreter, Joseph Napoleon Bourassa, and Lieut. Hipple, of the 3d artillery, in command of the guard of ten men from Ft. Riley; the rest of the space was occupied by white men, traders, and others, having demands against the Indians, and Agent Morris. Louis Vieux, familiarly called "Uncle Louis Vieux," stood in the doorway acting in the capacity of marshal, crier and sentry.

The method of payment is similar to that adopted in the army, and, indeed, the presence of the young lieutenant in his smart uniform, and of the "boys in blue" standing about, served to keep up the resemblance. The name of the person to be paid was read from the various rolls by various persons, till it finally reached Mr. Vieux, who sang it out from the door with a "long, loud and exceedingly bitter cry," and with fearful emphasis on the last syllable; after which the person called for, if present and sober, appeared and received his or her money. Generally some question arose about the administration of estates and other legal matters, which occasioned a dialogue in French, English and Pottawattamie, until everybody was satisfied. The party to be paid generally "stuck out" the controversy without betraying the slightest interest as to its termination.

While this was going on, the "wards" male and female, stood, sat and lounged around in the partially inclosed mud-hole formerly the agency yard. The women squatted around the fence in the mud, with their shawls and blankets over their ears, and the papposes submitted to the pitiless rain with Indian silence and fortitude, instead of manifesting their feelings by kicks and screams like white babies.

Among those in attendance was Maj. W. W. Ross, who has been for years more or less connected with the Pottawattamies in their business with the government. From him we learned that the sums paid to each person on the pay-roll was \$688.43, in the aggregate about \$500,000.

The amount paid to some families reaches, it is said, as high as \$5,000. Of course much of this money passed immediately into the hands of traders and others having accounts against the Indians, but Maj. Ross gave it as his opinion that the Indians carried away more money for themselves than is generally believed. All present having unsettled accounts against the Pottawattamies gave them the credit of being faithful to their obligations. One gentleman, having \$5,000 "out" among the tribe, said he had never in a single instance been refused payment.

Getting tired of the rain and the mud, and the squaws and the ponies and the pappooses, our reporter left the tumble-down agency and went over to the mission proper, where he saw Father Ward, who is at the head of the institution. The good Father, with the intelligence and politeness which everywhere characterizes the Jesuits, answered every inquiry, and gave some interesting particulars concerning the past history and future plans of the mission. Of these we may speak more fully at a future time. Unlike the Catholic missionaries among the Osages, Father Ward expressed the belief that there is such a being as an adult Christian Indian. Many of the Pottawattamies he considered excellent Catholics, devoted to their religious duties and exemplary in their conduct. The Indian youth, he said, were as capable of acquiring knowledge as white children, and many of them evinced remarkable capacity.

Leaving the gardens and neat buildings of the mission, which had an air of comfort even in this miserable weather, and going up the main street of the town was a trying process, and one rather calculated to try one's belief in Father Ward's hopeful view of things. Numerous Indians contrived to get possession of whisky, and were consequently miserably drunk. Unlike his white brother, the Indian never gets "happy." Whisky only makes him melancholy and "cursed," and if ever a pitiable object presented itself to human gaze, it was these "sons of nature," plunging and wallowing in the fathomless mire, cursing and swearing after a beastly fashion, known only to themselves. Some of them lost their recently acquired money in the mud, and in one instance a \$100 bill was fished out of the middle of the street.

The town was full of traders in every description of merchandise, Topeka being liberally represented. The "gay gamboliers" were also present in force, and horsemen were on hand in readiness to make their pile on the contemplated Sunday races, but the rain had driven everybody except the Indians indoors, and spoiled the race course. At six o'clock p. m. on Saturday the prospects for sport in St. Mary's were dubious.

The ride home was accomplished in a dimly-lighted caboose attached to a freight train of interminable length, and the night was rendered cheerful by the incessant glare of lightning, and the sound of the falling sheets of rain. The walk from the Kansas Pacific depot was also enlivened by the plunge of two gentlemen, representing law and literature, into the pond at the end of the depot platform, and as they rose to the surface, there was heard a succession of remarks, which were understood to invoke curses on the head of the man who invented Indian payments.

NO CONTEMPT IN THIS HAYS COURT

From the Junction City *Union*, August 31, 1872.

The Democratic (Hollidaysburg, Pa.) *Standard* gives an account of a court scene at Hays City, and requests us to corroborate the story. The incident occurred as related, and we would add, that the trial was by a jury of six men, before Chief Justice Dalton, of Hays City. The animal in dispute was a two and a half year old heifer, was white as chalk, and as fine an animal as ever ate grass on the plains of Kansas. Mr. Polly claimed that he purchased her when a young calf, and missed her from his herd about the first of March; saw

her about the middle of July and took her home; had brands on her and ear marks. These says Mr. Treat, who purchased her from a Missourian, were older than the first of March, and hence the necessity of bringing the animal to the court house for inspection. When the jury were requested to go out and examine these marks, they said it was too hot, and told the sheriff to bring "him" in. The sheriff obeyed—the animal the next moment stood in the middle of the room facing the jury—the crowd smiled—one gentleman desired to be next the door, and passed in too close proximity to the heifer's rear. She gave him a violent kick, at which the crowd roared. The sheriff gave the tail a twist, this was too much, and the heifer roared and pitched over chairs and benches, and the crowd made a hasty retreat towards the door and windows; the judge, jury, lawyers and suiters made a lunge for the rear windows and the animal in dispute was master of the situation. Fortunately she espied the door, and after demolishing several chairs and school desks, made her escape, and hurt no one.

But the richest scene that ever disgraced a Kansas court room, occurred before the same justice last week. Jack Wright was shot and killed by one McCliland, and he was taken before Justice Dalton for a hearing. Tom Drum, in whose saloon the shooting took place, was the principal witness and was first called on the stand. He looked about the room at the crowd assembled, and remarked to the "court" that things looked d—d dry, and suggested that a little whisky would "liven things up. His "honor" made no objection, and in a few minutes a decanter well filled with "benzine" was set upon the table just in front of the judge. The court, the witness, lawyers and prisoners drank "all round." As each witness was called to the stand, he would step to the table, pour out his whisky and nodding to the "court" the usual "how," drink—then hold up his right hand and after being sworn take his seat and give in his testimony.

The prisoner was committed in default \$1,500 bail. That night the friends of the deceased visited the jail with the intention of shooting McCliland. The jail is a cellar under the court room. They commenced at random through the iron bars, and instead of killing McCliland, they shot and killed Pony Donovan, a noted horse thief, who was in jail awaiting his trial. McCliland is now under guard at the post.

ANTELOPE AT KINSLEY

From the *Edwards County Leader*, Kinsley, May 31, 1877.

Last Sunday our quiet town was thrown into a flurry of excitement by the visitation of a herd of antelope. They crossed the railroad track and came into town just west of the Honorable Taylor Flick's residence, and leisurely wended their way towards Coon creek. They would have remained with us and become domesticated had not the larger portion of our good citizens become so excited, and frightened them away by opening up a little 4th of July over their advent into town. One of our prominent M. D.'s became so excited that he chased them into the creek and came very near swimming that stream in hopes of catching one for a pet. The race between the antelope and the Dr. was nip and tuck, nip winning the race by jumping the stream.

INDIANS ATTEND A CIRCUS AT LAWRENCE

From *The Western Home Journal*, Lawrence, July 31, 1879.

The six Cheyenne warriors, Wild Hog, Old Man, Blacksmith, Left Hand, Run Fast, and Meheha, awaiting trial for their participation in the late Indian massacre [Dull Knife's raid of September, 1878, when forty Kansas settlers were killed], were taken to see the London circus yesterday. In some way they had heard of its coming and expressed a strong desire to see it. Messrs. Cooper, Bailey & Co., kindly extended the freedom of the exhibition to them and the officers who attended. It was the first thing of the kind they had seen, and they appeared to enjoy it thoroughly. About half-past two o'clock they marched into the menagerie in single file, and were shown one wild animal after another. The herd of elephants puzzled them very much, but they looked quietly and gravely at them, expressing no thought by word or gesture. The Bengal tigers and the lions, as they jumped and snarled behind the iron bars brought a peculiar gleam to the eyes of the red men. They seemed to recognize a nature akin to their own. The American lion, the red deer, the brown bear, all drew forth signs from two of the braves, who pointed westward and indicated by their motions that they had met these animals before. The camels were carefully scanned and passed for the herd of ponies upon which they looked with an eye that appreciated the beauty of the tiny things.

Proceeding into the circus, they were seated by themselves, an officer at each end of them. The story of the cruel butcheries by the Cheyenne band was too fresh in the minds of the people to allow of their being seated without attracting attention. Every eye was soon turned upon them, and many a mother grasped her child as she heard the words, "There are the Indians." Two women rushed out of the tent with a child in each arm, nor could they be induced to return. When the people learned that the sheriff and his deputies were with them quietness was restored. At first the Indians assumed a grave look as their eyes roamed over the sea of humanity about them; but, as act after act went by, they gradually relaxed. Wild Hog said "heap" when anything especially pleased him, the others testifying their approval by grunts. When Frank Melville rode his splendid act they became excited, and seemed to appreciate the full performance. It was the same when Billy Dutton went flying about the ring upon his horse, they again expressed their delight. The four-horse act of Madame Cordona, and the champion act of Charles Fish caused them to look in astonishment.

When the clowns appeared they smiled approval of their antics, and when the lean clown flung the fat clown over the ring bank and then threw a colored boy upon him, Blacksmith laughed until he cried, while his companions shook their sides. Fans were given them and they kept up as vigorous a fanning as any lady. They were provided with lemonade, and each one got away with two glasses, and when the third was offered they simply pressed their abdomen and used the only English word they knew—"heap." They enjoyed the performance thoroughly, and seemed disappointed when it was over. They were taken back to the jail after the show was over.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Articles of historical significance in recent issues of the *Wichita Sunday Eagle* include: "Landmark of Old West Wichita And Friends U. Is Being Razed," November 24, 1940; "Early-Day Aerial Successes of Wrights Are Recorded in Pages of *Wichita Eagle*," February 2, 1941; "Development of Wichita Is Traced by 17 Historical Markers," and "Two Plucky Girls Started First Rural Route," March 2; "Garfield University Started on Borrowed \$75 (began in 1887; remaining building now houses Friends University), April 27.

Reminiscences of pioneer days in Graham county by Mrs. Amanda Brown Gustafson, Mrs. Jim (Bessie) Baird and Mrs. Matt Findley were printed in the *Hill City Times*, November 28, 1940. Mrs. Gustafson was born in the county in 1881, Mrs. Baird emigrated with her family from Maryland in the late 1870's and Mrs. Findley came to Graham county with her parents from Osage county in 1878. On January 16, 1941, the *Hill City Times* published the pioneer reminiscences of F. D. De Shon (arranged by Mildred Cass Beason), who came to Graham county in 1872.

The experiences of J. D. (Josh) Wheatcroft have been featured in a series of articles entitled "A True Story of How Life in the West Began for Me in 1880," which appeared in the *Utica Star-Courier* beginning with the issue of December 12, 1940. Mr. Wheatcroft came to Kansas from Iowa in a covered wagon with his family when he was thirteen years old. The final installment was printed February 6, 1941.

A series of articles concerning the history of the Independent Holiness Movement by the late A. M. Kiergan published in the old *Banner*, are being reprinted in *The Church Advocate and Good Way*, Fort Scott, beginning with the issue of December 12, 1940. This movement, of which Kiergan was one of the founders, started in the 1860's as an offshoot of Methodism in Missouri and Kansas.

Charles Arnold, 87 years old, reporter for 62 years on the *Iola Register*, resigned in December, 1940. The *Register* of December 23, in reviewing his work, believed that he was perhaps the oldest newspaper reporter in point of service for one paper in the United States.

An account of an Indian battle which took place behind "Indian Rock" on Glenifer hill east of Salina in 1857 was published in the

Salina Journal, December 26, 1940. In this battle the savage Cheyennes, Arapahoes and Sioux were driven back by the Kaws, Delawares and Pottawatomies, and as an indirect result of this war the white settlement on the site of Salina was made possible. A marker commemorating the event was erected by the Saline County Historical Society in 1922.

The history of Grand Center Baptist Church was discussed by H. L. Tripp in the *Waldo Advocate*, December 30, 1940.

An autobiography of the Rev. Father Bononcini is being printed in installments in the *St. Paul Journal*, beginning January 2, 1941. Father Bononcini was a prominent pioneer priest in Kansas. He was a teacher in the Seminary in Topeka during its brief career, and built churches in Fort Scott, Scammon, Pittsburg, Girard, Weir City, Arcadia and other places.

Mrs. Julia Mills, one of the seven passengers on the first "passenger train" that pulled into Hutchinson on the night of June 30, 1872, related her experiences in a feature article in the *Hutchinson News*, January 5, 1941.

The *Lyons Daily News* of January 15, 1941, carried the story of the death of Mrs. Mickey (Frenchy) McCormick, 88, at Channing, Tex. Mrs. McCormick, once a Creole dance hall girl, was called by the cowboys of the West the "Belle of Old Tascosa." Native of Baton Rouge, La., she went to Dodge City, end of the railroad, in its hell-roaring days and then traveled by ox-cart to Old Tascosa about 1880.

Judge Houston Whiteside, co-founder and editor of the *Hutchinson News* in 1872, died at the age of 93 in Hutchinson, January 23, 1941, according to the *News* of January 24. Judge Whiteside went to Hutchinson when the city was a year old and lived there all his life.

On January 26, 1941, the *Joplin (Mo.) Globe* issued a "1941 Progress Edition" of 112 pages featuring the industrial development of the tri-state area.

A Santa Fe edition of the *Arkansas City Daily Traveler* was issued January 28, 1941, in observance of the beginning of the sixty-second year of Santa Fe railroad service to Arkansas City.

Biographical information on C. N. James as compiled by Stella B. Haines, president of the Augusta Historical Society, was printed

in the *Augusta Daily Gazette*, January 28, 1941. Mr. James was one of the founders of Augusta and named the town for his wife, Augusta James.

The reminiscences of Mrs. W. H. Sears were recorded in the *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, February 15, 1941. Mrs. Sears came to Kansas with her parents in 1857 and was living in Lawrence during Quantrill's raid.

An account of the annual exodus of the River Brethren to the conference of this sect in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, published in the *Philadelphia (Pa.) Press*, April 26, 1903, was found in a family Bible by Sam D. Zook, of Abilene. The article was reprinted in the *Abilene Daily Chronicle*, February 18, 1941.

The old Chisholm trail from Wichita south to the Kansas-Oklahoma line was discussed by Dick Long in the *Wichita (Evening) Eagle*, February 25, 1941, after an interview with Warren L. Matthews, of Wichita. Mr. Matthews spent years tracing the route, mile by mile, through Kansas. A map showing the trail and present-day towns was printed with the article.

The annual farm edition of the *Atchison Daily Globe* was issued February 25, 1941. Articles by Sen. Arthur Capper, Claude R. Wickard, U. S. Secretary of Agriculture, and J. C. Mohler, secretary of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, were printed.

During the spring of 1941 many of the state's daily and weekly newspapers featured the special supplement, "Coronado Rides Again in Kansas," prepared as part of the advance publicity for Kansas' celebration of Coronado's visit four hundred years ago.

A special seventieth anniversary edition of the *Chase County Leader*, of Cottonwood Falls, was issued March 5, 1941. The first number was published March 4, 1871. A facsimile of the front page of the first issue was part of the anniversary number.

The following articles of special historical interest by Victor Murdock appeared in recent issues of the *Wichita (Evening) Eagle*: "Glimpse of This County at First Settlement Given in an Old Diary," March 5, 1941; "Last Big Buffalo Hunt as Recorded in Detail by A. S. Hendry of McPherson," March 6; "Wounded Buffalo Charges Added Real Excitement to the Last Big Hunt," March 7; "Veteran Buffalo Hunter Who Put Up Ten Dollars for the Chance of a Shot," March 8; "Romance Is Hidden Away in Many a Community in Rural Regions Here," concerning the River Brethren,

March 10; "Graveyard on Prairies That Survived Community Carrying Name of Ivanhoe," March 11; "As Wichita Has Grown Traces of Topography Once Familiar Vanish," March 12; "Keeping Up the Cupboard Was a Point With Pioneers on Prairies and Beyond," March 21; "Exodus of an Old Chieftain May Have Added Something to Wichita's Population," March 22; "Prices Which Obtained When Kansas Was Young Back Seventy Years Ago," March 26; "Today Ever Memorable in Wichita History Through Oklahoma Opening," April 22; "How Napoleon the Third Happens to Show Up Here in the Early Day Records," April 23; "Kindness of Chisholm, First Wichita Settler, Toward Indians' Captives," April 24.

Included among the articles of historical interest in the "Clark County Historical Society Notes" in recent issues of *The Clark County Clipper*, of Ashland, were: "History of the Van Laningham Family," March 6, 1941; "The Shattucks in Massachusetts" (contributed by Ethel Luther Shattuck), March 27 and April 3; "Coronado," April 10 and 17; "Lexington, Church, Town and Community" (contributed by Gertie Hughs and Lizzie Moore), April 24; "History of Lexington Cemetery" and "Coronado in Clark County 400 Years Ago," May 1; "The Passing of the Apple Brand and the Half Circle P. Brand," by Lon Ford, May 8.

On March 7, 1941, "Your Scrapbook of Kansas Catholic History" began in the *Eastern Kansas Register*, printed at Denver, Colo. This historical sketch, in weekly installments, traces the beginning and development of Catholicism in Kansas.

An article by Edith M. Burt in the *Alma Enterprise*, March 14 and 21, 1941, tells of the old stone Congregational church located on Highway K-29 at Wabaunsee. In 1856, under the leadership of Col. C. B. Lines, the Beecher Bible and Rifle Company started to Kansas and settled in Wabaunsee in April. The stone church which now stands was completed in 1862.

Kansas-born Raymond Clapper, Washington columnist, was the subject of a feature article in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, March 18, 1941, headed "Serious Raymond Clapper Cares for Little Except His Column."

A letter from W. J. Baker of Yellow Springs, Ohio, whose father was at one time a resident of Pratt county, appeared in the *Pratt Union*, March 20, 1941, under the title "Early Kansas History." It related experiences of George Baker, the father, who went to Emporia in the late 1850's.

Some passages from the diary of Lewis H. Garrard who traveled the Santa Fe trail in 1846 and 1847 were discussed by Henry L. Carey, of Dodge City, in the Hutchinson *News-Herald*, March 23, 1941. The article described the building of old Fort Mann. The fort, of logs and adobe, was named for the wagonmaster who built it. Mr. Carey locates the post on the site of the J. P. McCollom ranch, three miles west of present Dodge City.

The story of how Col. John Ritchie shot and killed a United States marshal and was duly tried in a court of law and found guilty, then acquitted and released, appeared as a feature article by Jim Bell in the Topeka *Daily Capital*, March 23, 1941.

The Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, March 23, 1941, printed recollections of Mrs. Cora Skinner Ream in Smith county in the 1870's. She recalled foods common on pioneer tables and some of the substitutes used for delicacies.

Reminiscences of Mrs. Eliza Williams Johnson, who came to Kansas with her family in 1860 when she was ten years old, appeared in the Clay Center *Times*, March 27, 1941. Mrs. Johnson was one of the earliest pioneers in the vicinity of Industry.

The much-disputed boundary line between Kansas and Missouri in the 125-mile stretch along the shifting course of the Missouri river was discussed in a feature article in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, March 28, 1941.

On April 3, 1941, the Atchison *Daily Globe* published the first of a series of reports to the Atchison planning board by Harland Bartholomew, city planner. It was devoted to the "historical and economic background of Atchison."

Articles describing the organization, functions and aims of the Lyon County Historical Society appeared in the Emporia *Gazette*, April 3, 7 and 11, 1941. The Lyon county chapter of the Kansas State Historical Society is in its fourth year and during that time has acquired and furnished a museum room in the new city auditorium at Emporia. Plans are now in progress to enlarge the collection of relics and historical objects.

Historical articles by Paul I. Wellman in recent issues of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, include: "Tall Tales of Early Day Patriot Mised Coronado on Kansas Plains," April 9, 1941, and "Henry Routt Twice Risked His Neck and Started Civil War in Missouri," April 17.

A short article entitled "Why Kansas Is Called the Soldier State," by T. A. McNeal, appeared in the Topeka *Daily Capital*, April 10, 1941. Nearly half the counties of Kansas are named for soldiers. These were listed by Mr. McNeal.

On April 10, 1941, the *Ulysses News* issued its fiftieth anniversary edition. It contained forty-two pages of news, pictures and articles of historical interest pertaining to Ulysses and Grant county. Among the features was a reprint of part of the front page of the first issue of the *Grant County Republican*, now the *Ulysses News*, dated April 30, 1892.

"A Saga of Ye Olden Days," was the title of an article by Jim McKeever of McAllen, Tex., published serially in the Valley Falls *Vindicator* beginning April 16, 1941. Mr. McKeever pioneered in Kansas.

Cawker City's library history was briefly sketched by Adele Jennings, city librarian, in the Cawker City *Ledger*, April 17, 1941. In 1874 sixteen men organized the Hesperian Western Literary club. Each paid \$5 for the purchase of periodicals, books and newspapers. In 1877 the library had sixty books and the next year the membership fee was reduced to one dollar. In 1883 the women took charge and a building was erected. Today the Cawker City library, one of the oldest in the state, houses over 5,000 volumes.

The *Marshall County News*, of Marysville, April 17, 1941, carried the picture and history of the old Cottonwood ranch Pony Express station, just eighty years after the last rider of the Pony Express galloped away. It was written by John G. Ellenbecker, of Marysville. The old frame building is thought to be the first house built in Washington county.

An article on a cattle trail from Texas through present Douglass appeared in the Douglass *Tribune*, April 18, 1941.

The *Hutchinson News-Herald* issued a special edition April 20, 1941, celebrating the seventieth anniversary of the founding of Hutchinson. Several feature articles of historical interest by Whitley Austin and Stuart Awbrey of the *News-Herald* staff, including stories of the newspaper and salt industries, were printed in this issue. Also included are interesting old photographs and a facsimile of the first issue of Hutchinson's first newspaper, dated July 4, 1872.

On April 22, 1941, the Rocky Point school, Lincoln county, held a reunion. The *Barnard Bee* on May 1 gave a short history of the

school, which started in the 1880's. Classes were first held in a dugout until the present frame building was erected in 1886.

The story of the ghost town of Ravanna is told in a feature article by Wayne Campbell in the Hutchinson *Herald*, April 23, 1941.

A history of the Yates Center *News* was included in an article announcing a change of management printed April 24, 1941. R. H. Trueblood, Jr., publisher of the paper since 1936, sold it to W. C. Coates, of Blue Rapids, former publisher of the Blue Rapids *Times*. The Yates Center *News* was established in 1877 and passed into the hands of R. H. Trueblood in 1885.

The first installment of the "Pioneer Reminiscences of Mrs. J. F. Blickenstaff," by Mildred Cass Beason, appeared in the *Gove County Republican-Gazette*, of Gove City, April 24, 1941. Mrs. Blickenstaff came to Quinter with her family as a young girl in 1886.

On April 27, 1941, the Leavenworth *Times* carried a feature story of the famous overland transportation company, Russell, Majors and Waddell. In 1855 the firm established headquarters in Leavenworth, and until 1862, when it was sold to Ben Holladay, the company operated thousands of oxen-pulled wagons over the Oregon trail, the California trail, the Salt Lake trail and one of the main branches of the Santa Fé trail.

The story of how Wellington became the county seat of Sumner county was told in the Wellington *Daily News*, April 29, 1941. The article related that Wellington changed the course of the Chisholm trail and detoured settlers and tradesmen to the town. The local boosters went south with their plows to where the trail crossed the state line and plowed a curving furrow over the prairie, swinging away from the rival town of Sumner City. When the furrow had passed through Wellington it curved back to the original trail at Clearwater. Guides at the state line told the herdsmen and teamsters to follow the furrow. Wellington became the county seat in 1872.

Kansas Historical Notes

Three more historic sites are to be acquired by the state under the provisions of acts passed by the 1941 Kansas legislature. Title to the properties will be vested in the state; separate boards or associations will manage them.

Senate bill No. 193 provides for the purchase of the site, restoration and repair of the old Iowa, Sauk and Fox mission building located about one and one-half miles east of Highland, Doniphan county. The Iowa, Sauk and Fox Indians of Missouri were removed by treaty to present Doniphan county in 1837. Samuel M. and Eliza Irvin, Presbyterian missionaries, accompanied them to establish a mission and school. In 1843 Irvin and William Hamilton, an associate, set up a press (the second in Kansas) to print school books and religious works in the Iowa language. A three-story stone and brick building of thirty-two rooms was completed in 1846. The state now plans to repair and reroof the remaining portion of this building. In addition, about fifteen acres of land will be set aside as a public park. An appropriation of \$10,000 was allowed for the purchase of the property and the restoration of the building. Mrs. C. C. Webb, president of the Northeast Kansas Historical Society of Highland, is chairman of the seven-member board of trustees which is to manage the property.

House joint resolution No. 6 provides for the acceptance by the state of a sixty-acre tract of land in eastern Linn county which was the site of the Marais des Cygnes massacre, May 19, 1858. Charles Hamelton, who had been driven from Kansas territory by Free-State men, retaliated by invading Linn county with about thirty Missourians. Capturing eleven Free-State men he marched them to a ravine and lined them up before a firing squad. Five were killed, five were wounded and one escaped by feigning death. This mass killing inflamed the North and John Greenleaf Whittier paid tribute to the victims in one of his poems. The Pleasanton post of the Veterans of Foreign Wars recently purchased the site of the massacre and adjoining land, occupied for a time by John Brown, which will be deeded to the state. The legislature appropriated \$1,000 to improve the property, henceforth to be known as the Marais des Cygnes Massacre Memorial Park. Management is vested in a board of trustees of five members.

Senate bill No. 358 provides for the purchase and restoration of the ranch house built by G. H. Hollenberg on the old Oregon trail in 1857. Beginning in 1860 it was a station on the Pony Express which operated for eighteen months like a giant relay race between the Missouri river and the Pacific coast. The state will buy the house and seven and one-half acres of land, a little over a mile northeast of Hanover, Washington county. The remainder of the appropriation of \$3,000 will be used for landscaping and for the restoration of the old ranch house, sometimes known as Cottonwood station. The Washington County Oregon Trail Memorial Association, of Hanover, will manage the property through Leo E. Dieker, its president.

Other Kansas Historical Markers have been located on the state's major highways in addition to those announced on page 416 of the November, 1940, *Kansas Historical Quarterly*. Titles of these, their location and date of placing are: Fort Zarah, in roadside park on US-50N, three miles east of Great Bend, Barton county, October 13, 1940; Last Indian Raid in Kansas, at the junction of US-36 and US-183 at the northern city limits of Oberlin, Decatur county, December; Medicine Lodge Peace Treaties, in peace treaty grounds on US-160, about one mile east of Medicine Lodge, Barber county, December 11; First Capitol of Kansas, in the First Capitol grounds on US-40, near Fort Riley, Geary county, about January 1, 1941; Pawnee Rock, on US-50N at west city limits of Pawnee Rock, Barton county, March 16; Fort Larned, on US-50N six miles west of Larned, Pawnee county, April 6; Oregon and Santa Fe Trails, on US-50 1,000 feet west of Gardner, Johnson county, April 24; Capital of Kansas, on US-75 one-fourth mile north of Topeka, Shawnee county, May 2; Atchison, on US-59 at southwestern city limits of Atchison, Atchison county, May 5; Marysville, on US-36 one mile east of Marysville, Marshall county, May 11; Kansas Indian Treaty, on US-81 near Elyria, McPherson county, May 14. More than fifty markers are expected to be in place by the end of summer.

The Oregon Trail Memorial Association, at its annual convention in Wyoming in August, 1940, authorized the organization of state councils or affiliates to the parent association. The Kansas council, called The American Pioneer Trails Association of Kansas, was organized at Marysville, September 30, 1940. John G. Ellenbecker, of Marysville, who for years has been actively interested in the preservation of the trail's history, was elected president; W. R. Honnell, of Kansas City, vice-president; C. E. Hedrix, Marysville, secretary,

and Charles J. D. Koester, Marysville, treasurer. George A. Root, curator of archives of the Kansas State Historical Society, was named chairman of the committee on historic points in Kansas. Each of the 105 counties of the state is to have a representative on the committee to assist the council in its program of marking historic sites and old trails of Kansas. The 1941 annual convention of the Oregon Trail Memorial Association, founded in 1922 by Ezra Meeker, is to be held in Marysville in August, 1941. Dr. Howard R. Driggs, of New York City, is president of the association.

Native Sons and Native Daughters of Kansas held their annual dinner meeting in Topeka, January 28, 1941. Judge Homer Hoch, of the Kansas supreme court, was the principal speaker. "Our Kansas Birthright," was his subject. At the business meeting the following were elected officers of the two organizations for the ensuing year: Native Sons—Bert E. Mitchner, Hutchinson, president; Glenn Archer, Norton, vice-president; Richard Allen, Topeka, secretary; W. M. Richards, Emporia, treasurer. Native Daughters—Mrs. H. M. Richardson, Pratt, president; Mrs. Charles H. Benson, Topeka, vice-president; Mrs. George L. McClenny, Topeka, secretary; Mrs. F. S. Hawes, Russell, treasurer.

The Washington County Oregon Trail Memorial Association was organized at Hanover, March 10, 1941. It succeeds the temporary organization known as the Washington County Historical Society formed at Hanover July 22, 1940. The new organization will manage the historic Hollenberg ranch house soon to be acquired by the state. Officers of the association are: Leo E. Dieker, president; Dr. F. H. Rhoades, vice-president; Ed J. Flaherty, secretary; John Merk, Jr., treasurer. E. H. Miller, Dugald Spence and Fred Brockmeyer are members of the board of trustees.

The Dickinson County Historical Society held its spring meeting at Elmo, March 13, 1941. The origin of churches and schools, tales of the Wild West, stories of antelope, prairie fires and other sagas of the old days were told. The Rev. W. J. Becker gave a history of the Swiss people who settled on Turkey creek in 1860 and of the Germans who came a few years later. The Rev. Ben Fadenrecht and the Rev. John Broeder gave synopses of the North German and South German Baptist churches which were organized in 1865. Jean Bonfield told of the organization of the St. Columba church in Elmo in 1872.

A program and reception in honor of William W. Nixon, of Jewell, the first Kansan to hold the office of commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, was held at the Memorial building in Topeka, April 5, 1941. Martin L. Phillips, commander of Capitol Post No. 1, of the American Legion, was master of ceremonies and Al F. Williams was speaker of the evening. Mrs. Grace M. Wanner, secretary of the Kansas G. A. R. and president of the Woman's Relief Corps, had charge of arrangements.

Rex Singleton of Benedict was elected president of the Wilson County Historical Society at a meeting in Fredonia, April 5, 1941. Other officers are: Mrs. Vella Smith, Fredonia, vice-president; Mrs. Bernice Ludwick, Buffalo, secretary; Mrs. C. O. Pingrey, Neodesha, treasurer, and Mrs. W. H. Edmundson, Fredonia, historian. These officers and a representative from each township in Wilson county make up the board of directors. Township directors, elected May 3, are: W. W. Stover, Duck Creek; O. L. Hayes, Neodesha; Albert Stroud, Talleyrand; Charles H. Mitchell, Newark; Mrs. C. E. Hall, Fall River; John Perry, Pleasant Valley; Fred Dodd, Cedar; George Robertson, Verdigris; Mrs. Frank Cantrall, Center; Virginia Canty, Clifton; Gus Larson, Colfax; M. T. Roney, Guilford; Frank Ridlon, Webster; W. H. Cranor, Chetopa, and Martin Youngstrom, Prairie. Featured on the May 3 program were papers by Mrs. C. O. Pingrey, of Neodesha, on the founding of the First Presbyterian Church in Neodesha, February 12, 1871, and by Roy Caven on "Pioneer Settlers of Coyville." The latter was read by W. H. Edmundson.

On April 6, 1941, dedication ceremonies for a Chisholm trail marker were held in Wichita. The marker, erected by Calvin P. Titus Camp No. 5 and Auxiliary No. 33, United Spanish War Veterans, has been placed just west of the Douglas avenue bridge. According to Warren L. Matthews, who traced the original trail through Kansas, the marker is near the northern terminal of the famous trading trail blazed by Jesse Chisholm to the vicinity of present Anadarko, Okla., in the 1860's. At the dedication W. H. Bradley was master of ceremonies, Judge Ross McCormick gave an address, Ezra E. Beard presented the marker, and City Manager Alfred MacDonald accepted for the city.

The fifteenth annual meeting of the Kansas History Teachers Association was held at the Memorial building in Topeka, April 19, 1941. At the morning meeting three papers were read: "Recent United States-Latin American Relations," by A. Bower Sagaser,

Kansas State College; "A Survey of College Students' Reading Habits in the Field of Current History," by S. D. Mock, Emporia State Teachers College; "Canada's War Effort," by Harold E. Conrad, Ottawa University. In the afternoon a panel discussion was held on "The Status of History and the Social Studies in Kansas High Schools," based on a report by James C. Malin, Kansas University, and Annabelle Pringle, Topeka High School. Jessica Smith, Wichita High School North, presented "The High School View," and J. D. Bright, Washburn College, "The College View." An open discussion followed. At the business meeting it was decided to designate the Memorial building as the permanent meeting place for the association, and the following officers were elected: Ernest Mahan, Pittsburg State Teachers College, president; Iden Reese, Kansas City Junior College, vice-president; Della A. Warden, Emporia State Teachers College, secretary-treasurer. Additional executive committee members include: Robena Pringle, Topeka High School; Dr. C. S. Boertman, Emporia State Teachers College; Raymond L. Welty, Fort Hays Kansas State College, and Bertram Maxwell, Washburn College.

Several Lane county citizens interested in preserving the history of the county and organizing a historical society met at the courthouse in Dighton, on April 26, 1941. Mrs. William Charles was chairman of the meeting. The following officers were elected: Mrs. D. G. Egbert, president; Mrs. W. A. Charles, vice-president; Mrs. Cathryn Mull, treasurer, and Mrs. W. V. Young, secretary.

The Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society met at the residence of Mrs. George Fickle on April 28, 1941. The guest speaker was Miss Louisa P. Johnson who told of her great grandfather Alexander Majors of the firm of Russell, Majors and Waddell.

Clark county's chapter of the Kansas State Historical Society has published an attractive 84-page booklet, entitled *Notes on Early Clark County, Kansas*. The publication contains the "Clark County Historical Society Notes" printed in *The Clark County Clipper*, of Ashland, from July, 1939, to August, 1940. Mrs. Dorothy Berryman Shrewder and Mrs. Melville Campbell Harper are editors of the booklet. This is the first of the proposed series of historical collections for Clark county.

The Kaw, the Heart of a Nation, by Floyd Benjamin Streeter, is the twelfth book to be published by Farrar and Rinehart in *The Rivers of America* series. The history of the Kansas river is the history of the state and its prairies. The trails of the hunters and trappers who came in the early days followed the banks of the Kaw and its tributaries. The same trails were used by traders and settlers and later by the railroads. Mr. Streeter tells of the days when the cattle industry was at its height and thousands of Texas longhorns were driven along the beef trails to Abilene and Dodge City, famous among the cow towns. Then the prairie was broken by the plow and fields were fenced and there began what was to become one of Kansas' greatest industries, the cultivation of wheat. Mr. Streeter relates the story of the Mennonites and the part they played in the agricultural development of the central part of the state.

The Longhorns (Little, Brown and Company), by J. Frank Dobie, professor of English literature at the University of Texas, was published in March, 1941. The book is a history and a collection of tales and folklore of the longhorn breed which once ranged the plains of the Southwest. "The Texas longhorn made more history than any other breed of cattle the civilized world has known," wrote Dobie. "As an animal in the realm of natural history, he was the peer of bison or grizzly bear. As a social factor, his influence on men was extraordinary. . . . However supplanted or however disparaged by evolving standards and generations, he will remain the bedrock on which the history of the cow country of America is founded."

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Beginnings of Winter Wheat Production in the Upper Kansas and Lower Smoky Hill River Valleys

A Study in Adaptation to Geographical Environment¹

JAMES C. MALIN

PRIOR to the opening of Kansas and Nebraska, the idea was prevalent that the geography and climate of the country west of Missouri and Iowa differed from the east, but with few exceptions there was little exact information and less understanding of the nature and extent of the variations of soil, or of rainfall, temperature, wind, or other climatic characteristics, or appreciation of the distances involved. As a result a multitude of free and easy generalizations were presented, based upon assumptions of similarity of conditions, but applying to points hundreds or even over a thousand miles apart, and soil and climatic factors fully as divergent. Because artesian wells were found in southern New Mexico, some concluded that the water problem of any of the Great Plains territories might be solved by the same means.² In some of the newspaper discussion the assumption was made that the climate could be modified by tree planting, and a Kansas correspondent of *The National Era*, Washington, D. C., anticipated the timber-culture acts of twenty years later by recommending that congress give a quarter-section of land to any person who would plant trees.³

Few notable exceptions are found among these preliminary observers. An unidentified writer in the Louisville (Ky.) *Journal*, March 15, 1856, divided the United States into five natural areas: (1) from the Atlantic to the Mississippi river north of 33 parallel; (2) from the Mississippi river to the Great Plains; (3) from the eastern edge of the Plains to the Sierra Nevada mountains; (4) from the Sierra Nevada mountains to the Pacific ocean; (5) south of the 33 parallel, the cotton area with supplementary crops of sugar and rice. The author maintained that the first and second were the na-

1. This is a part of a larger research project, "The Adaptation of Population and Agriculture to Prairie-Plains Environment," for which the author has received financial assistance from the Social Science Research Council, New York, and from the Graduate Research Fund of the University of Kansas.

2. *Kansas Free State*, Lawrence, January 7, 1856, from the St. Louis (Mo.) *Republican*; *New York Daily Tribune*, October 22, 1856, from the New Orleans (La.) *Picayune*.

3. *The National Era*, Washington, D. C., April 23, 1857. For other discussions of trees and climate see the *New York Daily Tribune*, October 13, 1856, and "Trees" by "W. T.," in *The Smoky Hill and Republican Union*, Junction City, March 13, 1862. (The name of this newspaper was changed in the course of years to the *Junction City Union*, and hereafter in this article it is cited by the short title.)

tion's great cereal areas and the third the livestock area. This assignment was significant in limiting the cotton area by the 33 parallel and dedicating the country west of the Mississippi river, including Missouri, to grain and livestock, with the edge of the Plains as the dividing line between the two Western industries. The account of another observer traveling in the trans-Mississippi West, published in the Louisville (Ky.) *Courier*, July 22, 1856, also recognized even more explicitly these natural areas; limited the cotton-sugar area to the Lower South and recognized the movement of settlement across the eastern line of Kansas and Nebraska as breaking the Indian frontier, and that after fifty years the pioneer was overcoming "the artificial barriers heaped up in his path." This timberless, tall-grass country west of Missouri was designated as the nation's producer of breadstuffs, while the short-grass, or buffalo grass, Plains would be the great grazing section. He argued explicitly that "no such country . . . exists in Europe, nor on the continent from the Atlantic seaboard to the Missouri frontier," and "to render these views clear we must seek the causes of this novel order of industry in the topography of the country, and in the laws which affect the climate, soil and vegetation." The gradual diminution of rainfall from Missouri westward was recognized as characteristic of the region, and he attributed the dry climate to natural causes of continental scope whereby the moisture-laden air mass moving northwestward from the Gulf of Mexico was driven eastward by the dry Pacific air mass moving across the Rocky Mountains, having deposited its moisture in transit as snow and rain in the high altitudes of the mountain ranges. The driest belt lay in the High Plains just east of the Rocky Mountains, the rainfall increasing gradually eastward as the dry Pacific air mass exerted a diminished influence on the northward drift of the moist Gulf air mass.

It was only after occupation of the country was actually under way that these more exceptional views became generally accepted and a clearer view of realities emerged and even then only slowly. The Lawrence *Republican* took the ground in 1857 that "to a large proportion of our farmers, this soil and climate are so different from what they have been accustomed to, that for some time they will be obliged to work comparatively in the dark." Appealing to those who could contribute information based upon experience in agriculture in Kansas, the editor emphasized the advantages to be derived from interchange of views.⁴ The particular object of inquiry was

4. Lawrence *Republican*, December 17, 1857.

“the raising of fall or winter wheat” and the fact that “some . . . entertain[ed] doubts of this being a good wheat country. . . .”

Richard Mendenhall, who had come to Kansas in 1846 as a Quaker missionary to the Indians, wrote from near Osawatomie:

My attention is at present particularly turned to the subject of Winter Wheat. I have labored assiduously to dispel the fears of the people, relative to the adaptation of our soil and climate to the culture of wheat— . . . I have never known a failure in the wheat crop of Kansas, and I have never known a crop that was not a tolerably fair one.—Though I have never seen better corn anywhere than I have seen raised in Kansas, yet I consider wheat a surer crop than corn, for our winters are generally dry and moderate, so that wheat is not killed out by either freezing or drowning; and in the spring it comes to perfection before the drought sets in.⁵

This statement presented evidence that Mendenhall had acquired a reasonably clear idea of the relation of Kansas climate to crops; the danger to the fall-planted crops of winter-killing; the hot, dry summers, with the consequent importance of bringing crops to early maturity ahead of the severe summer weather. Winter wheat met this climatic formula better than corn, and he realized this basic fact, although many of his fellow farmers did not. He minimized the dangers to the winter wheat crop, but experience was to demonstrate that many years were to pass before the major hazards could be overcome. Furthermore, other factors than the single one of climate were to influence the cropping program of farmers in the relatively humid eastern part of Kansas. There were two possible points of view in dealing with the development of this new country; one, the mere matter of newness and the problems attending the bringing of it into full production; the other, the matter of fundamental difference in physical environment. Mendenhall's views fall into the latter category because he was not thinking of this as just another frontier like others farther east, but rather in terms of a different environment.

In the advance of the frontier westward from the seaboard to the Missouri river, corn had been the first food crop, but in combination with livestock and some small grains—wheat, buckwheat, oats, rye and barley. The settler on the Kansas frontier had come primarily from the corn regions of the middle East, and tended to follow the natural course—that of planting the accustomed staples until local conditions of climate, soil and marketing directed otherwise. In the northernmost parts of the United States, when wheat was planted

5. Letter dated December 20, 1857, in *ibid.*, January 7, 1858, and reprinted in *The Kansas News*, Emporia, January 23, 1858.

the varieties were of the soft spring types until the eighteen sixties and seventies, when the hard spring varieties slowly took the lead in Minnesota and the Dakotas. In the more temperate middle region, both the soft spring and soft winter wheats were sown, and if winter wheat did not survive, spring wheat or some other spring crop might take its place, with the obvious advantage of two rather than only one trial for a crop on the same land.

The nearer to the frontier the more definitely were the agricultural practices of an extensive rather than an intensive character. The farmer was limited not only by the newness of the environment, but among other things, by insufficient capital to finance adequate equipment and tillage operations. The principal point, whatever the causes, is that near the frontier the system of agriculture was more than ordinarily inefficient and under these circumstances crop failures were frequent, and not because of any fault of the soil, the climate or the crops.⁶ Partly as cause, and partly as effect of the uncertainty of crops, the farm population was highly unstable and as a local newspaper correspondent reported of his four-year-old community, "Like most new places, we have had many comers and goers."⁷

Prior to the coming of white settlers to Kansas, the Shawnee Methodist Mission included winter wheat in its crop program, by the fall of 1839 sowing as much as one hundred acres, and increasing substantially its acreage as the years passed until in 1847 or 1848 as much as one hundred seventy-five acres were harvested.⁸ With the opening of Kansas to settlers, winter wheat was raised, but it was subordinate to the corn crop. Several factors entered into the continued predominance of corn. It could be ground by simple grist mills into meal, made into grits or hominy, or fed to hogs and cattle for meat. Not only did the habits of the people favor corn in a predominately subsistence economy, but absence of cheap water transportation on the scanty streams flowing out of the subhumid plains operated against the small grains, also the expense of costly flouring mills. Under these circumstances, surplus corn could be driven to

6. Junction City *Union*, December 3, 1870: "A Kansas farmer recently got up in his sleep and plowed two acres of ground before he woke up—and then he stopped plowing." We find the above joke going the rounds of the papers. It must be a drive at the scratching, which many of our Kansas farmers palm off for plowing."

7. *Ibid.*, October 17, 1861, "Letter from Madura," fifteen miles northwest of Junction City. For a historical study of the instability of farm population see J. C. Malin, "The Turnover of Farm Population in Kansas," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. IV (November, 1935), pp. 339-372.

8. Martha Caldwell, *Annals of Shawnee Methodist Mission*, . . . (1939), p. 31. For the harvest of 1847 or 1848 see the Richard Mendenhall article, *Lawrence Republican*, January 7, 1858.

market as livestock, or be disposed of in the concentrated form of corn whisky.⁹

The hazards of winter wheat production were more serious also than Mendenhall had been willing to admit in his winter wheat letter. Optimism and pessimism concerning its part in the Kansas crop program fluctuated with the vicissitudes of the seasons. As the Lawrence *Republican* put it August 27, 1857, "although wheat is, next to corn, the most important crop raised in our country (excepting the grass crop), it is the most uncertain of all our staples." The hazards enumerated were winter-killing, insects, rust, and rain damage to grain in the shock, but with a good yield and prices, the paper maintained that wheat was the most profitable crop Kansas could raise. The wheat crop just harvested when this was written in 1857 was the one planted during the civil war of 1856 and therefore there might be good reason to point out that the greatest hazard of all was probably inadequate and unseasonable preparation of the soil and seeding. Two years later, and after a favorable season, the same paper boasted of the excellent wheat prospects and of the large acreage sown in the fall of 1858, and rejoiced in its estimate that the cash drain of \$100,000 for flour out of Kansas the preceding year would cease with the harvest of 1859.¹⁰

The principal focus of this study is the upper Kansas river, the area where the several streams converge—the streams flowing out of the Great Plains—which form the main river called the Kansas. Going upstream, they are the Blue, the Republican, the Solomon, the Saline and the Smoky Hill. This country lies west of the first four tiers of counties, the up-river counties from east to west being Riley, Geary,¹¹ Dickinson, and Saline. Their respective county seats and principal towns are Manhattan, Junction City, Abilene and Salina. In longitude these counties range from 96° 30' to 98° west, the transitional belt between the relatively humid prairie of eastern Kansas and the definitely subhumid edge of the Great Plains. The next four counties to the west are Ellsworth, Russell, Ellis and Trego, which lead up to the 100th meridian and the High Plains proper.

The first wheat reported planted in Geary county was two acres in 1856 on Humboldt creek. This statement is based upon reminiscence rather than contemporary record and no identification was

9. "Letter From a Farmer," *ibid.*, November 3, 1859, and editorial, December 15, 1859; "What Crops Shall We Raise?," *ibid.*, April 5, 1860; "The Farming Interest," *ibid.*, May 17, 1860; Doctor Buck, Jefferson county, before the Kansas State Agricultural Society, 1864, in *Report of the State Board of Agriculture* . . . 1873 (Topeka, 1874), pp. 81, 82.

10. Lawrence *Republican*, June 16, 1859.

11. The original name was Davis.

made whether it was winter or spring wheat. The man who planted the crop sold it before harvest, but the narrator said that "it was some years before the example set . . . was followed to any extent."¹² In Dickinson county winter wheat was planted in 1858, but the planter did not harvest, a second man having bought the claim "with a few acres of wheat for \$25. . . . The corn crop was good, but the winter wheat was very poor." The drought year of 1860 yielded no crop, "the harvesting of winter wheat was done with butcher knives, each man carrying a sack to put the heads in."¹³ These examples are significant in illustrating the instability of frontier farm population and the resulting uncertainty of agricultural methods as well as the fact of early attempts at wheat production. These farmers did not remain long enough in one place to learn anything of the peculiarities of either soil or climate, and as certainly could contribute little accumulated knowledge to those who succeeded them.

The wheat crop failure of 1860 was particularly gloomy for the territory because, as a result of an extraordinarily heavy corn crop in 1859, an unusually large acreage of winter wheat was planted. If an ordinary harvest had been realized in 1860 it was said that it would not only have breaded the people of Kansas, but there would have been a surplus for market.¹⁴ Representing the Cottonwood and Neosho valleys, somewhat to the southeast of Junction City, the *Emporia News*, May 5, 1860, sought to explain the disaster of 1860, saying that—

The failure of the fall wheat is mainly owing, doubtless, to the excessive drouth . . . ; though some of the causes may be found in the manner and time of sowing. . . . [Although there was a diversity of opinion on the latter point there was] a determination to study more thoroughly than ever heretofore the relations of soil and climate, and from the experience of the past deduce those principles which, when properly applied, shall give comparative immunity to the wheat crop from the damaging effects of even such extraordinary drouths as that which is now upon us.

The failure [of] the present season has not diminished the faith of our best farmers—acquired by the favorable results of many previous years' experience—that Kansas is peculiarly adapted to the growth of wheat, of both fall and spring variety.

A few weeks later, the same paper, June 9, 1860, indicated extensive preparations for fall wheat, saying that although seed would be scarce, some were sending to Missouri, Indiana and Illinois for it.

12. Junction City *Union*, August 16, 1873.

13. A. D. Blanchett, "History of Lyon's Creek," *The Dickinson County Chronicle*, Abilene, October 13, 1876. (The name of this newspaper was first the *Abilene Chronicle*, and hereafter in this article is cited by the short title, *Abilene Chronicle*.)

14. *Lawrence Republican*, May 17, 1860.

We have not conversed with a single farmer in the Neosho or Cottonwood valleys who has not now, as firm as ever, the opinion that Kansas soil and climate are well adapted to the successful cultivation of the wheat crop, of both fall and spring variety. That there has been one failure in four years argues nothing. . . . We do not know certainly that the effects of the drouth could have been even partially provided against, but in common with some of our most intelligent farmers, we *believe* that it could. But suppose that it could not, and that once in five years there should be an almost total failure of the wheat crop. It is not more than is experienced in the Western states generally . . . and as yet there has been *no* failure of the corn, bean, potato and buckwheat crop. . . . Kansas soil and climate, though somewhat akin to those of Iowa and Illinois, are yet radically different in many points, and of course much more so from states further east. These differences, perhaps, have not been sufficiently counted on heretofore; but hereafter the case will be different. Missouri soil and climate more nearly resembles that of Kansas, and we are informed . . . that the Missourians . . . raise better corn than the settlers from any other state. . . . If it be true, it is worthy of attention.

The oldest residents of Kansas were called upon to testify concerning the great drought of 1860, the general trend of responses being well represented by an interpreter who had been a resident for thirty-seven years, during which time he had not seen a drought like 1860. He admitted that about every five years there was only about half a crop, but that the Indians never failed to raise enough for their own consumption.¹⁵ In evidence that the failure of 1860 did not discourage further attempts in the Manhattan area, twenty times the acreage was reported for the harvest of 1861 and it was said that finer wheat had never been seen before. This prospect of a big wheat crop raised the issue of flour mills to grind the grain at home.¹⁶ The crop was good, and the planting of the fall of 1861 was large and was done under favorable weather conditions. Through the growing season the bright prospects were noted in the local papers, and the harvest reports were favorable for winter wheat, but not for spring wheat.¹⁷ The editor of the *Union* commented that "many people were doubtful of the success of fall wheat in this section of country, but . . . it is now plainly shown to be one of the best grain-producing regions in the entire West." He recommended emphatically the sowing of more winter and less spring wheat for the

15. Junction City *Union*, February 20, 1862, from the Leavenworth *Conservative*. The statement of the interpreter was not correct, however, as the records of St. Mary's mission show destitution among the Pottawatomes during the winter of 1854-1855.—"The Annals of St. Mary's Mission," *The Dial*, St. Marys, v. III, p. 153.

16. *Western Kansas Express*, Manhattan, April 20, 1861.

17. Junction City *Union*, November 21, 1861, April 17, May 29, July 3, 1862.

next harvest.¹⁸ The mill question was again an issue as the nearest mills were Manhattan and Council Grove, and one correspondent advocated turning the distillery into a mill because, "it is pretty well understood that, because of frequent droughts, corn is a doubtful crop; whereas winter wheat bids fair to do well." The proximity of Junction City to Fort Riley, an outfitting point for government posts in the West, as well as its relation to the Santa Fe and mountain trade would provide a large flour trade for a mill with a "large wheat producing country surrounding it." The editor pointed out that "it is already a well attested fact, that our section is unsurpassed in the quality and quantity of its winter wheat. While all other crops have failed, winter wheat has yielded abundantly, and to the satisfaction of all."¹⁹

These discussions of the wheat problem brought out incidental references to the idea that the climate of that area was basically different from the humid East. This matter was more formally discussed by correspondent "W. T.," who urged farmers to subscribe for Eastern agricultural papers although they had no "special application to Kansas."

Our soil and climate are somewhat peculiar, and hence we must learn more from experience than from observation. Every farmer should consider himself an experimenter. He should endeavor to add something to the common stock of agricultural knowledge. He has a very fair opportunity of displaying all his skill in bringing out the resources of the soil. . . .

In this State, we have two things specially to guard against—drought and wind.

Our climate is a very dry one; the fact is undeniable—however we may account for it. We probably shall not often suffer from this cause as we did a year ago, the past summer. We know, too, that the soil will endure without serious injury to the crops, such a drought as would nearly destroy vegetation in the Eastern States.—Still we may expect to suffer more or less from the want of rain. Hence it is wisdom, so far as we can, to adopt such a course of husbandry as will not be materially affected by drought. In this connection, the question arises, is deep or shallow plowing the most advantageous? And further, what kinds of grain will suffer the least from drought, and at what time it is advisable to plant the various kinds of grain that are cultivated? . . .

The winds of Kansas are too well known to need any description. Both man and beast need to be protected against them. . . . [With respect to fruit trees] we must allow them to grow very much as nature directs, . . . In this land of winds everything should carefully maintain a lowly condition.²⁰

18. *Ibid.*, May 29, 1862. The *Kansas State Journal*, Lawrence, recommended doubling the winter wheat acreage in the crop year 1862-1863.—Reprinted in *Junction City Union*, July 26, 1862.

19. *Ibid.*, November 15, 1862, and "W. T.," *ibid.*, November 29, 1862.

20. *Ibid.*, February 13, 1862.

The same text provided the editor of *The Kansas Farmer* with a justification for his existence:

We know that our soil and climate, the methods of culture and the crops raised, are so different from those of other states, that we need a special organ, a Kansas paper. . . .²¹

A farmer who had been in Kansas since 1856 had put it a little differently in saying "that the old routine of farming we learned in other states, often fails here, when some other course proves highly satisfactory."²²

The winter wheat crop of 1862-1863 suffered somewhat from a fall freeze, and from wind and drought during the spring and if the "restlessness" of the air continued for another week, it was predicted that "this section, . . . will be blowed away." The fears of a disastrous drought was "all a want of confidence engendered by the year of famine. It will rain in due season."²³ The rains did come just after the middle of April and continued well through the summer when the local paper insisted that "it rains twice a day regularly." With the rains came damage from rust. Many men left for army service during the harvest season and hundreds of bushels of wheat were said to have been lost because of a lack of harvest labor during the heavy rains.²⁴ This was one season when spring wheat did better than winter wheat, because it escaped more generally from the rust.²⁵ The demand for flour mills resulted in three being projected during the summer to serve the Riley-Dickinson county area, and thus by opening a market for the grain raised, larger crops would be encouraged. Late that fall the Junction City mill, completed, was operated to capacity.²⁶

The crop year 1863-1864 did open unfavorably with fall drought which affected the eastern part of the state generally, leading into a severe winter, followed by a dry spring.²⁷ In spite of all these hazards, however, the earlier wheat was said to have greatly recovered and the harvest was better than expected.²⁸ After summarizing crop reports from various counties the *Kansas Daily Tribune*, July 15, 1864, declared "no one need further doubt that wheat can be raised

21. *The Kansas Farmer*, Lawrence, August, 1865, p. 120. J. S. Brown was the editor.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 116.—A. B. W., Bachelor, July 12, 1865.

23. *Emporia News*, July 25, 1863; *Junction City Union*, April 11, 1863.

24. *Ibid.*, July 25, August 22, 1863; *Emporia News*, July 25, 1863.

25. *Junction City Union*, August 1, 1863, in Humboldt creek news.

26. *Ibid.*, July 4, August 22, September 5, November 28, 1863.

27. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, August 9, 1864, from *The Kansas State Journal*; *Kansas State Journal*, Lawrence, March 10, 1864; *Kansas Daily Tribune*, June 17, July 15, August 2, 9, 1864.

28. *Ibid.*, June 24, July 15, August 9, 1864; *The Kansas State Journal*, Lawrence, July 28, 1864, exchanges from *Emporia News*, *Baldwin City Observer*; *ibid.*, August 11, 1864, from *White Cloud Chief*.

to advantage in Kansas," and August 12 recommended the crops in the order in which they should receive attention; wheat, corn, grass and hay. This view was probably influenced in part by the severe summer drought which ruined the corn crop to such a point that it was being cut for fodder by the second week in August, and prices quoted in Leavenworth which had reached four dollars per bushel for white potatoes, fifteen for sweet potatoes, and twenty dollars per ton for hay.²⁹

The fall rains came early in September, breaking the prolonged summer drought, but ground was not prepared in season. Farmers were advised to plant all they could. The rains continued and by October 1 the wheat was said to be getting really good.³⁰ The spring of 1865 was said to have been the wettest since 1858. Chinch bugs and grasshoppers were reported in western Kansas, but the extent of damage cannot be determined from the limited newspaper files available for that year. Most crop reports from the lower Kansas valley indicated a large wheat crop.³¹

The fall of 1865 was "one of the best for sowing fall wheat" in the upper Kansas valley and a rise in price was predicted for the coming two years with a corresponding drop in corn after the 1865 crop. The neglect of wheat was attributed to the recent high price of corn with the result that for the next twenty months a large proportion of flour would have to be freighted from Leavenworth. In part, this view was dictated by the coming of the railroad to Junction City in the near future.³² Snow and mud were the fare for the winter months,³³ and then came a brief dry period when fears were raised: In this connection we wish folks would stop to think how ridiculous it is to whine about drouth every time it goes a day longer than they think it ought to without rain. Let Kansas get over that old misfortune, by not keeping it alive forever. . . .³⁴

The rains came, however, and the winter wheat crop season closed with the refrain that the crop was magnificent.³⁵ The weather record for the crop year 1866-1867 was largely a repetition of what had gone before, except that there was a severe grasshopper visitation in the fall of 1866 and further damage in the early summer of 1867. The wheat deteriorated during June when early in the month it was

29. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, August 12, 13, 1864.

30. *Ibid.*, September 7, October 1, 1864; *Junction City Union*, October 1, 1864.

31. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, February 16, 24, March 2, 24, April 6, 1865; *Junction City Union*, June 10, 1865; *Kansas Weekly Tribune*, Lawrence, June 8, 15, 22, July 13, 1865.

32. *Junction City Union*, August 26, 1865.

33. *Ibid.*, December 16, 23, 1865, January 6, 13, 1866.

34. *Ibid.*, April 28, 1866.

35. *Ibid.*, May 26, June 30, 1866; *Kansas Radical*, Manhattan, July 14, 1866.

reported that all the world is a frog pond, including "dry Kansas," and later that the floods were "more riotous than ever before."³⁶

After the floods came a late summer drought which injured the corn crop, and then the grasshoppers made their second annual raid from the air.³⁷ The few western newspapers available had little to say about the prospects for the crop year 1867-1868. The general trend is indicated by the issue of whether winter-sown wheat would make a crop.³⁸ Apparently a fair crop was harvested, because the comment was made in connection with the severe summer drought of 1868, world wide in scope, that fortunately the wheat and oats were out of the way before the dry weather. The failure of the corn crop was pictured as not being disastrous, however, because there was a large stock of old corn in the country, and early corn as far up the Kansas valley as St. Mary's mission promised a crop.³⁹ An unusual corn exhibit, two stalks fourteen feet high with two and three ears respectively, was featured at Manhattan as doing "pretty well for an unusually dry season."⁴⁰

Not ordinarily farm-conscious, this lesson of the drought and the third annual air raid by grasshoppers appears to have moved Editor G. W. Martin, of the Junction City *Union*, to feature wheat articles during the fall of 1868.⁴¹ Wet winter months led to a prediction of abundant crops for 1869.⁴² Later Junction City launched a first class boom, which was primarily urban in its point of view, but the year saw an unusually heavy immigration of farm settlers. The farmer element in the Republican valley north of the river in Geary county followed up the Pottawatomie county meeting of the previous fall and warned Texas cattle drovers to keep out.⁴³

The *Union* called upon farmers to report harvest yields in the summer of 1869, but the object seemed to be for boom purposes rather than for light upon agricultural improvement and adaptation. The acreage of winter wheat was reported as five times that of the previous year and yields were estimated at thirty to forty-five bushels per acre.⁴⁴ Disastrous floods occurred in the watershed of

36. *Ibid.*, September 8, 1866, February 2, 1867; *Manhattan Independent*, June 1, 15, 22, 29, August 3, 1867; *Junction City Union*, September 1, November 17, 1866, February 23, April 13, 1867.

37. *The Manhattan Independent*, September 7, 21, 1867.

38. *Ibid.*, December 28, 1867, Lorenzo Westover letter.

39. *Junction City Union*, August 15, 1868, from the Lawrence *Republican*.

40. *The Manhattan Independent*, August 8, 1868.

41. *Junction City Union*, August 1, 22, September 26, 1868.

42. *Ibid.*, January 2, 1869.

43. For Pottawatomie county meeting, see the *Manhattan Independent*, September 12, 1868; Geary (Davis) county meeting, *Junction City Union*, June 12, 1869.

44. *Ibid.*, June 26, August 14, September 11, 1869.

the whole area on June 25, just before harvest, and again in July, just after harvest.⁴⁵ Serious damage resulted, but the papers were evasive regarding its extent.

The press reports on the crop year 1869-1870 are contradictory. First there was a debate over whether there was a dry winter, the Fort Riley weather station providing the *Union* with rainfall summaries which were used to prove that it was wet.⁴⁶ However that may have been, the same paper had reported dust storms only the previous week:

A great deal of Kansas is not located w[h]ere it used to be. Some of it we have no doubt is located in South America, while some covers the British possessions.

In another place in the same issue the editor said that in a dry spring like this, the farmer "must be up and doing . . . take time by the forelock . . . sow and plant early [and then] leave the arranging of the winds and waterworks to your Maker."⁴⁷

In May it was reported that "we have had weather during the past week which the oldest inhabitant could in no way explain, or prophesy the result." Wednesday the wind blew from the south, Thursday and Friday the hurricane continued from the north and as the paper went to press Saturday morning it still blew, mixed with a little rain. Later in the month the editor complained of "a certain class in this country that do little else than to croak from morning till night about 'droughty Kansas.' They prophesy a failure of crops whenever it is dry for a 'straight' week. . . . The continual whinings of these croakers has become . . . a bore in the ears of the community. . . ." ⁴⁸ At harvest time, still a little boom drunk, the editor insisted the prospect was promising and, although not so good as the year before, was better than anticipated. In one issue the winter wheat damage was attributed to the dry weather scare in the spring and in another to a late frost. Yields in Lyon's creek valley were reported as twenty to twenty-five bushels.⁴⁹ Little credence probably can be given to specific figures, but the inference can be drawn that possibly the crop was only somewhat more than half that of the former year.⁵⁰

The two counties to the west, Dickinson and Saline, received

45. *Ibid.*, June 26, July 3, 10, 24, 1869.

46. *Ibid.*, February 26, 1870.

47. *Ibid.*, February 19, 1870.

48. *Ibid.*, May 7, 21, 1870.

49. *Ibid.*, June 18, 25, 1870.

50. The frontier counties suffered crop failures so serious that the legislature of 1871 appropriated \$6,000 to provide spring seed wheat and corn. Distribution was made March 20 and 22, respectively, at Waterville and Ellsworth.—*Ibid.*, March 18, 1871.

little news space in the Manhattan and Junction City press, but early in 1870 the Abilene *Chronicle* was established and a fairly complete file has been preserved. The earliest files of the Salina *Herald* are not available. In 1865 a Saline county subscriber challenged the *Union's* intimation that crops could not be grown there and insisted that settlers had been there eight years, had never had less than two-thirds of a crop, and that it was as good a grain country as any in western Kansas. The specific products listed were corn, hay, butter, cheese. The next year, 1866, a correspondent reported that by the spring of 1865 all the timber land had been taken, after which prairie claims were occupied. It was a great stock country, the article continued, the spring wheat yield was magnificent, thirty-three bushels, but there was not much acreage, and early corn was good.⁵¹

In the boom column of one of the first issues of the Abilene *Chronicle* the claim was made that, "In 35 years there has been but one general drouth—1860—and even that year the upland prairies produced as much as 15 bushels of winter wheat to the acre. The wheat crop never fails here, while all varieties of grain and vegetables yield abundantly." In all probability this claim was an exaggeration of boomer enthusiasm. But by 1870 Abilene already had a flour mill.⁵² Most of the wheat produced, however, was shipped east, a large part at least, to the Shawnee mills at Topeka. A large quantity of the winter wheat crop harvested in 1870 was supposed to be still in the farmers' hands in January, 1871; some farmers were credited with shipping a car load at a time, and the local grain dealers were paying eighty cents per bushel. The *Chronicle* admonished farmers "to keep a good supply on hand for newcomers, who will flock into Dickinson county in the spring as thick as bees."⁵³ The local flour dealers advertised winter wheat flour, a distinction which was significant, not only for flour, but which was a mile post in the approaching ascendancy of winter wheat production in the upper Kansas valley.⁵⁴ In Junction City, a new flour mill opened for the 1870 season, the local paper taking up the cry of patronizing home industry; giving the farmer a home market, adding wealth and several families to the town, and keeping money at home.⁵⁵

51. *Ibid.*, July 8, 1865, May 19, August 18, 1866.

52. Abilene *Chronicle*, March 3, 1870.

53. *Ibid.*, January 12, 1871.

54. *Ibid.*, November 17, 1870, *et seq.* In 1866 Lorenzo Westover had pointed the price premium of winter over spring wheat.—*Kansas Radical*, Manhattan, September 8, 1866. This was just prior to the coming of the railroad to Junction City and Abilene, which was available by the time the wheat then being planted was ready for market.

55. Junction City *Union*, August 27, 1870.

Heavy rains were reported for the fall of 1870 and accordingly the *Union* predicted a wet winter and a bountiful crop the next year: "Our mathematician is already at work on his rain tables. He thinks it will take less wear and tear of conscience than last spring. . . ." ⁵⁶ In Riley county the prediction was that the winter wheat acreage would be doubled, while in Dickinson county it would be larger "than ever before, and from what we can learn, the agricultural resources of the county will develop faster during the year to come than for ten years past." ⁵⁷ During January the heaviest snow in years was reported and although early April gave 95° weather, rains followed, "the wind blew so hard the houses became restless," in fact "Old Boreas has howled incessantly all the week," then came a freeze, but at the end of April the "crops are looking splendid, and everything is lovely. We haven't seen a croaker this season." ⁵⁸

The fall and winter of 1871-1872 was dry and less winter wheat was sown in the upper Kansas valley counties than the previous year. The drought was reported as general over the Northern Hemisphere. ⁵⁹ There was a heavy loss from winter-killing, especially in wheat fields that were not well prepared and drilled. ⁶⁰ Spring wheat was reported fine, if only the chinch bugs would leave it alone. The final reports on the harvest, however, were not enthusiastic; the winter wheat was admitted to have been mostly killed, and the spring wheat "very fair." ⁶¹

There was no consistency in Kansas weather and as a bumper corn crop had been raised in 1872 accompanied by low prices a favorable fall resulted in a great increase in the winter wheat acreage, Geary county reporting ten times that ever sown before. ⁶² The harvest of 1873 was reported greater than in several years, but as prices were unsatisfactory the rising tide of farmer discontent led to organized attempts to maintain locally the St. Louis price plus the freight. ⁶³

The first and most important hazard to winter wheat production

56. *Ibid.*, August 20, October 1, 1870.

57. *Abilene Chronicle*, September 1, from the *Manhattan Standard*; *ibid.*, September 15, 1870.

58. *Junction City Union*, January 21, April 8, 15, 22, 29, 1871; *Abilene Chronicle*, March 9, 23, May 25, 1871; *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, April 14, 1871.

59. *Abilene Chronicle*, September 14, 1871; *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, October 13, November 10, 17, 1871.

60. *Abilene Chronicle*, April 11, 1872, from *Neodesha Citizen*; *Wichita Eagle*, April 26, 1872, several Kansas exchanges; *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, March 22, 1872.

61. *Abilene Chronicle*, July 11, 1872; report of A. Sheldon, Saline County Agricultural and Mechanical Society, *Transactions of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture* . . . 1872, p. 239.

62. *Junction City Union*, October 26, 1872; *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, September, 1872; *Abilene Chronicle*, September 19, 1872.

63. *Junction City Union*, July 12, August 16, 1873.

was winter-killing, but it was recognized that several factors entered into this problem: the time of planting, soil tillage, method of planting, relation of wind, and the time when moisture was necessary in order to insure a crop, as well as the variety of wheat grown. In the lower Kansas valley the harvest of 1857 was not satisfactory, the political difficulties of late 1856 being in part an excuse for not sowing in the proper season and for sowing in bad condition with the result that as "the winter was so open, windy, and severely cold" the wheat winter-killed. Early planting for the fall of 1857 was urged as essential, insisting that nature sows at the proper season—when the grain of the ripened crop shatters from the head, sowing for the next season. It was stated that four-fifths of the farmers paid for habitual late sowing by a 20 percent to 50 percent loss on each crop.⁶⁴ During the drought winter of 1859-1860 it was pointed out that the late-sown wheat fared worst.⁶⁵ Again in 1863 in the upper Neosho valley winter wheat was extensive, some fields were reported completely killed and many others were badly injured. An experienced grower insisted that if the seed had been sown two weeks earlier and made a stronger early growth it would have been beyond danger.⁶⁶ In the account of the dry fall of 1864 one commentator remarked that unless rain came before November it was useless to sow wheat.⁶⁷ Two years later September was wet and farmers were urged to sow early because then "the root penetrates deep, and the luxuriant growth of tops spread protection, before the severity of winter approaches." The argument was advanced that "the soil of Kansas is especially adapted to the successful growth of winter wheat. (1) in the absence of clay it never 'heaves' to lift the roots asunder from the subsoil. (2) its chemical composition is adverse to the production of large straw." This was too broad and optimistic a generalization even for the Manhattan region and over the state soil differed widely. The same writer argued also another doubtful point, that whether early sown seed germinated or not "it undergoes the . . . process required by nature, whether rooted and growing before the ground closes by frost, or whether the grain lies in the ground till spring before it germinates."⁶⁸ Along the same line of argument the author advocated as an alternative that if wheat was not sown early, then it should not be sown until very

64. *Lawrence Republican*, August 20, 1857.

65. *Ibid.*, January 23, 1860.

66. *Emporia News*, February 14, 1863.

67. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, August 10, 1864.

68. Lorenzo Westover in the *Kansas Radical*, Manhattan, September 8, 1866. He repeated his argument the next year.—*The Manhattan Independent*, December 28, 1867.

late, December to February, thereby undergoing the wintering process without germinating until favorable spring growing weather.

As the years passed the issue of early planting continued. The *Abilene Chronicle* pointed out that many farmers did not plant until October, although early planting "is one of the most important points connected with growing winter wheat, and one that is also greatly overlooked." The reason urged was that only by sowing early could the wheat plant become well rooted and form top growth to protect the roots from freezing and from the sun.⁶⁹

Closely allied were the problems associated with handling the soil and the method of planting and their relations to the wind. There was little specific discussion of plowing beyond the general insistence upon putting the soil in good condition and there was no mention of alternative types of plows. Harrowing and rolling entered the discussions, but the most important issue was the method of sowing wheat, the drill being the focus of the farm implement problem. Not more than two crops out of three could be expected, according to one estimate, when seed was broadcast and harrowed in, the method prevailing in eastern Kansas in 1857, because "our winters are too open, cold and windy";

The best way is to put the seed in deep with the seed drill; and this will be found the least expensive way, when the wild sod has been exhausted and sufficient seed shall be sown to make it pay the expense of the seed drill. At first some half dozen farmers should unite in buying one for joint use. The drill leaves the ground in furrows, the wheat comes up in the furrows, and as the frosts of winter throw out the roots, the winds, rains, etc., level down the ridges, thus recovering and protecting it. Plowing in grain answers nearly the same purpose, and as but few grain drills have yet been brought to Kansas, our farmers will have to make use of the plow in their stead.

The same author warned against planting winter wheat on newly turned sod, "wide strips of sole-leather," if it was not sufficiently rotted for the harrow to break it up. Rather it would be better to leave it until the next season for spring crops.⁷⁰

Some three years later, in another drill article the same paper argued that "the success of this crop depends, in a great measure, upon the manner in which it is put into the ground," but before sowing the ground should be plowed, and plowed deep. The depth to which the drill should plant the seed was at least two and a half inches. Thus far the procedure was not different from the earlier article, but now the use of a heavy roller was recommended:

69. *Abilene Chronicle*, October 3, 1872.

70. *Lawrence Republican*, August 20, 1857.

This will pack the surface so as to prevent the rapid evaporation of the moisture from the soil. It will also prevent the wind from uncovering the roots and exposing them to the frosts of winter. If wheat thus put in fails to make a crop, it will be no fault of the farmer.⁷¹

The use of the roller as indicated was diametrically opposed to the objective indicated in the earlier article which emphasized that the drill formed furrows as resistance against wind, the blowing of the soil from the ridges covering rather than exposing the roots.

One of the relatively few comments upon plowing was elicited by the great drought of 1859-1860, when it was said that the big lesson of the wheat failure was the importance of better preparation of the ground. Two farms, lying side by side, were cited. On one deep plowing saved the crop from the total loss suffered in the other field. The author advocated plowing to a depth of six inches.⁷²

The scarcity of drills resulted in continued resort to plowing-in wheat, and the severe winter of 1862-1863 seemed to confirm the wisdom of the practice as "that which was plowed in was alone secure."⁷³ Similar discussions were under way in the near-by Lyon County Farmers' Club, where one group broadcast wheat, advocating harrowing-in east and west to leave tooth marks or furrows cross-wise to the prevailing south and north winds, which would blow the dirt upon the roots, not away from them. The discussion leader of another group advocated the drill for planting wheat in Kansas, because the seed would be placed deeper in the soil. He thought that under proper management wheat yields which varied from twenty to forty bushels per acre could be leveled up to a thirty-five bushel average. Although it does seem contradictory, both discussion leaders advocated rolling. The first after the harrow and the latter after the drill, a practice which would compact the soil, but would smooth the surface rather than leave it furrowed against the wind.⁷⁴

In 1864 the argument was made that in spite of the dry fall of 1863 when only about half of the seed germinated, the crop would have been doubled had the seed been drilled instead of sown broadcast. The extra yield on ten acres alone would have paid for a drill, because, it was argued, the drill put the seed deep enough that dry spells did not affect it. Implement dealers were advised to bring in a lot of drills for fall use. Another argument for labor-saving

71. *Ibid.*, September 13, 1860.

72. *Ibid.*, May 17, 1860.

73. *Junction City Union*, December 6, 1862.

74. *The Emporia News*, June 13, 1863.

machinery was that "as the army is taking away so many of our farm hands, let us supplant their places by drills, labor-saving machinery—especially just now with wheat drills." Boys and women could drive a drill; a woman could raise wheat while her man fought. Six to ten farmers could club together to buy a drill, if necessary, or one buy the machine and drill for the neighbors; "so let the cry be 'wheat, more wheat, and better wheat.'" ⁷⁵ The editor of the *Tribune* followed up this article with an editorial advocating the roller after the drill;

But put in with a drill, the seed is buried well down in the earth, out of the reach of birds, and out of the way of the wind; for as is well known to all old Kansans, in autumn we generally have severe winds.⁷⁶

The statement was made in 1865 that drilling instead of sowing was being practiced in the vicinity of Junction City.⁷⁷ A year later in the Manhattan area drills were sufficiently scarce to call forth comment that "it is a favorable omen to Kansas that Drills are being introduced," and farmers were advised to "drill in the grain deep. If the ground is loose, roll thoroughly."⁷⁸

Apparently the use of drills had not been extensive as far west as Junction City by 1868, because the editor of the *Union* wrote August 1 of overhearing a farmers' conversation relative to drills "and the necessity for their use in this country."

They both held that drills would render fall wheat a complete success. The time will shortly be here again for sowing fall wheat, and we would like to have farmers discuss this question in our columns. If they will be of advantage in increasing the certainty of the crop, and from all we can learn there is no doubt of it, steps should be taken to introduce them.⁷⁹

It would seem that possibly the editor was insufficiently acquainted with his farming community except that a subscriber responded to the invitation asserting that "there is no excuse whatever for not raising the most excellent quality of Fall wheat in Kansas." If the farmer could be sure of a snow cover during winter it would make no difference, he continued, but the drill "will hide his grain deep in the ground and free from the disturbing element [the Kansas wind]."

Let the grain drill be introduced; give it a thorough trial; let the result be

75. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, August 9, 1864, from the *Kansas State Journal*, Lawrence.

76. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, August 10, 1864.

77. *Junction City Union*, May 20, 1865.

78. *Kansas Radical*, Manhattan, September 8, 1866.

79. *Junction City Union*, August 1, 1868.

made known, and in two or three years thereafter every farmer in Kansas will have one of these implements, . . .⁸⁰

Following through along the same line late in September, the editor wrote:

We have said much recently on the subject of the Wheat Drill, with a view of inducing, if possible, their use the present season in putting in fall wheat. Those who know assure us that no part of America is better adapted for fall wheat than Kansas, if some pains be taken to provide against certain peculiarities of the climate. Wheat, drilled in, will remain where it is put and not be blown about by the storms of winter. . . .

In addition to this comment on blowing, the editor cited a report of the federal department of agriculture which stated that drilled wheat was not injured by freezing.⁸¹ In this editorial there was no direct admission that there had been little if any results from his agitation of the drill question, but there seems to be little reason to conclude otherwise. The files of the paper confirm this, as there was not a single drill advertisement published during the fall season, and not until the spring of 1871 did drills appear in advertisements of implement dealers and even then only incidentally.

There seemed to be no such thing as winning a decisive victory in securing the general adoption of new practices. Successful plowed-in wheat was reported in 1872 in Pottawatomie county, just east of Manhattan.⁸² The *Abilene Chronicle* printed a drill article the same spring repeating the old contention that—

It seems to be a well established fact that all fall wheat, put in the ground early last fall with a drill, is coming out all right this spring, while that sown late and harrowed in is pretty much a failure. This should teach farmers the necessity of using the drill.⁸³

In view of the fact that only during the decade of the nineteen-twenties were exact experiments completed demonstrating the relation between soil moisture and the prospect of a winter wheat crop, it is not at all remarkable that there was little explicit discussion of this problem during the decade of the eighteen-sixties. In explaining the disastrous crop failure of 1860, however, an observer commented that "had the ground been full of water from copious winter rains, the crops would have matured in spite of the dry weather afterward."⁸⁴ Four years later in connection with the fall drought of 1864, the comment was made that unless there was rain

80. *Ibid.*, August 22, 1868.

81. *Ibid.*, September 26, 1868.

82. *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, March 22, 1872.

83. *Abilene Chronicle*, April 11, 1872, from the *Neodesha Citizen*.

84. *Lawrence Republican*, December 20, 1860.

before November it was useless to sow winter wheat.⁸⁵ In connection with the big crop of 1871 it was pointed out in April that there had been heavy rains in the fall, winter snows, and abundant showers in the spring which should insure a good harvest.⁸⁶ The summer of 1874 was notorious for its drought but when comparisons were made between 1874 and 1860 declaring that it was worse than 1860 the editor of *The Nationalist* replied that although the summer months themselves were drier, to mid-June there had been abundant rain, while in 1860 the preceding winter had been dry.⁸⁷

The insect hazard added to the uncertainty of crops, especially the chinch bugs in a late wet spring like 1864,⁸⁸ and three successive grasshopper visitations during the summers of 1866, 1867 and 1868.⁸⁹ These affected both winter and spring wheat, the other small grains and corn. A more consistent menace was wheat rust which struck frequently during wet summers.⁹⁰ The repeated admonition to plant crops early was directed not only toward avoidance of the summer drought and heat, but also grasshoppers and rust damage.⁹¹

In this study the emphasis is upon winter wheat, but the fact should not be overlooked that spring wheat was raised in greater acreage during early years than winter wheat. As the limited statistics collected for the early census periods did not distinguish between the two types there is no way of knowing specifically the relative amounts. As has been indicated when winter wheat failed to survive the winter, spring wheat was widely substituted.⁹² As late as 1870 the discussion leader of the State Farmers' Institute at Manhattan recommended spring in preference to fall wheat.⁹³ As time

85. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, August 10, 1864.

86. *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, April 14, 1871.

87. *Ibid.*, August 14, 1874.

88. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, May 26, 1864; *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, April 26, 1872.

89. *Junction City Union*, September 1, 1866, August 15, 29, 1868, February 27, 1869; *Manhattan Independent*, September 7, 1867, August 8, 22, 1868.

90. *Lawrence Republican*, July 21, 1859; *Junction City Union*, July 18, August 1, 1863; *Emporia News*, June 13, July 25, 1863.

91. *Lawrence Republican*, July 21, 1859; *Emporia News*, June 13, 1863; *The Kansas Farmer*, Lawrence, October, 1865, p. 149; *Junction City Union*, February 27, 1869.

92. *Lawrence Republican*, January 23, December 27, 1860; *Junction City Union*, June 18, 1864, May 19, 1866.

The U. S. Census of 1870 was the first to list winter and spring wheat separately, but the statistics are of little value, beyond the general indication of larger production of the latter. The census takers began collecting data before the crop of 1870 was matured, therefore, the production in bushels was for the crop harvested in 1869. Some of the returns were not made until after the harvest of 1870 was gathered and figures for 1870 were given. Because of dissatisfaction in Geary county the first census returns were thrown out and a new enumeration began at the end of November, 1870.—*Ninth Census of the United States*, v. III, pp. 71-73. See, also, *Junction City Union*, November 26, 1870.

The federal census did not give crop acreages, only production, until 1880, but again no distinction was made between the spring and winter types, and there is no means of knowing which fall years' acreage found its way into the data, 1878 or 1879.

93. *Western Home Journal*, Lawrence, January 27, 1870.

passed, however, farming methods improved and experience gradually shifted the trend to winter wheat which matured earlier and was therefore less subject to damage by drought, summer hot winds, chinch bugs, and grasshoppers.

Although some attention was given to varieties and their relative adaptability to soil and climate, they were not made an issue. Among the winter varieties named in the press were: Michigan White, Mediterranean Red, White Bluestem, Red Amber, Red Lancaster, and Red or Little May, all soft winter wheats.⁹⁴ Of these the May received the widest endorsement, but all were standard varieties in the Eastern states. Probably the other factors in wheat culture were considered of more importance in determining success or failure of the wheat crop.

The resourcefulness and ingenuity of the Western farmer in the face of climatic hazards is one of the most remarkable features of the process of adaptation to prairie-plains environment. Injury to crops or even disaster only stimulated efforts at new experimentation. Cotton was grown as far west as Geary county during the early sixties, and was listed in 1864 among the proven drought resistant crops.⁹⁵ Tobacco took its turn in experimentation, but only for a short time.⁹⁶ Gipsy rice corn was offered as a never failing crop, making a big yield and superior to buckwheat for bread.⁹⁷ It did not make the success claimed and dropped out of crop planning. Sweet sorghum was more successful and was an important crop because of the syrup made from it irrespective of its forage value for livestock. Planted almost from the beginning of occupation of the territory it was listed during the disastrous season of 1864 as a proven resistant crop.⁹⁸ Hungarian grass and millet received a following for tame hay.⁹⁹ Although not grown in large quantity, buckwheat was one of the most important staple crops in the eastern counties, but was not widely raised in the upper Kansas. In drought years it became more conspicuous than otherwise, because after most all other crops had failed it could be planted in mid-summer and

94. *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, September 19, 1857; *Lawrence Republican*, December 27, 1860; *Emporia News*, June 13, 1863; *Kansas Radical*, Manhattan, September 8, 1866; *Abilene Chronicle*, October 3, 1872; *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, August 29, 1873; Doctor Buck, Jefferson county, before Kansas State Agricultural Society, 1864, *Report of the State Board of Agriculture* . . . 1873, pp. 31, 32.

95. *Junction City Union*, October 24, 1861; *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, August 2, 1864.

96. *Junction City Union*, December 19, 1861, February 20, 1862.

97. *Ibid.*, February 13, 1862.

98. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, August 2, 13, 1864.

99. *Kansas Weekly Tribune*, Lawrence, June 1, 1865; *Manhattan Independent*, August 10, 1867; *Junction City Union*, August 20, 1870.

with a favorable late summer and fall still make a crop. Buckwheat planting was recommended in 1864 as late as the fourth week in August.¹⁰⁰ Flax was tried in Geary county and recommended in 1862 for further experiment. The market agreement was urged particularly on the proposition that it could stand transportation costs, or still better, the linseed oil could be extracted as a home industry.¹⁰¹ Under a subsistence era of farming the vegetable crops occupied an important rôle in operations and entered into planning calculations. White potatoes were a staple, the prospects of early and late plantings or varieties being reported almost as consistently as corn and wheat. Sweet potatoes were considered drought resistant.¹⁰² Fall turnips figured in late planting in any year, but conspicuously when most early summer crops had failed.¹⁰³

The relative merits of timbered bottom lands and treeless upland was a problem debated persistently from the opening of the territory. In part the timbered land tradition was just that, a tradition which had become an integral part of the cultural pattern of a people always accustomed to humid environment. On the other hand, however, there were current practical considerations which seemed to give the tradition the authority of necessity. As the rank and file of the pioneers were without money, the timber on the land could be utilized, without transportation and price except hard work, for most all the necessities of frontier existence: house, furniture, fuel, fence, implements. The upland farm meant the paying out of cash for most or all of these things, and transportation from their source to the place of use. But in this period the prairie-plains country had neither cash nor cheap transportation. Closely allied with these reasons and possibly a part of the process of rationalizing virtues out of necessities, the idea became firmly fixed that land that would not grow trees would not produce crops. From the first settlement of Kansas, the upland had its partisans but they were in the minority. A conspicuous example or two may be used to illustrate the problem as seen by contemporaries:

We have said more than once, that those who come to Kansas and settle down upon prairie claims . . . will be in far better circumstances five years hence, than those . . . who settle upon timbered lands, or part timber and part prairie, [and also they would escape the diseases associated with the lowlands] . . . It is those only who have from one to two thousand dollars ready money to expend, who can settle upon prairie claims with the certainty

100. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, August 23, 1864.

101. *Junction City Union*, March 13, 1862; *Manhattan Independent*, June 29, 1867.

102. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, August 2, 1864.

103. *Ibid.*, August 23, 1864.

of immediate fortunes. Those without money, or with a very limited amount, must be content to get along a slower way, else settle on timber claims.

That there was no "grubbing" or "logging" to be done, was a telling argument; it was only necessary to plow the broad expanse of upland and plant the seed. Such timber as was essential could be bought of those who had it and needed cash. Substitutes were available for many timber uses, wire (smooth, not barbed until the 1870's) for an immediate fence with Osage orange hedge planted alongside to make a permanent live fence by the time the fence posts decayed. Wood for fuel could be bought, and often it was pointed out that coal was widely distributed throughout Kansas. Instead of streams and springs for water supply, wells could be had at less than fifty-foot depths in most places.¹⁰⁴

It is one thing to demonstrate the problem on paper, but quite another to overcome custom and practical difficulties. As late as 1866 and as far west as Salina the predominant tradition still held sway, the commentator pointing out that by 1865 the timber claims were all taken and only then were prairie lands occupied:

Settlers taking prairie claims depend upon those who have timber claims and on ditching and on the Osage Orange for fencing, and the railroad to bring cheap lumber. Speaking of lumber, one of the greatest wants of the county is more saw mills. . . . The want of lumber keeps a great many from building.¹⁰⁵

In 1870 a successful Dickinson county farmer, James Bell, declared that "he would rather go out on the open prairie, without capital, and make a good farm, than to undertake to do so in a timber country." When he came to the county six years earlier his only capital had been a team.¹⁰⁶ Another upland advocate insisted that "our uplands for farming purposes, are superior to bottom land," and enumerated health and fruit growing as advantages as well as field crops made certain by deep plowing to overcome excesses of either rain or drought.¹⁰⁷

To overcome the traditional handicaps of the upland, stone was used extensively for houses, barns and fences.¹⁰⁸ Drive or tube wells,

104. *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, April 11, 1857; *Topeka Tribune*, November 12, 1859; *Junction City Union*, January 1, 1870, "Farms on the Upland. . . . How to Make a Wire Fence."

105. *Ibid.*, May 19, 1866, Saline county news.

106. *Abilene Chronicle*, May 12, 1870.

107. S. J. Willes, "Farms on the Upland. . . . How to Make a Wire Fence," in *Junction City Union*, January 1, 1870.

108. *Ibid.*, November 14, 1868, August 28, 1869; *Manhattan Independent*, August 10, 1867.

with pumps, met the water problem.¹⁰⁹ Windmills as power for such wells were represented as providing the means of occupying the upland ridges for both livestock and farming purposes. The success of the railroad windmill at Junction City was cited, estimates of the cost of a mill and well was set at \$565, and concerning the Kansas wind the people were told that "if Kansas . . . does not utilize this wealth, it is entirely the fault of its own stupidity."¹¹⁰

Farmers planted their own fences with Osage Orange seed, bought plants already started by nurserymen, or engaged an Osage Orange hedge contractor who took the full responsibility.¹¹¹ Wood continued to serve as fuel although increasing scarcity led some to advocate conservation, among other things, by using stone for buildings and fences,¹¹² coal for fuel as well as systematic planting and protection of new timber for future needs. The extensive army wood contracts for Fort Riley aroused the *Union* to protest that "if government would spend one-half the money expended on these wood contracts in sinking a shaft for coal, it would prove profitable." Three years later, however, the editor switched to the other side of the fuel-timber question.¹¹³ A few used coal after the railroad provided transportation, but coal burning did not become general until the late seventies.¹¹⁴ At Abilene, T. C. Henry, advocated the use of coal even if a farmer had timber for fuel, because the time necessary to cut wood could be more profitably employed in more efficient and extensive farming operations.¹¹⁵ This position is significant also as a recognition that subsistence farming was not adaptable to a high degree of efficiency in agriculture, especially in a subhumid region, and that a more specialized commercial agriculture was necessary.

The process of adaptation to environment through experimentation was necessarily slow, several factors outside the farm tended to confuse the problem, and many of the tools essential to possible adjustments yet awaited development: cheap windmills, barbed wire, tillage and harvesting implements, mechanical power, new crops from

109. For early tube or drive well advertisements and rivalries, see *ibid.*, March 30, *et seq.*; *ibid.*, July 20, 1867, "Caution," also a rival advertisement.

110. Junction City *Union*, February 27, 1869.

111. Abilene *Chronicle*, March 3, April 21, May 19, 1870.

112. Junction City *Union*, May 20, 1865, December 12, 1868, January 2, February 6, 1869.

113. *Ibid.*, July 22, 1865, December 12, 1868.

114. Abilene *Chronicle*, December 7, 1877. The Solomon news column reported "Coal is coming into very general use this winter." The editor of the *Chronicle* had been asking, during this winter, "Wood wanted on subscription." On December 7, he added, "We don't want 'kraut' on subscription."

115. *Ibid.*, November 10, 1870.

Asia and Africa and new varieties of the accepted staples. The close of the Civil War marked a turning point. In the absence of natural water transportation and of railroads, the requirements of Great Plains commerce and of army supply prior to that date had created a seller's market. Corn, hay and livestock dominated the scene at artificial prices. These were produced by a depleted manpower under the handicaps of a frontier stage of development, war-time scarcities and high prices. Stolen horses and Cherokee cattle were sold cheap and contributed to the stocking of many a Kansas farm. Corn was raised regardless of its adaptability to climate.

During the Civil War the Pacific railroad had been authorized, and the line, which Kansas hoped would become the main line, was opened to Lawrence late in 1864. The end of the war and the prospect of the coming of the railroad to the upper Kansas valley were momentous factors in the economic outlook of 1865. G. W. Martin, editor of the *Junction City Union*, reviewed the situation in editorials and related matter in his issue of August 26, 1865. The news item that seems to have inspired him to the first of these, "The Beginning of the End," was a post-office order that Santa Fe mail start from Lawrence, the head of the railroad, instead of Kansas City:

The moment the railroad passes Topeka westward, that moment will the great Santa Fe road play out. . . . The opening of the Smoky Hill Route, together with the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad westward, will bring this way a monopoly of all the freight and travel now going over the Platte and Santa Fe. . . .

On the line of this new route of travel is the richest agricultural and pastoral region of the continent. The beneficence of the Homestead Act, inducing settlers, will add to its natural advantages.

The second editorial was "Fall Wheat," favorable planting conditions and the prospects of the coming two years. "The recent high price of corn has given to the raising of that staple an impetus to the neglect of wheat," but the price of corn "most likely, will be low after the exhaustion of the present crop." He was predicting twenty-five cent corn. On the other hand, "wheat will command \$2 at least," on account of the great emigration and the necessity of bringing flour from the Missouri river. Calculating the wheat yield at twenty-five bushels and corn at forty bushels per acre, he predicted that one acre of wheat would be worth five of corn.¹¹⁶

116. The Fort Riley price of corn in 1864 cannot be determined from materials available. The Leavenworth market price was quoted at the end of August at \$1.20 while winter wheat was \$2.00 to \$2.25 and spring wheat \$1.50. To the price of corn at the Missouri river must be added freight and handling charges by wagon train to Fort Riley or other interior army posts. The Emporia price of corn was \$1.25.—Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, August 31, September 27, 1864. The Fort Zarah (near Great Bend) contracts for 15,000 bushels of corn

The third article was a success story reprinted from the *Topeka Record*. A woman with five children had settled thirty-five miles west of Junction City, near the mouth of the Solomon river in 1860. Her capital was \$400, two yoke of oxen and a wagon, and in 1865 they owned 1,200 acres of land, 200 head of cattle, and had sold during the year 1,200 bushels of corn at \$2.50 per bushel, twenty-two head of steers at \$75 each, and 900 pounds of butter at seventy-five cents per pound. The article concluded "We think the story that western Kansas is a desert must be about 'played out.'"

The following year the ambitions of Junction City as a trading point were reviewed. Because of the controversy over the location of the railroad route to the westward, the coming of the railroad was expected to make the city a terminus for a longer period than towns usually enjoyed that distinction. As a permanent advantage, the railroad would make tributary all the country to the south in the direction of Council Grove and to the northwest, up the Republican valley and two wagon roads were laid out to exploit those advantages. On July 2 the Santa Fe mail did start from Junction City.¹¹⁷

During these years large numbers of native cattle and sheep were driven in from the east and Cherokee cattle from the south.¹¹⁸ The volume of these livestock movements prior to 1867 has been obscured by the exaggerated emphasis that has been given to the Texas cattle trade through Abilene and other Western points beginning in 1867. For years the farmers had been obliged to herd their growing crops against depredations of livestock. James Bell related in the spring of 1870 how he had herded his crops for the first four years near Abilene, 1864-1868, but by 1870 he had completed the enclosure of his whole farm of 240 acres with a post and board fence at a cost of \$1,200.¹¹⁹ That was farming under adversity, but the Texas herds from 1867 to 1872 made the life of the unfenced farmer a burden. The business men of the towns who benefited from the Texas trade allied themselves with the cattle interests to the serious detriment of

were let at prices ranging from \$4.00 to \$4.93 delivered at the fort.—*Junction City Union*, September 10, 1864. Bids for 35,000 bushels more were rejected at the same time because the prices were too high. Wheat raised in the upper valley would have had to stand freight to mill and back, plus handling costs.

In 1865, corn from the new crop was bought at \$1.19 delivered at Fort Riley.—*Ibid.*, November 4, 11, 1865. By the following summer the price had declined on the crop of 1865 so that July contracts were let in 1866 at 67 to 93 cents delivered at Fort Riley.—*Ibid.*, July 7, 1866. November contracts were let at 86 and 88 cents.—*Ibid.*, November 24, 1866.

117. *Ibid.*, April 28, June 30, 1866.

118. Spanish fever outbreak brought in by southern cattle.—*Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, August 24, 1864; Breaking up of Cherokee cattle theft activities.—*Kansas Weekly Tribune*, Lawrence, August 3, 17, 1865; Native cattle and sheep driven west and other data.—*Junction City Union*, April 22, June 3, November 18, December 16, 1865. An estimate was made that in 1863 some half million Eastern native cattle, mostly from Missouri, were driven over the overland route through northern Kansas for the Western territories.

119. *Abilene Chronicle*, May 12, 1870.

the small farmer, and the trade thrived in defiance of the legislative enactments of 1867 and later.

Even before the completion of the Kansas Pacific railroad to Denver in September, 1870, the pendulum started to swing back to the small farmer. The railroad undertook an aggressive immigration campaign as a means of disposing of its land grant. The tide of settlers began to flow in increasing numbers in 1868 and by 1869 assumed the proportions of a boom. The *Junction City Union* launched a town building campaign in the approved sensational boom style with its issue of February 13, 1869, and continued the booster activities through the year on the subjects of immigration, cleaning up the hotel and vice rackets, promoting buildings, home industries, exploiting crop reports and freight volume, following the building of the Southern Branch through Council Grove to Emporia and the south line and promoting a railroad project up the Solomon. The first reduction in freight and passenger rates as a result of the completion of the Southern Branch came in June, 1870.¹²⁰

Two highly significant editorials appeared in the *Junction City Union*, September 11, 1869. The first analyzed the relation of land prices to cattle and cereal production, tracing the center of cattle production across the continent from the vicinity of the Philadelphia market to Kansas—cereals continuously displacing cattle, as soon as the price of land rose beyond the profit margin for cattle. He gave the cattle industry of the upper Kansas valley less than ten years of predominance on \$25 per acre land before grain would take the ascendancy.

The second editorial was directed "To Immigrants" and was designed to dispel doubts concerning water supply and markets for grain, two things which Martin admitted both amused and provoked him. With respect to water he pointed to inexhaustible supplies in wells thirty-five to fifty feet deep, costing \$30 to \$150 according to construction, and windmills costing \$500 that pump water and cut feed for 500 cattle. The markets were for the most part at the farmer's door, surplus corn and hay could be shipped west, flour would be made at home as soon as mills were improved and three of every four pounds of butter consumed was shipped in. He used Clay Center, off the railroad, to illustrate what he meant by a market at home. In spite of a big crop, wheat was selling on the farms there at a higher price than at the *Junction City* market:

For five years to come, every man who cultivates a farm can safely calculate

120. *Junction City Union*, July 2, 1870.

on the fact that the new and neighboring settlers will gladly purchase his crop, and not even trouble him to hitch up his team.

The rising influence of the small farmer and stockman made itself evident as the years passed. In Pottawatomie county a meeting was held in September, 1868, to prevent the driving of Texas cattle through that region.¹²¹ Resolutions were adopted June 5, 1869, by the citizens of the Republican valley above Junction City citing the act of the legislature of 1867 against Texas cattle and warning that it would be enforced by the citizens of the valley.¹²² Some stockmen were on the other side of the question, however, one letter of protest being printed at the same time as the resolutions, the editor endorsing the letter. The argument was that farmers should buy up young Texas cattle and calves, winter them, which freed them from the Texas fever, and use them as foundation herds for crossing with Durham bulls. He minimized the Texas fever, insisting he had arrived at this conclusion from experience after first opposing admission of Texas stock. The interest in cattle was emphasized soon after by the comment that investment within the year had tripled in Geary county.¹²³ Other ground for opposition to Texas cattle was their poor quality, slow response to feed which made them expensive and price discrimination against them when fat.¹²⁴ In Dickinson county, after a long campaign a compromise agreement was negotiated May 15, 1871, between the Farmers' Protective Association and citizens of Abilene by which a definite herding ground and a prescribed cattle trail was specified, and a fund was collected to pay damages that might occur. The association reserved the right to prohibit the trade altogether the following year.¹²⁵ This alternative was exercised, the circular to the Texas cattle trade being published in the *Chronicle* February 22, 1872.

Paralleling closely the campaign against Texas cattle was the campaign for the herd law; that instead of farmers fencing livestock out of their fields under the fence law of 1868, the stockmen must fence the animals in or herd them, becoming liable for all damage done to fields irrespective of fences. The herd law of 1871 was applicable only to enumerated counties, of which Dickinson was one, but only upon a vote of the citizens. The herd law of 1872 vested

121. *Manhattan Independent*, September 12, 1868.

122. *Junction City Union*, June 12, 1869.

123. *Ibid.*, July 24, 1869.

124. *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, June 9, 1871.

125. *Abilene Chronicle*, January 12, 19, 26, February 2, 1871, covers the preliminary campaign. A summary of the agreement was published in *ibid.*, May 18, and the text, June 8, 1871.

the power in the board of county commissioners. Saline and Dickinson counties acted immediately, the provisions of the law becoming effective April 8 and 12 respectively.¹²⁶ In Geary county the law was not called into operation until February 19, 1876.¹²⁷

A new standard of stabilization of the cattle industry resulted from the elimination of the Texas cattle and fencing of pastures. A few blooded cattle had been brought in prior to 1870, but under the new regime frequent notices appeared in the newspapers of such importations, mostly Shorthorns.¹²⁸ Sheep had many followers also. A bumper corn crop in 1872, with ruinously low prices, not only stirred the farmers of Kansas to organized agitation and eventual revolt under the banner of the Grange, but gave emphasis to livestock production on a larger scale, and to diversification in which winter wheat became the leading beneficiary. The Dickinson county fair of 1870, the first, offered among its various premiums, one for wheat, making no distinction between the spring and the winter varieties. The second and third fairs, however, gave separate recognition.¹²⁹ Diversification became a panacea among the more extreme promoters and the growing of wool, flax, sorghum, hogs, beef and dairy cattle were coupled with woolen mills, flax machinery and oil mills, molasses and sugar factories, packing plants, and butter and cheese factories. It was said that "Our people must come down to first principles"; manufacture their own produce.¹³⁰

These years of rapid change in the upper Kansas valley aroused anew an interpretative analysis of crops and prairie-plains environment. In this connection the views of T. C. Henry, of Abilene, are of more than ordinary importance. Born in New York state, he had gone south after the war but gave up cotton planting and came to Kansas in 1867, going into the real estate business and local politics in Abilene and soon gained control of both. In 1870 at twenty-nine years of age he was a leading citizen and delivered the principal address at the first Dickinson county fair. In the course of his remarks he described his ideal of a model farm, eighty to 160 acres selected "with the view to rearing stock"; starting with young Texas cattle and improving them by breeding. They must be provided with shelter and feed, and if necessary dam a draw to provide water, growing "only so much grain as I needed for consumption upon my

126. *Ibid.*, March 14, April 11, 1872.

127. *The Salina Herald*, February 26, 1876.

128. *Junction City Union*, October 7, 1871; *Abilene Chronicle*, July 11, 1872, January 2, 1873.

129. *Ibid.*, September 22, 1870, September 28, 1871, August 1, 1872.

130. *Ibid.*, January 16, 1873.

own farm" and if "I found myself with a surplus, I should retain it for provision against a possible scarcity in the future. I should sow winter wheat, but do so early and in season. . . ." He would sow rye and oats for stock feed to provide against a more or less complete corn failure once in every three or four years. He emphasized especially the importance of deep plowing to conserve moisture and the hazard of planting corn after a dry winter and spring.

The most significant portion of the address was his views on adaptation to environment, a candid admission of the deficiencies of climate and a challenge to capitalize on the fact that Kansas is different. He disavowed any attempt to present anything new, only to call—

a greater attention to the advantages that peculiarly belong to our section and locality, so that a system of agriculture—distinct and apart—as our necessities are distinct and apart, may be created, and which shall secure to our farmers a success commensurate with their unrivalled . . . opportunities.

There were on the globe three great rainless areas, the deserts of Sahara and Central Asia, a small region in South America, and the American Southwest, but Kansas lay in the transition belt between humid Leavenworth and arid Denver. He emphasized that—

This important fact necessarily creates a continuity of atmospherical conditions that compel our agricultural operations to conform to them if we would attain the highest success. I repeat, that we discover an arrangement of the laws of nature here, unlike those to a considerable extent that we have been accustomed to in the Eastern States—and I am persuaded that the methods and practices in farming that are suitable to those states, are in very many respects out of place and not adapted to the peculiarities of this locality and this climate. The sooner we recognize and acquaint ourselves with these differences and place ourselves in harmony with them, the sooner may we avail ourselves of the unequalled and exclusive opportunities our country affords. . . .

We must take it for granted that the average yearly rainfall here, is less than in the States we are most familiar with, and we must farm accordingly. It does not follow because we have this peculiarity that our advantages are inferior. What should we think of one accustomed to the swamps of Carolina, and coming here commence a clamor against the country because it is not adapted to raising rice. So of the man that is accustomed to the corn growing advantages of Illinois—what right has he to set up a standard of superiority, when as a wheat growing state it is scarcely to be considered in comparison with our own.

No, we have advantages as well as disadvantages, but I insist that while we avail ourselves of the one, we must remedy the other, and in so doing create our own Kansas farming. . . .

It behooves him [the farmer] then to study the nature, condition and quality of his lands; observe closely the great laws about him that have shaped the

local and climatic peculiarities of his geographical position, and by his knowledge, experience and judgment, be enabled to adapt the crop to the soil, or to prepare the soil for the crop. He must read and reflect, experiment and discover new methods of overcoming the obstacles and hindrances that arise about him. In this great work we want for leaders men whose examples and precepts will excite the enthusiasm, and secure the confidence of their fellow laborers in this field of agriculture. . . .

As Henry was placing his greatest reliance at this time on livestock and diversified agriculture, his views on livestock and environment require emphasis. The disadvantages of the humid and forested East had imposed upon the pioneer the burden of clearing off the trees that light might penetrate to the earth and of digging ditches to drain off the water "in order that the earth may bring forth grass. . . . The best and greater part of many a brave-hearted man's life has been consumed before he could possess himself of a meadow" comparable to the natural prairie pastures of Kansas. And the Eastern farmer found it necessary to incur the expense and labor of a continual "renewal of his grass field." Kansas did not have forests nor heavy rainfall, but in that Kansas was fortunate in his estimate, "let us admit these facts and turn our attention to our own exclusive advantages." These were "our dry, healthy winters, so admirably adapted to the comfort of our stock"; also "these prairies, abounding in an unnumbered variety of rich and nutritious grasses" and "if we can't raise corn as well, we can wheat, rye and oats better."

The culture and growth of grass insures a diversity of agricultural employment and occupation that otherwise cannot exist. . . . Then the greatest means of fertilizing and recuperating the soil is withheld and instead of the beautiful system of rotating crops . . . the entire attention is directed to the simple cultivation of some one or two staples.¹³¹

The general interpretation of agriculture and environment which Henry presented became a permanent part of his thinking, but his livestock theme is in sharp contrast with his reputation only five years later as the wheat King of the Golden Belt. His views on livestock were more or less typical, however, of the time and circumstances.

Another interpretation of "Kansas the stock state" set forth other aspects of disadvantages and advantages, pointing out that rapid railroad construction had made money easy but that was past and now, 1872, Kansas was getting down to bedrock.

Money is scarce, farm produce is low, taxes are high, debts are numerous,

131. *Ibid.*, November 10, 1870.

mortgages are becoming due, and the wolf is unpleasantly near too many doors. What shape, then, shall our industries and economies take in order to make the most of our State and its resources? These resources are unbounded. There are no richer soils or sweeter skies than ours. But we are destitute of the adventitious advantages out of which many peoples suddenly and easily acquire wealth. We have no exhaustless mines of gold and silver, no lordly rivers upon whose broad, elastic backs the broods of commerce ride, no inland lakes and seas, no forests resounding to the strokes of the woodman's axe, and not even any present prospect of a great city, a commercial emporium, within our borders, where the more adventurous and speculative might gather for quick returns and hazardous ventures. We have our unsurpassed soil and climate, and that is all.

Now what shall we make of it? . . . We think we have answered our question in the heading of this article. We must raise stock. . . .¹³²

The extent of the author's ambition was to excel Kentucky, and like that state make such a reputation for excellence that people would come from all parts of the United States to buy, and like the Kentuckian, the Kansan would not need to hunt for customers; they would hunt for him; "now then, all we want is the same STOCK SPIRIT, the same ambition to have the best . . . in order to equal and finally excel them. . . ."

Reporting for the Saline County Agricultural and Mechanical Society in 1872, the secretary, A. Sheldon, presented effectively the problem of settlers derived from different environments reëducating themselves in terms of Plains agriculture:

Our community is composed of farmers from all sections of the United States, and although educated to some theory in agriculture, and combined with large experience in practical farming in the sections from whence they come, owing to the difference in the chemical properties of soil, water and atmosphere, it has been and probably will be for some years to come, necessary to resort to experimental farming before perfect success is fully attained. We are improving steadily in acquiring knowledge of the best kinds of seed and the best mode of tillage in this section of the State. Much attention has been given to the planting of fruit and forest trees as well as the growing of the Osage orange. All of which, when properly cared for, thrive remarkably well.¹³³

The year 1872 seems to close a period in the development of the upper Kansas valley, with soft winter wheat a proven crop, but only one of three leaders, the others being corn and cattle. The winter wheat boom and the fame of the "Golden Belt" lay in the future.

132. *The Kansas Spirit*, Lawrence, April 6, 1872.

133. *Transactions of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture* . . . 1872, p. 239.

POSTSCRIPT

An attractive human-interest story, once in circulation, has a way of becoming an accepted tradition. That the story is contrary to all canons of reasonableness as well as to historical facts seems to make little difference once repetition has accomplished its acceptance. Already Kansas has acquired a number of winter-wheat legends, one of which has its focus in Dickinson county and is associated with the name of T. C. Henry of Abilene. Stuart Henry told the story, in praise of his elder brother, that he was inspired by the market leadership of the comparatively new Minnesota winter [*sic*] wheat and determined to save his Dickinson county from "impending bankruptcy" by experimenting with winter wheat in Kansas. To avoid the ridicule of the "town cynics," he pledged his family to keep the secret of a five-acre field of winter wheat sown in the fall of 1870 on river bottom land. The wheat was a success and "it proved to be the epochal event for the Plains." Henry planted several hundred acres of valley land in the fall of 1871, according to the story, began to advertise "the news of his discovery," and was invited to speak before a convention where he was "nearly booed . . . off his feet," because he had aroused the opposition of the stockmen and even the farming element feared his activities would react unfavorably against "sensible endeavor."¹³⁴

In the light of the historical narrative of the development of winter wheat growing in the upper Kansas valley, the Stuart Henry story breaks down of its own weight. Winter wheat had been raised on both bottom lands and uplands for years prior to T. C. Henry's activities which, according to his own story prepared for the Kansas State Historical Society in 1904,¹³⁵ began in 1873, and he secured his seed from James Bell who had grown it on his farm adjoining Abilene on the south. The ridicule by Plains people of experimentation, stressed by Stuart Henry, was conspicuously out of character and the numerous examples of recognition of fundamental differences in environment and the necessity of making adaptations upon the basis of experiment amply demonstrate that author's fallacy.

134. Stuart Henry, *Conquering Our Great American Plains* (New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc. [c1930]), pp. 197, 198, 218, 303-313.

135. T. C. Henry, "The Story of a Fenceless Winter-Wheat Field," *The Kansas Historical Collections*, v. IX, pp. 502-506.

The Diary of George H. Hildt

June to December, 1857

Pioneer of Johnson County

Edited by MARTHA B. CALDWELL

I. INTRODUCTION

GEORGE H. HILDT, John Diehl and Charles Wood arrived in Kansas territory from their home in Canal Dover, Ohio, about the first of June, 1857. After spending several days looking over the land and visiting friends who had preceded them, they selected adjoining claims in southern Johnson county, naming their settlement Tuscarora.¹ Other Ohio friends² took claims near them, and in the fall William C. Quantrill,³ who later became the notorious guerrilla leader, came up from Franklin county to join his schoolmates. Quantrill filed on a claim near Hildt's. The claims were a part of the Shawnee Indian lands opened for purchase and preëmption on November 19, 1857.⁴ Two weeks later Hildt filed declarations of intention at the Lecompton land office for himself and several of his neighbors. About the first of January, 1858, he left for St. Louis, where he worked for a short time before returning to his home in Ohio. At the outbreak of the Civil War he enlisted in an Ohio regiment, and presumably did not again live in Kansas.⁵

Hildt's "chief object in Kansas," as he wrote in the journal, was "to keep a record of what I do & hear of others doing." This record,

1. The claims were located in T. 14, R. 23, in the northwest corner of Spring Hill township.—E. F. Heisler and D. M. Smith, *Atlas Map of Johnson County, Kansas* (Wyandotte, 1874), p. 46. Hildt failed to record the legal description of his land in the diary. Probably it was the NW¼ sec. 34.

2. John Bair, Alexander McCartney and his brother.

3. William Clarke Quantrill came to Kansas from Canal Dover, Ohio, in March, 1857, with H. V. Beeson and Col. Henry (or Harry) Torrey. Beeson and Torrey purchased relinquishments on claims in the eastern part of Franklin county near the present village of Rantoul. Torrey also bought a relinquishment in Quantrill's name (See Footnote 18). It was illegal of course for Quantrill, who was not quite twenty, to take a claim. Such irregularities, however, were common on the frontier. For further information on Quantrill's early life in Kansas see William E. Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars* (The Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1910), pp. 55-74, and a compilation of articles in *The Kansas Historical Collections* (1902), v. VII, pp. 212-229.

4. Wilder, *Annals of Kansas* (Topeka, 1886), p. 198.

5. Letters of Mrs. J. E. Hildt to Historical Society, June 14, 1938, and July 18, 1941. George H. Hildt was born in Baltimore, Md., in 1835. On April 20, 1861, he volunteered in Co. F, Sixteenth Ohio infantry, and four months later joined the Thirtieth Ohio Volunteer infantry. By November, 1862, he was lieutenant colonel. He served until September, 1864, and participated in several engagements, including the battle of Antietam, and the sieges of Vicksburg and Atlanta. After the war he returned to Dover, Ohio, and married Angeline Switzer in the early 1870's. Two sons were born the couple: John E., deceased, and Fred T., now of Tulsa, Okla. George H. died at his home in Dover in 1913.—*Ibid.*, and *Official Roster of the soldiers of the State of Ohio* . . . , v. I (Akron, 1893), p. 334; v. III (Cincinnati, 1886), pp. 394, 395.

in diary form, covers the period from June to December, 1857. It was written in pencil in a small leather-bound volume, and was intended for his family and friends in Ohio. The diary provides an interesting day-by-day account of life on the Kansas frontier, and gives important sidelights on the politics of the time. It came into the possession of the Kansas State Historical Society through Mrs. J. E. Hildt, a daughter-in-law of the author. It is reproduced here without change except for an occasional word necessary to clarify the text.

II. THE DIARY

Shaw says Qwindare [Quindaro]⁶ never will be much of a town the Delaware reservation running back about forty miles and no squatters allowed to settle yet on the land.⁷ Levenworth City 35 miles from Lawrence splendid road and Coach fare 3.00.

Camden a little town on the Missouri above Lexington with no Steamboat Landing. the channels of the river having changed since the town was located a usual occurrence on this river where the channel is constantly changing at every rise of water. Gambling on board last night for money. One man lost 260 all the money he possessed and won by a professional black leg. He then offered to stake his note with the captain or check for security on a game of poker for 200 dollars, which was accepted. The game was played and won by the unfortunate loser and he rose from the table minus only 60 dollars instead of 460 had he lost.

One of these lottery jewelers on board yesterday picking up stray dimes. He had his prizes arranged on numbers on the table and by throwing dice the number which turned up took the prize answering to the number. He had the valueable prizes arranged on low and high numbers or all 3s or all sixes of something of that sort the numbers which turned up most frequent were from 20 to 30 and upon these numbers small prizes were arranged. 1.00 a throw at first and next 50 cts One luck[y] man thru forty four, and won a gold watch which the lottery man offered him \$35 for. All other who engaged in the game appeared to lose some ten fifteen and 20 dollars and many from 2 to 5 dolls I invested 50 cts and drew a comb & brush worth about that amt John did the same and drew a blank. . . .

6. Quindaro was founded in 1856 as a Free-State gateway into Kansas territory. It is now extinct and its townsite is a part of present Kansas City, Kan.

7. The Delaware diminished reserve established by the treaty of 1854 was ten miles in width and extended forty miles west from the western boundary of the Wyandot lands.—*A Compilation of All the Treaties Between the United States and the Indian Tribes* (Washington, 1873), pp. 340-345.

Harris House ⁸
Westport [Mo.]

Judge McCowen.

Leavenworth City situated on the Missouri a very nice site for a town not any grading of any acct required to make it just as it should be John & I strolled out this morning saw 2 Surveyors Offices and one drug store just the place for a new business of almost any kind. The Hotel very much crowded so much so that five of [us] roomed together last night in three beds I had John of course for my bedfellow A meeting of the unterrified this afternoon [3 o'clock, June 6] and one of the free state men to night. Will be on hand and try and report proceedings Hotel fare two dollars a day or five dollars a week without Lodging Not quite as bad as I expected fare from Leavenworth to Kansas City by Boat 2.00 The Hotel keeper seemed to have a preference for Ohio men or we should not have had a room. Mechanics of all descriptions appear to be on demand. The Ladies are here as well as in the states. At Kansas City [Mo.] went to the post Office first thing and meet two young girls of that place with hoops black silk Joseph and Nun bonnets Here have saw about a dozen ladies but some of them common dressed of course but the generality of them very fine looking women.

Democratic Meeting at Leavenworth City. Easton ⁹ about fifty present though seemed to be coming during the speech He was aware that another ticket was gotten up & he could call them nothing else but disorganizers as they did [not] act in accordance with the convention held at Lecompt[on] of which they were members ¹⁰ Had the D met openly and nominated their ticket [but?] they met in secret conclave and have had some half dozen tickets the ticket today may not be the one elected A mongrel ticket got [up] composed of free state men & other Democ &c related the anecdote of the boy &c eating the said party will eat until dead A voice in the crowd [said] dont say anything against free state men Maj Moore then made a speech in which he said not that the disorganizers intended to be such but that they had been misled and that he hoped

8. Mrs. Nellie McCoy Harris wrote of the Harris Hotel: "The fame of that incomparable inn, conducted by Mr. and Mrs. Jack Harris, . . . reached far and wide. To think of a village tavern with a large patronage, serving hot waffles, buck-wheat cakes, chicken pie, fried chicken, turkeys, broiled venison, prairie-chicken, buffalo steak, and such other toothsome viands! These were supplied at all times at the Harris Inn, good and plenty."—"Memories of Old Westport," by Mrs. Nellie McCoy Harris, in *The Annals of Kansas City* (Missouri Valley Historical Society, Kansas City, Mo., October, 1924), pp. 470, 471.

9. This may refer to Gen. Lucian J. Eastin as being the speaker.

10. On January 12, 1857, a Proslavery convention was held at Lecompton "when the Law and Order party rechristened itself," and was "henceforth to be known as the National Democracy of Kansas."—A. T. Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 156.

that they would suffer themselves to be deceived no longer He was followed by Anderson [John Henderson] of the [Leavenworth] *Journal* who denounced the whole mongrel ticket and every man on it Looked upon them all as abolisionists and would as soon shoot an abolisher down on the plain as a dog was very vindictive the meeting then adjourned.¹¹ Sheriff Jones [of Douglas Co.] was there and the hard[est] countenance of any man I believe I ever saw he carried he was neatly dressed however and the phiz presented a strange contrast to his clothing From Leavenworth we came down to Wyandott Ci[ty] where Bill McM¹² is at work and making as he says lots of money. Wyandot quite an embryo town.¹³ Houses cost a great deal of money and rents are very high. Several he pointed out to us which cost in the states about 100 rent here for from 30 to 50 dolls per month according to location.

Boarding 6.00 per week. He owned a share in the town and had sold a few lot[s] from it Leaving the rest at a very low figure

Leaving Wyandot we started to Quindaro and were overtaken by a storm which for violence exceeded anything I ever witnessed Trees fell in every direction dust blinded us and we were brought up standing by seeing a tree fall directly over our path rails rattled around us and we concluded to stop at the next house which proved to be an Indian one Old Mises Hicks¹⁴ claimed to be proprietor a Wyandot Indian She conversed before us to an old Indian sqaw in her native tongue though she spoke English as well as any of us In the front room or the room in which we were was a pianer a calash top Baby wagon with springs and silver plated hubs pictures lounges and all of the best material She had horses cattle wagons a very nice garden and orchard. I think Marion Bear would not have ever thought of Indians if she had been there and I dont think that she would have thought her an Indian if she had not conversed in that tongue. That was the first apprehension I had of her Indian Blood.

After the storm we trudged on towards Quindaro carrying our

11. Political meetings were held throughout Leavenworth county prior to the election of delegates to the Lecompton constitutional convention. On June 6 a meeting was held at Leavenworth City. Two tickets were in the field, the Regular ticket whose candidates were chosen through a county convention, and the Independent ticket, formed by those who were dissatisfied with the work of the convention. This ticket included the names of a few Free-State men, hence it was called the mongrel ticket. Lucian J. Eastin and John Henderson were candidates on the Regular ticket.—*The Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, June 6, 13, 20, 1857.

12. Possibly William McMath, a justice of the peace in Wyandotte.—Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1231.

13. Wyandotte was founded early in 1857 on the site of a Wyandot Indian village.—*Ibid.*

14. Possibly the widow of Francis A. Hicks, a Wyandot chief, who died in 1855.—*Ibid.*, p. 1229.

carpet sacks and enjoying the cooling breeze after the refreshing shower. Quindaro laid out quite extensively and a great deal of money expended in grading the streets. Quite a bluff bank in ascending from the river though it contains rock which reduces the price of grading to the Co: a very rough site for a village though the Steamboat Landing is said to be the best on the river. We got a team here and started for Ola-the, the Shawnee Indian word for Beautiful John [Diehl] Charlie [Wood] & Myself and two gentlemen from Quindaro accompa[ny]ing us. We traveled some distance until we reached the prairie and just at the edge a fine cultivated Indian farm was before us Choteau's it is called and looked like an old Tuscarawas farm or one farmed by a neat farmer¹⁵ My Ideas was set up at once. The prairie looked beautiful covered with flowers of all shades and colors and kept growing more and more beautiful until we reached Olathe. I think the town very appropriately named.

The laid out plat contains 320 acres of land and the houses I should think number about 20 altogether. John D is putting up one for \$200 Houses of all kinds are contracting to be put up and I think that Olathe next spring will not be the little town which it is now. Saw the New Ham[p]shire girl next morning think her tolerable handsome and judging by the appearance of the table I should think her a tolerable cook also two very essential points you know.

Bright and early on the 9th of June we started for Stanton¹⁶ Charlie having bought a mule team and wagon here he took us down. We called to see a few claims which were offered for sale on our way down. Halted at noon at a shanty and bought $\frac{1}{2}$ gall of milk and carried it over to the boys in a large tin pan. As the sun was hot we got under the wagon and all headed round to the milk pan and had a fine laugh over the thought of our Dover friends taking a peep at us in that situation. Our $\frac{1}{2}$ gall of milk disappeared as well as some of our biscuits and snaps they did not taste a bit stale. We traveled on until within about six miles of Stanton one mule gave signs of giving out and we took it more moderate and at last concluded to camp on the prairie about 4 miles from Stanton. We unharnessed the mules and turned them out to graze while we took supper. Our supper was the same as our dinner with the exception of the milk water supplied its place. After supper we made our sleeping arrangements which consisted of removeing everything out

15. Probably Frederick Chouteau's farm in the northern part of Johnson county.—Heisler & Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

16. A town in the western part of Miami county.

of the wagon and laying down two comforts on the bottom of the box which Charlie had brought from Quindaro Upon these we laid covering up with John[s] Blanket John D[']s shawl and another comfort We laid two and two with our feet together in the middle and 2 of us heading to the tail board and the other two the front We took nothing off but our hats & boots, but felt very comfortable with the exception of one thing and that was that whenever we looked up we saw stars, and at every side prairie and sky met our view We would have been much pleased to have had some of the Dover boys see us in that situation we must of looked quite cosy though we were packed very tight. We were afraid it would rain as it lightened in the south but did not come up our way. A heavy dew fell however which saturated our blanket completely, though underneath we were as dry as a chip. I was awake at 12. 3. & heard John Bear calling to the mules at 5. when we all got up, harnessed up the mules and started for Stanton feeling quite refreshed after our first camp on the prairie. We reached there sometime after breakfast though we had none we made out of our carpet sacks. Saw Torry first going in and out of his cabin as if he was washing dishes and cleaning up He appeared quite glad to see us and had a great many questions to ask about the Furnace &c Beeson & Bill Q[uantrill] were out after the cattle. they are breaking prairie with three yoke. they all appeared glad to [see] us and were much pleased that we intended to stay with them until tomorrow. They live in a cabin about 14 ft square filled up with trunks meal bags bedding pots pans buckets guns tin ware side meat &c. For dinner we had pan cakes molasses, wild goose berries & side meat and it tasted right good I tell you Wild strawberries grow here in abundance we had quite a feast today minus the cream Beeson has a prairie claim I think about as good as any that I have seen Torry owns one of timber as a small portion of prairie¹⁷ Bill Q[uantrill] own[s] one entirely of timber.¹⁸ We remained all night here and slept all over the cabin the floor was covered with beds and sleepers. Left in the morning

17. Claims of Beeson and Torrey comprised the north $\frac{1}{2}$ sec. 34, T. 17 S., R. 21 E.

18. Torrey also owned this claim bought in the name of Quantrill. It was the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ sec. 21, T. 17 S., R. 21 E. "Kansas Volume 24," p. 157, filed in the General Land Office in Washington, showed sale of the quarter to William C. Quantrill on June 29, 1857. William Brindle, receiver, made out Receipt No. 325 to Quantrill on that date for \$360 in full payment for this quarter section of Kaskaskia, Peoria, Piankeshaw and Wea trust lands. On the same day Quantrill assigned the quarter to Harry Torrey. These transactions were recorded April 19, 1859, in Franklin county's "Deed Record A," p. 380. Less than a year after the purchase Torrey transferred 90 acres of the quarter in two parcels by warranty deeds to Joab Torrey and E. Hicks. Patent on the land was issued to Harry Torrey, October 1, 1858, on assignment (Franklin county, "Deed Record 55," p. 393). It was recorded July 7, 1887.—Information furnished by James C. Malin from records in Washington and in the Franklin county courthouse at Ottawa.

for Lawrence and passed through Palmyra and prairie City¹⁹ at the latter we found a nice young man who offered to show us claims and John B[air] thought it just the thing. But on examination of our maps we found it about 45 miles from the Missouri and about 15 from Lawrence, and [we] would rather have claims down about Olathe where it is only from 16 to 20 miles from there to K[ansas] City Came into Lawrence about 4 O'clock looked around at the city until about 6 and drove out a mile to camp.

Slept in our wagon had not yet procured a tent and during the night we were aroused by quite a smart shower beating in upon us As John & I slept in the wagon we were the greatest sufferers Charlie & John slept under on the ground We were soon under upon the boys w[h]ere a council was hastily held and we concluded to decamp, and procure the nearest shelter I was safely lodged in a privy near at hand & the rest took themselves to a carr[i]age which stood near Again the old expression was what would our Dover friends say to see us in that situation Or what would Marion say to see John with his blue blanket pacing rather hurriedly to an old carriage for shelter. It did not rain as much as we expected however and we were soon again at the wagon making vain attempts to sleep One of our mules which had been lame all through the trip from Olathe was so badly crippled that we could not go out of a walk We concluded to wait until after dinner on him and look round at Lawrence

Lawrence is not near as large a place as Leavenworth but has a much more pleasing site. Business of all kinds very brisk and a great many strangers in town inquiring and prying into everything. One Jewelry & Drug store looked as well as anything of the kind I have saw in the States Ladies appear on the streets in full dress Hoops flounces and nun bonnets appear to be the rage Every thing you ask the price of is ten cts—i e of small—those which you bye in the states for 5 and you cannot get a copper off your hands without giving it away 3 cts is the lowest coin they know in business

Charlie procured a tent here a thing which we very much needed as we had found sleeping in an open wagon in a thunderstorm was not very agreeable. We made as far as Wakarusa Creek and camped as our mule was getting worse. Here we put up our tent and felt again as if we had a home or at least a kind of a protection against the weather We all slept soundly and we intended to make an early start and reach Olathe before night but we found our mule

19. Free-State towns in the southern part of Douglas county. Palmyra is now the northeast part of Baldwin.

so lame that we could not use him. We concluded however to hitch the other alone to the wagon and two of us walk at a time and in that way we possibly might reach Olathe. We got within 12 miles of it and camped at a little town called McCamish²⁰ This morning Sunday we made Olathe about 11 O'Clock pitched our tent and made ourselves comfortable— Quite a dull day nothing doing The shops all kept open however for loungers. We had supper to night cooked by our Quindaro cook Charlie and his slapjacks were very good under the circumstances as they were cooked in the smoke of a fire built on the ground as the wind was very high and would have been poor cooking in a stove in a house, let alone cooking out in the open air. The wind kept up high all night and this morning no better. Our tent went down—one of them—and we concluded not to put it up for we had two Charlie got one at Fish's Hotel This prairie country is noted for its high winds even the hottest day does not appear more than pleasant as gentle breezes blow continually.

Monday June 15. Election day in Kansas.²¹ Great excitement One Tennessean floored five men in about two minutes bowie knives & revolvers were drawn but were not used fighting swearing and rowing kept up until sundown or until the citizen of Missouri returned to Westport when no further disturbance was made I did not expect to see such a crowd in Kansas Scarcely a man could be seen who had no arms and they appeared to want to show them. One man I noticed looked as if he had no shirt on at least he had none as far as I could see yet he carried a large size Colts revolver strapped to his waist For supper we had excellent slapjacks very good fried shoulder tea sugar & thats all Perhaps you would all like to know what I call a slapjack. I can tell you very easily how they are made and if you want to try and see how they taste you here have the receipt. We make a batter of flour and water and at the first baking put in some soda cream tartar & salt. After the first baking we try and have from a pint to a quart of batter left which gets sour from one meal to another to this we add a little soda & flour & water and bake them in a pan similar to your small thin frying pan which does not belong to your stove. They are as light as a fether and with the addition of a little shoulder gravy for butter is thirty cts per pound, and sugar they suit my taste exactly. John Bear agreed to cook for us and he does it first rate takes as much pains to make it good as you could. Went this morning to see a claim belonging to Doct

20. In southwest Johnson county on the Santa Fe road, now extinct.

21. Election of delegates to the Lecompton constitutional convention.

Barton²² which he offered me for 250, 100 down and the residue in 2 months that kind of pay does not suit me exactly and further admonition is continually ringing in my ears "dont go in debt" There is a good cabin 10 x 12 a running stream of water a thing very desirable in this country, and the land lays very nicely from one point about the center you can view the entire farm

Charlie bought a yoke of oxen here of a man from Iowa and we moved out on to a claim which he had picked out I have taken one adjoining which has a beautiful lake upon [it] in which fish abound to some extent. The first night we had some bacon in our wagon and I suppose the wolves must have got the scent for soon after dark they howled around the tent at a great rate The[y] are the small prairie wolf and are perfectly harmless

To day June 19 Bill Welty made his appearance he came from Stanton the day before and remained all night at Olathe and come out to see us this morning He had the same opinion of Prairie City that we had that it was the nicest part of the Territory, the distance from market he appeared not to care a great deal about Our claims are about five miles from Olathe the intended county seat though a little Free State Town called Princeton²³ also is contending about three miles from here We are only about 1½ miles from timber and on the adjoining ¼ section coal is found which resembles cannel i[n] its appearance We are having an acre broke apiece Charlie and myself and intend putting it out in corn and perhaps we may put out some turnips and buckwheat This afternoon Bill Welty John B[air] Charlie & J D[iehl] all went to Olathe leaving me in charge of the tent. Bill Welty went on to Leavenworth. John Bear remained in Olathe and Charlie and John D went to a saw mill about 12 miles with the ox team for lumber for our cabins We intend building 10 x 12 and board them straight up and down and put a shed roof upon them. We can buy timber from the Indians at 25 dolls per acre which will fence in perhaps the whole ¼ section in the manner in which fences are put up here You would call it in Ohio a good for nothing post and rail but here it is quite a substantial fence. Posts are set in the ground about ten feet apart and two rails are nailed on to these at such a distance apart so that a mule

22. Dr. John T. Barton was formerly surgeon for the Shawnee Indians. He selected the Olathe town site and organized the "Olathe Town Company." In 1857 he and Edwin S. Nash were partners in showing claims subject to preemption. Having purchased the field notes from the government surveyor of the Shawnee lands, they secured the description of the land selected by the Shawnees from their chiefs, and had the advantage of knowing the land subject to preemption long before it was made known to the public. Dr. Barton was the first postmaster and the first mayor of Olathe.—Ed Blair, *History of Johnson County, Kansas* (Lawrence, 1915), pp. 86-89.

23. In Johnson county two miles southwest of Olathe, now extinct.

cannot walk under or jump through Hogs are a nuisance and are shot whenever found running at large. On the adjoining claim to me a man from Washington Twp lives by name of [Anson] Berkshire he has a large family of children. Almost too large for this country now when everything is so high. We get our washing done there at least took a shirt down yesterday and have not yet had it returned and cannot say what kind of washers they are. It was very cold here last Wednesday and I was very uneasy about the wheat crop. I walked all day with my overcoat on and did not feel uncomfortable and that kind of weather for Kansas in this month has never been known before I hope you fared better in the states. Charlie & John came back from the mill late last evening and only brought about $\frac{1}{3}$ of a load all scantling enough however of them to build both cabins.

Sunday a very dull hot day a good deal of traveling on the road a great many going to Paoli when the land sale goes off this week²⁴ Sunday evening we all felt in the humor for singing and Old hundred Boylstin O for a thousand tongues to sing Alass and did my savior Bleed, &c went forth on the prairie w[h]ere no such sounds were ever before uttered. The ox goad and Haw Buck the braying of mules cattle bells &c are much more common We sang just as we felt and I need not tell that we all thought of home we all conjecture where we would pass the time were we in Dover & how much rather we would be here with our present prospects than there lounging round with nothing to make us exert ourselves

Monday I planted my acre of corn in the sod sod corn it is called. We plant quite different than you did in the states. I planted mine with an ax in every third furrow by chopping in the sod at a suitable distance apart and putting in three or four grains of corn and stamping it under with your foot or axe. It requires no further attention the first year as weeds do not bother you The Indians raise fifty or sixty Bu to the acre the way they farm and I have no doubt that 100 Bus can be very easily raised with proper care and attention We will plant about 2 or 3 acres in beans if we can get the seed, and I think they may do well John B[air] will plant 2 acres too in beans.

Tuesday helped Charlie W. plant his corn while he and a hired man went about four miles to Bull Creek for timber to build our cabins they found a very nice tree and paid ten dollars for it. It is a red oak about 4 feet across the stump and forty feet without a

24. Land sale at Paola took place June 24, 1857.—Wilder, *Annals of Kansas*, p. 170.

limb knot or woodpecker hole as sound as a dollar we can get enough stuff to build our two cabins and have enough to sell to pay for both cabins and hired help, so our cabins I think will not cost us a great deal.

Wednesday went over and helped cut down the tree and saw off the but[t] cut enough in that one cut to build $\frac{1}{2}$ a cabin To day Charlie went to Quindaro & Kansas city to bye a stove and some provisions cabin utensils and [etc.?] Charlie & I and I think John Diehl will live together and see to our claims

Thursday afternoon was splitting some shakes for my cabin when who should make their appearance but John Bear & McCartney He was the last man I expected to see out here They had walked on in advance of their wagon & when it came up I was introduce[d] to his brother who was traveling with him hunting claims. They had been from home about 10 weeks and had been all through Indiana Illinois Iowa Nebraska & are now here and McCartney says that Nebraska is not near as well timbered as this Territory or he says there is not $\frac{1}{4}$ as much timber in it as there is here and the land and appearance of the country bears about the same proportion. His brother [Alexander] took a claim adjoining Charlie and myself and they commenced unpacking their goods and such a lot of stuff I have not seen for a long time Every old fashioned thing which you were forced to use at crooked run they had and all very serviceable here I assure you He had 2 yoke of cattle, wagon and one horse and Charlie's yoke of cattle and his span of mules are now in sight and make us feel as if we did live here sure. We [are] intending buying a cow yet and perhaps I may buy a yoke of cattle and then our live stock list will be complete. We took supper tonight together as we have done since and had coffee, brown bread bakers bread slapjacks molassess and meat Our slapjacks appeared to be as much of a rarity to them as their coffee did to us as we had none since we have been camping

Friday. Went to the timber today for more shakes for my cabin Took all the cattle and brought a big load Charlie had got back from Quindaro when [we] got back with the quite a lot of serviceables among which are a stove coffee sugar molass check shirts overhauls, nails glass sash plates cups & saucers &c &c Our stove is a very nice No 3 with a very large baking oven for that size and cost us \$8 with all the rigging belonging to it I think I[t] could not have been bought much cheaper of John Rex.

John Bear and McCartney are our cooks and McCartney baked

2 very nice loaves of bread in our new stove. We have named the lake on my claim Tuscarora lake and the town which our shanties will make when completed the same name "Tuscarora" We did think of naming it Dover for some time but finally agreed that Tuscarora would sound more romantic for the lake and the town of course should bear the same name. All together tonight until quite late giving accounts of our trips to each other and Charlie brought John B some letters and papers from Dover and one paper for me sent to Wyandot, came from Danny I suppose.

Saturday plowed some prairie to day for the McCartneys and run round our claims with the compass to find corners. Think seriously of laying out a town and making a blow but I think the time is not yet. To night we had one of the thunderstorms at least so much of one that it rained right through our tent and we were forced to get in to McCartneys wagon w[h]ere they slept to keep dry. It did not do a great deal of injury however as we kept our bedding dry my cabin will be finished in a day or two now and we will not be in such a fix again.

Sunday morning went down to "Tuscarora lake" to bathe and aroused a very large turtle who made into the lake with all possible speed. It is an excellent place to bathe being about five ft deep with a very smooth rock bottom and the water as clear as crystal. fish dart about in every direction We have not tried to catch any and I think they would not be good at any rate as it is too hot Sunfish appear to be much abundant. Charlie tried to lasso an Indian pony with one of his mules this morning as a drove of about twenty were teasing McCartneys horse but as everything was wet and the rope full of kinks he failed but gave them a fine race which we viewed from our tent with great satisfaction. Put on a check shirt to day and a pair of overhauls and tried to look as much like a Kansas man as possible. This afternoon wrote home along with Charlie John D McCartney & myself & John Bear all around one table I hope you will get the letter in due time for it is a long one. Sunday evening, sang hymns and Charlie gave us some Music on his guitar which he bought at Chicago

Monday rode about 25 miles after cattle they had strayed off in the night and were nowhere in the morning. Found them about four O'clock only about 2½ miles from the camp or I must say "Tuscarora" Ploughed a few hours this evening and picketed the cattle so as to have an early start in the morning This morning started early and ploughed about an acre was quite tired

Wednesday ploughed until noon after dinner helped Charlie with his cabin and at dinner there was nothing done except a few shakes split and to night the cabin is up and three sides closed and ready for roofing Kansas a fast state I can tell to morrow noon it will be finished and tomorrow night we will sleep in it. My cabin was finished last night with the exception of the floor & door they are lacking. There is one window [in] it and one door and we intend to make it the cook room in Charlie[']s we intend to have our beds and McCartneys I suppose we will find some use for yet. To day I got a job of surveying I think a ten dollar job will go and do it on Friday morning only about $1\frac{1}{3}$ [miles?] from here. McCartney will go along with me he bought a cow and calf to night for 25 dollars a very nice young cow & the prettiest heifer calf you ever saw we will live now with butter & good milk slapjacks & molasses will go down slick Talking about eating I must tell you a good joke. One of our neighbors bought a sheep last Sunday of a drover and came to us and we told him [we would] take a quarter Next morning one of [them] came to tell us that the sheep had been stolen that the rope was there that it had been tied with but no sheep was to be found they hunted all that day and the next and found nothing A few days afterwards they found some bones and some wool and [the] result was that the wolves had taken it off. We had set our mouths mutton fashion and were very much disappointed and bacon was still our old stand bye

Thursday Rode all day after the cattle they had wandered off in the night inquired of every one I met but found none answering to that description

Friday morn started with McCartney to do my first job as surveyor in Kansas or I might say or anywhere else. We got along fine started about 7 O clock and got through about 5 charged him 6.00 3.00 went into my pocket and the same amt to McCartney we heard of more jobs on our return and I think it likely I may make the old compass pay.

Saturday 4 of July fixed up and went to Olathe and in the afternoon went again after cattle as they had not yet been found

Sunday Rode after the cattle again and so did Charlie and McCartney's brother came home to night but had heard nothing of them I fear they are gone for good The McCartneys had two yoke and Charlie one.

Opened my trunk today and took notice to some little pieces of news papers stuck in the top of my trunk lid found some very good

advice and instructions I need not ask who put them in. Charlie Wood is playing on his guitar and though the music is not very fine as he is only a beginner yet it has the same affect that music has anywhere and everywhere.

Monday put some of the roof on Charlie's cabin and went to the timber and procured some poles for A McCartneys cabin. John D here when we returned had been at the celebration on the 4th at Wyandot and heard Gov Walker²⁵ & some others speak The citizens got up a free dinner and all were invited, and John says it went off first rate ice cream oysters beef ham nuts raisins &c. Comenced a letter to Mary to night will try & send it by John B hear that he is going home next week.

Tuesday finished Charlies cabin and put up our home spun bedsteads and arrived at A McCartneys Thomas Mc[Cartney] put his up on the 4th of July. it is smaller than the rest only 8 x 12 Tried to plow with the horse and the mules but found it no go. the ground too dry and they did not work together well. Heard nothing of the oxen yet I think they have gone for good loss about \$300 Charlie's about 75 the rest to McCartneys Our stove bakes very nicely Charlie made some soda biscuit to night which are excellent We decided to night to kill our calf and not raise it as we intended as it makes rather a large draw on our allowance of milk. *Could support two cows reasonably well*

Today 8th of July finished another cabin for A McCartney have now three in Tuscarora An Indian called to day and wanted to know what we called this town. Charlie took a man to Paola this morning who had two sons there wondered when I saw [him] w[h]ether father would come out here this fall or uncle Kuhn or Joe or any of the Dover people to see me.

Thursday helped McCartney to make a tongue for a plough, and in the after noon found some of our corners with the compass and laid out a patch to break about 5 acres. Found some very nice building stone on about $\frac{3}{4}$ of an acre of my claim They are not exactly flag stone but a kind of flat limestone not shaley however but very suitable for building they are used extensively at Lawrence and at Leavenworth they have our regular flinty limestone. Went surveying, for an Indiana man [H. H.] Wilcox set his open corner and run off some Indian land and found out that there was about 70 acres of very fine timber not taken up yet in the hands of Uncle Sam.

²⁵. Robert J. Walker was territorial governor of Kansas from May 9 to November 16, 1857.

Saturday layed out a land of prairie to break in partnership with McCartney across our claims near $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile long made eight rounds and went 2 miles for oxen and took them home.

Sunday wrote to father, took a bath in Tuscarora lake and put on a clean check shirt wore the last one one week For supper had stewed cherries dried apples slapjacks corn bread soda biscuits molasses McCartney is going home tomorrow to bring out Phebe Beeson²⁶ will be back in a few weeks at least 6.

Monday July 13 Went to Quindaro with Charlie J B & Mac for a mower. got in about 5 O'clock No mowers on hand sent with [McCartney] to St Louis Mac & John Left for Dover about an hour after we got in Bought part of a bill of Goods and went to bed about 11 O'clock but not to sleep our old cabin is altogether preferable to the hot suffocating air of a hotel room.

Tuesday July 14 Finished buying and started for home about 11 O'clock got as far as within 2 miles of the Sante fee Road We had some mackerel in our wagon and the cattle belonging to the Indians smelling the salt troubled us exceedingly so much so that we were forced to harness up and move off until within a half mile of the Sante fee We camped a second time

Wednesday July 15 Started at 3 O'clock for home very cool & pleasant driving & reached Olathe just as people were getting up. Got out to our claims at breakfast time. Helped A Mac to put a door on my cabin & wrote to Mary Slingluff.

Thursday July 16. Commenced mowing prairie hay before breakfast. A new thing for me but I learned to do it up as I thought brown before I quit. Put up all I cut about four O'clock. Could have mowed until noon and put it all up before night

There is such a hot dry wind sweeping over these prairies now that grass turns while you are cutting it Charlie went into Missouri with some posters we had struck at Quindaro for our cattle did [not] think he would be home until Saturday night A Mac & John D went to the timber for a tree for John[']s house leaving me alone. After I got through mowing I dug out the spring and fixed our three legged stools by driving in the feet more tightly We had made them out of green wood and the dry we[a]ther affected them so that when wanted for use they were frequently minus a leg. Had supper ready when the tired boys came home about 8 O'clock and soon went to bed.

26. Phoebe Beeson was the daughter of Harmon V. Beeson. The families of Beeson and Torrey did not come to Kansas until August, 1857. For some reason Phoebe did not return with McCartney. Instead she came with her family and later married G. A. Colton.—Connelley, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

Friday July 17. Boys went to the timber again to day taking the team with them and a strange looking team it was. Charlie had rode one of the mules and they put Elicks [Alexander McCartney's] large horse in his place which made a very odd looking rig I mowed some and when it got too hot put up a cupboard in my cabin to hold dishes and eatables. It is made out of shoe box has three apartments and a[n]swers the purpose admirably. I had quite an accident happen to day or some thing might have been one A snipe came up to the cabin and was feeding round for some time and at last I resolved to shoot it and see how they tasted as I had heard of their eating very well. I loaded up one of Elick[']s pistols and fired at it. It was sitting near a wagon wheel and the ball instead of hitting the snipe as I intended hit the wagon tire and glanced and came back almost in a straight line hitting me in the stomach but with little or no force and fell at my feet very much flattened

Saturday July 18 Had some fried mutton for breakfast this morning quite a treat made a good deal of gravy and the consequence was that the molasses was not touched. Went to work to day to make a patent horse rake running on wheels the rest of the boys were making hay ladders. We intend taking a load down to Quindaro when we go for the Mower. Hay there is \$1.50 a hundred, here and scarcely any grass to make it out of what it will be next spring is hard to tell.

Sunday July 19 Had a very good breakfast this morning warm soda biscuit & fried mutton & gravy. We only cook twice a day this hot weather breakfast & supper for dinner we take a piece For supper we will have mutton soup & dumplings.

Monday July 20 Started out this morning before breakfast to mow hay along with John D Charlie went over to an Indian to get him to hunt his cattle Elick made shakes for Johns cabin Mowed about a half acre to day and put up the hay in cocks. It made a great change in the looks of the prairie to see a dozen hay cocks scattre over an acre and the grass very neatly cut & well dried.

Tuesday loaded up a load of hay and started with Charlie about 4 Oclock for Quindaro We had taken a great deal of pains to load it carefully and to keep it very nice and square and to boom it just right. Elick pronounced it when he finished to be a No 1 load of prairie hay. We got along with it very well until we got to Indian creek the worst crossing on the Santa fee road.²⁷ It was then about

27. Indian creek crossing on the Santa Fe road was northeast of Olathe.

nine O'clock and very dark. It was almost impossible to see the road. The lead horse struck out of the main track in the direction of a light and we soon ascertained by the motion of the wagon that we were not in the track. Charlie got off to reconnoitre and found the track without much difficulty. But in the attempt to get back into it the wheel on the lower side run into a rut and my humble self landed out on the dusty Sante fee very unceremoniously. I expected the hay to be on top of me but for a moment but I had landed so far out that four loads of hay could have scattered between myself and it. We had prepared ourselves for camping out and had our mess box well stored with provisions and one of the proprietors of the Olathe Hotel had brough[t] along some eggs to boil which we intended to cook that night. You can imagine the scene which presented itself when a light was struck and we viewed our situation by candle-light. There were the eggs all broken soda biscuit scattered in the dust tin plates, spoons molasses bottle broken and a jug which the Hotel man had brought for Molas or rather the pieces of a jug. Our tent cloth coats blankets and boom pole were all underneath. The load had not scattered at all there it all lay just as it was loaded, except what was top then was now bottom. We gathered up the rem[n]ants of our supper and our eggs had stepped out and soda biscuits were very well peppe[re]d with dust the molasses bottle had cov[er]ed our plates and spoons had appropriated a part of Kansas soil for their own benefit and to sum it all up we had no appetite as the excitement of the upset had completely done away with everything of that kind. But if the view of the scattered lunch was pleasing the idea of having the wagon to right & the hay to reload was infinitely more so. But what could we do in the night. it was as much as we could do to load hay to haul 20 miles over bad roads in the light of day, and as the case now stood we had no light not even a single star deigned to look out upon our forlorn and almost helpless condition. Our wagon was all right not a thing even twisted out of its place. We concluded to load up that night as much as possible in order not to obstruct the road any more than necessary and set to work in right good earnest to carry out our purposes. We had not worked long before we found that we could not accomplish much and as we were very well fatigued we lay down in the hay & slept until daylight.

Wednesday July 22 Commenced loading about at daylight and at sun up started off with the rem[n]ant of our provisions and I might say with a determination very well fixed in our minds never

to attempt to haul hay on a dark night after nine O'clock. We made Kansas river about noon and stuck in the sand on the bank. Charlie went across after oxen to pull us and while he was gone a team came along which with some persuasion were prevailed upon to hitch to us they drew the load out and I halloed to Charlie to come back. He came just in time to witness upset No 2. It appeared to be a very easy matter to upset in a sand pile at least the teamster thought so when the wheels on the lower side sank in above the hub and the whole wagon turned up above the hay shortly afterward as quiet and as easy as a feather bed could have done. After a survey of conditions for a second time we found we were worse off than at upset No 1 for this reason we were without a fork. Our fork in reloading had worked loose in the handle and as we had stuck it in the hay near the boom in the centre of the load we could not get at it without moving the whole load. Our boom we could draw out with the horse by loosening both ends but the fork was not [to] come at all. We sent word with the teamster across for a fork and the oxen and went to work to load with our hands until they came. The oxen came but no fork as the farmer had never owned one. We procured one at an Indian house a mile off and soon loaded up and crossed the river. Camped within a mile of Quindaro in the woods. Charlie went into town and heard Gov Robinson making a speech he was giving Gov Walker fits about the troops at Lawrence²⁸ &c he got the letters and papers which were there and I received the letters & papers dated July 12 which appeared to be the only one written since I left. I was very much surprised at this circumstance though after considering the matter thought it all right.

Thursday July 23. Drove into town but could not sell our hay for what we considered it worth as it had settled almost one half in hauling 25 miles. Drove over to Wyandot and sold it for thirteen dollars. MacCartney had not purchased a Reaper at St Louis and we could procure none here. I walked over to Kansas City and found they had a few for sale but no separate mowers all combined machines. The rope at the Ferry was cut and we could not cross with the team so we were forced to go home without accomplishing the object of our trip. And another great reason was th[at] McCartney had the money or one hundred of our scant means though we need a

28. The charter of Lawrence was amended in the winter of 1856-1857, but the city was never organized under this charter and was therefore without municipal regulations. Not recognizing the authority of the territorial government, the city applied to the Topeka legislature but failed to get a charter. In July, 1857, the Lawrence citizens organized and formed a charter for themselves independent of legislative action. Governor Walker considering this a "treasonable act" of the "rebellious" citizens of Lawrence, declared the town under martial law and sent troops there.—Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, p. 326.

letter from him at Quindaro in which he stated that he would either bring it or send it in a few weeks. Your letter was eagerly read and your kind offer I am happy to say was anticipated. My letter contained an order for an article which is most needed in Kansas and as McCartney had 40 of my money I could do nothing towards buying a horse, with the residue. I suppose as he started on a marriage trip he will need it all. We will make out a bill of eatables which you may make out among hands as it may suit you best and send it along with Beesons good John B may help you some as he may know what we may need, to some extent.

Friday July 24 Got home safe about 5 O'clock found the boys anxiously waiting our arrival were much surprised that we did not sell our hay at Quindaro we were just one day behind in making the trip. We had intended to be on hand at the Free state meeting which went off July 23. Marcus J Parrotte²⁹ our candidate for Congress made a fine speech I was very sorry I missed it.

Saturday July 25 Mowed until noon enough for a load of hay to take to Kansas City Monday in the afternoon fixed up the wagons.

Sunday July 26 took a bath in Tuscarora and put on some beans to cook by the breakfast fire so that we could have pork & beans for supper and a piece of ham to take along to Kansas City.

Monday July 27 took the hay up which we made Saturday in the afternoon it rained so in the night that it did not dry until 2 O'clock Started a little before Sundown for Kansas City traveled as far as Olathe and camped.

Tuesday July 28 Started early next morning and reached Kansas City about one O'clock Had our hay weighed at Westport Hay ladders wagon & all weighed 3180 A very fair load to haul 25 miles with our rats of mules and our poor rundown horse. Sold the hay that evening for \$10 not a very fair profit to haul hay 25 [miles] & sell for 10. but to look at the subject in another way it is as much as ten made clear as we had to go to Kansas City for a mower and for some Goods for our neighbor Wilcox and the 10 for the hay added to the charges for back freight will make the trip pay and we have the mower beside.

Wednesday July 29 Bought a reaper and mower this morning of Walker & Chick Browns Patent Buckmaster & Wise Maker, Alton Illinois Could get no single mowers Price 150 gave a hundred & ten dollars down and for the remaining 40 gave our note or Charles Wood & myself gave our notes and John D[']s watch for security.

29. Parrott, the Free-State candidate, was elected delegate to congress in October, 1857.

They did not suppose our notes worth any thing but with the watch in their hands worth 115 to secure 40 & our notes they let us have it. We started about 3 O'clock & came out 3 miles or within about a mile of Westport when we missed Zack our dog & McCartney[']s dog I took the horse and rode back while Charlie went on to Westport with the mules & load Found Zack takeing quite a comfortable snooze in the shade of a store box at the establishment where we bought our mower Went about 15 miles and camped.

Thursday July 30th Started early and got home the rest of the 10 miles before breakfast or before the boys cook breakfast about nine O'clock unloaded the reaper and commenced putting it up mowed a few rounds to see how it would work or to grease & oil up Think it may cut well We will give it a fair trial as it is a warranted machine Whittier³⁰ one of the proprietors of the Olathe Hotel came down to our claim to night to tell us that our Cattle had been taken up at Little Santa fee.³¹ Charlie will start in the morning to see if the report be true I hope it may we can use them now to haul hay &c or even work them on the reaper I do not think the knife would choke.

Friday July 31 worked at our horse rake have invented a new patent which I think will work well can either use a tongue or shafts Should we be so fortunate as to see our Oxen at home to night we will use a tongue and work them Had a very refreshing shower to day revived the parched grass and helped the weak springs After supper Elick & I took one of Charlies mules and his horse and rode out to meet Charlie thinking as it was dark he might have some trouble with the oxen i e if he had them Had not ridden over a mile when we met him coming with but five of them. The man who had taken up these told him that a few days before he saw the reward notice he noticed that steer around with his cattle and that he had no doubt that he was still in the neighborhood and should they find him would bring him here. As they had offered 30 dollars reward for [them], Charlie paid him 25 for the five and brought them along. They looked very well have done nothing since they left but consult their own comfort would all make very good beef To insure their staying with us for some time at least we tied heavy blocks to their heads and [illegible] them well They lie down soon after and appeared to feel at home, but to our minds their travel to day added a great deal to their willingness [to] feel at home so quickly

30. J. B. Whittier, a relative of the poet, settled in Olathe in the summer of 1857. He and Jerry D. Conner opened the first hotel in the town. They became managers of the Avenue House when it was built in the fall of 1857.—Ed Blair, *op. cit.*, pp. 87, 88.

31. A town on the Kansas-Missouri border, now extinct.

Saturday August 1 Tried our mower to day it worked as well as a machine could in the hands of greenhorns. After oiling & tuning all round Charlie drove off and had not went more than a few feet until the machine choked as we thought it rubbed over the grass and the horses exerted them a great deal to take it along. After some examination we found that Charlie[']s whip was the cause of all the difficulty as it had caught in the coggs and wound around until it had choked the wheels After much sport and joking about our green driver & finding the whip lash tarred well we started on. The machine worked well could find no fault with it could mow just as we chose high or low without difficulty The only impediment here on the prairie are gopher hills little mounds on the prairie from 5 inches to 2 feet high some perpendicular others sloping gradual with from 5 to 10 ft base &c The large ones are not so troublesome as the small ones. The knife runs right into them as the wheels on either side are on level ground Sometimes the wheels strike them when this is the case the machine goes right on leaving the grass not as evenly cut as the rest but does not make us stop and go around them The machinery is very simple and easily managed. though the best and most simple of all machinery is liable to get out of gear Only cut about three tons as we intended to experiment and know what the machine would do. Our neighbor Wilcox wishes us to cut 20 tons for him and several at Olathe. I think we may find it profitable employment until the grass is too much dried up to use for hay.

Sunday Aug 2 Wrote to Joe Deardorff, Bill Hodge & somebody else

Monday Aug 3 Worked our machine this morning until 2 Oclock then quit and went to the election voted for State officers Senator and representatives.³² Only 42 votes were polled We went with an ox team and hay ladders as our mules and horse needed rest and old Birk [Berkshire] & Meiser [Mosier] accompanied us. Old Birk not so gassy as usual but voted all right We voted for the Topeka constitution at the same time and seperate ballot boxes were kept for each The constitution box was an old cigar box with a hole cut in the lid to receve the ballots and on the end which was visible was the word "Opera" emblematic of the scenes which transpired last summer, I suppose. Conner of the Hotel asked me whether I had heard from John Bear and then told me that his house was going up and that the man was using very good lumber better than any house

32. Election of state officers under the Topeka constitution.

which had been put up there yet. will not write until I hear from him.

Tuesday Aug 4th Charlie & John went to cut hay for Wilcox with the machine and Elick & I hauled a part of what we had cut and staked it up The patent rake did not work as well as we expected and it took up a great deal of time fixing it

Wednesday Aug 5 Kept on hauling and stacking until after dinner when we went over to the boys to rake up what hay the[y] had cut Took supper, at Wilcox's and eat some of a womans cooking Had a very good appetite and eat heartily.

Thursday hauled hay in the morning one load and went to Wilcox and hauled for him as there was an appearance of rain all the rest of the day

Friday Aug 7 finished our own hay and hauled for Wilcox until the rain prevented us took our suppers and came home to our cabin which turned rain admirably The hardest showers when the rain blew in every direction gave us no trouble.

Saturday Aug 8 still raining this morning and a very poor looking hay day Old Birk this morning unloaded a load of scantling on his claim near the road and intend[s] putting up a shop or provision store I regret to say that the first house put up in Tuscarora must be a shop of that kind instead of a stone hotel or a building of some size He is in partnership with a Dutchman who is to attend the shop Continued wet all day.

The old adage necessity is the mother of inventions was verified here to day, for my boot sole came off and I could procure none short of Quindaro and I was forced to make a last to mend it. which I did by taking some leather out of an old saddle flap which McCartney had brought along for that purpose and by the aid of 6 oz tacks I put it on quite neatly & securely, and the boots now which were worthless before will last until fall or until I can get a pair for the winter season.

Sunday Aug 9th Wrote home to day nothing but Journal I fear my letters are getting stale but then consider that to keep a record of what I do & hear of others doing has been my chief object in Kansas.

Monday 10 took Charlies mule over to Spring Hill 2 miles to be shod. An Indian had brought in some new potatoes which he asked 25 cts for or about a cent a piece and they were not very large at that. He had beans and corn for sale at very exhorbitant prices I should have liked a mess of potatoes but at a cent a piece I thought

it dear eating. Came back & took dinner at Wilcox's found Elick & John there they had been working oxen in the mower and the heat stopped them or stopped the oxen You may think [it] strange to hear that oxen will work in a machine but such is the fact. McCartney has one yoke of cattle seven years old which cannot well be beat as to work, they are not as large as many I have seen but are better broke than I supposed oxen ever could be. I can drive [them] any where with more ease than I could a span of horses indeed I fancy myself a No 1 ox driver My first impression was when oxen were named to work in the machine that the knife would choke but there is no difficulty on that ground with our machine the heat appears to be the only obstacle Charlie started this morning for Quindaro with Walters our store keeper or Dutchman

Tuesday Aug 11. John & I worked the oxen in the machine to day Elick raked up hay with a horse rake John & I finished our patch and brought the machine along home. Cut a small patch in the evening for ourselves.

Wednesday Aug 12 Charlie at home this morning I expected to receive three or four letters but not one came was much disappointed Says he sent a lot of Chindowans³³ to my friends hope you will get them

Had a job of surveying to do to day for Moiser Charlies coming made us late starting but we got off at last. Set his corner for him and as the day was windy could not work very fast I would [give] anything if that old compass had a telescope and tripod yet, and then I think it would be the very thing for this rolling prairie country Elick raked the hay John & I had cut and Charlie came over & helped measure all the mowing we had done for Wilcox and found it to be 22 acres and at \$3 per acre would be sixty six he offered us \$45 and Charlie would not take it We will split the difference with him on the breaking prairie arrangement and nothing less Saw some of the Indians today some of them wanted hay cut I should like to cut for them to see what kind of board they get up and how they cook.

Thursday Aug 13 Charlie & I went to the timber to buy an acre or two from the Indians & cut hay for them to pay for it. Found none of them at home. the squaws were making hominy out of white corn it looked very nice, but they would not sell any. lent a load of poles to build a stable & wagon shed 20 feet square and cover

33. The Quindaro *Chindowan*, a Free-State paper published at Quindaro. It was first issued May 13, 1857.

it with hay for the winter John & Elick cut hay all day with the machine

Friday Aug 14 Elick & I hauled in hay & John & Charlie worked the machine Saturday I started for Lawrence as it had rained some in the night and looked as if it would rain during the day for a horse rake the old fashioned revolving rake Charlie & John went to Santa fee to trade or try to exchange one yoke of oxen for a mule I arrived at Lawrence about 5 O'clock attended to my business procured a rake & some papers and drove out of Walkers rebellious Lawrence about 7 miles and camped on Wakarusa Creek It was the first time that I camped on the open prairie alone. But I slept as sound as usual and did not wake up till sun up Harnessed up the mules and started for home

Sunday Aug 16 Got home about $\frac{1}{4}$ past 10 O'clock & found Elick making arrangements to start for Quindaro after letters If I do not receive any this time I will not soon again expect any The boys came home this evening from Santa Fee thoroughly drenched with rain as we had a very heavy shower in the afternoon They did not make a trade of any kind but brought along 14 dozens of oats [?] at 40 cts per dozen and a piece of dried beef The Missouri State fair commences on the 29 of September, Tuesday & lasts four days We think of going down.

Monday Aug 17 Still raining this morning and an idle day I think look anxious for Elick every minute It rained all day and nothing could be done Elick made his appearance about 12 O'clock to night with the letters & I received your letter dated Aug 10 with Dannels enclosed. A very quick trip. After reading our letters and telling each other the news we gave McCartney and his bride 3 cheers & a hearty welcome to our prairie home & went to bed in a much better humor than usual Hope the report is true Elick thinks it quite doubtful as he has written nothing to him to that effect. That only proves to my mind that the report is correct as young men are not apt to make many bosom friends in cases of this kind—

Tuesday Aug. 18. As soon as it was dry enough went to work and got up hay Wednesday worked in the morning and went to Olathe in the afternoon to attend a free state meeting Mr [J. M.] Walden editor of the Chindowan was announced as speaker He disappointed us and did not come Towards evening we got together as many as possible and appointed delegates to attend the Convention at Grass-

hopper falls ³⁴ Mr Ansen Birkshire our neighbor was president of the meeting & your humble servant was elected a delegate It is altogether impossible for me to think of going as we are just be-
ginning to make things move in the mowing time & should one of us go we might as well all go as we could not do much here as it takes 2 to mow & two to haul. The trip will take about a week perhaps get home Friday evening. I should like to go for I think that it will be the most important convention held in Kansas

Wednesday Aug 19th Elick & I put up hay the rest of the week

Sunday Aug 23 Charlie & I started for Quindaro about 5 O'clock after it had stopped raining Camped at Shawnee town and drove on next day No letters for me Charlie recd two or three. We were told of an emigrant aid [New England Emigrant Aid Co.] sawmill which could be had by any one who would put it up We went and looked at it on the levy found it too large for our use as it was a 40 horse power engine An engine to drive a sawmill on Bull creek would pay now as there is no sawmill within 15 miles of here or about that distance from Olathe. And it would keep us employed during the winter should we choose to remain here. Started from Quindaro about 5 O'clock Monday eve 24 & reached home about 12 feeling a little chilly the nights are sensibly colder than they were a few weeks ago

Tuesday Aug 25 Hauled hay

Wednesday Aug 26 heard of a stray horse in the neighborhood and as we needed such an article we concluded to take him up as a stray that is if we could catch him. So as soon as we could get our horse and mules rigged for the chase we started in the direction which had been pointed out to us. He was described as an old bay would work they supposed in among a drove of Indian horses which were escorted by a jet black stallion. After riding about 3 miles we came upon them & found them to be indian ponies with the exception of the old bay which they seemed to fight & drive off We all stopped in a ravine and made some preparations such as adjusting picket ropes used for lariatts & tightening girths &c. Charlie & John had lariat ropes and while they were fixing up I rode in into the drove slowly so as not to fright them and found the old bay some distance from the rest as the stallion of the drove kept driving him out. He looked very nice and sleek alongside of our poor gaunt horse and mules and tossed his head disdainfully whenever I approached him

34. The Free-State convention met at Grasshopper Falls on August 26, 1857, to decide whether to participate in the general election called by Governor Walker for October 5.—Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas*, p. 162.

By this time the boys rode up and we singled him out from the drove and drove him towards home & every now and then when an opportunity would offer they would fling their larietts but to no purpose they would slide off of his sleek sides and fall on the grass After driving him a mile he broke back to the drove again and we concluded to try some other plan to capture him as the lariett we could do nothing with. We placed a slipnoose on the ground to catch one of his feet and I held the rope while the boys drove him up to it he jumped over it once but the second time he stepped in with his fore foot and I drew it quickly and he was ours He plunged forward three or four times and then stood perfectly quiet while we bridled and saddled him John D rode him home He had been ridden before as his back was sore with saddle marks We now hold him as a stray. Charlie started to night down to Beesons to get our money which McCartney had sent out.

Thursday 27. Hauled hay to day and kept thinking about Mac[']s wedding &c how it happened that he did not get married and all waiting for Charlies return to hear the news & correct report. Charlie got home about 12 Oclock to night

Friday 28 Charlie came to my bed this morning before I was up to tell me what kind of a trip he had had Found them all there every tad as Aunt Mary would say. Mrs Torry Augusta Redfield³⁵ and all the Beesons Their goods had not come on yet and they had nothing to do but to cook & eat. Girls all idle and a splendid chance to make a visit. Mrs Torrey Charlie says told Gusta not to eat so much pork or bacon or it would make her coarse & she looked up wonderingly & said "what shall I eat then" Before they are many months in Kansas bacon will supply the place of chicken I think. Beesons wanted Charlie to come down with the machine and cut some hay for him say 8 or ten tons I think it very likely we will go.

Saturday 29. Hauled hay to day & the boys commenced cutting a large patch about 20 acres cut all day we hauled one load in the evening to top out a stack

Sunday 30 Not very well to day a little head ache lots of Company Pintel McKaig Forrest Goer Moser³⁶ and a load of Quindaro men stopped and took our letters

Monday 31 Finished cutting hay in the patch commenced Saturday & we hauled in with two teams

35. Augusta Redfield was probably Mrs. Torrey's sister.

36. Possibly J. F. McKaig, J. C. Forrest, Jonathan Gore, and J. Mosier, all living in Johnson county in 1857.—Andreas, *op. cit.*, pp. 625, 634.

Tuesday Sept 1 Moser came this morning with his oxen and we hauled with 3 teams until noon & until night with two put up 2 large stacks

Wednesday 2 hauled hay with our team until noon and finished the patch John & I mowed after dinner in small patches and Elick fixed up stacks & Charlie went to the timber for post to fence around the stacks

Thursday 3rd John & I mowed some for the Dutchman & Elick baked bread & cooked beans &c made a shingle horse axe helves &c

Friday Sept 4 Hauled in our small patches until noon & helped the Dutchman in the afternoon

Saturday Sept 5 Finished hauling for the Dutchman by noon & went to the timber after dinner for posts & fire wood. Charlie got home to night from Missouri had started Thursday morning to trade his oxen for anything except oxen. Made a trade for a grey horse thinks he did very well. Brought some green corn & some wild plums & 25 bus of oats Will take his oxen down & bring the horse up next week Sunday got up late Charlie started for Quindaro about noon. I started after dinner to go to McCamish to hunt Elick's ox as we had heard he was there or one answering to that description Found the ox by he did not prove to be the one I was hunting. Came after dark tired and hungry & we had not a bit of flour in the house and only about 1 qt of cornmeal & some green corn made our suppers on mush & green corn, and must live on that until tomorrow night when Charlie will be on hand with flour &c.

Monday Sept 7 Dug post holes around the stacks along with John Elick baking bread & cleaning up the tent. At One O'clock we started for Princeton where [the] voters of Johnson Co were requested to meet to organize in companies for the protection of the ballot box³⁷ After hearing a few blood & thunder speeches an organization was formed and Officers elected Bishop of Olathe John B knows him was elected Captain Elick First Sargent & John D Commissary the other officers you would not know. The policy is not to go armed to the polls but to have them in the immediate neighborhood so that in case of necessity and that only, they are to be used to make nothing but a fair demand for our rights as citizens of Kansas, & have them we must in some way.

Tuesday Sept 8 Cut hay for the Dutchman Charlie started for

37. At the Free-State convention held at Topeka, July 15, 16, 1857, resolutions were passed authorizing James H. Lane to organize the people in the several districts to protect the ballot boxes at the coming election.—*Ibid.*, p. 161.

Missouri to deliver his cattle and bring his horse & some seed wheat & provisions

Wednesday Sept 9 Cut hay for ourselves until noon & after dinner hauled in a part of the Dutchman's We were visited to day by the most friendly indian Shawnee I have seen yet He gave us a great amount of information about his tribe about councils dances buffalo hunts &c His squaw had the ague and he gave her some blankets to lie on in the shade of the cabin while he yarned to us at dinner

T[h]ursday Sept 10 Cut hay for ourselves to day Tried to haul the remainder of hays but the wind was too high we could do nothing. We broke the cast iron point of the mower the one which divides the grass. It ran into a gopher hill and snapped off like a pipe stem. Unhitched and young america had it fixed before night to work better than before.

Friday Sept 11 Charlie & John cut hay until noon and Elick & I put in a row of posts around the stacks After dinner it rained and we did nothing of work line but wrote letters fixed up journals & harness &c

Saturday Sept 12 All went horseback to Princeton where we were requested to meet to train We entered Princeton abreast six of us (Moser & the Dutchman accompanying us) some on tall horses and others on mules blind bridles halters and ropes making a curious as well as pleasing appearance. The company is called the "Olathe Border Guards" After sending an order for arms and going through some movements we came home though not with out being gassed up by the fearful and shown blue lodge³⁸ flags which were stuck up around Olathe & Princeton as guide posts to Missourians coming into the territory. After we got home Charlie & John concluded to go to Beesons this week and I will start for Leavenworth on the 15 leaving Elick at home in charge of affairs this week According[ly] the machine was taken apart and loaded in a wagon and every thing got ready to start tomorrow early

Sunday Sept 13. The boys left this morning leaving us alone to write letters &c. In the afternoon Elick & I rode over to McCamish & brought the ox home which I had found

Monday Sept 14 Elick & I went down to the timber for posts brought home a load about dark Called at Wilcox's & got our clothes She is such a nice woman so motherly in the care of our

38. Blue lodges were secret organizations of Proslavery men having for their purpose the extension of slavery into Kansas and other territory of the United States.—John H. Gihon, *Geary and Kansas* (Philadelphia, 1857), p. 30.

clothes & give[s] us directions about cooking &c just as if she had some interest in our welfare.

Tuesday Sept 15 Started for Leavenworth on a black colt which we had caught expressly for the trip but 2 years old past and a very fine animal I did not know how he would stand the trip but from his make color & all I concluded that he could go as far as I should want to ride in a day. As I got in sight of the Kaw River it commenced raining and rained or showered from that on until night. I crossed at Tolas [Toley's] ferry and stopped at his house & inquired the road and how far it was to the next house. I was 16 miles from Leavenworth & 7 miles to the next house It had cleared up some and I started on though the sun was not more than an hour high & the colt pretty well jaded I had [not] went far before another shower overtook [me] and I was forced to seek shelter in the woods I started on again & it still rained harder & harder and was getting quite dark I knew I had not traveled far and at any rate not more than half the distance to the next house. I had passed some indian houses at the edge of the timber & thought if it rained too much I would put for one of them which I was soon forced to do by a heavy gust of wind and rain coming directly in my face and my pony stopped and turned round to take it I however had no such intention & put for an Indian house about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile off reached [there] thoroughly wet and enquired of the indian whether I could stay all night and he was almost too drunk to say yes, but he finally managed to get it out after a great many futile attempts The squaws went to work to get me up my supper and after supper made me a nice bed to sleep in with clean sheets & pillows. After drying my shirt & hanging up my coat & clothes I turned in & had just commenced to snooze when I waked up and heard two other Indians outside more drunk than the Indian landlord & demanded an entrance They came in loaded down with bottles jugs & flasks filled with whiskey. After taking a dram all around they commenced drying themselves and then another dram & another offering me one every time and they drank & sung & cut up all night not letting me sleep one wink & every 15 minutes the Indian would come to my bed and say "Ugh sleep, have dram" and then to the others.

Wednesday September 16 In the morning the bottles were so plenty that I knocked one over and spilled the contents. I immediately asked how much & paid 25 cts for the accident though he had told me repeatedly that it only cost him 15 cts. After breakfast I

found that my bill was 1.00 which added to the whiskey accident makes \$1.25 for my night's lodging and not one wink of sleep.

I started off and reached the Fort about 9 O'clock and commenced search for Leut Hildt³⁹ A company of Cavalry were on drill for inspection by Genl [William S.] Harney which was a pleasing sight to me to see their gaudy dress & equipments & their spirited horses, which they manage to turn so nicely with a six inch lever bit & spurs on each foot. Genl Harney is as grey as a rat and his white hair & whiskers contrast strangely with his military rig Found out at the Office that Lieut Hildt had left in the night for New Mexico and this company of cavalry which was being inspected was going to start for Utah this evening or tomorrow morning As John was not here I went over to Leavenworth City and bought myself a hat two woolen shirts note paper &c and started for home stopped at an old pennsylvanian's 8 miles out of Leavenworth.

Thursday Sept 17 My colt as pert as you please and I concluded to come home by Quindaro & Inquire for letters, going that way, only about 53 miles from home which I thought I would try to make to day. Recd your letter dated Sept 6 with your account of circumstances. Recd no letter from John or Joe D took dinner here & started for home. Reached home about 8 O'clock pretty tired & hungry with my ½ a hundred miles ride in one day on a two year old colt These Indian ponies you cannot kill its no use trying

Friday Sept 18 did not do a great deal of work to day Sharpened some posts to drive in the ground & in the evening John D came back from Stanton accompanied by Bill Q[uantrill] and left Charlie there with the machine still cutting with a request that Elick or I should come down Saturday or Sunday eve and help work the machine

Saturday Sept 19. Bill Q[uantrill] Moser [J. Mosier] [H. H.] Wilcox [James] Alexander Reeves [G. G. Reaves?] & Elick & I rode up to Olathe in our Ox wagon to hear a speech from a Mr. Leggett.⁴⁰ While we were there some little dissatisfaction arose about the nomination for sheriff (Charles Osgood) Some expressed an opinion that they did not consider him a true free state man. After some little discussion it was referred to the central committee to consider upon The speaker of the day came in the evening but could not speak as

39. John McL. Hildt was breveted second lieutenant, Sixth infantry, July 1, 1856. Transferred to Third infantry, February 18, 1857. Brevet lieutenant colonel, March 13, 1865, for gallant and meritorious service during the war.—Thomas H. S. Hamersly, *Complete Army and Navy Register of the United States* . . . (New York, 1888).

40. Probably James F. Legate who was living in De Soto, Johnson county, at that time. In 1858 he was appointed probate judge of the county.—*U. S. Biographical Dictionary, Kansas* (1879), pp. 716, 717.

he had come on business exclusively. We came home cooked our suppers & after discussing politics went to bed

Sunday Sept 20 Bill Q[uantrill] and I started for Stanton about noon afoot and thought we might reach it by nine or ten o'clock. When we got within 3 miles of Stanton we stopped and turned into a shanty and tried to sleep. But the night was cold and we concluded to go on though we could scarcely get along as we were very tired. We stopped 1½ miles from Stanton at a farm house & they gave us a bed on the floor which was very exceptable & we had not been in the house fift[e]n minutes until it commenced raining and rained right on until ten O'clock next day.

Monday Sept 21 Started out in the rain for Beesons and reached there soon after breakfast. They seem to accommodate themselves to the Kansas way of living and all appear lively & cheerful but Mrs Beeson she appeared somewhat down hearted though not a great deal. Mrs Torrey will not live in their cabin more than three or four weeks, will move into town & keep hotel⁴¹. All the Beesons have had the ague but Phebe & Gusta Redfield was sick with the fever when I was there. They need not tell me that they have selected as healthy a location as we have. When I met Charlie he told me that he had the machine loaded and ready to start but the weather prevented. After dinner we hitched up and Beeson hitched on his three yoke of cattle to help us up a slippery hill near his house after we got up we unhitched to make an early start, tomorrow

Tuesday Sept 22 After bying 16 melons at ten cts a piece we started for Tuscarora. This is one of the greatest countries for melons I ever saw. We met some young gents going to steal some the other evening and they took 2 yoke of cattle. One of the sixteen that we bought was so large that we were forced to cut it outside our cabin. And if the rind was of such a material to stand frost we should trouble ourselves no longer about a protection from winters blasts.

Wednesday 23 Unloaded the machine & put it together & eat so many melons that I was sick on Thursday

Thursday 24 Rested to day & went to bed in the afternoon all on account of the big water melons.

Friday Sept 25 Started over to cut hay at Spring Hill for Mr Hovey⁴². Came home in the evening found our council man Mr

41. "Colonel Torrey sold his land as soon as he could and bought a building in Paola where he kept a hotel as long as he lived."—Connelley, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

42. James B. Hovey settled on Little Bull creek in March, 1857. He was the first postmaster at Spring Hill.—Blair, *History of Johnson County, Kansas*, pp. 131-133, 135.

E S Nash ⁴³ and a lot of chaps who were on their way to Lawrence to procure arms for the "Olathe Border Guards" They intended to start at 3 O'clock with the Dutchmans team and take breakfast in Lawrence. Elick went along.

Saturday 26 Finished cutting at Spring Hill. John D helped me to day has been harrowing his wheat ground to sow next week.

Sunday 27. Doct [B. M.?] Jewett came here to day on his way to Northups to see if we could cut some hay for him next week We agreed to go and cut for him Monday Northup very sick & not expected to live Was taken with the diarrhea and went through with the water cure treatment and that only which resulted in his hopeless weak condition the Doct has no hopes of his recovery.

Monday 28 Went to Jewetts with the machine & commenced cutting the machine all out of order & did not cut an acre to day. The doctor went to Northups to day and he found him dead

Tuesday 29 The machine did not work any better to day broke the reel and were forced to make another got it in order in the evening Charlie went to Santa Fee to day for oats John D still putting in his wheat.

Wednesday 30 Finished cutting for Jewett to day did not cut quite six acres in all

Thursday Oct 1 raked up the hay & he paid me eleven dollars & 75 cents & I came home Charlie at home from Sa[n]ta Fee & John & Elick putting in his wheat Elick young Nash & Case & the Dutchman started for Lawrence for the Sharps Rifles which were promised them when they were their last week left about 12 O'clock & expect to be home tomorrow night.

Friday Oct 2 at Home to day as Charlie does not feel well enough to help me with the machine

Oct 3 Saturday Charlie no better and I started this afternoon for Dr Barton and found him coming on the road to Butler[?] As it rained I was very glad to meet him. He prescribed for him for bilious fever jalap quinine &c

Sunday Charlie not so well to day Oct 4. and the fever not yet broken A crowd at our cabin to all excitement about the election

Monday Oct 5th Election day ⁴⁴ John & Elick went over to Spring Hill to vote But could not do so on acct of the six months

⁴³. Edwin S. Nash was elected to the territorial council from Olathe in the fall of 1857. —*Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁴⁴. Election of members to the territorial legislature and a delegate to congress. Governor Walker promised a fair, free election.

residence ⁴⁵ proscription as every man who offered to vote was challenged. I went in the after noon to Olathe but did not offer my vote. About nine O'clock in this evening nine of us who had not been in the territory six months started for Lawrence to vote. Got up there about day light and voted as soon as the polls were opened. The election was altogether different from those in the states. Every one who came up to the polls voted and no questions were asked. We reached home about 1 O'clock Tuesday night tired and sleepy.

Wednesday Oct 7 Rested to day. Elick started for Quindaro and John went to the timber to get rails to fence in his 13 acres of wheat.

Thursday Oct 8 Tried to plow around the stacks with the young yoke of oxen but could not make them work. After the[y] had run $\frac{1}{2}$ mile over the prairie with the plow at their heels, we unhitched them and quit. Charlie well enough to be around.

Friday Oct 9 Started out this morning on the hunt of some prairie chickens armed with a shot gun and thinking that I might find some on Johns wheat I started over about sun up. When I got over I saw a flock fly up out of the range of my gun and after waiting for two hours for more game I came home without any and found the horses harnessed & ready to go to Olathe to cut hay for [Charles] Osgood. John Charlie & myself all started up. We made a nice commencement on an eight acre patch and took our suppers at the Olathe hotel & slept at Nash's cabin our council man.

Saturday Oct 10 got up at daylight and fed our teams and commenced cutting. finished at noon and moved the machine to Hendricks a proslavery man who has negroes where we will cut Monday if the weather is fine.

Sunday Oct 11 wrote home to Grandfather Addie Miller & father.

Monday Oct 12 Went to mow at Hendricks along with John D. Found Mrs Hendricks a very fine woman & a very good cook. puts me in mind of Aunt Mary. commenced to mow on a very hard piece of ground. very uneven and hard on the horses.

Tuesday 13 To night Smith of Olathe came and wakened us up to go to Oxford 14 miles from [here] to get or take by force a judge or clerk of the election up to Lecompton and have him make oath before Gov Walker to the returns or that 1626 votes were actually

⁴⁵. An act establishing council and representative districts passed in February, 1857, made a six months' residence requirement for voters.—*Laws of the Territory of Kansas, 1857*, p. 68.

polled at Oxford.⁴⁶ A company of 25 men came down from Lawrence and were on their way and wished some one who knew some of them to go along and direct them to their houses. I had never been there neither had Elick & Charlie was not very well and one must stay with him so neither of us went Benj Dare⁴⁷ who knew of the judges & knew exactly where he lived volunteered to act as guide to the Company. The[y] were all armed with revolvers some of them 2 Had an excellent dinner to day at Hendricks Ham boiled chicken potatoes baked pumpkin corn bread biscuit sweet milk butter milk tomatoes cucumbers watermelons, molases, jellies &c pumpkin pie & watermelon for desert They have sold \$40 worth of watermelons this year and a wagon load are now ripe and yet you people think that we have nothing of this kind apples are 75 cts at Kansas City I do not eat many melons as I am afraid of them but the whole family little and big (and the[y] have 5 small children) eat them, when they are thirsty for a drink & not one of them has been sick

Wednesday Oct 14 Finished at Hendricks to day & went to Lewis this evening a methodist preacher who is professor of a female seminary at Independence Mo a very jolly old soul⁴⁸ His claim joins Olathe on the North East

Thursday Oct 15 this morning very cold and blustery and the lard oil froze up so that we could not work without warming it & we concluded not to do it Benj Dare at home again the expedition did not accomplish much. they were expected and a large company were prepared for them Benj was taken up and questioned very closely but the[y] could make nothing out of him and they let him go. He made his way back to the party and they left with all possible speed.

Friday Oct 16 Gov Walker went down to day report says to see

46. The election returns from the Oxford precinct, containing not over a dozen houses, showed that 1,628 Democratic votes had been polled. On October 19, Governor Walker and Secretary Stanton issued a proclamation throwing out the entire vote of the Oxford precinct.—Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

Returns of the Oxford election held October 5 and 6, 1857, were deposited with the Historical Society, November 1, 1906, by J. R. Burrow, secretary of state. Names of voters and their votes were recorded on lined paper fifteen inches wide. Ends of the pages have been pasted together and the entire roll measures forty-five feet. The official recapitulation shows 1,604 votes for Ransom and one for Parrott. R. Clarke, the forty-second voter, was the lone individual listed for Parrott. Election officials were: S. D. Barnett, G. D. Hand, clerks; James H. Nounnan, C. C. Catron, Batt Jones, judges.

47. Benjamin F. Dare was one of three commissioners appointed in Johnson county in 1857 to establish voting precincts and arrange for the election on the Lecompton constitution. In 1858 he bought the Avenue House in Olathe. While acting deputy postmaster in 1859 he rifled the mail, was found out and "left for parts unknown."—*The Kansas Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, December 26, 1857; Blair, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

48. Dr. W. H. Lewis conducted a school for young ladies in Independence, Mo., for a number of years.—W. S. Woodard, *Annals of Methodism in Missouri* (Columbia, Mo., 1893), p. 339.

for himself whether the returns are correct or not⁴⁹ He is afraid of his head I suppose or he would wink at it and let it go Free state men are bound to have their rights at all hazards and he knows it. He found out that but 150 votes were legal and the others were fraudulent. Went to Lewis this afternoon and commenced cutting

Saturday Oct 17 Cut all day & raked it up We were at work in full view of Olathe and it presented quite a busy appearance carpenters at work teams drawing lumber lime kilns burning children playing and holloing the blacksmith's noisy hammer and the constant travel upon the Santa fee Road made us feel as if we were now w[h]ere somebody lived

Sunday Oct 18 Wrote to day to Bill Hodge It was cold & rained all day

Monday Oct 19 Elick and I went down to the timber after a load of rails.

Tuesday Oct 20 mowed at Lewis to day The weather cold and disagreeable the ground froze hard and quite a heavy white frost

Wednesday Oct 21 Today the scykle broke and we had it welded

Thursday Oct 22 the scykle broke again at the weld and we put in the other one which we had left at Jewetts

Friday Oct 23 finished to day at Lewis had mowed 20 acres under great disadvantages & made \$40

Saturday Oct 24 Went to Olathe to day collected \$16 from Hendricks for his mowing and brought home a long necked pumpkin on horseback 3 miles and a cantelope He has the largest pumpkins I ever saw and the greatest lot of them.

Sunday Oct 25 Cooked some of the pumpkin this morning for breakfast found it first rate

Monday Oct 26 Rainy all day & could do nothing out of doors finished a letter commenced yesterday

Tuesday Oct 27 Went to Olathe this morning and got some letters at the mail but none for me & heard nothing from John B—

Wednesday Oct 28 Started this morning for Quindaro & took one mule & expected to get a buggy at Leubenville[?] 3 miles East of Olathe as we had the promise of it yesterday. Were disappointed and had to come home, the last I will start on an uncertainty.

Thursday Oct 29 Rainy & cool with a prospect of a rainy day

Friday Oct 30 John D & Charlie started for Quindaro this

49. On October 12, Governor Walker and Secretary Stanton passed through Lawrence on their way to Oxford.—*The Kansas Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, October 17, 1857. "They expressed their astonishment that so large a city which had polled 1,600 votes had escaped their notice since residing in Kansas."

morning & intended getting a light wagon at Olathe. Found the wagon with the tire off & of course came home

Saturday Oct 31 John & Charlie started with our own team & wagon & will be there tonight. I bored some holes with a post augur It did not work as a post augur should, but still I made some headway.

Sunday Nov 1 the prairie on fire all around us & no one but Elick & myself at home. Bill Q[uantrill] who has been with [us] for over a week left for Stanton this [morning] to get his clothes & Charlies guitar. It was a magnificent sight & had been I thought well represented in paintings that I had seen. But there was some difference to look at the real thing itself coming towards 50 tons of hay worth \$20 dolls a ton on the ground or \$30 at Kansas City & the picture as we had taken the precaution to plow a few furrows away [from] the stacks we did not feel as uneasy as we otherwise should. but nevertheless the raging flame at every side excited us, & to night as I am writing the horison is light up at every side as if we were surrounded with furnaces and all of them were burning ore. We had been uneasy for some time about our large amount of hay at risk but now I shall sleep soundly as the prairie is burned all around them and in some directions for 10 miles beyond & they are safe

Monday Nov 2 All alone to day Elick gone to Missouri to hunt his cattle Bill Q[uantrill] to Stanton after a few things to take along on the [buffalo?] hunt & John & Charlie gone to Quindaro to buy goods provisions &c Fixed up the stacks some as the hay had blown off of some of the stacks & this evening Bill came along—

Tuesday Nov 3 Bill & I went down to the timber & made some rails made 56 with one ax & with wooden wedges & walked 4 miles there and back.

Wednesday Nov 4. Bill & I started this morning to haul the rails got a load on & broke the tongue & came home without the wagon. The boys at home to night with blankets Jewelry guns gloves calico &c.

Thursday Hauled up some rails to day with the mules

Friday Nov 6 Went to Spring Hill to collect a debt for mowing got the money & surveyed some for [David] Sprong & rode to Olathe to night bought 30 pds nails candles &c and came home tired

Saturday Windy & rainy all day long and could do nothing without exposure

Sunday Nov 8 The ground covered with snow this morning the first snow in Kansas has not melted a great deal yet at 5 Oclock in

the afternoon Our cabins leak snow if they do turn rain and this morning my breeches were stiff with snow but very singular none of us have the least symptoms of cold & all enjoy ourselves bravely.

Monday Nov 9 Hauled rails to day from the timber & finished

Tuesday 10th Nailed them on with Elicks assistance

Wednesday 11 Rainy all day and enough to do to keep dry & warm.

Thursday 12 Snow again this morning with sleet & a cool air John D went to Olathe & Elick went over to Winthrop to sell his odd ox we had intended to beef him but we can get another larger one cheaper & a much better one for beef

Friday 13 Butchered to day and a cold ugly job it was Beef weighed about six hundred and very fat & tender.

Saturday peddled out what beef we did not wish to keep though the wagon came home with a part of one of the $\frac{1}{4}$ we will have no trouble to get it off this weather

Sunday 15. Snow an inch deep this morning and we moved our stove into one of the other cabins as they were tighter and warmer.

Monday 16 cold & disagreeable

Tuesday 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 all cold & nothing could well be done Monday noon only four degrees above zero.

24 Tuesday cold & disagreeable

25 Wednesday weather pleasant and not cold

Thursday 26 a meeting of the Free state men to consider upon the constitution framed at Lecompton I had the honor to be chosen president of the meeting and of course I presided with honor to myself and the meeting.

Friday 27 quite warm but damp

28 Saturday rainy all day the land open for preemption do not believe it yet.⁵⁰ Hope it is so though.

Sunday 29 An editor called to see us to day & took our names & called us quite clever young fellows He was from Cincinnati and interested in the *Herald of Freedom* office, [at Lawrence]. He put down Tuscarora Lake as he said to give it publicity. I will send you a paper with the account in if published

Monday 30 A very pleasant day and we put up sod around two sides of our house making it much more comfortable to live in though it presents a very novel appearance to the beholder

Tuesday Dec 1 Started this morning for Lecompton via Lawrence

50. On November 19, 1857, the Shawnee Indian lands were thrown open for purchase and preemption.—Wilder, *Annals of Kansas*, p. 198.

& Gardner a little Free State Town 3 miles from Tuscarora directly west It has now a good stone hotel 30 by 40 and a very good neighborhood surrounding it The citizens of Lawrence have shares in it & are figuring for good roads & a great many of them to center there Stopped at Lawrence over night

Wednesday 2 Started this morning for Lecompton got there about 12 O'clock Filed my intentions for all our boys and for myself. Lecompton laid out in a hole on the river with a half moon bank intervening between the prairie and the town so that you cannot see the town until you are into it after partaking of a good dinner we returned to Lawrence in time to attend a free state meeting After the committee reported a series of resolutions read by "Jim Lane" Speeches were made by Lane Conway Davis Redpath Thatcher Bar Foster Vaughan "Miles Moore" Kob Phillips & McKay⁵¹ After the reading of the 1st resolve of the resolution the noisy exclamation[s] of joy were so great that for ten minutes Lane could not proceed I have witnessed political meetings and heard applaudits but none so general and with so much of heart in them as the meeting at Lawrence of the down trodden and oppressed people of Kansas

Thursday 3rd started for home sent a [Lawrence] *republican* home with the proceedings of the meeting last night and sent one to A Patrick of the *advocate*

Friday 4th Made a stall to day for McCartneys horse

Saturday 5 Helped set a man off a claim to day over at Alexanders⁵²

Sunday 6 had some beans to day for breakfast and past the time singing reading & writing

Monday 7 pulled down a cabin which had been put on Alexander claim

Tuesday 8 Hauled a load stone and fixed our cabin by lining it inside and stuffing the middle with hay

Wednesday 9 Went down to Sprongs & brought up my compass.

Thursday 10 Set a corner for Walters

Friday 11 Laid out twent[y] acre field and dug or helped dig 33 post holes

51. Martin Conway, Dr. Davis, of Leavenworth, James Redpath, T. Dwight Thacher, Wm. V. B. Barr, of Iowa Point, Charles Foster, of Osawatomic, Champion Vaughan, H. Miles Moore, Dr. K. Kob, of the Atchison *Zeitung*, William Phillips, and William McKay.—*The Kansas Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, December 5, 1857.

52. James Alexander's claim was the SE¼ sec. 34, T. 14, R. 23.—Heisler & Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

Saturday 12 Dug 106 post holes 3 of us and thought we were doing very well. Two of us Conner & myself are to build the fence around 20 acres for our passage to St Louis and back The weather has been very fine all week almost like may days. While you people of the states are bundled up in your furs and over coats we are out at work in our shirt sleeves

Sunday 13. I walked out over my farm and was pleased with [it] more than ever

Monday 14 dug 120 post holes to day with Conner

Tuesday 15 dug 100 holes to day

Wednesday 16 finished digging the holes and set over one hundred posts

Thursday 17 set some more posts and nailed on a few rails

Friday 18 set all the posts he had and carried the rails around

Saturday 19 nailed on the rails on one side and quit for the week

Sunday 20 Went over to Gardner to day 3 miles from here to church for the first time in Kansas. Heard a young man try to preach on the resurrection and an old man exhorted in a manner which pleased the outsider very much

Monday 21 Washed one pair of my drawers a woolen overshirt and a check shirt and some collars. Snow to day but nearly all off by noon

Tuesday 22 Worked at the fence

Wednesday 23 Worked at the fence

Thursday 24 Worked at the fence

Friday 25 Went into the timber and hauled a load of posts

Saturday 26 Hauled a load of poles for Connors cabin

First Newspapers in Kansas Counties

(Continued)

1871-1879

G. RAYMOND GAEDDERT

RUSSELL COUNTY

The Kansas Pioneer, Bunker Hill, November, 1871.

The Western Kansas Plainsman, Russell, April 25, 1872.

THE first publication in Russell county was *The Kansas Pioneer*, a monthly real estate journal. It was published at Bunker Hill by Harbaugh, Corbett & Co., but printed at Abilene. Andreas wrote "it was an advertising sheet exclusively" and not entitled to any place in the history of the press.¹ The *Russell Record*, July 13, 1876, however, called it a newspaper. The *Abilene Chronicle* announced the first issue November 30, 1871: "*The Kansas Pioneer*.—The above is the title of a spicy Real Estate paper just issued by Harbaugh, Corbett & Co., of Bunker Hill, Russell County. . . ." It quoted the *Pioneer* in a burst of propaganda as follows:

Rev. W. B. Christopher, President of Illinois Colony [which was to settle near Bunker Hill], says: "I am astonished at the depth and fertility of the soil of this portion of Kansas, and the salubrity of the climate. On the sod we have raised good corn, finest vegetables of all kinds, including common and sweet potatoes, and have now a beautiful growth of winter wheat. More rain has fallen during the summer than I have ever known, except in rainy seasons.—Myself suffering from a bronchial affection, have been wholly relieved. Although sleeping in the open air, and often wet with the penetrating rains, I have hardly coughed or sneezed since I came. Existence is no longer a load but a perpetual thrill of vitality." The air of Western Kansas is the true "Catarrh remedy," and "Consumptive's cure."—*Kansas Pioneer*.

Secondary authorities say the *Pioneer* was published only a few months.² The Society has no copy in its files.

The first weekly newspaper in the county, *The Western Kansas Plainsman*, was started by A. B. Cornell at Russell in April, 1872. It was Republican in politics. The *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, announced the first issue April 30, 1872:

We have received the first number of the *Plainsman*, a very creditable six-column paper, hailing from Russell, Kansas, and bearing the name of A. B. Cornell at the mast-head. The editor closes his salutatory thus: "Personally

1. Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 1285.

2. *Ibid.*; *First Biennial Report of the State Board of Agriculture* . . . 1877-8, p. 403. They called it the *Pioneer*.

we are somewhat of an oddity, for a printer—for we neither smoke, chew or drink *tanglefoot*—but at *cuss*-ing we are equal to the emergency, so don't tread on our corns. Our motto is—equal rights to all, tame submission to none.”

The Ellsworth *Reporter*, May 2, 1872, in announcing the paper, stated: “Mr. Cornell, its publisher, has a deep pocket and considerable personal pride, which is a security that the *Plainsman* will live.” According to Andreas and the *First Biennial Report*, the first number of the *Plainsman* appeared April 25, 1872.³ In October, 1876, it was sold to one Robinson, who removed it to Kirwin, Phillips county. The Society has two issues of the *Plainsman*, dated September 4 and 11, 1875, listed as Vol. IV, Nos. 17 and 18.

A close rival of the *Plainsman* was *The New Republic*, published at Bunker Hill by John R. Rankin. On July 13, 1876, the *Russell Record*, successor to *The New Republic*, made the following statement about the two rival papers:

About the first of April, 1872, John R. Rankin landed at Bunker Hill, with a printing press and some material; and the first type setting in the county was done in the “Office” of the Buckeye House. Soon after, A. B. Cornell brought a printing office to Russell, and on the 25th of April, 1872, issued No. 1, Vol. 1, of the *Western Kansas Plainsman*. Mr. Rankin was delayed somewhat in receiving sufficient amount of material, so that the first number of his paper, the *New Republic*, did not appear until the 9th of May, 1872. These two papers entered fully into the spirit of rivalry between the two towns [Russell and Bunker Hill] during the county seat contest of that year. . . .

On May 16, 1872, the Ellsworth *Reporter* announced *The New Republic* as a new paper hailing from Bunker Hill. In the Society's collection is a good file of the *Russell Record*, commencing with the issue of July 13, 1876; but no copy of *The New Republic*.

HARVEY COUNTY

The Sedgwick *Gazette*, January 19, 1872.

The authorities are mostly silent or in disagreement as to the first paper in this county. On June 1, 1883, Judge R. W. P. Muse wrote in the *Arkansas Valley Democrat*, Newton:

The first paper published in the county was the *Sedgwick Gazette*, which was started in Sedgwick City, January 19th, 1871, by P. T. Weeks, and after a few numbers had been issued, was purchased by Dr. T. S. Floyd, who continued its publication, until it reached its 23d number when he sold his press and material to parties in Wichita, and discontinued its publication.

3. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1285; *First Biennial Report*, p. 403.

In the article on Harvey county, Andreas confirmed Muse's statement except to state that Floyd published thirty-two instead of twenty-three numbers. However, in the article on Sedgwick county, Andreas wrote:

The *Gazette*, independent in politics, was published through a portion of the year 1871, by Yale Brothers. The material was then moved to Sedgwick City (then in Sedgwick county), where the *Sedgwick City Gazette* was published a short time.⁴

The statement in the *First Biennial Report* reads:

The *Newton Kansan* was the first newspaper published in Harvey county. Its publication was commenced at Newton, August 22, 1872, by H. C. Ashbaugh. . . . It has always been strongly Republican.⁵

The same authority, reporting for Sedgwick county, stated:

The *Gazette*, (formerly *Cottonwood Falls Independent*), was the next paper published at Wichita, but it was soon removed to Sedgwick City. It was subsequently purchased by D. G. Millison, and returned to Wichita. Its name was changed to the *Beacon*, and it is still published as a Democratic paper; Capt. White, editor.⁶

Since the Society has no copy of the *Gazette* it was difficult to determine the facts. Secondary authorities agreed that early in its history Sedgwick City had a newspaper called the *Gazette*. As to the time when it appeared they were either silent or gave January 19, 1871, as the date. A search in the newspapers unearthed a clue in the *Chase County Leader* of Cottonwood Falls, December 22, 1871, which reads: "The *Wichita Tribune*, after missing three issues, comes again. It is now owned by Weeks & Follett, A. W. Yale having withdrawn." The personnel of the papers helped to connect the *Tribune* with the *Gazette*. An examination of the files of the *Wichita Tribune* disclosed that the secondary authorities were mistaken in the date of the first issue. It also showed that the *Gazette* was first published in Cottonwood Falls as the *Central Kansas Index*, then in Wichita as the *Tribune* and finally in Sedgwick City as the *Sedgwick Gazette*. On January 12, 1872, the *Chase County Leader* stated: "Again on the Wing.—The *Wichita Tribune* has moved to Sedgwick City." The *Emporia News* of the same date gave additional information: "The *Sedgwick Gazette* is the name of a new seven-column weekly to be published in Sedgwick." On January 19 the *News* reported again: "The *Wichita Tribune* has moved to Sedgwick City. We hope the change will improve it." The next

4. Andreas, *op. cit.*, pp. 782, 1392.

5. *First Biennial Report*, p. 234.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 413.

week, January 26, the *News* supplied this missing information: "The *Sedgwick Gazette*, No. 1, has arrived. Mr. Weeks makes a good deal better paper than he did at Wichita, and one of the best in the Southwest."

In following up the history of the paper a number of subsequent changes was discovered. In the *Emporia News* of May 10, 1872, occurred the following statement: "The *Sedgwick Gazette* has been moved to Newton, and is now the *Harvey County Gazette*." This statement was confirmed in the *Neodesha Citizen* of May 24. On July 12, 1872, the *News* again reported on the *Gazette*: "The *Harvey County Gazette* has moved back to Sedgwick City, and is again the *Sedgwick Gazette*." It gave as a reason for this move that "Newton is 'dead, financially.'" The following week, July 19, the *Chase County Leader* summed up the history of the *Gazette* in these words: "*The Central Kansas Index*, (formerly published at this place,) *alias Wichita Tribune*, *alias Sedgwick City Gazette*, *alias Newton Gazette*, has moved back to Sedgwick City and is again the *Sedgwick City Gazette*." The *Wichita Eagle* of May 6, 1875, and the *Newton Kansan* of January 4, 1877, both reported that T. S. Floyd in October, 1872, sold the *Sedgwick City Gazette* to D. G. Millison of Topeka and Fred A. Sowers of Wichita who removed it to Wichita and changed its name to the *Wichita Beacon*. The *Gazette* was a typical frontier paper in that it changed places with the changes in financial and political prospects of the frontier towns.

OSBORNE COUNTY

Osborne County Express, Arlington, February or March, 1872,
or

Osborne City Times, February or March, 1872.

Z. T. Walrond, author of "Annals of Osborne County," published in the *Osborne County Farmer*, of Osborne, wrote that the first number of the *Osborne City Times* was issued March 11, 1872, and that the *Osborne County Express* first saw daylight March 16, 1872. These papers were established during the county-seat fight in the interest of the two leading towns, Osborne and Arlington. The *Times*, Walrond wrote, was printed at the office of the *Topeka Commonwealth* by an editorial committee consisting of J. A. Boring, H. D. Markley and A. N. Fritchey. He listed a number of business firms advertising in the *Times*, thereby indicating that he had before him copies of the paper. Of the *Express*, he said it was printed at Concordia, in the interest of Arlington. It was edited by Mark J.

Kelley and contained advertisements of business men at Concordia, Beloit and Wagonda.⁷ The *Osborne County Farmer*, March 13, 1879, published the second installment of an article by A. Saxey, entitled: "A Sketch of Osborne County From Its Earliest Settlement to the Present Day." Referring to the county-seat election, Saxey wrote:

Both these towns issued a paper advocating their claims for the honor. Osborne City had her paper, the *Osborne City Times*, printed at Topeka, while Arlington had her printing office in the town of Concordia.

Andreas and the *First Biennial Report* did not mention the papers established in 1872. The first listed was the *Osborne Weekly Times*, started in January, 1873.⁸ That there was a paper established that year called the *Osborne Weekly Times* was announced in the *Beloit Gazette*, February 13, 1873:

The first issue of the *Osborne Weekly Times*, published at Osborne City, thirty-two miles west of us, made its appearance on last Saturday [February 8]. The new paper is edited and published by F. E. Jerome & Co. In appearance it is excellent; in size with the largest west of us; in taste in selected and editorial matter it ranks with the best of country papers, and in general "make up" it does honor to the live people of Osborne city and the county. . . . It is the frontier paper of the Northwest.

This no doubt was the second attempt to start the *Times* at Osborne.

A contemporaneous newspaper report substantiates, in the main, the claims of Walrond and Saxey for the *Osborne County Express*. On February 3, 1872, the *Republican Valley Empire*, Concordia, reported:

Mark J. Kelley, Esq. of the late Clyde *Watchman*, passed through town on Tuesday last, on his way to Osborne City, where he will hereafter reside, and issue the *Osborne City Herald*, from new material. . . .

Apparently this failed to materialize, for on March 9, 1872, the same paper announced the appearance of the first issue of the *Osborne County Express*:

We have received the first number of the *Osborne County Express*, published at Arlington, by M. J. Kelley. It is a neat six-column sheet, and well filled with matter pertaining to the interest of that county. Mark knows how to get up a live paper, and from what we know of the people of Arlington, we are confident the *Express* will be liberally sustained; it certainly ought to be. We wish the frontier paper abundant success.

This places the first number of the *Express* during the last week of February or the first week in March, 1872. No contemporaneous

7. *Osborne County Farmer*, Osborne, September 9, 1880. The *Farmer* in a series of articles published the "Annals" by Walrond. Wagonda, also Waconda, was in Mitchell county, a dead town.

8. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 935; *First Biennial Report*, p. 353.

information has been found, however, about the Osborne City *Times* of 1872. Until the claims of Walrond and Saxey in behalf of the *Times* can either be successfully challenged or else substantiated, it is impossible to say which paper was first in the county. The Society has no copies of these papers.

JEWELL COUNTY

The Jewell City *Weekly Clarion*, March or April, 1872.

The *Clarion* has no rival for priority in the county. The *First Biennial Report* gave the date of the first number as March 24, 1872; Andreas merely gave March, 1872.⁹ The Society has one copy dated August 30, 1872, listed as Vol. 1, No. 23. If regularly issued the *Clarion* should have appeared March 29. The Junction City *Union* announced it April 13, 1872:

We have received the first number of The Jewell City *Weekly Clarion*, published in Jewell City, Kansas. We have filed it away in our cabinet of typographical curiosities.

The *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, did not publish the notice until April 21. The *Clarion* probably appeared during the last week of March or the first two weeks in April, 1872. W. P. Day was the editor and proprietor, assisted by W. D. Jenkins. It was Republican in politics.

The *Clarion* was a small four-column folio. It was published for a year, then changed to the *Jewell County Diamond*, and later to the *Monitor*.

RENO COUNTY

The Hutchinson *News*, July 4, 1872.

The first issue of the *News* was a souvenir edition "designed to attract settlers rather than to relate the happenings of the day for the local citizens who knew them by heart anyway," according to the *Hutchinson News-Herald*, commemorating the seventieth birthday of Hutchinson. The first issue came out July 4, 1872, a four-page edition, numbering 5,000 copies. L. J. Perry was the publisher and Houston Whiteside the editor. Whiteside was too modest to let his name appear on the masthead, remaining incognito as "& Co." Perry also published the *Western Spirit* at Paola. It has been said that he cared so little about Hutchinson, the "Queen City of the Prairie," that he visited it but three times, "the first to find a partner to run the newspaper, the second to help print the first

9. *First Biennial Report*, p. 250; Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 971.

issue and the third to hunt buffalo.”¹⁰ The paper was Republican in politics, supporting Grant.

The printing machine, a Washington hand press, “arrived June 27th on the first train to pull into town and was greeted by everyone of the 150 potential subscribers.”¹¹

The first issue was largely devoted to a description of the great Arkansas Valley, Reno county (its soil, climate and general possibilities), and Hutchinson. This town boasted “two baseball clubs, a dozen croquet clubs, a glee club and not a single whiskey shop.” The editor thought it was better to start a town with a church and a school house than with a whisky saloon. The *Kansas Weekly Tribune*, Lawrence, July 18, 1872, described the first issue of the *News* in these words:

Number one of volume one of the *Hutchinson News*, is upon our table. It is a neat and sprightly paper, and finds its local items in Reno county, instead of foreign papers. It is for Grant and Wilson, and is brimful of life and spirit. The citizens of Reno county will help themselves by giving it a liberal support.

The Society has a facsimile of the first issue of the *News* reproduced July 2, 1932. Its regular file does not start until February 17, 1876, although it has the issue of July 15, 1875.

BARTON COUNTY

Arkansas Valley, or *Arkansas Valley Echo*, Great Bend,
July (?), 1872.

Most authorities agree that the *Arkansas Valley* is the name of the first newspaper published in Barton county.¹² However, an article written by a correspondent of the *Topeka Commonwealth* from Great Bend, published December 17, 1872, raises a question as to the name of the paper. The statement reads: “Our long-promised local paper, the *Arkansas Valley Echo*, is about to appear again. A press has been secured, set up, and ready for orders, and I think that the present week will find us with *Echo* No. 2.” Apparently the statement refers to the same paper, the *Arkansas Valley* of Great Bend. On November 22, 1872, the *Neodesha Weekly Citizen* issued the following statement: “The material on which the *Tioga Herald* was printed is to be removed to Great Bend, Barton county, and a new paper started.” Nothing more was found in the contemporaneous newspapers relating to the above statements.

10. *Hutchinson News-Herald*, April 20, 1941.

11. *Ibid.*

12. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 767, gave the date as 1872; *First Biennial Report*, p. 115, failed to give the date.

In 1912 the Great Bend *Tribune* published a *Biographical History of Barton County* which contained an article on the county's newspapers. The section relating to the *Arkansas Valley* reads:

The first newspaper published in the county was *The Arkansas Valley*, edited by S. J. McFarren. There were but a few issues of this paper, the first edition being published in July, 1872. It was a seven-column paper. . . . It was printed at the office of the *Tribune* in Lawrence, Kan., and was owned by T. L. Morris and others. The salutatory editorial in the paper consisted chiefly of an apology for publishing a newspaper in the heart of the Great American Desert. . . . The second number was issued in 1873. The outside was printed by A. N. Kellogg of St. Louis and was dated January 14, 1873, the inside—printed later—was dated January 27, 1873, and the advertisements were nearly all dated in April, 1873. . . .

The price of the paper was \$2.00 per year and since it was published only twice a year, the paper cost the subscribers \$1.00 a copy. . . .¹³

The detailed description of the two issues make it appear that the author had copies of the newspaper before him when he wrote the article. If this could be established as a fact, most of the questions regarding the paper could be answered.

In 1873 the name of this paper was changed to the *Barton County Progress*. The Society has no copies of the *Arkansas Valley* or the *Progress*.

McPHERSON COUNTY

McPherson *Messenger*, December 19, 1872.

Andreas gave the date of the first issue of the *Messenger* as November, 1872. *First Biennial Report* had it December 19, 1872.¹⁴ The date on the first issue is December 19, 1872, but in it was the following statement:

We date this issue for the week after it is issued in order to give us time to canvass some for advertisements and subscriptions. We do this in order to have as many of our subscribers commence with the first number as possible. We hope all who are interested in having a paper in McPherson county—and every person in the county should be—will come and subscribe, or send in their subscription at once.

The first issue, therefore, was published December 12, 1872, a week earlier than the listed date.

The editors and proprietors of this paper were A. W. and L. B. Yale. In politics they were Republican, although they considered themselves "more liberal in . . . [their] views than some," saying: "We will always support man in preference to measures, and

13. *Biographical History of Barton County, Kansas* (Great Bend *Tribune*, 1912), p. 61.

14. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 814; *First Biennial Report*, p. 308.

will denounce corruption in any party wherever we see it." It was their aim "to make a good live local paper that . . . [would] exercise an influence in bringing settlers to this county," to help develop its resources.

The paper changed hands several times during the course of its existence. In August, 1873, A. W. Yale went into other business. This left L. B. Yale sole editor and proprietor. On August 21, 1873, the *Messenger* was closed out for debt and bought by the McPherson Publishing Company. On December 13, 1873, it came under the control of I. F. Clark and George W. McClintic, operating under the firm name of Clark and McClintic. Clark was chief editor.¹⁵ Just when the *Messenger* folded up is not known.

The Society has a broken file from December 19, 1872, listed as Vol. 1, No. 1, to December 27, 1873. The issues that should contain the information of the foreclosure are missing from the file.

SMITH COUNTY

The Smith County Pioneer, Cedarville, December, 1872.

The exact date of the first number of the *Pioneer* is uncertain. Andreas and the *First Biennial Report* said it started in November, 1872. Apparently this is not true. On January 4, 1873, the Junction City *Union* announced the first issue:

We have received a copy of No. 1 of the *Smith County Pioneer*. We have heard of Smith county, but it is further out than we are acquainted. The *Pioneer* appreciates its calling, and goes in for local matters. Typographically it will barely pass, but then it is an awful ways out. May it grow with the country. It claims that Smith county has 2,500 of a population, and growls because they have but one mail a week.

On January 9, 1873, the *Beloit Gazette* announced that it had received "the first and second numbers of the *Smith County Pioneer*, published at Cedarville. The paper improves as it grows older." On July 4, 1876, the Rev. W. M. Wellman, speaking on the "History of Smith County," said the *Pioneer* made its appearance in December, 1872.¹⁶

The question of priority also requires mention. On November 28, 1872, the *Beloit Gazette* stated: "We are informed that a paper is about to be started at Smith Center, Smith county. We wish the enterprise success." No information has been found to show that the paper ever was established. On the contrary, in 1935, L. T. Reese, reporting on "Incidents of Early Days in Kansas," wrote that Levi

15. *First Biennial Report*, p. 308; *McPherson Messenger*, December 13, 1873.

16. *The Smith County Pioneer*, Smith Center, July 27, 1876, published the address.

Morrill from Hiawatha "was the first advocate of a newspaper in Smith Center. He set up a little hand press, talked newspaper, had no name for one and never made an issue."¹⁷ This may explain the report in the *Gazette*.

Andreas, the *First Biennial Report*, and the *Pioneer* of July 27, 1876, stated that W. D. Jenkins started the *Pioneer*, that it was edited successively by Jenkins, Lew Plummer and Mark J. Kelley and that the office was sold to Levi Morrill in 1873, who removed it to Smith Center.¹⁸ L. T. Reese, writing for the *Smith Center Review*, November 28, 1935, had a different story:

. . . one Sandy Barron [the father of James Barron, prominent lawyer of Colorado Springs] . . . operated a print shop in a dugout near a break on the bank of the river or creek near Cedar where he had taken a homestead some two or three miles south of the Solomon river at the foot of the bluffs.

He published the first newspaper in Smith County. It was printed on a little disk hand press run by a crank like a corn sheller. This press was bought by one, Dr. D. Jenkins, a druggist of Kirwin and was transferred later to Will D. Jenkins who brought it to Smith Center and it has been known ever since as the *Smith County Pioneer*.

The contemporaneous newspapers quoted above failed to give the names of the editors and publishers.

On September 1, 1932, the *Pioneer* gave an interesting description of its inception:

It was in a partially completed log shanty in the shade of a cottonwood tree on the banks of the Solomon river that the first issue of *The Smith County Pioneer*—then known as the *Kansas Pioneer*—was printed at the government designated county seat of Cedarville in 1872. The material and equipment, extremely crude as compared to a modern printing office, was carted in by ox team from the nearest railroad point some two hundred miles distant. The sponsors for the publication were members of the Cedarville Townsite company, hardy pioneers to whom visions of future greatness for the embryo city took the form of reality. John Johnson, Nod Morrison, Vol Bottomly and Jim Johnson were some of the men who entertained those visions. . . .

The reader will observe further contradictions in these quotations. The contemporaneous papers quoted above called the first issue *Smith County Pioneer* and not *Kansas Pioneer*. Contradictions as to type of building here are of minor consequence.

From the start the *Pioneer* was a Republican newspaper, fighting its battles vigorously and persistently. It is one of the few original county papers which still carries on. The Society has a good file of it commencing with the issue of January 7, 1876.

17. *Smith County Review*, Smith Center, December 5, 1935.

18. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 909; *First Biennial Report*, p. 428; *Pioneer*, Smith Center, July 27, 1876.

LINCOLN COUNTY

The Lincoln County News, Lincoln Center, March 5, 1873.

The Society has the first issue of this paper. It bears date of March 5, 1873, and not 1872, as listed in the *First Biennial Report*. Andreas had the year correct but the day of the month as March 3.¹⁹ F. H. Barnhart was editor and publisher of the *News*. William C. Buzick joined him on the sixth number, operating under the firm name of Buzick & Barnhart. After an existence of a year and a half, the *News* was leased to P. Barker, who changed the name to *Lincoln County Patriot*.

In the first issue of the *News* the editor wrote that it would be a "home paper, devoted to the interests of Lincoln county and the Saline valley." In politics it would support "the principles of the Republican party, endeavoring to treat all questions with candor, and its opponents with justice." It would not be an organ of "cliques or rings," but it would strive to "maintain an honorable and manly independence, exposing and condemning wrong, whether found in the camp of the enemy or the house of its friends."

Lincoln Center, later changed to Lincoln, had been made the county seat in the fall of 1872, about six months before the county had a newspaper. When the first issue of the *News* appeared the county had a population of about 500 voters and every voter occupied 160 acres of the domain.

The Society has the first thirty-eight numbers of the *News*, probably the only copies in existence, and one copy of the *Lincoln County Patriot*, dated July 15, 1875.

RICE COUNTY

The Rice County Herald, Atlanta, May, 1873.

The exact date of the first issue of this paper is unknown. Andreas wrote:

The Rice County Herald was started at Atlanta April 19, 1872, by a Mr. Frazier, and soon after it was sold to the Shinn Brothers. They sold it to Smith & Wallace, who soon after moved it to Peace, now Sterling. In 1875 it was moved to Hutchinson, Reno county.²⁰

The *First Biennial Report* had practically the same information except that it gave only the year, 1872, as the beginning date.²¹ Charles R. Tuttle, in *Centennial History of Kansas*, published in

19. *First Biennial Report*, p. 280; Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1421.

20. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 755.

21. *First Biennial Report*, p. 383.

1876, wrote that *The Rice County Herald* published at Peace was the only newspaper in the county.²² Only one contemporaneous newspaper account referring to the first issue of the *Herald* has been found. The *Ellsworth Reporter*, May 8, 1873, made this statement:

Rice county has a new paper, the *Herald*, which we hope will make a living. Rice needs the paper and the *Herald* is full of good tidings to its readers.

The *Reporter* failed to mention the place of publication, nor did it give the name of the editor and publisher. If the announcement has reference to the first appearance of *The Rice County Herald* in the county, which no doubt it does, then the secondary authorities are in error. The Society has no copy of this paper.

PAWNEE COUNTY

The *Larned Press*, June 10, 1873.

This paper has been listed as first in the county. Andreas and the *First Biennial Report* stated that the *Press* was established by W. C. Tompkins in 1873, and was Republican in politics.²³ A more detailed and descriptive statement of the first issue was written by Mrs. Isabell Worrell Ball, published November 17, 1899. It reads:

June 10th, 1873, Wm. C. Tompkins published the first issue of the *Larned Press*. It was a three-column folio, the size of its pages was seven by nine inches, republican in politics, and had for its motto: "Westward the Star of Empire takes its way." In his salutation the editor says: "It is the most westerly paper printed in the state, and is probably the most petite. But small as it is, it is larger than its income." Its subscribers numbered 00,000—all dead heads. It was printed on a Washington hand press, and the type-setting was done mostly by the editor's two sons, Fred. M. and Willie F. Tompkins, aged eleven and twelve respectively.²⁴

No newspaper announcement of the first number has been found. However, since Mrs. Ball quoted from the salutation, the date she gave, June 10, 1873, should be correct. The Society's file of this paper commences with the issue of October 20, 1876, listed as Vol. IV, No. 13.

22. Tuttle, Charles R., *A New Centennial History of the State of Kansas* . . . (Lawrence, 1876), p. 644.

23. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1351; *First Biennial Report*, p. 361. Andreas spelled Tompkins with an "h."

24. *Larned Eagle Optic*, November 17, 1899. The title of the article is, "History of Pawnee County."

CHAUTAUQUA COUNTY

Howard County Messenger, Boston, July or August, 1873.

Chautauqua county was not organized until 1875. The territory now included in Elk and Chautauqua counties was Howard county in 1874. Sedan, Boston and Peru, the three towns concerned in the following discussion, are reported having started newspapers before the change in organization.

The *Howard County Messenger* of Boston no doubt was the first newspaper published in territory now included in Chautauqua county. It was published for some time at Howard before its removal to Boston. In a story *Early Days in "Old Boston,"* Thos. E. Thompson referred to the removal of the *Messenger* from Howard to Boston as having occurred in August, 1873. The paper had been taken over by A. B. Hicks and moved to Boston in consideration of a small bonus paid by the Boston people.²⁵ On July 16, 1873, the *Neosho County Journal*, Osage Mission, reported the removal: "Boston, Howard county, is going to have a paper. The Howard City *Messenger* has been removed there." When the first issue was published in Boston is not known. However, on September 9, 1873, the Topeka *Daily Blade* quoted the *Messenger*.

Wide Awake was a second contender for priority in this county. Andreas and the *First Biennial Report* stated that the first issue was published at Sedan "in June, 1874, by Joseph Mount, a mute." It was short-lived, having run only a little over a year when it expired in September, 1875.²⁶ Winnie Looby-Severns, in an address delivered at Sedan January 30, 1928, said:

The first newspaper in Peru was established by its owner, a deaf and dumb man by the name of Mounts. He came with his little "hand organ" late in 1872. He called his paper *The Wide Awake*. His office was in his home, a small building or cabin. This structure was badly damaged by a storm, but he built over again. When the county seat was lost by Peru, he moved to Sedan. About this time Judge Moore and sons Elliott and Fletcher came to Peru. . . . [Mount finally sold to Moore.]²⁷

The Society has one issue of this paper, dated July 10, 1875, and listed as Vol. I, No. 49. It is dated at Sedan, with Joseph Mount & Co. as publishers. If published regularly the first number should have appeared August 7, 1874. If allowance is made for removing the plant from Peru to Sedan, the first number probably was issued

25. Thompson, Thos. E., *Early Days in "Old Boston"* (September 26, 1924), p. 3.—Library of Kansas State Historical Society.

26. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1217; *First Biennial Report*, p. 134.

27. Looby-Severns, Winnie, *Early History of Peru, Chautauqua County, Kansas*, p. 11.

in June or July, 1874, which would still disqualify it for first place in the county.

The *Chautauqua Journal* is a third contender for priority. D. W. Wilder's *Annals of Kansas* under date of December, 1873, reads: "Kelly and Turner issued the *Chautauqua Journal* in Sedan." This paper was first published at Elk Falls as the *Elk Falls Journal* and the removal to Sedan did not take place until 1875 or 1876. February 12, 1875, the *Wilson County Citizen* still quoted the *Elk Falls Journal*. On this subject Andreas wrote:

The *Chautauqua Journal* was brought here from Elk Falls, where it had been established in 1873 by Ward & Pyle, who sold out in December of that year, to Kelly and Turner. After nearly three years, the removal to Sedan was made, where the firm continued the publication of the paper until January, 1879. [In another place Andreas wrote that the *Elk Falls Journal* was removed to Sedan in 1875.]²⁸

The Society does not have the first numbers of these three papers, and a search through contemporaneous newspapers has failed to reveal announcements of their first publications. The information available, however, points to the conclusion that the *Howard County Messenger* of Boston was the first newspaper published in Chautauqua county.

PHILLIPS COUNTY

The *Kirwin Chief*, about August 2, 1873.

The *Chief* has been accepted as first in this county. W. D. Jenkins was the editor and proprietor. The *First Biennial Report* said the paper "was established in August, 1873, by W. D. Jenkins, under the direction of the Kirwin Town Company." Andreas wrote it was the "oldest paper in northwestern Kansas . . . established in August, 1872. . . ." ²⁹ Andreas was mistaken in the year. The Society has an early issue of the *Chief* dated June 27, 1874, listed as Vol. I, No. 48. If published regularly the first number should have appeared August 2, 1873. The *Junction City Union* announced it August 16, 1873:

The *Chief* is the name of a creditable newspaper venture at Kirwin, Phillips county. W. D. Jenkins is the editor.

The *Phillips County Post*, of Phillipsburg, published a souvenir edition July 12, 1906, from which we quote the early history of the paper:

28. Andreas, *op. cit.*, pp. 1217, 1219.

29. *First Biennial Report*, p. 365; Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1514.

The *Kirwin Chief* (the first paper in the county), was established in August, 1873, by W. D. Jenkins. He sold the paper to Capt. A. A. Thomas in the winter of 1874. In the fall of 1876, it was purchased by A. G. McBride and removed to Phillipsburg; after six months it was again moved to Kirwin, and July 13, 1881, was sold to the *Kirwin Chief* Steam Printing Co., with Rev. G. W. Wood, as editor. Tom G. Nicklin took charge Nov. 30, '81, A. L. Topliff January 5, 1882, and T. J. Pickett July 20, 1882. . . .

The Society's regular file of the *Chief* starts June 8, 1876.

EDWARDS COUNTY

Kinsley Reporter, September, 1873.

The *First Biennial Report* and Andreas agree that the *Kinsley Reporter* made its appearance September 16, 1873, that it started as a monthly publication, changed to a fortnightly or semiweekly, and in 1875, to a weekly publication.³⁰ The *Topeka Daily Blade* announced the first issue of the *Reporter* October 6, 1873, saying: "The first number of the *Kinsley Reporter*, published at Peter city, by Mrs. C. C. McGinnis, has made its appearance." It failed to comment on the nature of the publication. In the issues of March 14 and 28, 1878, the *Edwards County Leader*, of Kinsley, published a history of the county in which the author, J. A. Walker, listed Mrs. A. L. McGinnis publisher of the *Reporter*. In part it reads:

In September, 1873, Mrs. A. L. McGinnis, sister to Mrs. W. F. Blanchard and F. C. Blanchard, issued the first number of the *Kinsley Reporter*, a spicey little newspaper which she continued to publish until it was merged into the *Edwards County Leader*, W. T. Bruer purchasing her press and type in January, 1877.

Andreas and the *First Biennial Report* failed to mention the editor and publisher, however the state census records of Kinsley township, Edwards county for 1875, listed A. L. McGinnis, female, age 42, printer, but did not mention C. C. McGinnis. With A. L. was listed M. V. McGinnis, female, age 16. It is possible and probable that Mrs. C. C. and A. L. McGinnis refer to the same person, one referring to her initials, and the other, to her husband's.

The Society has four issues of the *Reporter*, the first bears the date of September 21, 1876, listed as Vol. III, No. 45.

30. *First Biennial Report*, p. 200; Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1367.

FORD COUNTY

Dodge City *Messenger*, February 26, 1874.

The grasshopper scourge followed closely on the heels of the *Messenger*, and no doubt helped force its suspension in 1875. A. W. Moore was editor and publisher. In the salutatory he wrote:

Here we are. How do you like us? We dislike a long Salutatory with more words than sense—promising great things which cannot be fulfilled—(as is too often the case with editors in Kansas)—but we merely say that we are here, in Dodge City, Ford County, State of Kansas, for the purpose of publishing a newspaper, earning and receiving our “chuck,” and doing what we can towards promoting the interests of said county. The *Messenger* is an Independent—or Neutral, paper—reserving the right, however, to criticise the actions of our public servants both in high and low places—to denounce public robbery and wholesale stealing—and speaking a good word for those who merit it. . . .

In another place he told about the conditions in that western town:

Dodge City, where we have cast anchor, contains a population of about three hundred souls. The city has gained an unenviable name, far and near—but now, instead of those terrible scenes that we read of, being re-enacted, quietude reigns supreme. The desperadoes have all taken their departure, leaving the peace-loving citizens in possession.

There are some sixteen business houses in the city—all of which are doing a very fair business, so far as we can learn. . . . The shops around are doing a good business—and the saloons are kept in good shape, and very orderly, by gentlemen who fully understand their business. . . .

A. W. Moore went to Dodge City from Holton, where in 1867 he had established the *Jackson County News*, a Republican seven-column paper.³¹ He removed his material to Dodge City to establish the *Messenger*, a four-page, six-column paper. The Society has two issues, Vol. I, No. 1, dated February 26, 1874, and the issue of June 25, 1874.

RUSH COUNTY

The Walnut Valley Standard, Rush Center, December 24, 1874.

This was the first newspaper published and printed in Rush county. William P. Tomlinson, a Republican, was the editor and proprietor. The Society has two copies of *The Walnut Valley Standard* published in this decade. The first is dated December 24, 1874, but it carries no volume and number. It was printed on a single sheet with four columns to the page. The editor wrote:

This first assay at printing in Rush county which we think will be appreciated by all interested in the welfare of the county, is purely an individual

31. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1560; *First Biennial Report*, p. 238.

enterprise involving not a cent of expense to the county. A large edition has been worked off which we present to all with the compliments of the season.

Doubtless the editor regarded this issue as Vol. I, No. 1, even though he failed to label it. Moreover, he wrote that it was the "first assay at printing in Rush county." There is no information to show that it had a rival for priority.

Apparently the paper was not published regularly, as the next issue in the Society's file is Vol. I, No. 26, dated December 13, 1876—nearly two years after the first number was published. According to the *First Biennial Report* the *Standard* was removed to La Crosse in the spring of 1877, and then to Ellis, Ellis county. The Society also has two copies of the *Standard* published at Ellis.

Tomlinson was a native of Pennsylvania. In the fall of 1857 he was sent to Kansas by the *New York Tribune* as its correspondent, and in 1859 wrote a book on the territorial troubles, entitled, *Kansas in Eighteen Fifty-eight*. In the spring of 1871 he moved to Kansas, locating first at Council Grove, then at Rush Center. He was the first representative sent to the state legislature from Rush county. In later years he worked for the *Topeka Commonwealth*, was associated with Charles K. Holliday in the publication of the *Kansas Democrat*, and later published a paper known as the *Democrat*. He died at Topeka June 13, 1901.³²

ROOKS COUNTY

The Stockton News, January 6, 1876.

The *News* was established at Stockton by J. W. Newell in January, 1876. It was Republican in politics. Newell purchased the press and material of the *Lincoln County Patriot*, removed it to Stockton in November, 1875, and issued the first number January 6, 1876.³³ The Society has Vol. I, No. 15, of the *News*, dated April 20, 1876. If published regularly the first number should be dated January 13, 1876. However, the *Osborne County Farmer*, of Osborne, announced it January 14:

The *Stockton News* has made its appearance. It is a neat, well edited six column sheet, is a credit to Mr. Newell the publisher, and will be an honor to the people of Rooks county if they support it handsomely.

This indicates that the first issue may have appeared January 6, 1876.

32. La Crosse *Chieftain*, January 2, 1930.

33. *Stockton News*, July 19, 1882; Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1611; Risely, Mrs. Jerry Burr, "The History of Rooks County, Kansas," p. 9.—MS. in library of the Kansas State Historical Society.

The *News* continued publication until September 30, 1909. During the period of May, 1881, to April, 1882, it was published at Plainville. With the issue of March 28, 1883, it changed its name to *The Western News*, having earlier dropped Stockton from its title. The Society has a good file of this paper.

NORTON COUNTY

The Norton County Bee, Norton, January 1, 1877.

The grasshopper scourge of 1874, the panic of 1875, and the subsequent depression period, no doubt greatly retarded the westward march of the Kansas frontier newspaper men. In 1872-1873, thirteen new counties established newspapers, whereas during the next three years there were only three: Ford and Rush in 1874 (although the *Dodge City Messenger* came in before the grasshopper invasion), none in 1875, and one in 1876.

Andreas and the *First Biennial Report* gave the date of the first issue of *The Norton County Bee* as January 1, 1877, listing Harmer and Baker as the proprietors. The *First Biennial Report* added Nat. L. Baker, editor.³⁴ J. C. Swayze announced the initial number in the *Topeka Daily Blade*, January 10, 1877:

The Norton County Bee is a new newspaper published at Norton in this State, by Harmer & Hugill. It is exceedingly country in appearance, but we suppose that is accounted for by the fact that it is exceeding[ly] far out in the country. It claims to be "intensely local" also. It has a worm fence around each page, which leads us to infer that it is opposed to the herd law. May it have better luck than the *Locomotive*.

The Society has only one issue of the *Bee*, dated May 7, 1877, listed as Vol. I, No. 19, which places the first number January 1, 1877. However, it gave A. F. Harmer as editor and publisher. No doubt the initial number was published by Harmer & Hugill as announced in the *Blade*. According to Andreas the office of the *Bee* was removed to Leota, Norton county, in November, 1877; after a few months it was returned to Norton, and soon discontinued.³⁵

STAFFORD COUNTY

The Stafford Citizen, November 30, 1877.

The first issue of the *Citizen* appeared November 30, 1877. It was printed at Sterling. Theo. L. Kerr was the editor and proprietor. Throughout its brief existence the editor boosted Pratt county. It lived and died before Stafford county was organized. With the

34. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1063; *First Biennial Report*, p. 344.

35. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1063.

organization of the county in 1879, Stafford city was included in this county, and the *Citizen* was honored as Stafford county's first newspaper.

The editor did not commit himself politically. In "Our Bow" he wrote:

In general politics we do not propose to take much of a hand at present, but when occasion shall arise, we expect to be found on the side of honesty and good government. In local politics, the *Citizen* will use its best endeavors to assist in the selection of honest, capable men to office and will then watch them to see that they do their duty faithfully.

But we consider it our chief mission at present to talk up the country and get it filled with settlers.

More interesting than "Our Bow" was "Our Adieu," which followed in Vol. I, No. 31, dated June 28, 1878. It reads, in part:

For thirty-one weeks we have been amusing ourselves at journalism; during which time we have acted in the capacity of editor, reporter, business manager, bookkeeper, compositor, proof-reader, pressman and devil; and must confess that it is a little the liveliest amusement we ever engaged in. On account of our limited financial resources we were obliged to do our printing at Sterling, which being thirty-three or four miles from our town of publication prevented us from making a flying visit to the beautiful little city we have had so much to say about, oftener than once in three or four weeks. During the last thirty-one weeks, however, our bump of imagination has increased to such an enormous size that we feel perfectly competent to write *all* the local news notwithstanding the many miles of prairie that hides from our view our country and people. . . .

Kerr had but two reasons for dropping the newspaper business. The most important was, he could not make it pay; the second, which he considered a direct consequence of the first, his declining health. He therefore sold his subscription list and good will to E. B. Cowgill of Rice county who promised to publish the Stafford news in his paper. The Society has all thirty-one issues of the *Citizen*.

BARBER COUNTY

Barbour County Mail, Medicine Lodge, May 21, 1878.

The Society has an incomplete file of this paper, including Vol. I, No. 1, dated May 21, 1878.³⁶ M. J. Cochran was the editor and publisher. The paper was Republican in politics. In the "Salutatory" the editor wrote:

We will say that while we have political views of our own and those of a radical nature, we do not think the growth of the county would be in any way materially aided by their advocacy. The only politics needed, in our judg-

36. Andreas and the *First Biennial Report* gave the date of the first issue as May 20 and May 23, respectively. See Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1523, and *First Biennial Report*, p. 110.

ment, in a new county, is economy in county management, and the selection of pure, noble-minded and honest men to fill the places of trust and profit, keeping an eye single to the advancement and substantial development of your county.

Not many politicians would admit as much.

Cochran published the last issue of the *Mail* March 6, 1879. On the editorial page he wrote that his interest in, and management of the *Mail* ceased. In the first issue of the Medicine Lodge *Cresset*, published March 20, 1879, the editors and proprietors, J. W. McNeal and E. W. Iliff, wrote that they had purchased the *Mail* on the following terms:

The terms on which we purchased the *Mail* were that we were to continue all paid up subscriptions until their time expires. Those who are in ar[r]ears we are to collect arrearages. . . .

The *Cresset* therefore replaced the *Mail*. The issue of May 22, 1879, announced Iliff's withdrawal and replacement by T. A. McNeal, now of Topeka. The McNeals were brothers. The *Cresset* continued its publication until August 30, 1917, when it consolidated with *The Barber County Index*, of Medicine Lodge. Under this name the paper is still published. Cloyce M. and C. W. Hamilton are the present editors and publishers.

KINGMAN COUNTY

Kingman *Mercury*, June 14, 1878.

Andreas was correct in saying: "The *Mercury* was the first newspaper published in Kingman county. It was established by J. C. Martin [formerly connected with the *Chase County Courant*, of Cottonwood Falls], the first issue bearing date June 14, 1878."³⁷ The Society has a good file of the *Mercury*, including Vol. I, No. 1.

In the salutatory Martin wrote that he intended to devote his time to help make Kingman county "the equal of any in the State." He abhorred "long-winded salutatories and promises" never intended to be fulfilled, and closed with the quotation:

Here's freedom to him that would read,
Here's freedom to him that would write!
There's none ever feared that the truth should be heard
But they whom the truth would indict.

The *Mercury* started as a five-column folio. On June 13, 1879, Martin increased it to a seven-column, four-page paper. On August 19, 1880, the paper changed hands, Martin sold to A. E. Saxey, who

37. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1526.

changed the name to the *Kingman Blade*. Saxey continued the *Blade* till December 23, 1880, when he disposed of his interests to P. J. Conklin, editor and publisher of the *Kingman County Citizen*, of Kingman, who discontinued the *Blade*.

GRAY COUNTY

The *Cimarron Pioneer*, July 2, 1878.

The first journalistic venture in Foote, now Gray county, was the *Cimarron Pioneer*. The paper was edited and published by Joseph E. Morcombe, formerly a correspondent of the *Kinsley Graphic*, and printed by the *Dodge City Times*. *The Optic* gave the date of the first issue as July 2, 1878.³⁸ On June 25, 1878, the *Ford County Globe*, of Dodge City, published a news item by "Dick" of Cimarron which told of the prospective newspaper venture:

We are to have a newspaper here soon, we understand. The first issue will come out Saturday, June 29. We wish it much success, and as we have an enterprising editor, we think it cannot be otherwise. We understand it is to be called *The Pioneer*.

On July 6, 1878, the *Dodge City Times* announced the first issue:

The first number of the *Cimarron Pioneer* was issued last Tuesday [July 2]. It is edited and conducted by Jos. E. Morcombe, a young man of fine ability, and who gives promise of much usefulness. He is a fine writer and will adapt himself to the newspaper profession. The *Pioneer* is a credit to the growing town of Cimarron. We wish it unbounded success.

Three days later, July 9, the *Globe* announced the first issue:

The *Cimarron Pioneer* came to hand on Friday. Progress is to-day the touchstone of success and we feel that the publishing of the *Pioneer* is progressive enough for the most enthusiastic and consequently deserving of success. We welcome it to our table.

The *Kinsley Graphic* announced the *Pioneer* July 13:

The *Cimarron Pioneer* is the latest journalistic venture outside of Kinsley. Jos. E. Marcombe, late correspondent of the *Graphic*, editor. The *Pioneer* is indeed an oasis in the desert, and we wish it abundant success.³⁹

According to the *Dodge City Times* the first issue of this paper appeared July 2. The Society has no copy of the *Pioneer*.

The New West, Cimarron, was the second newspaper in the county. It was first published March 22, 1879, and was printed at Larned. The Society has a good file of it.

38. *The Optic*, Cimarron, July 18, 1879.

39. *The Optic* spelled the editor's name, Morcomb.—See *ibid*.

PRATT COUNTY

Pratt County Press, Iuka, August 15, 1878.

Andreas listed the *Press* as the first newspaper in Pratt county.⁴⁰ It had no rival for priority. The first number no doubt appeared August 15, 1878. The earliest number in the Society's file is Vol. I, No. 3, dated August 29, 1878. If regularly issued the first number should be dated August 15. On August 22, the *Weekly Bulletin*, Sterling, announced the Iuka paper as follows:

We have received Vol. 1, No. 1, of the weekly *Pratt County Press* published at Iuka, by [J. B.] King and [M. C.] Davis. The *Press* is a handsomely printed, spicily edited seven column folio. The proprietors say they know how to get up a county paper, and from the contents of the initial number we judge their words to be no vain boast. . . .

The initial number was highly complimented by other Kansas papers. The *Pawnee County Herald*, of Larned, stated: "The paper is a very good looking seven column sheet, unusually well gotten up for a 'backwoods' paper." The *Hutchinson Herald* spoke of King and Davis as "both practical printers and experienced publishers. Their paper, the *Press*, is a credit to the locality." The *Kansas City (Mo.) Daily Journal*, said the *Press* was "exceptionally well gotten up. . . . Iuka is sixty miles from a railroad station, but the pluck and energy displayed by Messrs. King and Davis is what makes success certain." The *Daily Democrat*, Pueblo, Colo., listed the paper as "independent' in politics."⁴¹

HARPER COUNTY

Anthony Journal, August 22, 1878.

Jasper S. Soule established the *Journal* in Anthony, August 22, 1878. It was the official and only paper in the county,⁴² started as a five-column folio. Before a year elapsed, however, another column had been added. Soule started the project to earn a living for himself and family. He proposed to make the *Journal* a "free, fearless and independent" publication. Anthony was selected because he regarded Harper "the 'banner' county of the 'Great Southwest,'" and the townsite attracted him. At the time of the first issue Anthony was four months old.

Soule had learned the printers' trade in the office of the *Walnut Valley Times*, El Dorado, under the eagle eye of T. B. Murdock. It

40. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1268.

41. *Pratt County Press*, Iuka, September 5, 1878. The comments were given under the caption: "As Others See Us."

42. *Anthony Journal*, September 5, 1878.

is of interest, therefore, to read what the master workman had to say about the product of his former apprentice. On August 30, 1878, Murdock wrote in the *Times*:

We have received the first number of the Anthony, Harper county *Journal*, J. S. Soule editor and proprietor. Jasper learned the printing trade in the *Times* office and we can therefore claim him as one of our boys. His paper is a neat and well filled sheet and is a credit to the publisher as well as to the county in which it is printed, and if the people of that county don't give the *Journal* a handsome support they deserve to be without a newspaper at all. We hope to see Jasper make a success of it in his new venture.

Soule sold the *Journal* to C. W. Greene April 26, 1879.⁴³ The Society has a good file of the *Journal*, including Vol. I, No. 1.

HODGEMAN COUNTY

Hodgeman *Agitator*, Hodgeman Center, March 1, 1879.

W. W. Wheeland was editor and publisher of the *Agitator*, the first newspaper in the county, published and printed at Hodgeman Center. Andreas wrote that Wheeland was both editor and county clerk.⁴⁴ When the governor organized Hodgeman county, March 29, 1879, he appointed Wheeland a temporary county clerk. However, this was nearly five weeks after the paper was established.⁴⁵

In the "salutatory," Wheeland informed his constituents that his subsistence was wholly dependent upon the subscription list and if they wanted a paper they had better coöperate. He admitted having come to Hodgeman Center to help make it the county seat (in which he failed). The paper was definitely political, the editor conceded that he was "an uncompromising Republican."

The *Agitator* was a neat five-column folio, and was favorably received by Kansas newspaper men.⁴⁶ The editor of the *Ford County Globe* announced the first issue in frontier language:

Hodgeman county has a paper, not published on a buffalo chip, but a real, live newspaper, called the *Agitator*. We trust it will not wither and fade away from premature birth.⁴⁷

The paper issued forty-five numbers, then discontinued. Andreas wrote: "The last number of the *Agitator* was issued January 10,

43. *Ibid.*, May 2, 1879.

44. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1608.

45. Hodgeman *Agitator*, April 5, 1879.

46. *Ibid.*, March 15, 1879.

47. *Ford County Globe*, Dodge City, March 4, 1879.

48. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1608.

1880, and with its demise, its editor went out of the office.”⁴⁸ The Society has a good file of the paper.

Two other newspapers were established in the county during the year 1879: *The Republican*, Fordham, which appeared April 9, 1879, and the *Buckner Independent*. The Society's file of *The Republican* starts with Vol. I, No. 1, and of the *Buckner Independent* with Vol. I, No. 3, dated November 7, 1879.

TREGO COUNTY

Wa-Keeney *Weekly World*, March 8, 1879.

The first newspaper established in this county was the Wa-Keeney *Weekly World*, with W. S. Tilton as editor and publisher. The first number appeared March 8, 1879. The Society's file starts with the second number, dated March 15, 1879. The *World*, started as a six-column paper, was enlarged to seven columns August 9, 1879, and was further enlarged to eight columns, October 29, 1881. It was folio in form, and Republican in politics. The Society has a good file of the *Weekly World*, changed March 21, 1885, to the *Western Kansas World*.

The paper was favorably received. The editor of the *Smith County Kansas Pioneer*, of Smith Centre, described it as “a neat, newsy little six-column paper, and bears the ‘imprint’ of marked ability.”⁴⁹

The Society also has a good file of the Wa-Keeney *Kansas Leader*, the second paper established in this county. The first number was dated August 6, 1879, and was published by H. P. Stultz.

FINNEY COUNTY

The Garden City *Paper*, April 3, 1879.

The *Paper* no doubt was the first newspaper published in the territory now Finney, then Sequoyah county. Kirk Himrod and Amos “Bonaparte” Baim were the editors and publishers. They made no political claim. The first number appeared April 3, 1879, as a lengthy five-column folio, thereafter it was published as a four-column, eight-page paper.

The salutatory was very brief, but pointed: “Here we are. Shake!” To which D. R. Anthony of the *Leavenworth Times* replied: “Dr. Brown suggests that his ague pills are good for anything

49. Wa-Keeney *Weekly World*, March 29, 1879.

50. Garden City *Paper*, April 24, 1879.

of that kind.”⁵⁰ The editor of *The Weekly Bulletin*, of Sterling, commented on this prospective newspaper venture:

Garden City is to have a newspaper. It will be a five column folio, Himrod and Baim, both long legged printers, will be the publishers. Kirk Himrod, the senior member of the firm, is well known to the people of this section. Amos Baim, better known as “Bonaparte,” has been employed in the job department of the *Bulletin* for a long time. Both of the boys are first-class printers and we wish them success in their enterprise, but fear they will have to skirmish right briskly to make a living the first year or so.⁵¹

The *Ford County Globe* carried the following description of the first number:

Westward the newspaper takes its way. It seems that the first thing necessary to build up a new town or county is a newspaper. The newest and most suburban now on record is the *Garden City Paper*, published at Garden City, Sequoyah county, over a hundred miles west of Dodge. It is a very neat little five-column paper, very interesting to home-seekers, published by Himrod and Baim. Himrod we know to be on the square in every respect. The paper is very ably and sensibly edited, and the people of Sequoyah should be proud of it.⁵²

The editors of the *Paper* commented on the large size of their county, saying, if it were five miles wider it would be exactly the size of the state of Rhode Island. The dimensions of Sequoyah extended 24 miles east and west and 36 miles north and south, comprising 864 square miles. The Society has a complete file of this paper. Numbers two and three were not published because the publisher had to move and lacked the necessary paper.⁵³

51. *The Weekly Bulletin*, Sterling, March 27, 1879.

52. *Ford County Globe*, Dodge City, April 8, 1879.

53. *Garden City Paper*, April 24, 1879.

(To Be Concluded in the November Quarterly)

Bypaths of Kansas History

STEAMBOATING ON THE MISSOURI IN 1842

From the *Daily Missouri Republican*, Saint Louis, May 28, 1842.

The steamer *Edna*, Capt. Martin, arrived here on Sunday evening, from Weston, Missouri river, having on board 931 sacks of wheat, 95 barrels of do, 48 hogsheads of tobacco, 169 coils of rope, 228 bales of hemp, 20 barrels hemp seed, &c. &c., and 28 deck and 36 cabin passengers.

The following memoranda may be interesting, as giving some idea of a trip 500 miles down the Missouri.

Weston is above Ft. Leavenworth, and, with the exception of the beginning of a settlement called Iatan, it is the westernmost town of the state. It contains at present about 400 inhabitants, and has been settled about three years, on public land never yet brought into market for sale. It is situated in the elbow of a bend of the river, on the north bank, between two rocky bluffs; has amongst others, several good looking frame buildings, and is probably as busy a place for its size, as any in the country. No soil can, in any part of the world, be richer than that of Platte county, in which it is situated. The county is well settled, and this whole country is settled up to the western line of the state, and even to the western line of Iowa territory north. Wheat, hemp, tobacco and corn thrive well here, and extensive preparations are making for a large crop of hemp next season, in all this section. The drought of the current year, which has continued the whole season, until last week, has materially retarded the growth of the wheat and hemp. Opposite Weston dwell the Kickapoo Indians, in a country as attractive as any yet settled by civilized man. Immediately above Weston, in the river, you observe bristling up almost a forest of snags, apparently obstructing steamboat navigation. Yet boats ascend nearly 2,000 miles above!

The boat left Weston, Tuesday, 17, 4 o'clock, P.M. Stopped at Fort Leavenworth, the most beautiful spot on the banks of the Missouri. It is protected from the encroachments of this turbulent river by a natural wall of limestone, and occupies an eminence visible for several miles on the west and east. There is but one company of soldiers there at present, under the command of Capt. Swords.

Below the cantonment, observed upon the bank, several Indians of the Stockbridge tribe, originally from the western part of Massachusetts. They dwell just below the cantonment, on lands said to belong to the Delawares, and have the reputation of being a religious and orderly people. Their claims are now before a committee of congress.

Passed two "Mackinaw boats" loaded with peltries, followed by a canoe filled with half naked Indians from the mountains.

Wednesday, 18th.—Owing to the numberless snags and sandbars in the river, the boats do not deem it prudent to run in the night, therefore "hauled up" for the night at Independence, upper landing. During a powerful shower of rain which overtook us in the morning at Liberty, an Indian of the Pottawatamie tribe came on board, and broke down the front door of the social hall, shivering it to atoms. He was knocked down forthwith in return, and carried out on shore, stunned, but not killed. . . .

WHEN TABLES REALLY "GROANED"

From the *Fort Scott Monitor*, November 20, 1867, and *Memoirs and Recollections of C. W. Goodlander of the Early Days of Fort Scott* (Fort Scott, 1900), pp. 111-113.

The dance and supper given by the "Pioneers of '57," last Thursday evening, was the gayest party held in Fort Scott for a long while. It was a reunion of the old advance guard of civilization and settlement, coupled with a general invitation to all who wished to join them in the festivities of the occasion, and was gotten up "on the spur of the moment," yet a very large and enthusiastic crowd assembled to enjoy the dance; and more than that, to partake of the boasted "game supper," which, to say the least, was a sumptuous one, out-rivaling, as their bill of fare shows, any first-class hotel on the continent. The supper was prepared at the Wilder House, under the supervision of Chas. Dimon, Esq., the proprietor, and was perfection itself. Most of the wild game was killed by a party of hunters composed principally of the settlers or pioneers of '57. The following is the bill of fare as "dished up" at the Wilder House:

PIONEER SUPPER.

Wilder House.

Fort Scott, Kansas, Nov. 14, 1867.

BILL OF FARE.

Twelve O'clock Supper.

SOUP.

Oyster.

Colbert.

FISH.

Baked Black Bass.

Broiled Red-horse.

RELIEVE.

Broiled Leg of Mutton, Caper sauce;

Wild Turkey, Braised, with Oysters;

Ham, Champagne sauce; Broiled Prairie

Chicken, Parsley sauce; Rib of Antelope,

a la Regeance; Buffalo Tongue.

COLD ORNAMENTAL DISHES.

Chaufroid of Faisant, a la Parisienne.

Pattress de foie Gras, with jelly.

Bastion of Rabbits, a la Shiloh.

Bear Tongue, a la Carlotta.

Boned Turkey, decorated with jelly.

Boned Partridge, a la Pawnee.

Brandt, ornamented with jelly.

Sunfish au Beurre, de Montpelier.

ENTRIES.

Rissoles of Jack Snipe, a la Pompadour.
 Fillet of Curlew, a la Rouenaise.
 Civit of Venison, with Port wine.
 Fillet of Wild Goose, a la Marmaton.
 Fillet of Teal Duck, a la Drywood.
 Fillet of Plover, a la Prairie.
 White Crane Salad, a l'Osage.
 Woodcock Fricasee, a la Wolverine.
 Noix of Fawn, a la Balltown.
 Coon Chops, a la Marais des Cygnes.
 Sweet-bread, a la Toulouse.

ROASTS.

Beef,	Wild Turkey,	Killdeer,
Buffalo,	Saddle Venison,	Gray Squirrel,
Gray Duck,	Fox Squirrel,	Sage Hen,
Goose,	Wood Duck,	Crane,
Mallard,	Red-head Duck,	Black Bear,
Brandt,	Canvas-back Duck,	Gray Duck,
	Opossum, with Persimmon Jelly,	
	Butter-ball Duck.	

PASTRY.

Persimmon Pyramid,	Cocoanut Pyramid,
American Dessert,	Cantelope rum sauce,
Mince Pie,	Strawberry Ice Cream,
Dewberry Jelly,	Champagne Jelly,
Pumpkin Pie,	Pretzels,
Paw-Paw Pie,	Horn of Plenty.

DESSERT.

Wild Fox Grapes,
 Black Walnuts,
 Hazel Nuts,
 Butter Nuts,
 Bush Cherries,
 Paw Paws,
 Pecans,
 Apples,
 Coffee.

WINE LIST.

Champagne.
 Robinson & Co.'s Dry Verzenay.
 J. Sattler & Co.'s Green Seal Imperial.
 C. H. Haynes' Royal Rose.
 Van Fossen Bros.' Gold Seal.

Linn & Stadden's Sillery Mouseaux.

A. McDonald & Bro's. Monopale.

J. S. Redfield & Co.'s Dry Sillery.

Dr. J. H. Couch's Verzenay.

Dr. B. F. Hepler's Cabinet.

J. S. Redfield & Co.'s Imperial.

Claret.

Table, Medoc, Floirac, (D. Marie & Freres and Brandenburg, Freres), St. Julien, Chateau, Leoville, (first quality) Chateau Margux, Chateau Yquem, Chateau Lafitte, Chateau Griscoms.

California Wine.

Angelica, Los Angelos Vintage.

California Port, Muscatel and Hock.

Kansas Wine.

Southern Kansas Wine Co.

Imperial, W. T. Campbell's Vintage.

Sparkling Catawba, Spring River Vineyard.

H. B. Hart's Seedling "Bergunday."

Still Catawba, (very still, no noise).

Ale and Porter.

Hack's Imported (Leavenworth) Ale.

Newberry's London Porter.

Another notable Kansas menu was prepared for the state legislature in Topeka on January 22, 1872, when Grand Duke Alexis of Russia was honored with a banquet at the Fifth Avenue Hotel. The duke, third surviving son of Alexander II, czar of Russia, was touring the United States by special train. He went west from Omaha on a buffalo-hunting trip, and visited Denver before returning east over the Kansas Pacific (now the Union Pacific) via Topeka. The official party included: Vice Admiral Possiet, Lieutenants Karl Tudor and Stordegraff of the Russian Imperial navy; W. T. Machin, chancellor of state; Count Olsenfieff; — — Bodisco, consul general of Russia to the United States, and — — Shuveloff, secretary of the legation. On the Plains the United States was represented by Gen. P. H. Sheridan, Gen. George A. Custer, Col. M. V. Sheridan, and Col. George A. Forsyth. After visiting the legislature, then in session, the duke returned to the hotel for the dinner. This is the "Bill of Fare" as printed in *The Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, January 23, 1872:

BILL OF FARE.

SOUP.

Oyster, a la Possiet, Chicken, with Rice.

FISH.

Boiled White Fish, a la Maitre d'Hotel.

BOILED.

Pressed Corned Beef, Leg of Mutton, Caper Sauce,
Chicken, Egg Sauce, Ham, Pickled Pork, Tongue.

COLD.

Corn Beef, Pork, Chicken Salad, Ham, Lobster Salad,
Calf's Tongue.

RELISHES.

Chow-chow, Pickled Lilly, Mixed Pickles, Cauliflower,
Gherkins, Club Sauce, Worcestershire Sauce,
Pickled Oysters, Celery, Cheese.

GAME.

Buffalo, Rabbit, Venison, Moose, Squirrel, Elk, Bear, Quail,
Duck, Turkey, Prairie Chicken, Antelope.

ENTRIES.

Chicken Wings, Fricassed,
Queen Fritters, a la Princess,
Pigs Feet, Breaded,
Scalloped Oysters, a la Stanton,
Quail on Toast,
Rabbits, a la Chasseur,
Tenderloin of Beef, a la Royal,
Oyster Patties, a la Rhine,
Macaroni, aux Graton,
Rice Croquettes, with Jelly,
Prince Albert Pancakes, with Quince Jelly,
Platons [?] of Chicken Liver, a la Bonaparte,
Haricot of Mutton, a la Bourgoise,
Squirrel, Crumbled and Fried,
Deviled Ham, a la Italienne.

ROAST.

Turkey, Cranberry Sauce, Leg of Mutton,
Mallard Duck, a la Mateloite, Ribs of Beef,
Chicken, Oyster Dressing, Buffalo, Brown Sauce,
Ham, Champagne Sauce, Antelope, Grape Jelly,
Elk, Currant Jelly.

VEGETABLES.

Boiled Potatoes,	Green Peas,	String Beans,
Parsnips,	Lima Beans,	Tomatoes,
Mashed Potatoes,	Brown Potatoes,	Cabbage,
Mashed Turnips,	Succotash,	Corn.

PASTRY AND PUDDING.

Plum Pie,	Strawberry Pie,	Mince Pie,	Peach Pie,
Pound Cake Pudding,	Cranberry Tarts,	Fruit Cake, Ornamented,	
Cranberry Pie,	Gold Cake,	Jelly Roll,	Pound Cake,
	Iced and Ornamented,		
	Drop Kisses,	Cocoanut Tops,	
Rose Jelly Cake,	Lady Fingers,	Silver Cake,	
Marble Cake,	Leopard Cake.		

DESSERT.

Vanilla Ice Cream,	Almonds,	Oranges,	Pecans,
Apples,	Wine Jelly,	Crab Apple Jelly,	Brandy Jelly,
	Quince Jelly.		
French Coffee,	Tea.		

A JUNCTION CITY EDITOR LOOKS AT HAYS

From the Junction City *Union*, July 8, 1871.

There is a row of saloons on the Kansas Pacific railway called Hays City. Having visited the place, we should call it the Sodom of the plains. Its history has been written, but never believed. We have remarked that its history has been written. In this we are mistaken. Only a faint glimmering of its wickedness has been put on record. The whole story of that town no man knoweth. Were the dead that sleep on the lonely hill behind the city to get up from their graves, they might be able to give reminiscences of the place, that would cause the hairs of the head to stand on end, and the blood to curdle in its natural channels. There are living witnesses, to whom we have listened, who can draw back the awful veil that hides them, and reveal to the understanding, acts of fiendish inhumanity too black to relate. It has been the rendezvous of thieves and robbers, of murderers and accomplished villains. The tale of its existence is a grand series of tragedies. But many of those desperadoes who have made Hays City a synonym of iniquity, and wreathed the laurels in its garland of infamy, lie buried near the spot where their diabolical crimes were committed. They have ceased to howl, and no more disturb their fellow men in the peaceful walks of life.

Its saloons, as we have observed, are among its chief attractions. On entering one, you are astonished at the warlike appearance of the place, as it looks more like an arsenal than a bar room. The adroitness with which the skilled barkeepers there handle their weapons is a marvel. When a noisy crowd enters, the keeper of the arsenal retreats gracefully behind his fortifications, and "smiles blandly upon his baffled pursuers." He is surrounded with a halo of knives and pistols, and strikes an attitude of defiance among the

spigots. Immediately upon the least sign of hostile demonstrations, he displays his skill as a marksman upon some unfortunate victim, and taking a piece of chalk in his hand, turns lithely to the french plate mirror at his back, and writes in large letters, "to be continued." This exhibition of trained dexterity wins for him the reputation of a "thorough-bred," and one not to be trifled with. Such scenes made up the daily routine of life there, in the days of Wild Bill, sometimes called William Severe, and they are yet frequently repeated in commemoration of the ancient chivalry of the city.

It was our fortune to be in this fortress of sin on the Fourth of July, and we believe its people, or the people that were in it, did more celebrating to the square inch, than in any one town in the country. To say that the town was distracted on that day, or rather on that night, would be using a very tame phrase: The ball opened at early candlelight, and kept rolling until the stars had sunk from the heavens. The boys in blue fought their battles in the streets of the town with all their ancient vigor and vehemence. They seemed to revel in riot and dissipation. The soiled doves joined in the drunken carnival, and gave to the scenes of violence rather a thrilling and terrible cast. Strange to say nobody was killed. This fact is almost miraculous, and will be deemed a mistake by old residents.

Thus have we endeavored to give a brief sketch of Hays City by lamp light, though feeling that no pen can do it justice. On leaving it, we do not esteem it blasphemy to bid adieu in the following words addressed to the city of London, by Alexander Pope, one of the greatest of English poets—

"Dear, damn, distracted town, farewell!"

Among those who celebrated at this far-off city of the plains, was Lord Campbell, brother of the Marquis of Lorne, who was recently married to the princess Louise, daughter of Queen Victoria. This illustrious young nobleman has been making a trip through the great West, and evidently enjoyed everything, especially hunting buffalo and celebrating the Fourth of July.

At the camp of the Sixth cavalry, about two miles from the city, on the classic banks of Big creek, everything glimmered like a sunbeam, and the fun and good times among the boys seemed to have no limit. Here it was our good fortune to meet Messrs. Ruggles, Keenan, and Hoffman, who were all as happy as a bundle of sun flowers. They welcomed us to their pavillion, which was well stored with the wherewithal to celebrate. String bands, brass bands, and bands that played on no instruments, either with strings, or of brass, gave spice and variety to the "day's doings." Towards the wee small hours, the vocalists, who were serenading, sang at a high pitch, for the benefit of those living in Hays City. The officer of the day interviewed them, not that he would deprive the youths of their innocent amusement, but because military discipline had certain regulations that could not be overlooked.

We had the pleasure of meeting Dr. Loring, who was formerly stationed at Fort Riley, and is now with the Sixth cavalry near Fort Hays.

WHEN GRASS GREW IN THE STREETS OF PARSONS

From the *Kansas State Record*, Topeka, September 20, 1871.

The prairie fire had to be fought in the streets of Parsons the other night.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

The history of the settlement along Coal creek, in southwestern Nemaha county, was reviewed by B. P. Redmond in a series of articles beginning in the *Seneca Courier-Tribune*, April 14, 1941.

On May 8, 1941, the *Russell Record* and *The Russell County News* published special historical editions celebrating the annual "Prairiesta." The *Record* reprinted an account of the arrival of the Northwestern colony at "Fossil Station," now Russell city, in 1871, written by Russell Benjamin Pratt and first published in the *Record*, April 22, 1875. A feature, "Early Day History of Russell County," in the *News*, included sketches printed serially from March 20 to May 1. This feature was continued in the *News* of May 15, 22 and June 5.

The *Garnett Review* issued a twenty-four page, seventy-fifth anniversary edition, May 15, 1941. The newspaper, which has undergone many consolidations, was begun as the *Plaindealer* in 1865 by I. E. Olney. Histories of Garnett and its schools, newspapers, churches, lodges and civic organizations were published. Articles on Anderson county's oil industry and the founding of other towns in the county were also included.

Sketches of early pioneer days in Neosho and Labette counties by Mrs. J. T. Coles were printed in the *Erie Record*, May 16, 1941.

The twenty-second anniversary edition of *The Plaindealer*, Wichita labor newspaper, was issued May 23, 1941. Several historical articles of interest to labor were featured.

Experiences of 93-year-old Mrs. Armilda Williams, who was once a slave in Missouri, were briefly discussed by Harold Coats in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, May 26, 1941.

An account of the first observance of Decoration Day in Burlingame in 1882 appeared in *The Enterprise-Chronicle*, May 29, 1941. Featured in the article were the names of the men of Osage county who died while serving with the Union army.

"Early History of Mound City," by the late E. O. Morse, was printed in the *Mound City Republic*, May 29, 1941. This sketch was written in 1914 to commemorate the golden wedding anniversary of Mr. and Mrs. E. O. Morse. Fifty years before, on October 18, 1864, when this Linn county couple were married in Dansville, N. Y.,

the Kansas militia was assembling in five border counties to resist Price's threatened invasion. At that time Morse was a captain in the Federal army.

The history of the Blue Rapids Presbyterian Church appeared in the *Blue Rapids Times*, May 29, 1941. The church was organized May 1, 1870. The Rev. Charles F. Mussey was the first minister of the church, with twenty-three charter members.

On June 18, 1941, the *Marion Review* issued a golden jubilee supplement dedicated to Father John M. Sklenar, who has served his church fifty years, spending thirty-eight years of this time in St. John Nepomucene Parish, in Pilsen. A biography of Father Sklenar, by the Rev. Emil Kapaun, is also a history of the Catholic churches and school at Pilsen.

A 48-page "Southwest Resource Edition" of the *Garden City Daily Telegram* appeared June 18, 1941. The special issue contained much information concerning livestock, crops and the industrial resources of the Garden City area. The story of the Soule canal, a fantastic failure in the early days of irrigation in the vicinity, is told in connection with an account of the present-day achievements of irrigation.

On June 26, 1941, the *Riley Regent* published an article "Looking Back Sixty-Two Years," by Chas. A. Southwick. It was recalled that the first newspaper published in what is now Riley, was the *Riley Center News*, dated January 19, 1879. Mr. Southwick stated that he wrote the article from memory and hoped old-timers who had additional information would respond. On July 3, an article entitled "Riley's First Newspapers," by Isaac Moon, was printed in the *Regent*. Moon stated he had in his possession a copy of number four of the first volume of the *Riley Center News*, dated February 28, 1879. He was editor of the Riley paper during part of 1880 and 1881.

Celebrating the anniversary of its first year of publication *The Quivira Chieftain*, of Lyons, issued a twenty-eight page historical edition on June 27, 1941. Mrs. Roy Kinzie's article on the history of Lyons was of special interest. News photographs of local people and events, a weekly feature of the *Chieftain*, were also included.

Kansas Historical Notes

The American Association for State and Local History was organized in New York City December 27, 1940. Immediate plans of the association include the publication of a new edition of the *Handbook of Historical Societies in the United States and Canada*, also a number of bulletins on such subjects as the organization of a local historical society, how to plan such a society's program of activity, how to write a local history, how to restore and care for historic sites, and how to produce historical plays and pageants. The association plans to act as a clearing house for such activities. All local historical societies and individuals interested in history and its preservation are invited to become members. Both individuals and institutions are eligible to membership, and those who apply not later than October 8, 1941, will be listed as founding members. Applications for membership should be addressed to David C. Duniway, secretary-treasurer, Box 6101, Washington, D. C. C. C. Crittenden, of Raleigh, N. C., is president of the association.

The program for marking the historic sites of Kansas on the state's major highways has continued during the summer. Titles, location and dates of placing other Kansas Historical Markers not previously announced in this section include: Mission Neosho, on US-59 in Christian church grounds at Shaw, Neosho county, June, 1941; Fort Scott, on US-69 at the north city limits of Fort Scott, Bourbon county, June; Kansas City, Kan., on US-24 nine miles west of Kansas City, Wyandotte county, June; Lincoln County Indian Raids, on K-18 about two miles east of Lincoln, Lincoln county, June 1; Geodetic Center of North America, on US-24 and US-281 one-fourth mile north of Osborne, Osborne county, June 5; El Quartejejo, on US-83 ten miles north of Scott City, Scott county, June 8; Battle of Hickory Point, in roadside area bordering US-59 one-fourth mile north of Dunavant, Jefferson county, June 22; Waconda, or Great Spirit Spring, on US-24 about three miles east of Cawker City, Mitchell county, June 22; The Chisholm Trail, on US-81 1½ miles north of Wichita, Sedgwick county, June 25; Geographic Center of the U. S., on US-36 one-third mile west of junction with US-281 (1½ miles south of Lebanon), Smith county, June 29; Fort Hays, on US-40 at the east city limits of Hays, Ellis county, June 30; Indian Burial Pit, on US-40 four miles east of Salina, Saline county, July 4; Hollenberg Pony Express Station, on US-36

one-half mile east of junction with K-15E (three miles south of Hanover), Washington county, July 13; Father Juan de Padilla and Quivira, on US-50N and US-77 one mile south of Herington, Dickinson county, July 20; Civil War Battle, Drum Creek Treaty, on US-160 about one mile east of Independence, Montgomery county, July 23; Chouteau's Island, on US-50 one mile west of Lakin, Kearny county, July 26.

In 1939 A. E. Gledhill placed a stone marker on the homestead of Joseph Gledhill, in southeast Smith county, commemorating the settlement of Twelve Mile valley and the establishment in 1874 of the Twelve Mile post office in the home of Joseph Gledhill, who was a member of an Eastern colony which arrived in Kansas in 1871. The monument also marks the old Cawker City-Smith Center trail.

On the death of William L. Huggins May 23, 1941, Harry A. Wayman became president of the Lyon County Historical Society. Judge Huggins was a founder of the society and had served as president since its organization in 1937. Mr. Wayman held the office of vice-president during the same period.

Carl Florell recently discovered what is believed to be an Indian burial pit on his farm southwest of Courtland in Republic county, according to the *Courtland Journal* of May 29, 1941. Investigation of a "rocky ledge" revealed a smooth circular stone floor about eleven feet in diameter with a pit in the center. The skeletal remains which were found were old and powdered at touch.

It was announced in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, July 16, 1941, that an association has been formed to persuade congress to make a national park out of the Alexander Majors home and forty adjoining acres, located at 8145 State Line Road, just outside Kansas City. Alexander Majors, a member of the famous freighting firm, Russell, Majors and Waddell, built the house in 1856.

Inventories of the archives of eleven counties of Kansas have been published by the Kansas Historical Records Survey since its inception in Kansas in 1936. Counties completed to date are: Bourbon, Cherokee, Franklin, Graham, Gray, Greenwood, Johnson, Montgomery, Osage, Seward and Shawnee. All historical materials in the courthouses of these counties, including the unpublished official documents and records, were sorted and inventoried as part of the nationwide *Inventory of the County Archives* series. The historical background of each county and a detailed statement of its organization and the functions of its agencies accompany the archival guides, all

neatly mimeographed and bound. The survey is carried on by the Division of Community Service Programs of the Work Projects Administration. Mary Parkman, of Topeka, is state director and Harold J. Henderson, Topeka, is state supervisor. The Kansas State Historical Society has sponsored the project since September 1, 1939.

On September 12, 1866, the University of Kansas opened its doors in Lawrence with three faculty members and forty-nine students in attendance. Not one of the students was ready for college work, and preparatory courses had to be arranged for all. In commemoration of the seventy-fifth birthday of the university, an illustrated 202-page history by Robert Taft, entitled *Across the Years on Mount Oread, 1866-1941*, was issued in the spring of 1941. The book, well edited and printed, consists of a series of historical sketches with pictures and photographs showing the growth of the school and its development into the state's foremost educational institution. The framers of the legislative act establishing the university cautiously provided for male and female branches. "The female branch may be taught exclusively by women, and buildings for that branch shall be entirely separate from the buildings of the male branch." From the beginning, however, at a time when coeducation was still in the experimental stage, all departments have been open to women as well as men.

Vanguards of the Frontier, by Everett Dick, was published in the spring of 1941 by the D. Appleton-Century Company, of New York. The book is a companion volume to the author's *Sod-House Frontier*. In *Vanguards*, Dick has re-created the life of the forerunner of the homemaker in the vast territory west of the Mississippi river. He sought to discover the manner of living, dress, food, entertainment, and mode of life in general of the vanguards of the frontier—the hunters and trappers, the Indian agents and mountain men, the soldiers and missionaries, prospectors and express riders, bullwhackers and lumberjacks, gamblers and bandits, ranchers and cattlemen. Theirs was a life of hardship and reckless adventure, romanticized in fiction, but in reality close to the savagery of the human and animal inhabitants of the wilderness. This book offers adequate proof of a trapper's statement, quoted in the last chapter of the book: "It is easy to make a savage of a civilized man, but impossible to make a civilized man of a savage in one generation."

An objective and thorough study of *The Kansas Industrial Court, an Experiment in Compulsory Arbitration*, by Domenico Gagliardo

of Kansas University, was recently published by the university's committee on social science studies. The Kansas Industrial Court was created during the first administration of Gov. Henry J. Allen in an attempt to settle the coal strike of 1919, and to prevent new strikes. In the 264-page book Gagliardo describes the creation of the court and analyzes the characters of the three men who had important parts in the court controversy: Governor Allen; William L. Huggins, author of the industrial court law and one of the judges of the court, and Alexander McWhirter Howat, leader of the mine workers of Kansas who fought the court bitterly during its existence. The court gained nation-wide attention during the five years it functioned, and the law, wrote Gagliardo, "was one of the most intensively litigated pieces of American labor legislation prior to the national labor relations act." The court began as a noble experiment in the regulation of relations between workers, employers, and the public, but it failed, because of its political, economic and legal weaknesses.

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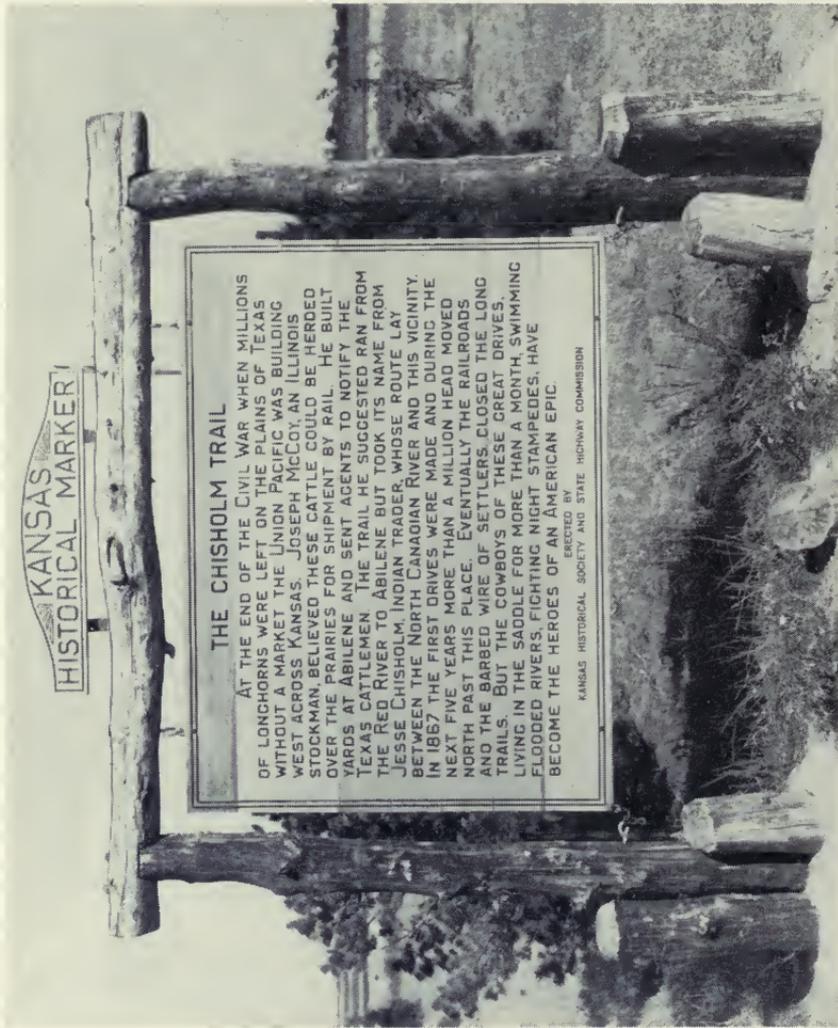
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KANSAS
HISTORICAL MARKER

THE CHISHOLM TRAIL

AT THE END OF THE CIVIL WAR WHEN MILLIONS OF LONGHORNS WERE LEFT ON THE PLAINS OF TEXAS WITHOUT A MARKET THE UNION PACIFIC WAS BUILDING WEST ACROSS KANSAS. JOSEPH MCCOY, AN ILLINOIS STOCKMAN, BELIEVED THESE CATTLE COULD BE HERDED OVER THE PRAIRIES FOR SHIPMENT BY RAIL. HE BUILT YARDS AT ABILENE AND SENT AGENTS TO NOTIFY THE TEXAS CATTLEMEN. THE TRAIL HE SUGGESTED RAN FROM THE RED RIVER TO ABILENE BUT TOOK ITS NAME FROM JESSE CHISHOLM, INDIAN TRADER, WHOSE ROUTE LAY BETWEEN THE NORTH CANAOKIAN RIVER AND THIS VICINITY. IN 1867 THE FIRST DRIVES WERE MADE AND DURING THE NEXT FIVE YEARS MORE THAN A MILLION HEAD MOVED NORTH PAST THIS PLACE. EVENTUALLY THE RAILROADS AND THE BARBED WIRE OF SETTLERS CLOSED THE LONG TRAILS. BUT THE COWBOYS OF THESE GREAT DRIVES, LYING IN THE SADDLE FOR MORE THAN A MONTH, SWIMMING FLOODED RIVERS, FIGHTING NIGHT STAMPEDES, HAVE BECOME THE HEROES OF AN AMERICAN EPIC.

PRESENTED BY
KANSAS HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND STATE HIGHWAY COMMISSION

ONE OF THE SERIES OF KANSAS HISTORICAL MARKERS. THIS SIGN IS ON US-81 ABOUT TWO MILES NORTH OF WICHITA.

Kansas Historical Markers

UNTIL recent years it was the practice to erect historical markers on the sites where the events occurred. Frequently these places were inaccessible and usually the history consisted of a few words on a plaque or monument. It was assumed that only those already familiar with the facts would be interested. Today, however, with thousands of tourists on the highways, history is being marked where those who ride may read. Inscriptions on roadside markers often tell of events that happened miles away, and the history of a region may be condensed in one text.

Kansas has recently erected fifty-six of these modern markers. The project was sponsored by the Kansas State Chamber of Commerce when Roy Bailey of Salina was president. It got under way in 1934 at a meeting attended by Mr. Bailey, Fred Brinkerhoff of Pittsburg, Samuel Wilson of Topeka, W. E. Archer of Hiawatha, and Frank Haucke of Council Grove, representing the State Chamber, and Kirke Mechem, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society. Details of construction were worked out with engineers of the State Highway Commission after a study of similar signs in other states. In 1938, towards the end of Gov. Walter Huxman's administration, one marker was built. In 1940 Gov. Payne Ratner authorized D. J. Fair, director of highways, to erect fifty as the beginning of a program which he hoped would continue until all important sites were marked.

These first fifty were chosen by the state committee from a list of one hundred prepared by the Historical Society. They are not offered as the principal historic sites in Kansas. A few of those selected were not marked because it was impossible to secure rights of way. Among the omissions are Shawnee Methodist Mission, Shawnee Baptist Mission, Leavenworth, Fort Leavenworth and Osawatomie. Many others will be noted. Kansas is so rich in history that several hundred markers could be placed. Continuation of the project rests with the governor and the Highway Commission—and the state of the budget.

Inscriptions for the markers were written by Kirke Mechem, secretary of the Historical Society. Research was done by members of the staff. A vast and often contradictory collection of notes about each site was accumulated. Books, pamphlets, newspapers, govern-

ment documents, maps, clippings and manuscripts by the hundreds were consulted. Controversies over dates, locations, names and events had to be settled. First drafts usually ran to several hundred words, to be condensed to one hundred and fifty. Sometimes as many as twenty-five revisions were necessary. Although accuracy was the first essential it was recognized that the texts must be more than a list of dates and names. The ideal was a blending of epigram, fact and poetry, obviously unattainable. The result is a series of inscriptions, however, which it is hoped will suggest something of the color and variety of the state's history.

For more than a year this Society has had the generous cooperation of the Kansas Chamber of Commerce and the Highway Commission, which is responsible for building, placing and maintaining the markers. Fred Brinkerhoff, chairman of the Chamber of Commerce committee, Roy Bailey, Samuel Wilson, D. J. Fair, state highway director, R. B. Wills, state highway engineer, Leslie E. Edmonds, superintendent of public relations, and Franklin Rose, landscape engineer, have taken a personal interest in the program. Mention should also be made of Nyle Miller, research director of the Historical Society, who checked statements of fact with the records.

The texts and locations of fifty-five of the markers follow. The fifty-sixth, the Geographic Center marker, appears as a picture.

THE INDIAN AND THE BUFFALO

THE BUFFALO WAS THE DEPARTMENT STORE OF THE PLAINS INDIAN. THE FLESH WAS FOOD, THE BLOOD WAS DRINK, SKINS FURNISHED WIGWAMS, ROBES MADE BLANKETS AND BEDS, DRESSED HIDES SUPPLIED MOCCASINS AND CLOTHING, HAIR WAS TWISTED INTO ROPES, RAWHIDE BOUND TOOLS TO HANDLES, GREEN HIDES MADE POTS FOR COOKING OVER BUFFALO-CHIP FIRES, HIDES FROM BULLS' NECKS MADE SHIELDS THAT WOULD TURN ARROWS, RIBS WERE RUNNERS FOR DOG-DRAWN SLEDS, SMALL BONES WERE AWLS AND NEEDLES, FROM HOOVES CAME GLUE FOR FEATHERING ARROWS, FROM SINEWS CAME THREAD AND BOWSTRINGS, FROM HORNS CAME BOWS, CUPS AND SPOONS, AND EVEN FROM GALL STONES A "MEDICINE" PAINT WAS MADE. WHEN THE MILLIONS OF BUFFALO THAT ROAMED THE PRAIRIES WERE EXTERMINATED THE PLAINS TRIBES WERE STARVED INTO SUBMISSION. A FEW SMALL HERDS SAVED THE BUFFALO FROM EXTINCTION AND THERE ARE NOW MORE THAN 22,000 IN NORTH AMERICAN GAME PRESERVES. A HERD MAY BE SEEN JUST SOUTH OF GARDEN CITY.

US-50S, at Garden City,
Finney county.

INDIAN BURIAL PIT

SEVERAL HUNDRED YEARS AGO, PERHAPS MORE THAN A THOUSAND, THIS VALLEY WAS INHABITED BY MEN WHOSE AVERAGE HEIGHT WAS PROBABLY WELL OVER SIX FEET. THESE WERE NOT THE INDIANS OF QUIVIRA, WHOSE "7-FOOT WARRIORS" CORONADO DESCRIBED IN 1541, BUT AN EVEN EARLIER PEOPLE. HERE THEY LIVED IN EARTH LODGES, TILLING THE SOIL, HUNTING AND FISHING, AND HERE THEY LEFT RECORDS OF UNUSUAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL IMPORTANCE. ONE MILE SOUTHEAST OF THIS MARKER IS A BURIAL PIT CONTAINING MORE THAN 140 SKELETAL REMAINS THAT DEMONSTRATE THE REMARKABLE SIZE AND STRENGTH OF THESE PREHISTORIC INDIANS. THE PIT WAS DISCOVERED IN 1936. IT HAS BEEN SCIENTIFICALLY EXCAVATED, WITH THE SKELETONS STILL PRESERVED IN THE SAME FLEXED POSITIONS OF THEIR BURIAL CENTURIES AGO. AMONG THE OBJECTS FOUND IN THE PIT ARE PIECES OF POTTERY, A GRINDING STONE, PARCHED CORN AND BEANS. A STONE TOMAHAWK, CEREMONIAL FLINT KNIVES, AND CLAM-SHELL BEADS AND EAR PENDANTS.

US-40, about four miles east of
Salina, Saline county.

WACONDA, OR GREAT SPIRIT SPRING

MANY MOONS AGO, SO RUNS AN INDIAN LEGEND, WACONDA, A BEAUTIFUL PRINCESS, FELL IN LOVE WITH A BRAVE OF ANOTHER TRIBE. PREVENTED FROM MARRIAGE BY A BLOOD FEUD, THIS WARRIOR EMBROILED THE TRIBES IN BATTLE. DURING THE FIGHT AN ARROW STRUCK HIM AS HE STOOD ON THE BRINK OF A SPRING AND HE FELL MORTALLY WOUNDED INTO THE WATERS. WACONDA, GRIEF-STRICKEN, PLUNGED AFTER HIM. BELIEVING HER SOUL STILL LIVED IN THE DEPTHS, THE TRIBES FOR COUNTLESS AGES CARRIED THEIR SICK TO DRINK THE HEALING WATERS. HERE THEY CELEBRATED THEIR VICTORIES AND MOURNED THEIR LOSSES, NEVER NEGLECTING TO THROW INTO THE SPRING SOME TOKEN FOR THE GREAT SPIRIT.

WACONDA SPRING, $\frac{3}{4}$ MILE SOUTH OF THIS MARKER, IS A MINERAL POOL ABOUT FIFTY FEET IN DIAMETER, SET IN A CURIOUS LIMESTONE BASIN.

US-24, about three miles east of
Cawker City, Mitchell county.

CORONADO AND QUIVIRA

EIGHTY YEARS BEFORE THE PILGRIMS LANDED AT PLYMOUTH ROCK SPANISH EXPLORERS VISITED KANSAS. FRANCISCO VASQUEZ DE CORONADO, SEEKING GOLD IN NEW MEXICO, WAS TOLD OF QUIVIRA BY AN INDIAN CALLED THE TURK. HERE WERE "TREES HUNG WITH GOLDEN BELLS AND PEOPLE WHOSE POTS AND PANS WERE BEATEN GOLD." WITH 30 PICKED HORSEMEN AND A FRANCISCAN FRIAR NAMED JUAN DE PADILLA, CORONADO MARCHED "NORTH BY THE NEEDLE" FROM A POINT IN TEXAS UNTIL HE REACHED KANSAS. HERE HE FOUND NO GOLD, BUT A COUNTRY HE DESCRIBED AS "THE BEST I HAVE EVER SEEN FOR PRODUCING ALL THE PRODUCTS OF SPAIN." THE TURK CONFESSED HE HAD DECEIVED THE SPANIARDS AND ONE NIGHT WAS STRANGLLED. FOR 25 DAYS IN THE SUMMER OF 1541 CORONADO REMAINED AMONG THE GRASS-HUT VILLAGES OF THE QUIVIRAN INDIANS, THEN RETURNED TO NEW MEXICO. PADILLA WENT WITH HIM, BUT THE FOLLOWING YEAR CAME BACK TO QUIVIRA AS A MISSIONARY. LATER HE WAS KILLED BY THE INDIANS, THE FIRST CHRISTIAN MARTYR IN THE PRESENT UNITED STATES. NEAR THIS MARKER IS THE SITE OF ONE OF THE LARGEST VILLAGES OF THE "KINGDOM OF QUIVIRA."

US-50N, west of
Lyons, Rice county.

FATHER JUAN DE PADILLA AND QUIVIRA

IN 1540 FRANCISCO VASQUEZ DE CORONADO MARCHED NORTH FROM MEXICO WITH 300 SPANIARDS IN SEARCH OF THE "SEVEN GOLDEN CITIES OF CIBOLA." WITH THEM WERE SEVERAL PRIESTS, INCLUDING JUAN DE PADILLA, A FRANCISCAN FRIAR. WHEN THE GOLDEN CITIES PROVED TO BE ONLY ADOBE PUEBLOS THE SPANIARDS WENT ON TO EXPLORE THE SOUTHWEST AND PADILLA WAS AMONG THOSE WHO DISCOVERED THE GRAND CANYON. LATER HE MARCHED WITH A PARTY OF 30 PICKED HORSEMEN TO THE LAND OF QUIVIRA IN KANSAS. FOR 25 DAYS IN THE SUMMER OF 1541 CORONADO REMAINED AMONG THE GRASS-HUT VILLAGES OF THE QUIVIRAN INDIANS, THEN RETURNED TO NEW MEXICO. PADILLA WENT WITH HIM, BUT THE FOLLOWING YEAR CAME BACK AS A MISSIONARY. HERE HE WAS LATER KILLED BY THE INDIANS, THE FIRST CHRISTIAN MARTYR IN WHAT IS NOW THE UNITED STATES. ALTHOUGH THE EXACT PLACE OF HIS DEATH IS UNKNOWN THERE IS A MONUMENT TO PADILLA IN CITY PARK IN HERINGTON.

US-50N and US-77, one mile south of Herington, Dickinson county.

EL QUARTELEJO

IN SCOTT COUNTY STATE PARK THREE MILES NORTHWEST IS EL QUARTELEJO, ONLY KNOWN INDIAN PUEBLO IN KANSAS. ABOUT 1650, IT IS BELIEVED, TAOS INDIANS MIGRATED HERE TO ESCAPE SPANISH OPPRESSION. LATER THEY WERE PERSUADED BY THE SPANISH GOVERNOR TO RETURN TO NEW MEXICO. IN 1706 JUAN URIBARRI FORMALLY TOOK POSSESSION OF THE VALLEY FOR SPAIN, CALLING IT SAN LUIS PROVINCE. SPANIARDS AND FRENCHMEN IN THE FRONTIER STRUGGLES OF THE 1700'S ALTERNATELY OCCUPIED THE OUTPOST. DRIFTING SOIL EVENTUALLY BURIED THE STRUCTURE AND NOT UNTIL 1898 WERE THE RUINS EXCAVATED, REVEALING A TYPICAL PUEBLO WITH TRACES OF AN IRRIGATION SYSTEM. TODAY THEY ARE AGAIN BURIED BUT THE SITE IS MARKED BY A MONUMENT.

NEAR HERE IN 1878 COL. WILLIAM H. LEWIS, COMMANDING TROOPS FROM FORT DODGE, WAS FATALLY WOUNDED IN A BATTLE WITH CHIEF DULL KNIFE AND HIS NORTHERN CHEYENNES. LEWIS WAS THE LAST ARMY OFFICER KILLED BY INDIANS IN KANSAS.

US-83, 10½ miles north of Scott City, Scott county.

PIKE-PAWNEE VILLAGE

IN 1806 ZEBULON MONTGOMERY PIKE WITH TWENTY INFANTRYMEN CROSSED KANSAS ON AN EXPLORING EXPEDITION WHICH ENDED IN THE DISCOVERY OF PIKE'S PEAK AND HIS CAPTURE AND IMPRISONMENT BY A SPANISH FORCE. ON SEPTEMBER 29 AT A PAWNEE VILLAGE EIGHT MILES NORTH AND FOUR MILES WEST OF THIS SIGN (TWO MILES SOUTHWEST OF REPUBLIC), PIKE HELD A COUNCIL WITH THE PAWNEE NATION. A SPANISH FLAG, LEFT SHORTLY BEFORE BY AN EXPEDITION FROM MEXICO, WAS FLYING IN THE VILLAGE. PIKE TELLS IN HIS REPORT HOW HE PERSUADED THE CHIEFS TO RAISE AN AMERICAN FLAG IN ITS PLACE, THE FIRST RECORD OF THE FLYING OF THE FLAG IN PRESENT KANSAS. THE SITE OF THE VILLAGE, NOW OWNED BY THE STATE, IS MARKED BY A MONUMENT.

US-36, near Republican river bridge
at Scandia, Republic county.

CHOUTEAU'S ISLAND

IN THE SPRING OF 1816 AUGUSTE P. CHOUTEAU'S HUNTING PARTY TRAVELING EAST WITH A WINTER'S CATCH OF FURS WAS ATTACKED NEAR THE ARKANSAS RIVER BY 200 PAWNEES. RETREATING TO AN ISLAND FIVE MILES SOUTHWEST OF THIS MARKER THE HUNTERS BEAT THEM OFF WITH THE LOSS OF ONLY ONE MAN. IN 1825 INCREASED TRAVEL ON THE SANTA FE TRAIL BROUGHT A GOVERNMENT SURVEY AND CHOUTEAU'S ISLAND WAS LISTED AS A TURNING OFF PLACE FOR THE DANGEROUS "JORNADA" TO THE CIMARRON. FOR A TIME THE RIVER HERE WAS THE MEXICAN BOUNDARY. WHEN MAJ. BENNETT RILEY AND FOUR COMPANIES OF INFANTRY, SERVING AS THE FIRST MILITARY ESCORT ON THE TRAIL, ARRIVED IN 1829 WITH A WEST-BOUND WAGON TRAIN THE TROOPS WENT INTO CAMP NEAR THE ISLAND. THEY SPENT THE SUMMER FIGHTING OFF INDIANS, LOSING SEVERAL MEN AND PART OF THEIR OXEN. THE RETURN FROM SANTA FE OF THE CARAVAN WITH A MEXICAN ESCORT WAS CELEBRATED IN A COLORFUL EXCHANGE OF MILITARY INSPECTIONS.

US-50, one mile west of
Lakin, Kearny county.

OREGON AND SANTA FE TRAILS

AT THIS POINT US-50 IS IDENTICAL WITH THESE FAMOUS TRAILS WHICH FROM THE MISSOURI RIVER FOLLOWED THE SAME GENERAL ROUTE. NEAR HERE THEY BRANCHED, THE WORDS "ROAD TO OREGON" ON A ROUGH BOARD POINTING OUT THE NORTHERN FORK. SO SIMPLE A SIGN, ONE WRITER OBSERVED, NEVER BEFORE ANNOUNCED SO LONG A JOURNEY.

HERE A SECOND SIGN POINTED SOUTHWEST ALONG THE SANTA FE TRAIL. OF ITS 750 MILES, TWO-THIRDS LAY IN KANSAS. AS EARLY AS 1821 PACK TRAINS HAZARDED THIS ROUTE BETWEEN THE MISSOURI AND SPANISH FRONTIERS. BY 1825 IT HAD BECOME A COMMERCIAL WAGON ROAD.

FROM 1840 TO 1870 THOUSANDS OF TRAVELERS PLODDED THE 2,000 TORTUOUS MILES OF THE OREGON TRAIL, RECORDING WITH FEARFUL MONOTONY THE NEW GRAVES ALONG THE WAY. DOWN THE SANTA FE TRAIL WENT TROOPS BOUND FOR THE MEXICAN WAR OF 1846-1847. OVER THESE TWO ROADS, BRANCHING HERE INTO THE WILDERNESS, TRAVELED EXPLORERS, TRADERS, MISSIONARIES, SOLDIERS, FORTY-NINERS AND EMIGRANTS, THE PIONEERS WHO BROUGHT CIVILIZATION TO THE WESTERN HALF OF THE UNITED STATES.

US-50, one-fifth mile west of
Gardner, Johnson county.

COUNCIL GROVE

IN 1825 GROWING TRAFFIC OVER THE SANTA FE TRAIL BROUGHT A GOVERNMENT SURVEY AND RIGHT-OF-WAY TREATIES WITH CERTAIN INDIANS. COUNCIL GROVE TAKES ITS NAME FROM AN AGREEMENT MADE HERE THAT YEAR WITH THE OSAGE NATION. INDIANS FARTHER WEST CONTINUED THEIR ATTACKS ON WEAK OR UNWARY CARAVANS. A LARGE GROVE ON THE RIVER HERE BECAME THE RENDEZVOUS WHERE WAGON TRAINS BANDED TOGETHER FOR SAFE TRAVEL AND TO MAKE REPAIRS FROM THE LAST AVAILABLE TIMBER. FREMONT'S EXPEDITION OF 1845 AND DONIPHAN'S TROOPS BOUND FOR THE MEXICAN WAR IN 1846 CAMPED ON THE SITE. IN 1849 THE OVERLAND MAIL WAS ESTABLISHED, WITH SUPPLY HEADQUARTERS HERE, FOLLOWED THE NEXT YEAR BY MONTHLY COACH SERVICE. TRAVEL TO SANTA FE THROUGH COUNCIL GROVE ENDED IN 1866 WHEN THE UNION PACIFIC REACHED JUNCTION CITY.

THIS AREA BECAME A KAW INDIAN RESERVATION IN 1846. WITH THE INDIANS CAME THE FIRST WHITE SETTLER WHO BUILT A TRADING POST. THE METHODIST CHURCH ESTABLISHED A MISSION AND SCHOOL HERE IN 1850. THE INDIANS IN 1872 SIGNED A TREATY FOR REMOVAL TO INDIAN TERRITORY, NOW OKLAHOMA. THERE ARE SEVERAL PLACES OF HISTORICAL INTEREST IN AND NEAR THE TOWN.

US-50N, one-third mile east of
Council Grove, Morris county.

KANSAS INDIAN TREATY

IN 1825 PRESIDENT JAMES MONROE APPROVED A BILL PROVIDING FOR THE SURVEY OF THE SANTA FE TRAIL FROM MISSOURI TO NEW MEXICO AND THE MAKING OF TREATIES TO INSURE FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH INDIANS ALONG THE ROUTE. A MILE WEST OF THIS SIGN, ON DRY TURKEY CREEK, A MONUMENT MARKS THE SITE OF A COUNCIL ON AUGUST 16, 1825, BETWEEN U. S. COMMISSIONERS REEVES, SIBLEY AND MATHER, AND SON-JA-INGA AND FIFTEEN OTHER HEAD MEN OF THE KANSAS OR KAW NATION. NEGOTIATIONS WERE CONDUCTED THROUGH "OLD BILL" WILLIAMS, A NOTED GUIDE AND TRAPPER. FOR A CONSIDERATION OF \$800 IN CASH AND MERCHANDISE THE CHIEFS PROMISED THAT THE TRIBE WOULD NOT MOLEST TRAVELERS. EARLIER, AT COUNCIL GROVE, A SIMILAR TREATY WAS MADE WITH THE OSAGE INDIANS.

US-81, about five miles southeast of
McPherson (near Elyria),
McPherson county.

PAWNEE ROCK

ONE-HALF MILE NORTHEAST IS PAWNEE ROCK, A FAMOUS LANDMARK ON THE SANTA FE TRAIL. AS A LOOKOUT AND AMBUSH, RISING FROM THE PRAIRIES WHERE MILLIONS OF BUFFALO PROVIDED AN EASY LIVING FOR HOSTILE INDIANS, THE ROCK WAS ONE OF THE MOST DANGEROUS POINTS ON THE CENTRAL PLAINS. PIKE, WEBB, GREGG, DONIPHAN AND OTHER TRAVELERS MENTIONED IT IN THEIR JOURNALS. HERE 17-YEAR-OLD KIT CARSON, STANDING GUARD ONE NIGHT IN 1826, SHOT HIS OWN MULE, MISTAKING IT FOR AN INDIAN. TRAPPERS, SOLDIERS, GOLDSEEKERS, FREIGHTERS AND EMIGRANTS CARVED THEIR NAMES IN THE STONE. IN LATER YEARS RAILROAD BUILDERS AND PIONEERS STRIPPED THE TOP OF THE ROCK AND GREATLY REDUCED ITS ELEVATION. IT IS NOW A STATE PARK. A ROAD LEADS TO A SHELTER HOUSE AND MONUMENT ON THE SUMMIT.

US-50N, west city limits of
Pawnee Rock, Barton county.

WAGON BED SPRINGS

TWO MILES SOUTHWEST WERE THE LOWER SPRINGS OF THE CIMARRON, AN "OASIS" IN DRY WEATHER WHERE SHORTCUTS OF THE SANTA FE TRAIL CONVERGED TO CONTINUE UP THE RIVER. THE MOST POPULAR CUT-OFF TURNED SOUTHWEST FROM THE ARKANSAS RIVER IN PRESENT GRAY COUNTY. THE 60-MILE STRETCH BETWEEN THE TWO RIVERS, KNOWN AS THE "JORNADA," WAS A PERILOUS ROUTE FOR MEN AND ANIMALS IN DRY SEASONS WHEN WAGON TRAINS OFTEN RAN OUT OF WATER. HERE ALSO FIERCE PLAINS INDIANS FREQUENTLY ATTACKED AND PLUNDERED THE CARAVANS. NEAR HERE IN 1831 THE NOTED WESTERN EXPLORER AND FUR TRADER JEDEDIAH SMITH, LOST FOUR DAYS WITHOUT WATER, WAS KILLED BY COMANCHES JUST AS HE REACHED THE RIVER.

LATE IN THE HISTORY OF THE TRAIL A WAGON BOX SET IN THE WATER GAVE THE SPRINGS THEIR NAME. LITTLE REMAINS OF THIS FAMOUS CAMPING PLACE, BUT WHEEL RUTS OF THE OLD TRAIL MAY STILL BE SEEN IN NEAR-BY AREAS.

US-270, eleven miles south of
Ulysses, Grant county.

MISSION NEOSHO

THE FIRST INDIAN MISSION AND SCHOOL IN PRESENT KANSAS WAS ESTABLISHED IN SEPTEMBER, 1824, ONE-THIRD MILE WEST OF THIS MARKER. BENTON PIXLEY, THE MISSIONARY, FOLLOWED CHIEF WHITE HAIR AND HIS BAND OF GREAT OSAGES WHO HAD MIGRATED FROM MISSOURI ABOUT 1815. THE NEW "MISSION ON THE NEOSHO" WAS A BRANCH OF HARMONY MISSION, OPERATED IN MISSOURI BY PRESBYTERIAN AND ASSOCIATED DENOMINATIONS. SEVERAL OSAGE TRIBES LOCATED NEAR BY, AND SOME OF THE CHIEFS AND THE INDIAN AGENT WERE ANTAGONISTIC TO PIXLEY. INDIAN ROWDIES OFTEN DISTURBED RELIGIOUS MEETINGS AND THE SCHOOL FAILED TO ATTRACT PUPILS. IN 1829 THE FIELD WAS ABANDONED.

IN 1844 A. B. CANVILLE ESTABLISHED A TRADING POST AMONG THE OSAGES A LITTLE SOUTHEAST OF THIS MARKER. HERE ON SEPTEMBER 29, 1865, THE OSAGES SIGNED A TREATY WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AGREEING TO A REDUCTION OF THEIR RESERVE IN KANSAS. A FEW YEARS LATER THEY WERE REMOVED TO OKLAHOMA.

US-59, on Christian church grounds
at Shaw, Neosho county.

SHAWNEE FRIENDS MISSION

IN 1825 THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT BEGAN MOVING EASTERN INDIANS TO NEW LANDS WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI. THIS SIGN IS ON A TRACT OF 2,500 SQUARE MILES ASSIGNED TO THE SHAWNEES. WITH THIS TRIBE CAME METHODIST, BAPTIST AND QUAKER MISSIONARIES. ONE MILE EAST AND A LITTLE NORTH THE QUAKERS ERECTED BUILDINGS IN 1836 AND OPENED A SCHOOL THE FOLLOWING YEAR. INDIAN STUDENTS, WHO LIVED AT THE MISSION, RECEIVED ELEMENTARY SCHOOLING, RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION AND TRAINING IN AGRICULTURE AND DOMESTIC ARTS. HIGHEST RECORDED ENROLLMENT WAS 76. IN ITS LATE YEARS THE SCHOOL WAS ATTENDED MAINLY BY INDIAN ORPHANS. THE MISSION OPERATED ALMOST CONTINUOUSLY UNTIL 1869. A MARKER DESIGNATES THE SITE OF THE MAIN BUILDING WHICH WAS TORN DOWN IN 1917.

Junction K-10 and US-50, near
Shawnee, Johnson county.

HIGHLAND PRESBYTERIAN MISSION

IOWA, SAUK AND FOX INDIANS OF MISSOURI WERE REMOVED BY TREATY TO PRESENT DONIPHAN COUNTY IN 1837. WITH THEM CAME SAMUEL M. AND ELIZA IRVIN, PRESBYTERIAN MISSIONARIES, WHO ESTABLISHED A LOG-CABIN MISSION AND SCHOOL. IN 1843 IRVIN AND HIS ASSOCIATE, WILLIAM HAMILTON, SET UP A PRESS (THE SECOND IN KANSAS) TO PRINT SCHOOLBOOKS AND RELIGIOUS WORKS IN THE IOWA LANGUAGE. A THREE-STORY STONE AND BRICK BUILDING OF 32 ROOMS WAS COMPLETED IN 1846 ON A SITE ONE MILE EAST AND A LITTLE NORTH OF THIS SIGN. HERE INDIAN PUPILS RECEIVED ELEMENTARY SCHOOLING AND INSTRUCTION IN DOMESTIC ARTS, MANUAL TRADES AND AGRICULTURE. REMAINS OF THE BUILDING MAY STILL BE SEEN. WITH THE ORGANIZATION OF KANSAS AS A TERRITORY THE TRIBES WERE REMOVED TO DIMINISHED RESERVES AND THE MISSION WAS FINALLY CLOSED ABOUT 1863.

US-36, one-fourth mile east of
Highland, Doniphan county.

FORT SCOTT

THIS WESTERN OUTPOST, NAMED FOR GEN. WINFIELD SCOTT, WAS ESTABLISHED BY U. S. DRAGOONS IN 1842 ON LAND RESERVED FOR NEW YORK INDIANS. IT WAS MIDWAY BETWEEN FORT LEAVENWORTH AND FORT GIBSON ON A MILITARY ROAD THAT EXTENDED FROM THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI RIVER TO LOUISIANA. BY 1853 THE INDIAN FRONTIER HAD MOVED WEST AND TROOPS WERE WITHDRAWN. TWO YEARS LATER THE BUILDINGS WERE AUCTIONED TO INCOMING SETTLERS AND THE CITY OF FORT SCOTT GREW UP AROUND THEM. FROM 1855 TO 1860 THE TOWN WAS IN THE THICK OF THE TERRITORIAL STRUGGLE OVER SLAVERY AND IN 1858 IT WAS RAIDED BY MONTGOMERY AND HIS BAND OF JAYHAWKERS.

DURING THE CIVIL WAR THE FORT WAS REESTABLISHED. IT BECAME UNION HEADQUARTERS AND SUPPLY DEPOT FOR SOUTHEAST KANSAS AND WAS UNDER CONSTANT THREAT OF ATTACK UNTIL 1865. SEVERAL OF THE OLD FORT BUILDINGS MAY STILL BE SEEN ON THE PLAZA.

US-69, at north city limits of
Fort Scott, Bourbon county.

OSAGE CATHOLIC MISSION

THIS MISSION WAS FOUNDED IN 1847 FOR OSAGE INDIANS LIVING ALONG THE NEOSHO AND VERDIGRIS RIVERS. A MANUAL LABOR SCHOOL FOR BOYS WAS ESTABLISHED BY THE JESUITS AND A DEPARTMENT FOR GIRLS BY THE SISTERS OF LORETO. HIGHEST RECORDED ENROLLMENT WAS 239. IN 1848 THE FIRST CATHOLIC CHURCH IN SOUTHERN KANSAS WAS BUILT. DURING THE CIVIL WAR WHEN PROPERTY WAS LAID WASTE THROUGHOUT THE BORDER THE MISSION WAS ALWAYS SPARED AND SCHOOL WAS NEVER SUSPENDED. WHEN THE OSAGES MOVED TO INDIAN TERRITORY IN 1870 WHITE CHILDREN GRADUALLY REPLACED THE INDIANS. THE SCHOOL BECAME ST. FRANCIS INSTITUTION FOR BOYS AND ST. ANN'S ACADEMY FOR GIRLS. ST. FRANCIS CLOSED IN 1891 AND ST. ANN'S WAS DESTROYED BY FIRE IN 1895. NOTABLE IN SERVICE HERE WERE MOTHER BRIDGET HAYDEN AND FATHERS JOHN SCHOENMAKERS, JOHN BAX AND PAUL MARY PONZIGLIONE, THE LATTER AN ITALIAN NOBLEMAN. A TOWN, OSAGE MISSION, ORGANIZED IN 1867, BECAME ST. PAUL IN 1895.

K-57, at east city limits of
St. Paul, Neosho county.

ST. MARYS

THIS CITY AND COLLEGE TAKE THEIR NAME FROM ST. MARY'S CATHOLIC MISSION FOUNDED HERE BY THE JESUITS IN 1848 FOR THE POTTAWATOMIE INDIANS. THESE MISSIONARIES, WHO HAD LIVED WITH THE TRIBE IN EASTERN KANSAS FROM 1838, ACCOMPANIED THE REMOVAL TO THIS AREA. A MANUAL LABOR SCHOOL WAS OPERATED AT THE MISSION UNTIL 1871. FROM IT DEVELOPED ST. MARY'S COLLEGE, CHARTERED IN 1869. THE COLLEGE IN 1931 BECAME A JESUIT SEMINARY. A BOULDER ON THE CAMPUS MARKS THE SITE OF THE FIRST CATHEDRAL BETWEEN THE MISSOURI RIVER AND THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS. BUILT OF LOGS, IN 1849, IT BECAME THE SEE OF BISHOP MIEGE, "BISHOP OF THE INDIANS." VICE PRESIDENT CHARLES CURTIS, PART KAW INDIAN, WAS BAPTIZED IN THIS PARISH ON APRIL 15, 1860.

THE MISSION WAS AN IMPORTANT STOPPING POINT ON THE OREGON TRAIL. HERE ALSO WAS THE U. S. POTTAWATOMIE AGENCY. THIS BUILDING STILL STANDS 600 FEET NORTHWEST OF THIS MARKER.

US-24, at east city limits of
St. Marys, Pottawatomie county.

MARYSVILLE

A FEW MILES BELOW MARYSVILLE WAS THE FAMOUS FORD ON THE OREGON TRAIL KNOWN AS THE INDEPENDENCE, MORMON OR CALIFORNIA CROSSING. THERE THOUSANDS OF COVERED WAGONS WITH SETTLERS BOUND FOR OREGON, MORMONS FOR UTAH AND GOLDSEEKERS FOR CALIFORNIA CROSSED THE BIG BLUE RIVER. IN 1849 A FERRY AND TRADING POST WAS ESTABLISHED AT THE FORD BY FRANK J. MARSHALL, DESPITE CONSTANT DANGER FROM INDIANS. TWO YEARS LATER THE MILITARY ROAD BETWEEN FORTS LEAVENWORTH AND KEARNY CROSSED THE RIVER AT THE SITE OF PRESENT MARYSVILLE, ONE MILE WEST. MARSHALL BUILT ANOTHER FERRY AND FOR YEARS HANDLED AN IMMENSE TRAFFIC. HE GAVE THE NAME OF HIS WIFE, MARY, TO THE TOWN THAT DEVELOPED HERE AND HIS OWN NAME TO MARSHALL COUNTY OF WHICH IT IS COUNTY SEAT. IN 1860 MARYSVILLE BECAME A STATION ON THE PONY EXPRESS. FOR MOST OF THE 1860'S IT WAS AN IMPORTANT STOPPING POINT FOR COACHES OF THE GREAT OVERLAND STAGE LINE.

US-36, one mile east of
Marysville, Marshall county.

FORT RILEY

FREMONT'S EXPEDITION CAMPING HERE IN 1843 REPORTED GREAT NUMBERS OF ELK, ANTELOPE AND INDIANS WHERE THE REPUBLICAN AND SMOKY HILL RIVERS UNITE TO FORM THE KANSAS. IN 1853 FORT RILEY BECAME AN OUTPOST FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE SANTA FE AND OREGON TRAILS. FOR YEARS IT WAS AN ARMY HEADQUARTERS ON THE INDIAN FRONTIER. HERE IN 1866 THE FAMOUS 7TH CAVALRY WAS ORGANIZED WITH LT. COL. GEORGE A. CUSTER SECOND IN COMMAND. IN 1884 GEN. PHILIP SHERIDAN RECOMMENDED THE PRESENT TRAINING SCHOOL, THOUGH CLASSES WERE NOT HELD UNTIL 1893. THE CAVALRY SCHOOL IS BELIEVED TO BE THE LARGEST IN THE WORLD.

THE ORIGINAL FORT WAS BUILT BY MAJ. E. A. OGDEN AND NAMED FOR GEN. BENNETT RILEY. CAMP FUNSTON, NAMED FOR GEN. FREDERICK FUNSTON, WAS ESTABLISHED EAST OF THE FORT IN 1917. HERE MORE THAN 140,000 MEN WERE INDUCTED INTO WORLD WAR SERVICE. CONSTRUCTION OF THE SECOND CAMP FUNSTON BEGAN IN 1940.

US-40, east of Junction City, in
Fort Riley military reservation.

ATCHISON

ON JULY 4, 1804, LEWIS AND CLARK, EXPLORING THE NEW LOUISIANA PURCHASE, CAMPED NEAR THIS SITE. FIFTY YEARS LATER THE TOWN WAS FOUNDED BY PROSLAVERY MEN AND NAMED FOR SEN. DAVID R. ATCHISON. THE SQUATTER SOVEREIGN, ATCHISON'S FIRST NEWSPAPER, WAS AN EARLY ADVOCATE OF VIOLENCE AGAINST ABOLITION. HERE PARDEE BUTLER, FREE-STATE PREACHER, WAS SET ADRIFT ON A RIVER RAFT AND ON HIS RETURN WAS TARRED AND FEATHERED. HERE ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN 1859 "AUDITIONED" HIS FAMOUS COOPER UNION ADDRESS—UNMENTIONED BY LOCAL NEWSPAPERS.

DURING THE HEYDAY OF RIVER STEAMBOATING IN THE FIFTIES ATCHISON BECAME AN OUTFITTING DEPOT FOR EMIGRANT AND FREIGHTING TRAINS TO UTAH AND THE PACIFIC COAST. IT WAS A BASE OF SUPPLIES FOR THE PIKE'S PEAK GOLD RUSH AND IN THE EARLY 1860'S WAS A STARTING POINT FOR THE PONY EXPRESS AND OVERLAND STAGE LINES. IN THIS PIONEER TRANSPORTATION CENTER THE SANTA FE RAILWAY WAS ORGANIZED IN 1860, MODESTLY NAMED THE ATCHISON & TOPEKA.

US-59, at southwestern city limits of
Atchison, Atchison county.

LAWRENCE

LAWRENCE WAS ESTABLISHED IN 1854 BY THE EMIGRANT AID COMPANY, A NEW ENGLAND ORGANIZATION FORMED TO PREVENT THE NEW KANSAS TERRITORY FROM BECOMING A SLAVE STATE. WHEN THE FIRST LEGISLATURE ENACTED THE SO-CALLED BOGUS LAWS WITH SEVERE PENALTIES FOR OPPOSING SLAVERY LAWRENCE WAS THE CENTER OF FREE-STATE RESISTANCE. FREE-STATE NEWSPAPERS HERE FURTHER ANTAGONIZED PROSLAVERY OFFICERS. LATE IN 1855 1,500 PROSLAVERY MEN GATHERED TO ATTACK THE TOWN. FREE-STATE MEN CAME TO ITS DEFENSE, AMONG THEM JOHN BROWN. BLOODSHED WAS AVERTED BY A "PEACE TREATY." THE NEXT SPRING, HOWEVER, A "SHERIFF'S POSSE" OF SEVERAL HUNDRED MISSOURIANS BURNED HOUSES, DESTROYED TWO NEWSPAPER PRESSES AND FIRED A CANNON INTO THE ELDRIDGE HOTEL ON THE PRETEXT THAT IT WAS AN ABOLITION FORT.

DURING THE CIVIL WAR LAWRENCE WAS A HAVEN FOR RUNAWAY SLAVES AND WAS HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR UNION RAIDS INTO MISSOURI. ON AUGUST 21, 1863, QUANTRILL AND A BAND OF GUERRILLAS RAVAGED THE TOWN AND KILLED NEARLY 150 MEN. MONUMENTS TO THESE VICTIMS AND OTHER HISTORICAL MARKERS MAY BE SEEN IN THE CITY. LAWRENCE IS THE HOME OF THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS AND HASKELL INDIAN INSTITUTE.

US-24, three and one-half miles
northeast of Lawrence, Douglas
county.

FIRST CAPITOL OF KANSAS

THIS BUILDING WAS ERECTED IN 1855 IN THE NOW EXTINGUISHED TOWN OF PAWNEE FOR THE FIRST LEGISLATURE OF THE TERRITORY OF KANSAS. THE MEMBERS WERE MOSTLY MISSOURIANS, FRAUDULENTLY ELECTED IN AN EFFORT TO MAKE KANSAS A SLAVE STATE. THEY CAME IN WAGONS AND ON HORSEBACK, WELL ARMED, AND CAMPED OUT ON THE PRAIRIE. THE SESSION LASTED FROM JULY 2 TO 6. THE MISSOURIANS WERE DETERMINED TO LEGISLATE NEARER HOME AND PASSED A BILL TO MOVE TO SHAWNEE METHODIST MISSION NEAR KANSAS CITY. GOVERNOR REEDER VETOED THE BILL, IT WAS PASSED OVER HIS VETO, AND THIS ENDED THE SESSION HERE. ALL OTHER ACTS, INCLUDING THE SO-CALLED BOGUS LAWS, WERE PASSED AT SHAWNEE MISSION. THIS BUILDING STOOD IN PARTIAL RUIN UNTIL ITS RESTORATION IN 1928 BY THE UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD.

US-40, east of Junction City, in the
First Capitol grounds, Fort Riley
military reservation.

KANSAS
HISTORICAL MARKER

DODGE CITY, THE COWBOY CAPITAL

FOR TEN YEARS THIS WAS THE LARGEST CATTLE MARKET IN THE WORLD AND FOR FIFTEEN IT WAS THE WILDEST TOWN ON THE AMERICAN FRONTIER. ESTABLISHED WITH THE COMING OF THE SANTA FE IN 1872, DODGE CITY BECAME THE SHIPPING CENTER OF THE SOUTHWEST. THE HUNTERS WHO EXTERMINATED THE BUFFALO HERE MARKETED SEVERAL MILLION DOLLARS WORTH OF HIDES AND MEAT. HUNDREDS OF WAGON TRAINS CARRIED SUPPLIES TO WESTERN TOWNS AND ARMY POSTS. BY 1875 MOST CATTLE TRAILS LED TO DODGE. IN 1884 TEXAS DROVERS ALONE BROUGHT 106 HERDS NUMBERING 300,000 HEAD. AS A RENDEZVOUS FOR HUNTERS, TRAPPERS, COWBOYS, SOLDIERS, RAILROAD BUILDERS, BULLWHACKERS, INDIANS, SALOON KEEPERS, DANCE HALL GIRLS, THUGS AND GAMBLERS, THE TOWN BECAME NOTORIOUS FOR VICE AND VIOLENCE. NUMEROUS VICTIMS WERE BURIED ON BOOT HILL. EVENTUALLY LAW WAS ENFORCED BY SUCH "TWO-GUN MARSHALS" AS BAT MASTERSON, WYATT EARP AND BILL TILGHMAN.

NEAR DODGE CITY ARE THE SITES OF OLD FORT MANN AND FORT ATKINSON. THE SANTA FE TRAIL WHICH THEY WERE ESTABLISHED TO PROTECT MAY STILL BE TRACED ON THE NEARBY PRAIRIE.

ERECTED BY
KANSAS HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND STATE HIGHWAY COMMISSION



THIS HISTORICAL MARKER FOR DODGE CITY IS ONE MILE WEST OF THE CITY ON US-50S. INSET SHOWS ONE OF THE APPROACH SIGNS.

LECOMPTON—SLAVERY CAPITAL

THREE MILES NORTH IS LECOMPTON, FAMOUS IN THE LATTER 1850'S AS HEADQUARTERS OF THE PROSLAVERY PARTY IN KANSAS. THE "BOGUS" LEGISLATURE OF 1855 MADE IT THE TERRITORIAL CAPITAL AND CONGRESS APPROPRIATED \$50,000 FOR A CAPITOL BUILDING WHICH WAS NEVER COMPLETED. LECOMPTON WAS SERVED BY STAGECOACH, STEAMBOAT AND FERRY. WITH A LAND OFFICE AND OTHER FEDERAL AGENCIES, IT PROSPERED UNTIL THE DOWNFALL OF THE SLAVE POWER IN KANSAS. GOV. CHARLES ROBINSON AND MANY FREE-STATE LEADERS WERE IMPRISONED THERE DURING 1856-1857. STILL TO BE SEEN ARE THE LEGISLATIVE HALL IN WHICH THE LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION WAS FRAMED IN 1857, AND THE ROWENA HOTEL, LONE SURVIVOR OF THE BOOM-DAY HOSTELRIES.

"FORT TITUS," HOME OF PROSLAVERY LEADER HENRY TITUS, ATTACKED AND BURNED BY FREE-STATE MEN IN 1856, WAS 2½ MILES NORTH OF THIS MARKER. THREE MILES NORTHEAST IS THE RESIDENCE BUILT BY ACTING GOV. FREDERICK STANTON IN 1857, NOW OWNED BY FORMER SECRETARY OF WAR HARRY H. WOODRING.

US-40, three miles south of
Lecompton, Douglas county.

CAPITAL OF KANSAS

TOPEKA WAS FOUNDED IN 1854 AT THE SITE OF PAPAN'S FERRY WHERE A BRANCH OF THE OREGON TRAIL CROSSED THE KANSAS RIVER AS EARLY AS 1842. ANTI-SLAVERY LEADERS FRAMED THE TOPEKA CONSTITUTION, 1855, IN THE FIRST ATTEMPT TO ORGANIZE A STATE GOVERNMENT. THE NEXT YEAR THEIR LEGISLATURE WAS DISPERSED BY U. S. DRAGOONS UNDER ORDERS FROM PRESIDENT FRANKLIN PIERCE. [SO PIERCE WAS OMITTED WHEN TOPEKA NAMED ITS STREETS AFTER THE PRESIDENTS.] IN THE LATE 1850'S NEGROES BOUND NORTH ON THE "UNDERGROUND RAILWAY" WERE HIDDEN HERE BY JOHN BROWN IN A CABIN WHICH MAY STILL BE SEEN. TOPEKA BECAME THE CAPITAL IN 1861 WHEN KANSAS WAS ADMITTED TO THE UNION AND THE SLAVERY CONFLICT FLAMED INTO REBELLION.

AFTER THE WAR, IN 1868, THE SANTA FE RAILROAD, PROMOTED BY C. K. HOLLIDAY, A CITY FOUNDER, FIRST STARTED BUILDING FROM TOPEKA. THIS WAS THE BIRTHPLACE, IN 1860, OF VICE PRESIDENT CHARLES CURTIS, PART KAW INDIAN, THE ONLY "NATIVE AMERICAN" TO REACH SO HIGH AN OFFICE.

US-75, one-fourth mile north of
Topeka, Shawnee county.

ELWOOD

ELWOOD, FIRST CALLED ROSEPORT, WAS ESTABLISHED IN 1856. IN ITS HEYDAY SCORES OF RIVER STEAMBOATS UNLOADED PASSENGERS AND FREIGHT AT ITS WHARVES AND EVERY 15 MINUTES FERRYBOATS CROSSED TO ITS MISSOURI RIVAL, ST. JOSEPH. DURING THE 1850'S THOUSANDS OF EMIGRANTS OUTFITTED HERE FOR OREGON AND CALIFORNIA. ON DECEMBER 1, 1859, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, SEEKING THE REPUBLICAN NOMINATION, HERE FIRST SET FOOT IN KANSAS, AND SPOKE IN THE THREE-STORY GREAT WESTERN HOTEL. ELWOOD WAS THE FIRST KANSAS STATION ON THE PONY EXPRESS BETWEEN MISSOURI AND CALIFORNIA. CONSTRUCTION OF THE FIRST RAILROAD WEST OF THE MISSOURI RIVER BEGAN HERE IN 1859. ON APRIL 23, 1860, THE FIRST LOCOMOTIVE, "THE ALBANY," WAS FERRIED OVER AND PULLED UP THE BANK BY HAND. ELWOOD'S AMBITIONS FOR GREATNESS WERE THWARTED, NOT BY ST. JOE, BUT BY THE RIVER WHICH UNDERMINED THE BANKS AND WASHED MUCH OF THE OLD TOWN AWAY.

US-36, one-fifth mile east of
Elwood, Doniphan county.

BATTLE OF BLACK JACK

THIS "BATTLE" WAS PART OF THE STRUGGLE TO MAKE KANSAS A FREE STATE. IN MAY, 1856, PROSLAVERY MEN DESTROYED BUILDINGS AND NEWSPAPER PRESSES IN LAWRENCE, FREE-STATE HEADQUARTERS. JOHN BROWN'S COMPANY THEN KILLED FIVE PROSLAVERY MEN ON POTTAWATOMIE CREEK NOT FAR FROM THIS SPOT. IN RETALIATION HENRY C. PATE RAIDED NEAR-BY PALMYRA AND TOOK THREE PRISONERS. EARLY ON THE MORNING OF JUNE 2 BROWN ATTACKED PATE'S CAMP IN A GROVE OF BLACK JACK OAKS ABOUT $\frac{1}{4}$ MILE SOUTH OF THIS SIGN. BOTH SIDES HAD SEVERAL WOUNDED AND NUMEROUS DESERTIONS BEFORE PATE AND 28 MEN SURRENDERED, BROWN CLAIMING HE HAD ONLY 15 MEN LEFT. AS EVIDENCE OF CIVIL WAR THIS FIGHT RECEIVED MUCH PUBLICITY AND EXCITED BOTH THE NORTH AND SOUTH.

US-50, three miles east of
Baldwin, Douglas county.

BATTLE OF HICKORY POINT

IN SEPTEMBER, 1856, A BAND OF PROSLAVERY MEN SACKED GRASSHOPPER FALLS (VALLEY FALLS) AND TERRORIZED THE VICINITY. ON THE 13TH THE FREE-STATE LEADER JAMES H. LANE WITH A SMALL COMPANY BESIEGED A PARTY OF RAIDERS IN LOG BUILDINGS AT HICKORY POINT, ABOUT $\frac{1}{2}$ MILE SOUTH-EAST OF THIS MARKER. UNABLE TO DISLODGE THEM, LANE SENT TO LAWRENCE FOR ARTILLERY AND REINFORCEMENTS. COL. JAMES A. HARVEY RESPONDED NEXT DAY ONLY TO FIND THAT LANE HAD RAISED THE SIEGE AND DEPARTED. "SACRAMENTO," HISTORIC MEXICAN WAR CANNON, WAS FIRED INTO THE BUILDINGS WITH LITTLE EFFECT, AND MEN PUSHING UP A BURNING HAYRACK WERE SHOT IN THE LEGS. THE SKIRMISH ENDED IN AN ARMISTICE, CELEBRATED, IT IS SAID, OVER A CONSIDERABLE QUANTITY OF WHISKY. CASUALTIES WERE ONE PROSLAVERY MAN KILLED AND FOUR WOUNDED, AND FIVE FREE-STATE MEN INJURED.

US-59, one-fourth mile north of
Dunavant, Jefferson county.

KANSAS CITY, KANSAS

IN JUNE, 1804, LEWIS AND CLARK, EXPLORING THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE, CAMPED WHERE THE KANSAS RIVER EMPTIES INTO THE MISSOURI. FORTY YEARS LATER THE WYANDOT INDIANS WERE MOVED HERE FROM OHIO. THEIR TRIBAL BURIAL GROUND, HURON CEMETERY, MAY STILL BE SEEN IN THE HEART OF THE CITY. THE TOWN OF WYANDOTTE WAS LAID OUT ON THE INDIAN VILLAGE SITE IN 1857. HERE THE CONSTITUTION UNDER WHICH KANSAS ENTERED THE UNION WAS FRAMED IN 1859. THRIVING RIVER TRAFFIC SOON MADE WYANDOTTE AN IMPORTANT GATEWAY TO KANSAS. FROM HERE THE UNION PACIFIC IN 1863 STARTED BUILDING WEST ACROSS KANSAS.

ALSO WITHIN PRESENT KANSAS CITY WAS QUINDARO, A RIVAL OF WYANDOTTE, FOUNDED IN 1856 BY FREE-STATE MEN. IN THE SOUTH PART OF TOWN IS THE SITE OF THE VILLAGE OF "THE PROPHET," A SHAWNEE WHO LED THE INDIAN FORCES AT THE BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE. WYANDOTTE AND OTHER TOWNS WERE MERGED INTO KANSAS CITY, KANSAS, IN 1886.

US-24, nine miles west of
Kansas City, Wyandotte county.

MARAIS DES CYGNES MASSACRE

NOTHING IN THE STRUGGLE OVER SLAVERY IN KANSAS DID MORE TO INFLAME THE NATION THAN THE MASS KILLING WHICH TOOK PLACE MAY 19, 1858, ABOUT FOUR MILES NORTH-EAST OF THIS MARKER. CHARLES HAMELTON, WHO HAD BEEN DRIVEN FROM THE TERRITORY BY FREE-STATE MEN, RETALIATED BY INVADING THE COUNTY WITH ABOUT 30 MISSOURIANS. CAPTURING 11 FREE-STATE MEN HE MARCHED THEM TO A RAVINE AND LINED THEM UP BEFORE A FIRING SQUAD. FIVE WERE KILLED, FIVE WERE WOUNDED AND ONE ESCAPED BY FEIGNING DEATH. THE SITE AND ADJOINING LAND, OCCUPIED FOR A TIME BY JOHN BROWN, ARE PRESERVED IN A STATE MEMORIAL PARK. A MONUMENT BEARING LINES FROM WHITTIER'S TRIBUTE TO THE VICTIMS STANDS IN THE TRADING POST CEMETERY WEST OF HERE.

THE TOWN RECEIVED ITS NAME FROM AN INDIAN TRADING POST ESTABLISHED ABOUT 1834. A MONUMENT JUST EAST OF THE RIVER MARKS THE SITE. HERE, ALSO, IN JANUARY, 1859, JOHN BROWN DATED HIS FAMOUS "PARALLELS."

US-69, at north edge of
Trading Post, Linn county.

FORT LARNED

THIS WAS THE MOST IMPORTANT KANSAS POST ON THE SANTA FE TRAIL. ESTABLISHED IN 1859 AND CALLED CAMP ALERT, IT WAS RENAMED IN HONOR OF COL. B. F. LARNED. SOLDIERS STATIONED HERE ESCORTED THE MAILS AND PATROLLED A REGION NOTORIOUS FOR INDIAN KILLINGS AND PLUNDERED WAGON TRAINS. THE FORT ITSELF WAS SEVERAL TIMES BESIEGED. GENERALS HANCOCK AND CUSTER STARTED FROM HERE IN 1867 ON THEIR UNSUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGN TO SUBDUCE THE CHEYENNES AND SIOUX. IN THE MIDDLE 1860'S THE POST WAS AN AGENCY FOR THE COMANCHES, KIWAS AND APACHES. TROOPS WERE WITHDRAWN IN 1878, AND IN 1882 THE RESERVATION WAS ORDERED SOLD TO SETTLERS. SEVERAL OF THE STONE BUILDINGS ARE IN USE TODAY ON THE FORT LARNED RANCH. THERE IS A MARKER IN THE SMALL PARK ON THE OLD PARADE GROUND, $\frac{1}{4}$ MILE SOUTH OF THIS SIGN.

US-50N, six miles west of
Larned, Pawnee county.

HOLLENBERG PONY EXPRESS STATION

BEGINNING IN 1860 THE PONY EXPRESS OPERATED LIKE A GIANT RELAY RACE BETWEEN THE MISSOURI RIVER AND THE PACIFIC COAST. ALONG THE OREGON TRAIL, THROUGH FORTS LARAMIE AND BRIDGER, AROUND THE GREAT SALT LAKE, RIDERS CARRIED THE MAIL THROUGH A WILDERNESS INFESTED WITH HOSTILE TRIBES. THEIR MOUNTS WERE INDIAN PONIES, NEARLY 500 ALTOGETHER, KEPT IN RELAY STATIONS EVERY 15 MILES. AT EACH STATION TWO MINUTES WAS ALLOWED FOR TRANSFERRING SADDLEBAGS TO A FRESH PONY. EVERY FEW STATIONS A NEW RIDER TOOK OVER. DAY AND NIGHT, SUMMER AND WINTER, OVER SUN-BAKED PLAINS AND ICY MOUNTAIN TRAILS, THE SCHEDULE WAS MAINTAINED. WHEN THE TRANS-CONTINENTAL TELEGRAPH LINE REPLACED THE EXPRESS, PONIES AND RIDERS HAD MADE THE REMARKABLE RECORD OF 18 MONTHS WITH ONLY ONE MAIL LOST. THE HOLLENBERG OR COTTONWOOD RANCH HOUSE FOUR MILES NORTH, BUILT IN 1857, IS BELIEVED TO BE THE ONLY ORIGINAL AND UNALTERED PONY EXPRESS STATION. IT IS NOW OWNED BY THE STATE.

US-36, one-half mile east of
junction with K-15E (near
Hanover), Washington county.

CIVIL WAR BATTLE, DRUM CREEK TREATY

IN MAY, 1863, A MOUNTED PARTY OF ABOUT TWENTY CONFEDERATES, NEARLY ALL COMMISSIONED OFFICERS, SET OUT FROM MISSOURI TO RECRUIT TROOPS IN THE WEST. SEVERAL MILES EAST OF HERE THEY WERE CHALLENGED BY LOYAL OSAGE INDIANS. IN A RUNNING FIGHT TWO CONFEDERATES WERE KILLED AND THE OTHERS WERE SURROUNDED ON A GRAVEL BAR IN THE VERDIGRIS RIVER ABOUT THREE MILES NORTH OF THIS MARKER. IGNORING A FLAG OF SURRENDER, THE OSAGES SCALPED AND CUT THE HEADS OFF ALL BUT TWO OF THE PARTY. THESE, WOUNDED, HID UNDER THE RIVER BANK AND ESCAPED.

AFTER THE WAR WHEN SETTLERS BEGAN STAKING CLAIMS ON THE OSAGE RESERVATION, CONGRESS AUTHORIZED REMOVAL OF THE TRIBE TO PRESENT OKLAHOMA. IN 1870 A TREATY WAS SIGNED IN A GROVE ON DRUM CREEK, THREE MILES SOUTHEAST. IRONICALLY, THE CHEAP LANDS TO WHICH THE OSAGES WERE REMOVED BECAME A GREAT OIL FIELD AND FOR A TIME THEY WERE THE WEALTHIEST PEOPLE PER CAPITA IN THE WORLD.

US-160, about one mile east of
Independence, Montgomery county.

BAXTER SPRINGS MASSACRE

ON OCTOBER 6, 1863, GEN. JAMES BLUNT AND ABOUT 100 MEN WERE MET NEAR BAXTER'S SPRINGS BY WILLIAM QUANTRILL AND SEVERAL HUNDRED CONFEDERATES MASQUERADING AS UNION TROOPS. AS BLUNT'S BAND WAS PREPARING A MUSICAL SALUTE THE ENEMY FIRED. THIS SURPRISE ATTACK PREVENTED ORGANIZED RESISTANCE, AND THOUGH BLUNT ESCAPED NINE-TENTHS OF HIS MEN WERE KILLED. THE RAIDERS ALSO ATTACKED LT. JAMES POND AND 95 MEN ENCAMPED AT THE SPRINGS. THIS FORCE WAS LIKewise CAUGHT OFF GUARD BUT RESISTED UNTIL THE ENEMY RETIRED. THESE BATTLE SITES ARE IN PRESENT BAXTER SPRINGS. A NUMBER OF THE VICTIMS ARE BURIED IN THE NATIONAL CEMETERY ONE MILE WEST OF TOWN.

BAXTER SPRINGS WAS ESTABLISHED IN 1866 ON THE FORT LEAVENWORTH-FORT GIBSON MILITARY ROAD. FOR SEVERAL YEARS IT WAS IMPORTANT AS A TRADING CENTER FOR TEXAS CATTLE.

US-66, at Baxter Springs,
Cherokee county.

BATTLE OF MINE CREEK

IN OCTOBER, 1864, A CONFEDERATE ARMY UNDER GEN. STERLING PRICE WAS DEFEATED NEAR KANSAS CITY. HE RETREATED SOUTH, CROSSED INTO KANSAS, AND CAMPED AT TRADING POST. EARLY ON THE MORNING OF OCTOBER 25 UNION TROOPS UNDER GENERALS PLEASANTON, BLUNT AND CURTIS FORCED HIM FROM THIS POSITION, AND A FEW HOURS LATER THE BATTLE OF MINE CREEK WAS FOUGHT OVER THESE FIELDS. CONFEDERATE FORCES WERE THROWN INTO CONFUSION AS THEY TRIED TO CROSS THE STEEP, SLIPPERY BANKS OF THE STREAM. IN THE CLOSE FIGHTING ON THE BOTTOMS HUNDREDS OF REBEL SOLDIERS WERE CAPTURED, INCLUDING GENERAL MARMADUKE, WHO WAS TAKEN BY A 20-YEAR-OLD PRIVATE. ALTHOUGH UNION FORCES MISSED A CHANCE TO DESTROY PRICE'S ARMY THE DEFEAT WAS DECISIVE ENOUGH TO END THE THREAT OF A REBEL INVASION OF KANSAS. ABOUT 25,000 MEN WERE ENGAGED, MORE THAN IN ANY OTHER KANSAS BATTLE.

US-69, about two miles south of
Pleasanton, Linn county.

FORT HARKER

ABOUT THREE MILES SOUTHWEST IS THE SITE OF FORT ELLSWORTH, ESTABLISHED IN 1864. TWO YEARS LATER IT WAS RENAMED FORT HARKER FOR MAJ. GEN. CHARLES G. HARKER AND IN 1867 WAS MOVED TO THE SITE OF PRESENT KANOPOLIS. WHEN THE UNION PACIFIC REACHED HERE IN 1867 THE FORT BECAME A STARTING POINT FOR STAGE LINES TO SANTA FE AND A FREIGHTING AND SUPPLY DEPOT FOR SOUTHERN AND WESTERN FORTS.

THIS REGION WAS IN THE HEART OF THE INDIAN COUNTRY. MARAUDING PLAINS TRIBES KEPT TROOPS FROM THE FORT ALMOST CONSTANTLY IN THE FIELD. HERE GENERAL SHERIDAN PLANNED HIS WINTER CAMPAIGN OF 1868-1869 WHICH FINALLY SUBDUED THE SOUTHERN INDIANS. OTHER FAMOUS GENERALS, INCLUDING GRANT, SHERMAN, HANCOCK, MILES AND CUSTER, VISITED OR WERE QUARTERED AT HARKER. SOLDIERS WERE STATIONED AT THE FORT UNTIL 1873. SOME OF THE BUILDINGS ARE STILL USED IN KANOPOLIS.

US-40, one and one-half miles north
of Kanopolis, Ellsworth county.

FORT ZARAH

IN 1825 THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SURVEYED THE SANTA FE TRAIL, GREAT TRADE ROUTE FROM WESTERN MISSOURI TO SANTA FE. TREATIES WITH THE KANSAS AND OSAGE INDIANS SAFEGUARDED THE EASTERN END OF THE ROAD BUT PLAINS TRIBES CONTINUED TO MAKE RAIDS. FORT ZARAH, AT THIS POINT, WAS ONE OF A CHAIN OF FORTS BUILT ON THE TRAIL TO PROTECT WAGON TRAINS AND GUARD SETTLERS. IT WAS ESTABLISHED IN 1864 BY GEN. SAMUEL R. CURTIS AND NAMED FOR HIS SON, MAJ. H. ZARAH CURTIS, WHO HAD BEEN KILLED IN THE BAXTER SPRINGS MASSACRE OCTOBER 6, 1863. THE FORT WAS BUILT OF SANDSTONE QUARRIED IN NEAR-BY BLUFFS. FORT ZARAH WAS SUCCESSFULLY DEFENDED AGAINST AN ATTACK BY 100 KIWAS ON OCTOBER 2, 1868. IT WAS ABANDONED IN 1869.

US-50N, three miles east of
Great Bend, Barton county.

FORT DODGE

FORT DODGE WAS ESTABLISHED HERE IN 1864 BY MAJ. GEN. GRENVILLE M. DODGE. IT WAS A SUPPLY DEPOT AND BASE OF OPERATIONS AGAINST WARRING PLAINS TRIBES. CUSTER, SHERIDAN, MILES, HANCOCK, "WILD BILL" HICKOK AND "BUFFALO BILL" CODY ARE FIGURES IN ITS HISTORY. THE SITE WAS AN OLD CAMPING GROUND FOR WAGON TRAINS AT THE WESTERN JUNCTION OF THE "DRY" AND "WET" ROUTES OF THE SANTA FE TRAIL. THE FIRST BUILDINGS WERE OF SOD AND ADOBE ALTHOUGH SOME OF THE TROOPS LIVED IN DUG-OUTS. SEVERAL OF THE STONE BUILDINGS ERECTED LATER ARE IN USE TODAY. THE FORT WAS ABANDONED IN 1882 AND IS NOW A STATE SOLDIERS' HOME.

THE SPANISH EXPLORER, CORONADO, IS BELIEVED TO HAVE CROSSED THE ARKANSAS RIVER A FEW MILES EAST OF HERE IN 1541.

US-154, at State Soldiers' Home,
four miles southeast of Dodge City,
Ford county.

INDIAN TREATIES ON THE LITTLE ARKANSAS

IN 1865 HUNDREDS OF PLAINS INDIANS CAMPED ON THESE PRAIRIES TO TALK PEACE WITH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS. AMONG THEM WERE CHIEFS BLACK KETTLE AND SEVEN BULLS (CHEYENNE), LITTLE RAVEN AND BIG MOUTH (ARAPAHOE), RISING SUN AND HORSE'S BACK (COMANCHE), POOR BEAR (APACHE), SATANTA AND SATANK (KIOWA). FEDERAL COMMISSIONERS WITH GREAT PRESTIGE AMONG THE INDIANS WERE GENERAL HARNEY, COLONEL LEAVENWORTH, KIT CARSON AND WM. BENT. THE WHITES WANTED PEACE, UNMOLESTED TRAFFIC ON THE SANTA FE TRAIL AND LIMITATION OF INDIAN TERRITORY. THE INDIANS DEMANDED UNRESTRICTED HUNTING GROUNDS AND REPARATION FOR THE CHIVINGTON MASSACRE OF BLACK KETTLE'S BAND. TREATIES MADE HERE GAVE THE INDIANS RESERVATIONS SOUTH OF THE ARKANSAS, EXCLUDED THEM NORTH TO THE PLATTE, AND PROCLAIMED PEACE. SEVERAL WHITE CAPTIVES WERE RELEASED, AMONG THEM A WOMAN AND FOUR CHILDREN FROM TEXAS. LATER BOTH SIDES CHARGED VIOLATIONS AND WARFARE CONTINUED UNTIL THE MEDICINE LODGE TREATIES OF 1867. THERE IS A MONUMENT ONE MILE WEST.

US-81, four miles north of
Wichita, Sedgwick county.

FORT HAYS

THIS NOTED FRONTIER POST WAS ESTABLISHED IN 1865 TO PROTECT MILITARY ROADS, GUARD THE MAILS, AND DEFEND CONSTRUCTION GANGS ON THE UNION PACIFIC, WHICH ARRIVED IN 1867. "BUFFALO BILL" CODY, SUPPLYING MEAT FOR RAILROAD CREWS, RECEIVED HIS NICKNAME HERE. AT THIS POST HE WAS MADE CHIEF SCOUT OF THE 5TH CAVALRY AFTER A RIDE OF 350 MILES IN 60 HOURS WITH MILITARY DISPATCHES. GENERALS MILES, SHERIDAN AND HANCOCK SERVED AT FORT HAYS, AND FROM HERE GEN. GEORGE CUSTER LED HIS 7TH CAVALRY AGAINST MARAUDING INDIANS. IN 1889 THE FORT WAS ABANDONED BUT THE STONE BLOCK AND GUARD HOUSES ARE STILL TO BE SEEN SOUTH OF TOWN.

HAYS CITY WAS ESTABLISHED IN 1867. FREE-SPENDING SOLDIERS, FREIGHTERS AND RAILROAD WORKERS SOON BROUGHT DANCE HALLS, SALOONS AND GAMBLING HOUSES. A BRIEF CAREER AS THE MOST LAWLESS TOWN ON THE FRONTIER RESULTED IN 50 "BOOT HILL" BURIALS. FOR A TIME "WILD BILL" HICKOK SERVED AS TOWN MARSHAL.

US-40, at east city limits of
Hays, Ellis county.

FORT WALLACE

BEFORE THE BUILDING OF THE UNION PACIFIC THE OLD DENVER ROAD CROSSED THESE PRAIRIES AND OVER IT PASSED SEVERAL OF THE FAMOUS FREIGHT AND STAGE LINES OF THE EARLY WEST. THE WILD PLAINS INDIAN BITTERLY FOUGHT THIS TRAFFIC THROUGH HIS HUNTING GROUNDS. FORT WALLACE, ESTABLISHED IN 1865 AS CAMP POND CREEK AND RENAMED IN 1866, WAS ONE OF FOUR MILITARY POSTS PROTECTING THE ROUTE. FROM 1865 TO 1878 IT WAS THE MOST ACTIVE POST ON THE INDIAN FRONTIER. TROOPS WERE ALMOST CONSTANTLY IN THE FIELD AND THE FORT WAS SEVERAL TIMES BESIEGED. IN JUNE, 1867, 300 CHEYENNES UNDER CHIEF ROMAN NOSE RAIDED AN OVERLAND STATION NEAR BY AND ATTACKED THE FORT, KILLING SEVERAL SOLDIERS. THE POST WAS ABOUT TWO MILES SOUTHEAST. IT WAS ABANDONED IN 1882 AND NOTHING NOW REMAINS OF THE STONE AND WOOD BUILDINGS WHERE ONCE AS MANY AS 500 MEN WERE STATIONED.

US-40, at Wallace,
Wallace county.

THE CHISHOLM TRAIL

AT THE END OF THE CIVIL WAR WHEN MILLIONS OF LONG-HORNS WERE LEFT ON THE PLAINS OF TEXAS WITHOUT A MARKET THE UNION PACIFIC WAS BUILDING WEST ACROSS KANSAS. JOSEPH MCCOY, AN ILLINOIS STOCKMAN, BELIEVED THESE CATTLE COULD BE HERDED OVER THE PRAIRIES FOR SHIPMENT BY RAIL. HE BUILT YARDS AT ABILENE AND SENT AGENTS TO NOTIFY THE TEXAS CATTLEMEN. THE TRAIL HE SUGGESTED RAN FROM THE RED RIVER TO ABILENE BUT TOOK ITS NAME FROM JESSE CHISHOLM, INDIAN TRADER, WHOSE ROUTE LAY BETWEEN THE NORTH CANADIAN RIVER AND THIS VICINITY. IN 1867 THE FIRST DRIVES WERE MADE AND DURING THE NEXT FIVE YEARS MORE THAN A MILLION HEAD MOVED NORTH PAST THIS PLACE. EVENTUALLY THE RAILROADS AND THE BARBED WIRE OF SETTLERS CLOSED THE LONG TRAILS. BUT THE COWBOYS OF THESE GREAT DRIVES, LIVING IN THE SADDLE FOR MORE THAN A MONTH, SWIMMING FLOODED RIVERS, FIGHTING NIGHT STAMPEDES, HAVE BECOME THE HEROES OF AN AMERICAN EPIC.

US-81, one and one-half miles north of Wichita, Sedgwick county.

ABILENE, END OF THE CHISHOLM TRAIL

AT THE END OF THE CIVIL WAR WHEN MILLIONS OF LONG-HORNS WERE LEFT ON THE PLAINS OF TEXAS WITHOUT A MARKET THE UNION PACIFIC WAS BUILDING WEST ACROSS KANSAS. JOSEPH MCCOY, AN ILLINOIS STOCKMAN, BELIEVED THESE CATTLE COULD BE HERDED NORTH FOR SHIPMENT BY RAIL. HE BUILT YARDS AT ABILENE AND SENT AGENTS TO NOTIFY THE TEXAS CATTLEMEN. IN 1867 THE FIRST DRIVES WERE MADE AND DURING THE NEXT FIVE YEARS MORE THAN A MILLION HEAD WERE RECEIVED. ABILENE BECAME THE FIRST OF THE WILD CATTLE TOWNS WHERE GAMBLING PLACES, SALOONS AND DANCE HALLS COMPETED FOR THE COWBOYS' WAGES. GUN FIGHTS WERE FREQUENT AND SEVERAL PEACE OFFICERS RESIGNED. THE FIRST TO BRING ORDER WAS TOM SMITH WHO WITH BARE FISTS ENFORCED THE ORDINANCE AGAINST CARRYING FIREARMS. MORE FAMOUS WAS "WILD BILL" HICKOK WHO BECAME KNOWN AS THE DEADLIEST "TWO-GUN" MARSHAL ON THE WESTERN FRONTIER. THERE ARE SEVERAL HISTORICAL MARKERS IN THE CITY.

US-40, two and one-half miles west of Abilene, Dickinson county.

MEDICINE LODGE PEACE TREATIES

IN OCTOBER, 1867, KIOWA, COMANCHE, ARAPAHOE, APACHE AND CHEYENNE INDIANS SIGNED PEACE TREATIES WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. 15,000 INDIANS CAMPED NEAR BY DURING THE COUNCIL, AMONG THEM THE FAMOUS CHIEFS SATANTA, LITTLE RAVEN, PAINTED LIPS (NO, NOT A SQUAW) AND BLACK KETTLE. 500 SOLDIERS ACTED AS ESCORT FOR THE U. S. COMMISSIONERS. INTEREST IN THIS COLORFUL SPECTACLE WAS SO WIDESPREAD THAT EASTERN PAPERS SENT CORRESPONDENTS, AMONG THEM HENRY M. STANLEY, WHO LATER WAS TO FIND LIVINGSTONE IN AFRICA. WHILE THE TREATIES DID NOT BRING IMMEDIATE PEACE THEY MADE POSSIBLE THE RAILROADS AND EVENTUAL SETTLEMENT. THE SITE OF THE COUNCIL WAS AT THE CONFLUENCE OF MEDICINE RIVER AND ELM CREEK, A LITTLE SOUTHWEST OF MEDICINE LODGE. EVERY FIVE YEARS A TREATY PAGEANT IS REENACTED IN THIS AMPHITHEATER. IN MEDICINE LODGE THERE IS A COMMEMORATIVE MONUMENT ON THE HIGH SCHOOL GROUNDS.

US-160, on Peace Treaty grounds,
one mile east of Medicine Lodge,
Barber county.

LINCOLN COUNTY INDIAN RAIDS

THE DESPERATE STRUGGLE OF PLAINS INDIANS TO KEEP OUT WHITE SETTLERS WAS A SUCCESSION OF RAIDS AND MASSACRES. THERE WERE SEVERAL ATTACKS IN PRESENT LINCOLN COUNTY. IN 1864 CHEYENNES ON A FORAY THROUGH THE SALINE VALLEY TRAPPED FOUR BUFFALO HUNTERS AGAINST A ROCKY LEDGE A LITTLE SOUTH OF THIS MARKER AND KILLED THEM AFTER A BITTER FIGHT. IN 1868 THREE WOMEN WHO HAD BEEN CAPTURED AND MALTREATED BY MARAUDING INDIANS WERE FOUND SEVERAL DAYS LATER HALF-DEAD ON THE PRAIRIE. IN 1869 TEN PERSONS WERE MASSACRED AND TWO WOMEN WERE CAPTURED ON THE SALINE RIVER AND NORTHWEST OF HERE ON SPILLMAN CREEK. FEDERAL TROOPS LATER RESCUED ONE OF THE WOMEN IN COLORADO. A MONUMENT TO THE VICTIMS OF 1864 AND 1869 STANDS ON THE COURTHOUSE SQUARE IN LINCOLN.

K-18, two miles east of
Lincoln, Lincoln county.

DODGE CITY, THE COWBOY CAPITAL

FOR TEN YEARS THIS WAS THE LARGEST CATTLE MARKET IN THE WORLD AND FOR FIFTEEN IT WAS THE WILDEST TOWN ON THE AMERICAN FRONTIER. ESTABLISHED WITH THE COMING OF THE SANTA FE IN 1872, DODGE CITY BECAME THE SHIPPING CENTER OF THE SOUTHWEST. THE HUNTERS WHO EXTERMINATED THE BUFFALO HERE MARKETED SEVERAL MILLION DOLLARS WORTH OF HIDES AND MEAT. HUNDREDS OF WAGON TRAINS CARRIED SUPPLIES TO WESTERN TOWNS AND ARMY POSTS. BY 1875 MOST CATTLE TRAILS LED TO DODGE; IN 1884 TEXAS DROVERS ALONE BROUGHT 106 HERDS NUMBERING 300,000 HEAD. AS A RENDEZVOUS FOR HUNTERS, TRAPPERS, COWBOYS, SOLDIERS, RAILROAD BUILDERS, BULLWHACKERS, INDIANS, SALOON KEEPERS, DANCE HALL GIRLS, THUGS AND GAMBLERS, THE TOWN BECAME NOTORIOUS FOR VICE AND VIOLENCE. NUMEROUS VICTIMS WERE BURIED ON BOOT HILL. EVENTUALLY LAW WAS ENFORCED BY SUCH "TWO-GUN MARSHALS" AS BAT MASTERSON, WYATT EARP AND BILL TILGHMAN.

NEAR DODGE CITY ARE THE SITES OF OLD FORT MANN AND FORT ATKINSON. THE SANTA FE TRAIL WHICH THEY WERE ESTABLISHED TO PROTECT MAY STILL BE TRACED ON THE NEAR-BY PRAIRIE.

US-50S, one mile west of
Dodge City, Ford county.

LONE TREE MASSACRE

IN 1874 TWENTY-SEVEN PERSONS WERE MURDERED BY INDIANS ON THE WESTERN FRONTIER OF KANSAS. SEVERAL TIMES DURING THE SUMMER WARRIORS BROKE AWAY FROM THE RESTRAINT OF THEIR RESERVATIONS IN INDIAN TERRITORY (PRESENT OKLAHOMA) AND MOVED NORTH KILLING AND PLUNDERING. ON AUGUST 24 CHIEF MEDICINE WATER AND A BAND OF TWENTY-FIVE CHEYENNES AMBUSHED SIX MEN OF A SURVEYING COMPANY ELEVEN MILES SOUTHWEST OF HERE. AFTER A RUNNING FIGHT OF THREE MILES THE OXEN DRAWING THE SURVEYORS' WAGON WERE SHOT. ALL THE MEN WERE KILLED AND THREE WERE SCALPED. TWO DAYS LATER THEIR BODIES WERE FOUND BY OTHER MEMBERS OF THE PARTY AND WERE BURIED TEMPORARILY IN A COMMON GRAVE NEAR A SOLITARY COTTONWOOD FIVE MILES SOUTH OF THIS MARKER. FOR MANY YEARS THE "LONE TREE" WHICH GAVE ITS NAME TO THIS MASSACRE WAS A FAMOUS LANDMARK ON THE PRAIRIE.

US-54, one and one-quarter miles
west of Meade, Meade county.

RED TURKEY WHEAT

CHILDREN IN RUSSIA HAND-PICKED THE FIRST SEEDS OF THIS FAMOUS WINTER WHEAT FOR KANSAS. THEY BELONGED TO MENNONITE COLONIES PREPARING TO EMIGRATE FROM THE STEPPES TO THE AMERICAN PRAIRIES. A PEACE-LOVING SECT, ORIGINALLY FROM HOLLAND, THE MENNONITES HAD GONE TO THE CRIMEA FROM PRUSSIA IN 1790 WHEN CATHERINE THE GREAT OFFERED FREE LANDS, MILITARY EXEMPTION AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM. HERE THEY PROSPERED UNTIL THESE PRIVILEGES WERE THREATENED IN 1871. THREE YEARS LATER THEY EMIGRATED TO KANSAS, WHERE THE SANTA FE RAILROAD OFFERED THOUSANDS OF ACRES ON GOOD TERMS IN MARION, HARVEY, RENO AND McPHERSON COUNTIES, AND WHERE THE LEGISLATURE PASSED A BILL EXEMPTING RELIGIOUS OBJECTORS FROM MILITARY SERVICE. WITHIN A MONTH AFTER LANDING IN NEW YORK THE MENNONITES PLANTED THE RED-GOLD GRAINS THEIR CHILDREN HAD SELECTED. THE HARVEST WAS THE FIRST OF THE GREAT CROPS OF HARD TURKEY RED AND ITS DERIVATIVES THAT HAVE MADE KANSAS THE GRANARY OF THE NATION.

US-508, one-half mile east of
Walton, Harvey county.

LAST INDIAN RAID IN KANSAS

IN SEPTEMBER, 1878, A BAND OF HOMESICK NORTHERN CHEYENNES, CONSISTING OF 89 MEN, 112 WOMEN AND 134 CHILDREN, STOLE AWAY FROM THEIR OKLAHOMA RESERVATION UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF CHIEF DULL KNIFE. ATTACKED BY SMALL TROOP DETACHMENTS AND COWBOYS THEY MOVED THROUGH KANSAS KILLING AND PLUNDERING. WESTERN COUNTIES WERE TERRORIZED, BUT FORT LEAVENWORTH DISCOUNTED REPORTS AND DELAYED HELP. WEEKS LATER 149 OF THE INDIANS WERE CAPTURED IN NORTHERN NEBRASKA. MOST OF THEM WERE AFTERWARD KILLED IN PRISON BREAKS AND FEW WERE RETURNED TO OKLAHOMA. THEIR ESCAPE ACROSS THREE STATES PURSUED BY TROOPS FROM THREE MILITARY DEPARTMENTS WAS CONSIDERED A REMARKABLE FEAT. INNOCENT VICTIMS WERE FORTY KANSAS SETTLERS MURDERED ON THEIR FARMS. HERE IN DECATUR COUNTY NINETEEN WERE KILLED ON SAPPA CREEK. A MONUMENT STANDS IN THE CEMETERY ONE MILE EAST OF THIS MARKER.

Junction of US-36 and US-183, at
northern city limits of Oberlin,
Decatur county.

CALDWELL AND THE CHISHOLM TRAIL

A MILE SOUTHEAST OF THIS MARKER THE CHISHOLM TRAIL ENTERED KANSAS. IT TOOK ITS NAME FROM JESSE CHISHOLM, INDIAN TRADER, WHOSE ROUTE LAY BETWEEN THE NORTH CANADIAN RIVER AND PRESENT WICHITA. IN 1867 IT WAS EXTENDED FROM THE RED RIVER TO ABILENE WHEN THE BUILDING OF THE UNION PACIFIC GAVE TEXAS CATTLE AN EASTERN MARKET. OVER THIS LONG TRAIL MORE THAN A MILLION HEAD WERE DRIVEN BEFORE THE SANTA FE BUILT SOUTH AND BROUGHT THE DRIVES TO NEWTON, 1871, AND THE NEXT YEAR TO WICHITA. INCOMING SETTLERS IN KANSAS SOON FENCED OFF THE LAND AND BY 1876 DROVERS HAD ABANDONED THE TRAIL. IN 1880, HOWEVER, THE RAILROAD BUILT TO CALDWELL, ONE MILE NORTH, AND DRIVES WERE RESUMED. IT IS ESTIMATED THAT TWO MILLION LONGHORNS WERE DRIVEN ACROSS THE PRAIRIE HERE ON A ROAD THAT IN MANY PLACES WAS A QUARTER OF A MILE WIDE AND AS BARE AS A MODERN HIGHWAY.

US-81, one mile south of
Caldwell, Sumner county.

OLD RUNNYMEDE

TWO MILES NORTHEAST OF HERE, IN 1890, STOOD A TYPICAL ENGLISH VILLAGE. CURVING DRIVEWAYS LED TO ENGLISH-STYLE HOUSES SET AMONG ROWS OF CLIPPED HEDGES. NEAR BY WERE POLO GROUNDS, A STEEPLECHASE COURSE, A RACE TRACK, TENNIS COURTS AND A FOOTBALL FIELD. RED-COATED HUNTERS RODE TO HOUNDS ACROSS THE BUFFALO-GRASS PRAIRIE. FARMS AND ORCHARDS WERE MODELED AFTER ENGLISH ESTATES AND ON THE TOWNSITE A THREE-STORY HOTEL AND OTHER BUSINESSES WERE ESTABLISHED. THE PROMOTER OF ALL THIS BRITISH ACTIVITY WAS AN IRISHMAN WHO PERSUADED WEALTHY FAMILIES TO SEND SONS TO THE COLONY TO LEARN AMERICAN FARMING METHODS. IN PRACTICE RUNNYMEDE STRONGLY RESEMBLED A MODERN DUDE RANCH. ALTHOUGH AT ONE TIME A HUNDRED YOUNG ENGLISHMEN LIVED IN THE SETTLEMENT, A NUMBER OF WHOM OWNED ESTATES, IT WAS A FAILURE AS A COLONY. WHEN HARD TIMES CAME OLD RUNNYMEDE COLLAPSED AND MOST OF ITS REMITTANCE MEN RETURNED TO ENGLAND. TODAY WHEAT FIELDS COVER THE TOWNSITE.

K-2, at Runnymede,
Harper county.

OPENING OF THE CHEROKEE OUTLET

AT NOON ON SEPTEMBER 16, 1893, MORE THAN 100,000 PEOPLE LINED THE BORDERS OF THE CHEROKEE OUTLET LISTENING FOR THE PISTOL SHOTS THAT STARTED ONE OF THE WORLD'S GREATEST RACES. THE PRIZE WAS 8,000,000 ACRES OF LAND: A QUARTER SECTION OR A TOWN LOT TO EVERY ELIGIBLE SETTLER WHO COULD STAKE A CLAIM. FOR WEEKS 50,000 HOMESEEKERS AND SPECULATORS FROM ALL PARTS OF THE COUNTRY HAD BEEN GATHERING TO MAKE THE RUN FROM THIS VICINITY. JOCKEYING FOR POSITION AS NOON APPROACHED WERE CITY CABS, BICYCLES, COVERED WAGONS, BUGGIES, OX TEAMS, INDIAN PONIES AND RACE HORSES. THOUSANDS PREPARED TO WALK AND OTHER THOUSANDS FILLED THE CARS OF SPECIAL RAILROAD TRAINS. WHEN THE PISTOLS WERE FIRED THE MAD RUSH BEGAN ALONG 400 MILES OF BORDER. BY NIGHTFALL THE OUTLET WHICH FOR CENTURIES HAD BEEN THE HOME OF THE INDIAN, THE COYOTE AND THE BUFFALO WAS A SETTLED LAND OF TOWNSITES AND HOMESTEADS.

US-77, three miles south of
Arkansas City, Cowley county.

BOYHOOD HOME OF GENERAL FUNSTON

FREDERICK FUNSTON, FIVE FEET FOUR AND SLIGHTLY BUILT, WENT FROM THIS FARM TO A LIFE OF AMAZING ADVENTURE. YOUTHFUL EXPLORING EXPEDITIONS IN THIS COUNTRY WERE FOLLOWED BY TWO YEARS IN THE ARCTIC FROM WHICH HE RETURNED DOWN THE YUKON RIVER 1,500 MILES BY CANOE. AFTER VENTURES IN LATIN AMERICA HE SERVED 18 MONTHS WITH CUBAN INSURGENTS, FIGHTING IN 22 ENGAGEMENTS AND REACHING THE RANK OF LIEUTENANT COLONEL. INVALIDED HOME SHORTLY BEFORE THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR, FUNSTON WAS MADE COLONEL OF THE 20TH KANSAS INFANTRY. IN 1901 HE PLANNED AND EXECUTED THE CAPTURE OF AGUINALDO, COMMANDER OF THE FILIPINO ARMY. HE RECEIVED A CONGRESSIONAL MEDAL OF HONOR AND AT 35 WAS MADE A BRIGADIER GENERAL IN THE REGULAR ARMY. IN 1914, DURING INTERVENTION IN MEXICO, HE COMMANDED VERA CRUZ AS MILITARY GOVERNOR AND WAS THAT YEAR MADE A MAJOR GENERAL. HE DIED IN 1917. THIS WAS THE HOME OF HIS FATHER, EDWARD H. FUNSTON, A MEMBER OF CONGRESS, 1884-1894.

US-59, four and one-half miles
north of Iola, Allen county.

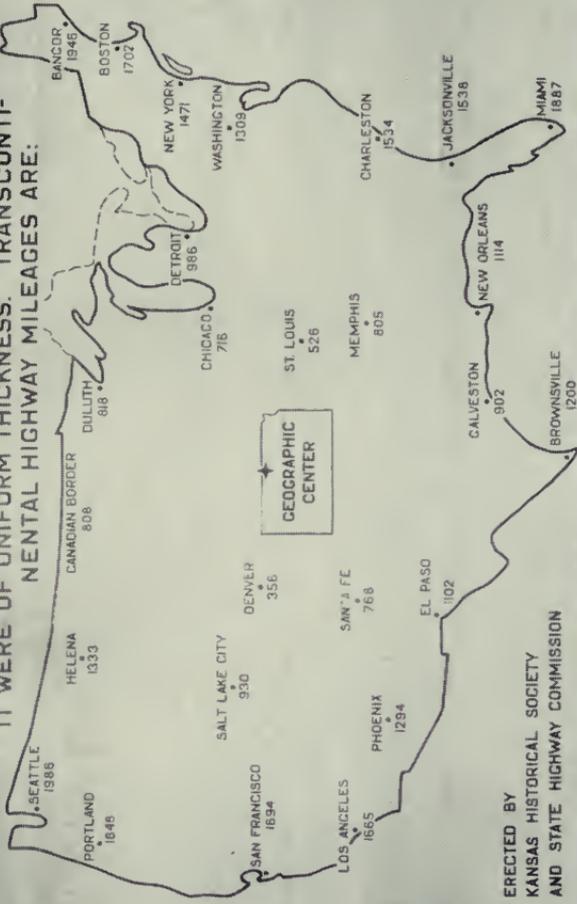
GEODETIC CENTER OF NORTH AMERICA

ON A RANCH 18 MILES SOUTHEAST OF THIS MARKER A BRONZE PLATE MARKS THE MOST IMPORTANT SPOT ON THIS CONTINENT TO SURVEYORS AND MAP MAKERS. ENGRAVED IN THE BRONZE IS A CROSS-MARK AND ON THE TINY POINT WHERE THE LINES CROSS DEPEND THE SURVEYS OF A SIXTH OF THE WORLD'S SURFACE. THIS IS THE GEODETIC CENTER OF THE UNITED STATES, THE "PRIMARY STATION" FOR ALL NORTH AMERICAN SURVEYS. IT WAS LOCATED IN 1901 BY THE U. S. COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY. LATER CANADA AND MEXICO ADOPTED THE POINT AND ITS SUPPORTING SYSTEM AS THE BASE FOR THEIR SURVEYS AND IT IS NOW KNOWN AS THE "NORTH AMERICAN DATUM." WHAT GREENWICH IS TO THE LONGITUDE OF THE WORLD, THEREFORE, A KANSAS PASTURE IS TO THE LINES AND BOUNDARIES OF THIS CONTINENT. IT MUST NOT BE CONFUSED WITH THE GEOGRAPHIC CENTER OF THE U. S. WHICH IS 42 MILES NORTH, IN SMITH COUNTY.

US-24 and US-281, one-fourth mile
north of Osborne, Osborne county.

GEOGRAPHIC CENTER OF THE U. S.

YOU ARE NOW IN THE EXACT CENTER OF THE UNITED STATES. ON A FARM THREE MILES NORTH IS THE OFFICIAL LOCATION ESTABLISHED BY THE U. S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY. IT IS THE POINT WHERE A PLANE MAP OF THE NATION WOULD BALANCE IF IT WERE OF UNIFORM THICKNESS. TRANSCONTINENTAL HIGHWAY MILEAGES ARE:



ERECTED BY
KANSAS HISTORICAL SOCIETY
AND STATE HIGHWAY COMMISSION

THE GEOGRAPHIC CENTER OF THE UNITED STATES IS IN SMITH COUNTY, ABOUT TWO MILES NORTHWEST OF LEBANON. THIS MARKER IS ON US-36, ONE-THIRD MILE WEST OF ITS JUNCTION WITH US-281.

Letters on the War in Kansas in 1856

Edited by V. E. GIBBENS

I. INTRODUCTION

THREE letters of John Lawrie, who fought with the Free-State men in the troubles in Kansas in 1856, were carefully copied by his brother Arthur in the latter's diary, and have just come to light. The letters, as will be observed, were written after John Lawrie had returned to Indiana in 1857.

Only a few facts are known of John's life. He was born in New York City on August 8, 1824, being one of a family of four boys and two girls born to Alexander Lawrie, Scottish immigrant, and Sarah Coombe Lawrie. Of the children the most noted was Alexander, Jr., a popular portrait and landscape painter in Philadelphia and New York during the 1860's and 1870's.¹ The father was a merchant, but perhaps a none too successful one, for in 1852 he and his wife, accompanied by their son Arthur and daughter Mary, settled on a farm near Chalmers in White county, Indiana.

By February, 1854, John had joined his parents, and probably remained with them until he left in 1856 for a ten months' sojourn in Kansas. Whether he made a return trip to Kansas is merely conjectural.²

He served throughout the Civil War with the troops from Indiana—from April 23 to August 6, 1861, with the Tenth infantry regiment, Indiana volunteers, Company E, on a three-months' enlistment; and with Companies B and G, from September 19, 1861, to September 19, 1864, on a three-year enlistment.³ According to his application for admission to the Indiana State Soldiers' Home, he reënlisted in December, 1864, and served until May 15, 1865, company and regiment not being given.⁴ He held variously, as stated in the application, the ranks of private, corporal, and second lieutenant.

A nephew's diary, which on May 19 referred to his having returned from the army on the day before, establishes his presence on

1. *Dictionary of American Biography* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1933), v. XI, p. 54.

2. See the last sentence in the first letter.

3. *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Indiana* (Indianapolis, 1866), v. IV, pp. 55, 158, and 166.

4. The adjutant general's *Report*, so far as I have been able to discover, does not mention this period of service. If not, it would appear that the report was at fault.

the White county farm until 1867. The diary closes then, however, and two diaries of a niece and his brother Arthur, kept respectively in 1876-1877 and 1897-1899, do not mention him. He must have remained in Indiana, however, as when he applied in November, 1899, for admission to the soldiers' home he wrote that he had resided in the state for nearly fifty years.

He was admitted to the home on June 16, 1900, and except for an interval of slightly more than eight months, spent the rest of his life there. He died on January 14, 1905, at the age of 80 years.

Since the main events related in the letters are already familiar (such as the dispersal of the legislature at Topeka on July 4, 1856, and the various battles mentioned) and books on this phase of Kansas history are numerous,⁵ it has not been deemed necessary to explain them in footnotes.

II. THE LETTERS⁶

Wolf Mound Farm, White Co., Indiana
Apl. 16th, 1857

Dear Art,

After an absence of ten months I now find myself again at home, and surrounded by old associations, among which prominently stands my long-neglected correspondence with you. It was my hope on my way home that when I reached it I would find you with Bob and Lizzy⁷ and the little ones all living under the Lawrie roof-tree. But as I cannot talk to you face to face, I must talk to you through the mail, and tell you where I have been so long and what I have been about.

When I left home on the fifteenth of last June I had no intention of making a home in Kansas. I intended in case I could find any organization ready to take the field against the Missourians, to use my utmost endeavors to change the attitude of the Free-State settlers from a defensive to an offensive warfare. When I reached Leavenworth, I was unable to find any organization of Free-State men, and could only tell one when I met him by his hanging head and subdued tone of voice. While remaining in this place, the *Star*

5. J. N. Holloway, *History of Kansas* (Lafayette, Ind., 1868); Leverett W. Spring, *Kansas: The Prelude to the War for the Union* (Boston, 1885); and Sara T. L. Robinson, *Kansas; Its Interior and Exterior Life* (Boston, 1856), to name only a few that have come to the attention of the writer of this introduction in his curiosity to check the account of the events related in the diary with historical accounts of the same happenings. [EDITOR'S NOTE: Lawrie was positive in statements concerning some things about which there is a great deal of controversy. His version, therefore, should not be fully evaluated until other contemporaneous accounts are read.]

6. A few corrections have been made in spelling, punctuation, and paragraphing, but, in general, the attempt has been made to leave the text as it stood in the diary.

7. Brother-in-law and sister, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Telfer.

of the West landed at the levee having on board the Chicago boys as prisoners, and fifty men could have released them and put them in possession of their arms, but there were a certain "five-thousand Missourians" who lived somewhere not far off that would be most grievously provoked should a rescue be attempted, and consequently none was attempted.

Hearing that people held up their heads and spoke what they thought in Lawrence, I started for that point and soon found myself at home as far as a hatred of tyranny and a thirst for vengeance for the insult of the 21st of May was concerned. The people had concluded to try whether there was truth in the Border Ruffian assertion *The Damned Yankees won't fight!* There was quite a stir among the young men in the way of target-firing and drilling in order to prepare themselves for any emergency that might arise requiring them *to contend with superior numbers*, the only thing that thus far had held them back. I found that arms were really scarce. I expected to find plenty of improved fire-arms, and it was with the greatest difficulty I succeeded in getting an old condemned musket. I was looked upon with distrust by a great many persons in Lawrence, having the appearance of a spy in their eyes. It was complimentary, for my appearance seemed above my position to them; but it was very disagreeable. The only military company in town (*the Stubbs*) expected to attend the convention at Topeka on the second and third of July and the opening of the legislature on the Fourth, when it was expected they would be needed to defend the legislature against the Ruffians and troops of the U. S. I applied for admission into the company and was put off with rather evasive answers. I went up to Topeka, however, resolved to prove myself a true man when the trying time came. I found the people discussing the propriety of defending the legislature against all who might attempt to disperse it. A few goddamned white-livered lawyers succeeded in getting through a resolution that it was the determination of the Free-State men *not to molest or hinder the U. S. troops*. On the fourth of July at an hour before noon the troops charged into town and dispersed the legislature and retired again unmolested.

I went back to the place where I worked near Lawrence, and did nothing but damn and curse lawyers and professional politicians until the sixth of August, when it was decided by some of the boys in town to go down to a block house erected by a company of Georgian robbers in the lower part of the territory and whip the robbers and burn the block house. I succeeded in obtaining permission to ac-

company the Stubbs on this expedition. We all slept in one place that night so that we might be awakened at an early hour and depart unobserved. We marched from one o'clock in the morning until breakfast time when we camped on Coal creek, where we remained two hours awaiting the arrival of two wagons and our captain. We were here joined by the Waukarusa company and the Coal creek company, making our force some seventy strong. From this camp on we had a chance to ride over smooth going, and we only stopped long enough to bait the horses until we reached Bull creek right in the heart of the enemy's country, where we camped for the night some three hours after dark, having lost our guide about the middle of the afternoon. When the guard was appointed for the night, I had the honor of being selected for the post on extreme left of the camp for the first mounting. I was tired, sleepy and hungry, but I felt the importance of the trust placed in me and managed to keep awake without making much noise by biting my lips and tongue. Our camp had a deep ravine in the rear and a small ravine on each flank, and was kept perfectly dark and quiet. At about one in the morning of the eighth of August (my birthday) I heard the tramp of horses' feet in the direction we came from, apparently right in our trail. I knew that our guide was out and perhaps it might be him, but then again it might not. I began to get very wide awake indeed. Presently I caught a glimpse of *two* horsemen, which satisfied me it was not the guide returning. I cocked my old musket and when they came within about a rod of me ordered them to halt, but instead of halting they clapped in their spurs and wheeled off to the right as fast as their horses would carry them. As quick as they wheeled I drew a bead on them and pulled, but the old musket didn't go, and before I could get ready again they had made some fifty yards when I let them have the buckshot and of course woke up the camp. Our captain inquired who had fired when I told him what had occurred, which I thought was discredited. In the morning I went out to see if I could find some proof in the shape of some of their arms which in their hurry they might have dropped, but only found a blood trail. When I was returning, I met four of our men who were putting out in the direction the two horsemen had taken in the night, and presently they returned with a saddled horse which had a couple of buckshot in him—one on the right side of his rump and the other on the inside of his off hind leg. My credit raised wonderfully when it was seen I really shot at something, and it rose still more when it was afterward discovered that the two men I had

shot at were Capt. Cook of the Bull creek Ruffians and one of his scouts.

After the return of our guide we resumed our march in the direction of the Georgian block house, yet some twenty-five miles distant, and met with no incidents worthy of note until we reached the vicinity of the block house, where we were all rather anxious to see how the boys would behave under fire, many of them never having as yet heard singing lead. The night was rather dark, and the enemy showed no light and made no noise. Our captain (who by the way was an old man of wars man) reconnoitered the ground and concluded to lead us right on to the place and take it by assault as we had no artillery to storm the place with. The battalion was divided into two platoons, and the block house approached from toward its front and left so that in case we found it necessary to fire we could give them a destructive cross-fire. We went up 'as well as old veterans ever dared to go; and if there was any disorder at all whatever, it was occasioned by some of the boys rushing ahead too fast. The sound of our steady *tramp! tramp!* was too much for the garrison and they incontinently fled. We found about ten hundred pounds of bacon, some meal, several sacks of flour, a barrel of sugar, [and?] various articles recognized by many of our men as having been taken from Lawrence on the 21st of May, besides a number of letters written by Free-State men to their friends in the states which had been mailed in U. S. post offices, and probably had been abstracted in Missouri and forwarded to the Robbers of the Blue Lodge in order to give them whatever information they might possess of the prospects and conditions of their writers. After taking out all the provisions and military stores, we fired the block house and started home again by the light of it. On our return we had a most fatiguing time, but reached Lawrence without any incident occurring worthy of note. . . .

I found all our people well. I shall remain here until the middle of June when I intend returning to Kansas.

Your affectionate brother
John Lawrie

Wolf Mound Farm, White Co., Indiana
April 19th, 1857

Dear Art,

According to promise I now resume my history of my adventures in Kansas.

On our return to Lawrence there was some degree of hesitation manifested in regard to making an attack upon another fortified band of robbers who were occupying a stronghold near Washington creek, called Fort Sanders [Saunders—named for J. P. Saunders]. The *wisheads* succeeded in having a committee appointed and sent to wait on Major [John] Sedgwick of the U. S. army and represent to him the character and conduct of the Washington creek robbers and assassins. He told the committee they were mistaken in supposing the colony at that place robbers and assassins, and advised them to make further inquiries into their real character, and if they did not prove to be well-meaning citizens, he would permit the Free-State men to drive them out.

As if we were not already satisfied as to their character, the noble and heroic Major [D. S.] Hoyt was sent out to learn more of them, and they most basely murdered him and disfigured him by pounding the fleshy parts off his face and then putting some chemical substance upon [it] to remove whatever might still be left by which he might be recognized. (This was the last of the influence of the god-damned lawyers and professional politicians in Lawrence.) In order to carry the stronghold of these Ruffians artillery was necessary. We had none, but the enemy had one at Franklin, about four miles from Lawrence. It was taken at Sacramento by Col. [A. W.] Doniphan and is still known as *Old Sacramento*. One night about seventy-five of us took the road to Franklin and while on the road learned that Jim Lane was along and would plan the attack. Just before entering the town ten of our men were detailed under Lieut. Earle to make a demonstration in front of the buildings occupied by the garrison in which they had the cannon, while the main body of our men advanced upon their rear. The ruffians were summoned to surrender, but they wouldn't do it, so we replied to their fire in such an effective way that we drove them all into the center building, which was impervious to bullets, being constructed of logs. From this position they gave us a pretty hot fire, killing one man named Sackett and wounding two others, Gunther and Brooks. I had a position with my old musket close to a porthole in the rear of the log house, and by aiming at one flash and firing immediately at the next so dis-

concerted their aim that no more of our men were struck after my first charge of buckshot reached them. (While I was getting my aim, I got a tap on the side of my hat and made the discovery that a man cannot hear the lead sing that strikes him.) As our fire didn't seem to make much impression on them, a wagon was loaded with hay and run up to the building which was furthest to windward (which happened to be the post office) and set fire to; when our boys commenced singing out "*There she goes!*" "*There goes the roof!*" "*Stand off, boys, maybe there's powder in it!*" By and by it began to work on the garrison, and they screamed out "*Quarter! Quarter! Quarter!*" I spoke out pretty loud, "*They are calling for water.*" "No," said they, "*Quarters! Quarters! for God's sake, give us Quarters!*" We told them to march out and stack their arms and we would do so, which they did in double quick time, and then we upset the load of burning hay, and not even the wagon was burned, saying nothing of the buildings! After gathering up their arms and getting *Old Sacramento* mounted, we started back to Lawrence and arrived there safely, but sorrowing for the loss of a brave Michigan boy named Sackett.

After taking this gun and before marching against Fort Sanders, it was necessary to run a lot of cannon balls for Sacramento. How do you suppose it was done where there was no means of melting cast-iron? I will tell you. A large chunk of wrought iron was suspended by a wire inside of the mould, and then the mould was filled up with type metal, *made from type which had been thrown into the Kaw river by the Ruffians on the 21st of May!*

When everything was ready, we started for the Free-State camp on Rock creek, where we found a large body of our men waiting for us under the command of Capt. [Samuel] Walker. Here we camped for the night, and the next day started for Washington creek to try our hands upon a famous stronghold defended by four hundred of the enemy. Jim Lane commanded in person. Capt. Walker had charge of our cavalry. Capt. Beckerton [Bickerton] had charge of the artillery, and Capt. Cutter commanded our company, which acted as light infantry. *Old Sacramento* was stationed about forty rods directly in front of the fort, and Capt. Walker's command was divided on the right and left of it, while we advanced directly upon it until we came within about one-hundred yards, when we halted and were ordered to lie down. Before a shot was fired, we received the order "Up, Stubbs! Double quick, forward march!" and the way we put in to it was a caution. We scaled their stockade, rushed

across their embanked breastwork and entered the fort in less time than I have been writing the account of the charge, and found that the enemy had acted on the old adage:—

Whosoever runs away
Will live to fight another day.

We followed on in the wake of the retreating Ruffians, charged through two deep ravines, and made the discovery that the enemy knew the country better than we did, at least that they knew more of their own whereabouts. We took a large quantity of arms at the fort besides considerable other plunder besides military stores, etc. Who should I see here but Bill Porter, busy loading a four-mule wagon with bacon, muskets, flour, powder, tents, etc., who exclaimed when he saw me: "Why, John Larry! who the hell would have tho't of seeing you here?"

After taking out all we wanted, we set fire to the fort and fell back upon our camp of the previous night on Rock creek, where, as soon as we had supper, we received intelligence that [H. T.] Titus' gang had threatened to burn Judge Wakefield's house, and off we started across the country to pay our respects to the famous Col. Titus, who lived within one mile and a quarter of Lecompton. After a long and fatiguing march we encamped not far from Capt. Walker's place, but not until we had the pleasure of an accidental meeting with Col. Titus' gang of mounted robbers, who left us in a hurry minus two of their horses, we having killed the rider of one and taken the rider of the other prisoner. We were joined about daybreak by a reinforcement from Lawrence and started immediately for Titus' place, but the Chicago boys got the start of the Stubbs and had the fun all over before we came up. Titus had one man killed and one besides himself wounded. We took nineteen prisoners, Titus among the number, contrary to the wishes of a great many of the boys, but he begged so like a whipped puppy—so cringingly—that he was thought too goddamned mean, too despicable to notice sufficiently to kill him. One of his negroes, who was out at the stable during the fight, said, "Massa Titus wanted six abolitionists for breakfast! Yah! Yah! Gorra Massy! guess he get his belly full dis monin'!" With the exception of military stores Capt. Walker allowed nothing to be taken, but consigned the stronghold and its contents to the flames.

I forgot to state that the old gun *Sacramento* first spoke at this place in favor of the Free-State cause, and also circulated several copies of the *Herald of Freedom* amongst Titus' crowd. Titus said

he had no idea we could hit the house at all at the distance the gun was placed, to say nothing of knocking the door and windows in with round shot and then filling the house with cannister. Capt. [Henry J.] Shombre of the Indiana company received a mortal wound in a charge he made upon the Ruffians' camp, which was about two-hundred yards north of the house. One or two others of our men received slight wounds; Capt. Walker got a charge of buck-shot in his breast, but having on two or three woolen shirts they didn't penetrate the skin. During the fight it commenced raining, and fearing that our Sharps rifles would not be in fit trim for another fight until they were dried, Capt. Walker wouldn't allow us to march against Lecompton, as we desired him to do, and so we started back to Lawrence and arrived there safely without meeting with any adventure worthy of notice. . . .

Your affectionate brother
John Lawrie

Wolf Mound Farm, May 11th, 1857

Dear Art & Bob:—

After an unaccountable delay I again resume my narrative. In my second letter I left off in recounting the affair at Titus' fort and the capture of that gentleman and eighteen of his associates. Nothing very remarkable came under my observation after this affair until Governor [Wilson] Shannon came to Lawrence accompanied by Major Sedgwick of the U. S. cavalry *to make a treaty with the rebels in our camp*. He agreed to deliver up to us what prisoners his party had and the twelve-pound howitzer which [Samuel] Pomeroy so cowardly delivered over to the Ruffians on the 21st of May, in exchange for the prisoners we held, and agreed to make no more war upon us. Major Sedgwick agreed to see the treaty carried out, and accordingly we escorted the prisoners back to Lecompton and made the exchange. The boys were delighted to see Betsy again, *i. e.*, the howitzer.

Soon after this Shannon resigned, and [Daniel] Woodson by virtue of his office became governor. He called out the Missourians, who came in great force. We were poorly off for powder, and our regiment was sent up to Topeka to escort the Plymouth company into Lawrence as they had a large supply and were not strong enough to force their way through. While we were on this duty, Ruffian [John W.] Reid with twelve-hundred men was playing such deviltry in the southern part of the territory that Jim Lane left

Lawrence with two hundred and fifty men in order to find Reid and give him battle. He came up to him at Bull creek and drove in his outpost before dark. The next day after a little skirmishing between the scouts Jim formed his line of battle and advanced upon the Ruffians, but they got so homesick they started off immediately for Missouri and never stopped until they reached home. When we returned from our duty, we found an order awaiting us to join Jim Lane immediately and bring along extra rations and ammunition, which we obeyed. We had not proceeded over five miles before we met a dispatch from Jim Lane stating that we should return as the enemy had fled at his approach, and as he was not prepared to pursue them he was on his return to Lawrence himself. After this we treed a party in Lecompton, but as they complied with our demand of an unconditional release of all the Free-State men held by them in Lecompton, we withdrew.

We had a great deal racing around the territory after the Ruffians, but somehow they were not to be caught, until on the 13th of September Jim Lane treed two companies, Capt. Robinson's and Capt. [H. A.] Lowe's, at Hickory Point. They took refuge in the log buildings, and Jim sent us word to bring him *Sacramento* by the way of Topeka, which was the route he had taken in finding the Ruffians. In order that you may have an idea of the blunder Col. [J. A.] Harvey made as a military man, I will make a diagram of the different localities.⁸

He had explicit orders to march by the way of Topeka, but instead of doing so he took us straight across the Delaware country to Hickory Point. When we got there, we were surprised in not finding Lane, but as we found the enemy we pitched in and made them surrender. The reason we missed Lane was that he had received [Gov. J. W.] Geary's proclamation and immediately withdrew his force and sent Harvey a countermand to his previous order by the route he had been ordered to come. After the battle we withdrew from Hickory Point about five miles and encamped at a place called Newell's Mills.⁹

This was the night of the 14th of September. On the night of the 12th we were up all night at Franklin on the lookout for the advance guard of Reid's new army; on the night of the 13th we were marching all night against Hickory Point, so that on the night of the 14th we were pretty well worn out.

8. A tracing of the map is also available. It is not reproduced here since the several places shown in the sketch were not all in their true positions in relation to each other.

9. Now Oskaloosa.—Andreas, A. T., *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 502.

About midnight we supposed the Kickapoo rangers were about to attack us, and just as old Tom Bickerton was about letting them have the contents of *Old Sacramento* we made the discovery that we were nearly surrounded by U. S. troops. Harvey made himself scarce, and we did the only thing we could under the circumstances—*surrendered*—because *Fremont was to be elected then*, and we were willing to go to hell with our boxes full of cartridges rather than do anything that would have a tendency to defeat his election. I laid down at Capt. Cutter's order my rifle, knife, and revolver, and never have seen them since. Capt. [T. J.] Wood of the U. S. cavalry said he would be personally responsible for the arms. We were taken to the U. S. camp near Lecompton and then had a realizing sense of the importance of the U. S. army.

Boys, I will defer for the present an account of our prison life. I do not feel in the humor to write when I think of it. I can tell it by little snatches, but I am afraid I cannot do it justice with the pen. . . .

Your affectionate brother
John Lawrie

First Newspapers in Kansas Counties

(Concluded)

1879-1886

G. RAYMOND GAEDDERT

MEADE COUNTY

The *Pearlette Call*, April 15, 1879.

FRANK S. Sullivan asserted, and evidence supports him, that the *Pearlette Call* was the first newspaper published in Meade county.¹ The first number was edited by A. Bennett, and published by Bennett and H. Lowry. After this issue it was A. Bennett, editor and sole proprietor. The paper was independent in politics.

The history of the name of the settlement, which also is linked with the paper, has a slightly sentimental touch. The colony that settled in Meade county in 1879 came from Muskingum county, Ohio. Shortly after they arrived one of their number, Pearl Atkinson, died, "the fairest and brightest of our jewels." J. T. Copeland suggested the name *Pearlette* for the settlement, and perhaps since Pearl was the first to be called away from the colony the paper was christened the *Pearlette Call*.²

Under the title "Exchanges" the editor made his bow to the Kansas press. He wrote:

Brethren of the Kansas Press, greeting! We come to you cutting rather a sorry figure, we know. To be candid, we admit that you could say nothing too mean of our sheet; we could say amen to anything you might say.

But gentlemen, remember that the *Call* is printed in a county which had scarcely a settler six months ago: that we are over 30 miles from a town, and but two houses on the way: that all of our material came 1,400 miles, and for two months was kicked around, hither and yon: that every word of our sheet was set up at the case without being written; that our office is not over 4 x 6: and—But why go on? we did the best we could; and perhaps some of you would have done no better.

In another place he wrote:

When we left Zanesville we thought we could get out the first issue of the *Call* in two weeks after our arrival in Meade County; but we found out different after our arrival here. We found it took more time to build our house than we had any idea of; for before we left Ohio we knew of mite meetings building four sod houses in one evening, but some-how they can't be built so fast out here; because here we build by work, and there we built by wind.

1. Sullivan, Frank S., *A History of Meade County* (Crane & Company, Topeka, 1916), p. 68.

2. The *Pearlette Call*, April 15, 1879.

And after we got in our little house we found ourselves so cramped that things went very slow. Just think of a family of five living in a house 11 x 14!

Then, in addition, put in a printing office, stamp factory, stencil shop etc., and you will wonder how we work at all—as we often do.

The *Call* also reflected the life and mirth of the colony. In the first number the editor tells about the scarcity of coal and wood, which induced the resourceful settlers to resort to the use of buffalo chips for fuel. The editor in an interesting manner describes how the women became adapted to them:

It was comical to see how gingerly our wives handled these chips at first. They commenced by picking them up between two sticks, or with a poker. Soon they used a rag, and then a corner of their apron. Finally, growing hardened, a wash after handling them was sufficient. And now? Now it is out of the bread, into the chips and back again—and not even a dust of the hands!

The *Call* started as a two-column, twelve-page folio, to be published semimonthly. The second number, however, did not appear until May 15. The next seven issues appeared semimonthly, then there was a gap between September 1, 1879, and January 10, 1880, following this the *Call* appeared weekly until it apparently was discontinued May 8, 1880.³ The Society has the first twenty numbers of this paper.

NESS COUNTY

The Ness County Pioneer, Clarinda, May 3-10, 1879.

As the name suggests, the *Pioneer* was undoubtedly the first newspaper published in Ness county. F. Shelden was the editor and publisher. The *Wa-Keeney Weekly World* of 1879, published Ness county news items which told of the establishment of this paper. On March 29, 1879, the traveling correspondent of the *World*, wrote of Clarinda:

We also met Mr. Shelden. He expects to start a paper at this point sometime in the near future, if he receives enough subscribers to venture out on the sea of journalism.

On April 12 the same paper carried the following statement: "The printing office is under way. They are laying the basement walls. The building is to be 14 x 36 feet." On May 3 a statement in the same paper read: "We expect to have a newspaper here this week." The following week, May 10, the *World* stated: "The printing outfit has arrived, and our editor, with his new head, is busy spreading the ink." While the above statement issued from the press of the *Wa-Keeney Weekly World*, *The Ness County Pioneer* flung its banner

3. *Ford County Globe*, Dodge City, July 13, 1880.

to the breeze. The front page carried the date of May 3 but the inside had May 10. The first issue really served as numbers 1 and 2, for the next issue, dated May 17, was listed number 3.

In the Topeka *Daily Capital* of June 30, 1935, under title: "Things Historical Are Preserved in Ness County," appeared the following item:

Among the hundreds of things preserved of a historical nature is the complete bound volumes of the first newspaper, the *Clarinda Walnut Valley Times*, first published in 1879, down to the latest issues of the *Ness County News*, still in the hands of the family of the late J. K. Barnd, pioneer publisher. . . .

Andreas stated that the *Clarinda Walnut Valley Times*, published by N. C. Merrill, appeared October 1, 1879, and was removed to Ness City in January, 1880,⁴ where it became the *Ness City Times*. This statement agrees with contemporaneous newspaper reports. On October 6, 1879, *The Ness County Pioneer* announced the first number of the *Times*:

The *Walnut Valley Times*, Vol. I, No. 1 is out. Mr. Merrill the editor says he was forced into his position.—Just so!! He wants to know "why he can't run a paper, even if he owns a townsite." We expect he can.

In the same issue the editor of the *Pioneer* wrote: "We move this week to Sidney. . . ."

The *Pioneer* was Republican in politics. Under the title, "To Our Reader," Shelden wrote: "We hope to make the *Pioneer* worthy of a place in the sod house, stone mansion, camp, or tent of every settler, a welcome visitor to all."

Clarinda, at the time of the first issue, boasted a fine general store, a plow factory, operating to full capacity and the Clarinda Hotel. A drug store, printing office and a general store were still under construction. "The Clarinda plow," it was said, "is taking the lead with all who have used it."⁵

The Society has a good file of *The Ness County Pioneer*, including Vol. I, No. 1.

GRAHAM COUNTY

The Western Star, Hill City, May 15, 1879.

The Western Star no doubt was the first newspaper published in this county. The first number may have appeared May 15, 1879. The Society has Vol. 1, No. 2, dated May 22. It listed Thomas Beaumont and T. J. Garnett as editors and publishers. The *Hill City Times*, August 22, 1940, gave the date of the first issue of the

4. Andreas, A. T., *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 1524.

5. *The Ness County Pioneer*, May 3-10, 1879.

Star as May 15, 1879, but said the paper was published by Beaumont, Garnett and McGill. Andreas gave the date as May 15 and listed Beaumont and McGill as editors.⁶ However, the *Norton County Advance*, of Norton, May 22, 1879, announced the first issue as follows:

The Western Star, Graham county's new paper, Vol. 1, No. 1, and published at Hill City by [Thomas] Beaumont and [T. J.] Garnett, has reached our desk. It is a five-column folio, and contains a considerable amount of local news. Its advertising patronage is light, but we think that it will increase and that the paper will, therefore, live.

The Western Star of May 22, 1879, reflected the spirit and happenings of the county. In the "Local" column appeared the following:

The *Star* twinkles for all Graham county. . . .
 A Buffalo was seen north west of town Monday last. . . .
 There are large numbers of antelope in this county yet. . . .
 There is not a saloon in Graham county, which speaks well does it not? . . .
 Graham county has a great number of bachelors, and you can hear them

sing:

Bachelor's hall, I think it is best,
 Be drunk or be sober you can lie down and rest;
 No wife to control you, no children to squawl,
 O, happy is the man that keeps bachelor's hall. . . .

It is believed that there are 2,500 people in Graham county. . . .

The emigration of the colored people from the Southern states still continues, and will continue just as long as their rights are tampered with. We welcome them to our State and our county, and firmly believe that the emigrants will be a source of untold wealth to our state.

The Society has an incomplete file of the *Star* including issues of May 22 and December 25, 1879, to June 10, 1880.

KEARNY COUNTY

Lakin *Eagle*, May 20, 1879.

The Society has eighteen issues of the *Eagle*, including Vol. 1, No. 1. S. W. Taylor and R. H. Mitchell were the editors and proprietors. In the salutatory they wrote:

Our purpose in starting a newspaper at Lakin, is to furnish southwestern Kansas with a medium with which to advertise its vast undeveloped resources, and to direct the homeseeking immigrant to the most available points to engage in stock raising or agriculture.

Under the caption, "Does It Blow in Kansas?" the editors produced a lengthy jest from which the following is quoted:

As a truth and no fabrication, Kansas is not a windy country. We have

6. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1061.

here during twelve months of the year an imperceptible circulation of air from the south, west, north and east, (varied to suit one's taste and inconvenience) that in other states as in Colorado, Illinois and Nebraska, might be called high wind, but here it is considered nothing but a gentle zephyr. In some states they have high winds but NEVER in Kansas.

A two gallon funnel turned flaring end windward and gimblet end downward will collect enough of Kansas zephyrs in seven hours to drill a hole in solid sand rock one hundred and eight feet deep. We never dig wells in Kansas. Condensed air does the work most successfully.

It is terrible windy just across the line in Colorado but it never or we might say seldom ever blows in Kansas.

The men here are all pigeon-toed and bow-legged. This is caused from an unceasing effort to stick the toes into the earth and trying to keep a strong foothold on terra firma. The gentlemen carry a pound of shot in each breaches leg to keep them (the gentlemen) right side up.

Mrs. Carrie E. Davies produced an article entitled, "Lakin in 1878," in which she wrote:

. . . Of course, every wide awake town must have a paper, so a Mr. Deal and a Mr. Taylor came as editors and started our first paper and named it the Lakin *Eagle*. I do not think that it was much more than twenty inches long, but we enjoyed it just the same . . .⁷

Mrs. Davies was mistaken in one of the editors. The *Eagle* was a four-column folio, independent in politics. It changed hands several times during its short period of existence. The last issue the Society has is dated October 10, 1879.

DECATUR COUNTY

Oberlin *Herald*, June 12-19, 1879.

The Historical Society has Vol. 1, No. 1, of the *Herald*. It bears two dates. On the front page is June 12, 1879, and on the third page June 19. J. C. Humphrey and James N. Counter were the editors and publishers. In the salutatory they said their aim was to furnish the citizens with a live, local paper, conducted in their interests. Politically they would adhere "strictly to the true principles of Republicanism," but reserved the right to "expose any rottenness or shystering should such ever be discovered within its ranks." They were willing to "support the educational, agricultural, religious and temperance interests of the county."

In the first issue the editors explained that they had first shipped their printing material to another point in the county but when they heard of the rapid growth of Oberlin they concluded it was "no use

⁷. The article was published in a book on Kearny county entitled, *Prairie Breeze, 1931*, p. 96 ff.

to 'kick against the pricks' " and located at Oberlin. Describing the growth of this town they wrote:

On a visit to this place in September last the town comprised two general stores (one frame and one sod), one log hotel, one log black-smith shop, one sod residence and one frame in course of erection. But to-day, after a lapse of only eight months, we can hardly realize that the change is real. . . .

The editors then quoted the *Atchison Daily Champion* of April 22, 1879, as follows:

Oberlin, the young city of the Kansas frontier, is a wonder. A few months ago—what was it? It was a beautiful strip of rich prairie, skirting the north bank of the Sappa, near the geographical centre of Decatur county—a county that was principally known from being the scene of one of the most bloody and devilish outrages recorded in the annals of frontier life. But three or four log and sod tenements then marked its present site, without churches, societies, mercantile pursuits, manufacturing industries, or many of the influences of civilization; but with a few intelligent and determined settlers, who came to cultivate the soil, found homes, build churches and school houses, and convert the country into a land of progress, promise and prosperity. In less than one year this has all been done. Churches, schools, stores, hotels, shops and dwellings line the streets. The buildings are of good size (many of them large and imposing) substantially constructed and handsomely finished. Enterprise, liberality and industry, stimulated by the rapid settlement of the country, have wrought, as it were, in a few days, the wonderful transformation of a prairie settlement into a town full of vigor, life and business, with a future of unusual promise and commercial prospects before it. . . .

John A. Rodehaver, in 1873, pre-empted the section on which the town site of Oberlin was later located.

The file of the first year of the *Herald* is incomplete and some copies are badly mutilated; other than that the Society has a good collection. The Oberlin *Herald* is still published. E. R. Woodward is the present editor and E. W. Coldren and Woodward are the publishers.

RAWLINS COUNTY

Attwood Pioneer, October 23, 1879.

The first paper in this county, according to Andreas and other sources, was the *Attwood Pioneer*.⁸ A. S. Thorne was the editor and Edwin and A. L. Thorne the publishers. "In politics, morals, temperance and religion," the paper stated, "we expect to stand where the best interests of the people and the Bible stand."

In the salutatory the editor gave an interesting account of his life before he came to Atwood. It reads:

To all readers of the *Pioneer* we extend a cordial "How d'ye do"? Four

8. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1607.

months ago we directed the *Review*, then being published in Millerstown, Butler county, Penn'a, to be closed, with a view to the removal of the office, presses and type to the new and flourishing State of Kansas. We had seen Kansas before, lived among her Indians, seen the scarcity of her timber and water, and experienced her drouth. We were among Kansas' first settlers, having landed at Atchison in November, 1857, and lived in Brown county until the fall of 1860; but, although absent so long, we had always had an abiding faith in Kansas. And since we came to the State again, we have not been disappointed. From Brown county which in 1857 was occupied by Indians and a few scattering settlers, we traveled westward (the course we had heard Empire takes its way) on and on and on, past railroads, highly cultivated farms, luxuriant orchards, acres on acres of cultivated forest trees, populous towns and cities, till, bewildered with distance, we had almost spanned the entire State. Our search for a home on public and unoccupied land brought us to Rawlins county, in the northern tier of counties, as the best unorganized county in the State, and Attwood, at the forks of the Beaver, as the most desirable and promising location in the county.

So here we are, family, presses, type and all. We have located our land, built our sod house, set up our presses, distributed our type, dusted our fonts, cleaned off our galleys, adjusted our forms, set our sticks and our "devils" have gone to work with combed hair and sleeves rolled up. . . .

Contemporary newspapers had words of praise for the *Pioneer*. On October 31, 1879, the *Kansas Smith County Pioneer*, Smith Centre, carried the following statement:

The first number of the Attwood *Pioneer* is on our table, published at Attwood, Rawlins County, away out on the very outskirts of civilization in Northwestern Kansas, by Messrs. Thorne & Sons. It is truly the *Pioneer* paper of Kansas, and we take pleasure in bearing testimony to the fact that it does honor to the name. The *Pioneer* is a neat, newsy, well printed, all at home, six column paper, and is chuck full of western items, spicy locals and well written, solid Republican editorials. The *Pioneer* has the PIONEER'S best wishes for its continued success and prosperity.

The editor spelled Atwood with two "t's" until May 12, 1880, when he changed to the present spelling of the word. The Society has a good file of the *Pioneer*, including Vol. I, No. 1.

GOVE COUNTY

Grainfield *Republican*, January 28, 1880.

The *Republican* appears to have been the first newspaper published in Gove county. The Society has Vol. 1, No. 1, of this paper. A. J. R. Smith was the editor and publisher. In the salutatory he wrote:

The *Republican* will always be found as the earnest advocate of all those things that tend to develop the highest and best interests of the people, and the uncompromising foe of whatever tends to degradation and dishonor. No poor man struggling to gain an honest livelihood but will find a personal

friend in the *Republican* and no man in any station in life striving for the moral, social and financial improvement of the country but will find an ally to the full extent of its powers.

In his own way Smith described the founding of Grainfield by J. B. Beal of Abilene:

Last July after making his will, having his photograph taken and kissing his wife goodbye, he landed in the wilderness. The first thing he did was to kill an antelope and the next thing was to eat it. (Mr. B. by the way is a terrible eater.) Then he dug a hole in the ground and persuaded Mr. Dryer to help him pile rock around it and sticks on top of that, and the first thing they knew they had the finest Hotel between Salina and Denver at a cost of \$10,000. So he tore up his will, burnt his photographs and sent for his wife and gave her back her kisses. And that is how Grainfield started.

The real estate agents, Beal and Dryer, built the Occidental Hotel in the summer and fall of 1879. It had twenty-five rooms for guests, besides parlors and waiting rooms. Throughout its history the *Republican* carried a half-sheet front-page advertisement featuring the advantages of the hotel and advertising "for sale upwards of one million acres of the choicest lands belonging to the K. P. R. R. . . . in Gove, Sheridan, Wallace and Thomas counties."

One of the necessities of Grainfield, wrote the editor, was the erection of a flouring mill: "At present all our flour is brought from Salina or farther east. We have in the immediate vicinity of Grainfield not less than three thousand acres of wheat and a mill here would receive the patronage of the people for forty miles north, east and south."

The type with which the *Republican* was printed was made at the Kansas City Type Foundry. The Society has a good file of this paper up to December 10, 1880, when it ceased coming. It was published occasionally until April, 1881, when it discontinued.⁹

LANE COUNTY

Lane County Gazette, California, January 29, 1880.

W. H. Lee was the editor and proprietor of the *Gazette*. It started as a small two-column, six-by-nine-inch, four-page paper, but soon changed to a large, six-column folio. Although in the first issue the editor did not commit himself politically, he showed Republican leanings in later issues.

The original number carried but two advertisements, one by J. H. Pelham, "dealer in Groceries, Provisions and all the necessaries kept in a first class store," and that of the *Gazette*. The office was built by Frank Tingley.

9. Buffalo Park *Express*, January 22 and April 9, 1881.

The paper showed frontier characteristics. It spoke of a new school house that was being built—"a box house . . . 14 x 20 in size. When completed it will be used for Sabbath School, church services and all public meetings. This is a commendable enterprise and it is to be hoped that the people all over Lane county will follow the example as soon as possible." On the front page the editor told of the murder of John Bowers in Wichita county. The man accused of the act had been apprehended and taken into custody by the people of California, who had delivered him into the hands of the law in Trego county. The accused, however, had been allowed to depart in peace because "the governor, attorney general and other prominent officials" had decided "there was no law, either government, State or county, in this part of Kansas to punish murderers." The editor regretted the offense, but much more the fact that such criminals were permitted "to run at large without hindrance." While not in favor of mob rule, he asked whether it would not be well for the citizens to "adopt some plan of bringing criminals to sure and speedy justice?"

Lee published the last issue of the *Gazette* on March 23, 1882. He wrote:

The *Gazette* has been published regularly for a little over two years. Although the receipts have not at any time been more than sufficient to pay expenses (not counting labor), it has been kept up on the hope that there was a better time coming. As that time does not seem nearer now than when we first begun we have decided to suspend publication. This issue will therefore be the last.

The Society has a good file of the *Gazette*.

SHERIDAN COUNTY

Sheridan County Tribune, Kenneth, June, 1880.

Secondary authorities agree that the *Tribune* was the first newspaper published in Sheridan county. They also agree, and in this they seem to be mistaken, that the first number appeared in 1879, rather than 1880. Andreas wrote: "The *Sheridan County Tribune*, at Kenneth, was established the 1st of July, 1879, George N. Palmer, editor and proprietor."¹⁰ Mrs. C. E. Toothaker of Hoxie wrote: "The first newspaper printed in the county was established there [Kenneth] in 1879. It was called the *Sheridan County Tribune*."¹¹ Contemporaneous newspaper accounts challenge the statements on the date. On June 3, 1880, the Buffalo Park *Express* carried the

10. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 1520.

11. Manuscript on Sheridan county by Mrs. C. E. Toothaker, p. 5.—Library, Kansas State Historical Society.

statement: "Our attention has been called to the first number of the *Sheridan Co. Tribune* a six column folio paper just started at Kenneth." On June 5, 1880, the *Wa-Keeney Weekly World*, under Sheridan county, announced: "This county has a newspaper, the *Tribune* published at Kenneth." Five days later *The Norton County Advance*, of Norton, published the following item:

The *Sheridan County Tribune*, published at Kenneth, by Geo. N. Palmer, is the latest received addition to the frontier press. It is a pretty, newsy, all home print, six column paper and apparently is deserving success.

The first issue of the *Tribune* in the Society's file is dated July 14, 1881, listed as Vol. II, No. 6. If regularly issued it would place the first number on June 9, 1880. The Society has a file of this paper from July 14, 1881, to August 3, 1882.

CHEYENNE COUNTY

The Cheyenne News, Wano, October 2, 1880, and May, 1881.

This no doubt was the first newspaper published in Cheyenne county. It was first printed as a part of the *Republican Citizen*, Atwood. The first number appeared in this paper October 8, 1880. It was headed: "THE CHEYENNE NEWS. Vol. I.—No. 1. Wano, Kansas, October 2, 1880. By A. M. Brenaman." It was a two-column sheet, made up of local news and one advertisement, for "the only store in Cheyenne county, kept by A. M. Brenaman & Co." The editor of the *Citizen* said of it:

We give place in our paper this week to *The Cheyenne News*, which will be found interesting and newsy. We hope that the *News* may grow until it can be bodily removed to Cheyenne to grow up with that splendid county.

Five issues of the *News* appeared in the *Citizen*, dated as follows:

Vol. I, No. 1, dated October 2, 1880, appeared in *Citizen*, October 8, 1880.

Vol. I, No. 2, dated November 4, 1880, appeared in *Citizen*, November 5, 1880.

Vol. I, No. 3, dated November 11, 1880, appeared in *Citizen*, November 19, 1880.

Vol. I, No. 4, dated November 25, 1880, appeared in *Citizen*, November 26, 1880.

Vol. I, No. 5, dated January 14, 1881, appeared in *Citizen*, January 14, 1881.

In the fifth number appeared the following statement:

The *Cheyenne News* will not only be edited but published in Wano by May next. A printing press and printer are already engaged.

On May 6, 1881, the *Citizen* quoted from the *Cheyenne County News*, and on May 21 the *Wa-Keeney Weekly World* stated: "This county [Cheyenne] now has a newspaper, the *Cheyenne News*,

which is issued every two weeks." On July 10, 1885, the *Cheyenne County Rustler*, Wano, carried the following statement:

The first paper published in Cheyenne (but published in Atwood) was the *Wano News*, by A. M. Brenaman, who edited five issues. The next was one issue of the *Echo*. We now have the *Bird City News* and the *Rustler*.

On March 19, 1915, the *Topeka Daily Capital* carried an article on Cheyenne county in which it stated: "The first newspaper published in the county was the *Wano News*. It was printed at Atwood and passed away in its infancy."

The Society has only the five numbers published in the *Atwood Republican Citizen*.

COMANCHE COUNTY

The Western Star, Coldwater, August 23, 1884.

According to available information the *Star* was the first newspaper in Comanche county. John G. Cash was the editor and John and William Cash the proprietors. The paper has been listed as independent in politics, but its sympathies were Democratic. In the *Comanche Chieftain* of Nescutunga, it had a close rival. The first issue of the *Star* appeared the last week or two in August, 1884. The first number of the *Chieftain* came out the second or third week in September. The earliest number of the *Star* in the Society's file is dated September 20, 1884, listed as Vol. I, No. 5. If published regularly the first issue should have appeared August 23, 1884.

The paper elicited favorable newspaper comment. On August 29, 1884, the *Barber County Index* of Medicine Lodge, announced: "*The Western Star* is the name of a newspaper now published at Coldwater, Comanche county. It is a creditable sheet; full of local news and will no doubt look after the interests of that county." The *Hazelton Express*, September 4, described it as ". . . a six column folio, very neatly gotten up and ably edited by Cash Bros." The same day *Lea's Columbus Advocate* stated:

At last the "long-felt want" has been supplied at Coldwater, Comanche county, Kas., in the way of a new paper, *The Western Star*, with Cash Bros. at the helm. It is a neat 5-column folio, and well filled with news and advertising. Politically it is independent. Long may she live and shine to illuminate the entire country, so as to enable home-seekers in the far west to find their way through the dark and desolate country.

The *Pleasanton Herald* on September 5 said: "The paper gives Coldwater a boom, and is chuck full of reading matter." The *Advocate* probably was mistaken in the size of the *Star* for other papers spoke of six columns.

In the issue of September 20, 1884, the *Star* had an interesting statement on Coldwater and its water supply:

Coldwater still booms, and has over fifty houses finished, all painted or the work contracted. One hundred and seven more houses are under way. The city now enjoys a public well and pump, the water being raised by wind-mill. This is the best well in Southern Kansas, and supplies water for over 500 people and over 1,000 head of cattle every day. The water is pure and good, and suitable to wash with. . . .

The Western Star is still published. Mrs. H. V., Ward H., and Merle T. Butcher are the present editors and publishers. The Society has a good file of this paper commencing with the issue of September 20, 1884.

CLARK COUNTY

Clark County Clipper, Clark City, September 25, 1884.

This paper started with Vol. I, No. 2. The editors explained the irregularity in these words:

On account of the delay of our paper we could not get out an issue last week, although we had everything else ready. We leave one side just as it was, which will account for any mistakes in regard to time, etc. We will change the date of our first issue, subscriptions, advertising and all, to Sept. 25. . . .

The *Clipper* was Republican in politics, Robert C. Marquis and James E. Church were the editors and proprietors. Under the caption "Our Bow," they wrote:

Believing that, in a new county, especially, harmony is of more importance than the success of any political party, we shall, in local affairs, always aim to support the best man; but in State and National politics, we are Republicans. The columns of the *Clipper*, however, will be open for the discussion of current topics, by any person, regardless of political proclivities.

In the first number the editors wrote that they were "greatly indebted to Mr. Bennett of the Garden City *Irrigator* for valuable service rendered," but failed to explain what it included.

The name and place of publication changed with time. In the issue of October 2, 1884, appeared the statement: "Yesterday the name of our postoffice ceased to be Klaine, and quietly assumed the future name—Clark. . . . Hereafter the name of this postoffice will be Clark." By November 6, 1884 (Vol. I, No. 8), the paper had moved to Ashland. In explanation of this change the editors wrote:

It will be observed that the place of publication of the *Clipper* has been changed from Clark City to Ashland. All in this vicinity are conversant with the circumstances connected with this move, but the facts are as yet, unknown to the outsiders. A few settlers feeling the need of a town in this county,

organized themselves into a town company and founded Clark City. The town was prosperous enough until a rival sprang up which had capital to back it. This rival was laid out at the crossing of the two great trails of southern Kansas, and nearer the center of population of the county. With these facts before us, we have cast our lot with the town of Ashland, believing it will make the leading town of this county. In this move we are not alone. When all the buildings are here that are now under contract to move, more than half of Clark City will be in Ashland. . . .

Ashland has since then remained the place of publication.

The *Clipper* was favorably received. On October 7, 1884, the Harper *Graphic* stated:

The *Clark County Clipper* is the latest. The "head" looks as if it was just coming up out of the prairie grass. Marquis & Church are the pilots and their first issue is a good one. They say the new town of Clark is booming, and we trust it will continue to prosper. Everyone here knows Robert and all his friends wish him success.

The paper changed hands several times. Starting as the *Clark County Clipper* it changed, March 2, 1911, to the *Ashland Clipper*. On December 27, 1917, it announced consolidation with the *Ashland Record*, but the new paper continued as the *Ashland Clipper*. On June 30, 1927, the *Englewood Times* was consolidated with the *Clipper* and both publications were issued as *The Clark County Clipper*. The paper is still published under this name. Walter C. Ray and Son are the present editors and publishers.

The Society has a good file of the *Clipper*, including Vol. I, No. 2.

KIOWA COUNTY

Greensburg *Rustler*, January 15, 1885.

The *Rustler*, according to available information, was the first newspaper published in this county. It was Democratic in politics. The *Kinsley Graphic* of Edwards county, just north of Kiowa county, announced the first number January 23, 1885:

We have received Vol. I, No. 1, of the *Greensburg Rustler*, edited by J. N., Crawford. The paper is very neat typographically, brimful of "ads" and except that it swears a little in the poetical effusions, does credit to the bustling little town it represents.

On January 23, 1936, an article in the *Greensburg News* discussed some of the county's early newspapers and reported: "The *Rustler* is a Democratic paper edited by S. B. Sproule and claims to be the oldest paper in the county and established January 15, 1885." The first issue in the Society's file is dated April 15, 1886, listed as Vol. II. No. 14. If regularly issued it would place the first number on January 15, 1885.

On May 11, 1885, the Kansas City (Mo.) *Journal* published an article on Kiowa county, written by De Vera. It gave the following description of the *Rustler*, four months after its inception (already it had changed hands):

The Greensburg *Rustler* is a hebdomadal six column folio, with a considerable amount of excellently selected news matter on the outside, and a vast amount of brain work on the inside. It is published by Messrs. Bolton & Canfield, and is a very creditable publication. Mr. Bolton, being the county superintendent of public instruction, and also a member of one of the best law firms in the county, is consequently unable to give the *Rustler* the benefit of his eruditic mind to any great extent; consequently Canfield is left to look after about all the work, mental and physical. . . .

Two other papers, the Wellsford *Register* and the *Democrat and Watchman*, Dowell, were started in Kiowa county during this year. The Society has Vol. I, No. 3, of the *Register*, dated June 13, 1885, and Vol. I, No. 1, of the *Democrat and Watchman*, dated November 28, 1885.

THOMAS COUNTY

Thomas County Cat, Colby, March 12, 1885, first paper published in the county.

The Enterprise, Colby, March 19, 1885, first paper printed in the county.

The *Thomas County Cat*, of Colby, was the first paper published in Thomas county, but the first paper printed there was *The Enterprise*, of Colby. E. P. Worcester and D. M. Dunn were the editors and proprietors of the *Cat*; Brown and Son published *The Enterprise*. One account of Thomas county, published in 1887, says:

The first newspaper office was brought to the county by Brown & Son, in February, 1885. The office was located in J. R. Colby's house near the center of the county. They printed one issue of a paper called the *Enterprise*, on March 19. The second edition was never printed. Prospects looked too gloomy and the senior Brown being old and a little childish, gave as his reason for leaving the county that he was "afraid of the coyotes." The *Enterprise* was the first paper printed in the county, although the first number of the *Thomas County Cat* bears date of March 12, 1885.¹²

On March 8, 1885, E. P. Worcester and family left Minneapolis for Thomas county. He had been foreman of the Minneapolis *Messenger* for more than a year. Prior to that he was publisher of two newspapers. D. M. and C. M. Dunn published the *Messenger*. The

12. *A Brief Sketch of Thomas County, Kansas, and the City of Colby, the Past, Present and Future of the Prettiest County in Kansas (Thomas County Cat, Job Rooms, 1887)*, p. 49.

13. *Minneapolis Messenger*, March 12, 1885. The paper stated that the past week the *Messenger*, the *Thomas County Cat*, and the *Solomon Valley Mirror* had all been printed in the office of the *Minneapolis Messenger*.

first issue of the *Cat*, therefore, was printed in this office.¹³ When Worcester arrived in Thomas county he set up shop in H. W. Miller's sod house, near "Old Colby." His office consisted of:

. . . a Washington hand press, fifty pounds of brevier, forty pounds of small pica and several fonts of type that could not be used to advantage in any other office except on the extreme frontier. . . . At that time there was no store near the center of the county, and the town of Colby "was a rumor and the improvements a stake."¹⁴

Miller's sod house also served as a hotel and at night all available space was used for beds. Worcester therefore had to set up type during the day, and to prevent the wandering night prowler from piecing the type, he had to lock it in form every evening. The room was only 12 x 14 feet. Whenever the *Cat* was put to press, the only rack Worcester possessed had to be moved outside.

The first month the *Cat* subscription books at the Colby post office showed only fourteen subscribers, but by 1887, the list had increased to 1,300.¹⁵ Jessie Kennedy wrote of the year 1885: "Those were hard times. Native fuel was used almost entirely, with a few railroad ties that floated up the Solomon thrown in for seasoning."¹⁶ On March 19, 1885, the editor of the *Cat* wrote: "We take almost everything on subscription, but one thing we cannot take—native fuel."

In the salutation the *Cat* said merely, "Here's yer *Cat*." The editor wrote:

The *Cat* will purr for Thomas county, and what we deem the best interests of all her people. The *Cat* will be located at the new town site on the Dog. The *Cat* has velvet paws, but will not allow the fur to be stroked the wrong way. To all concerned it would be well to remember that a *Cat* has nine lives, and farther that a *Cat* is greatly attached to a place where located.

The paper elicited interesting comments. The *Mankato Review* stated:

. . . The *Cat* is yet rather small, six column folio, but if it catches plenty of rabbits may grow to large size. . . . In politics it is Republican, and we think it plainly indicates that the party intends to maintain its supremacy in the state when it sends out young Thomas *Cat* missionaries to Republicanize the coyotes. . . .¹⁷

The Logan *Freeman* said:

We imagine they are having a cat and dog time out in Thomas county, and the newspaper name is well chosen. But we should like to know on what part

14. *A Brief Sketch of Thomas County* . . . , pp. 49, 50.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 51.

16. *Colby Free Press-Tribune*, October 4, 1939.

17. *Thomas County Cat*, Colby, April 9, 1885.

of the dog the cat is located. A Thomas cat usually selects the part of a dog farthest from the bark to make a location, and we should judge from the solidity of the reading matter that this cat has not been lacking in judgment. We suppose if the fountain head is a cat, the issue must be kittens, and we hope it may increase until the fur flies all over that part of Kansas.¹⁸

The Society has a good file of the *Cat* from March 12, 1885, to February 5, 1891.

SCOTT COUNTY

The Western Times, Scott Center, May 27, 1885.

The Western Times, a weekly publication, undoubtedly was the first newspaper published in Scott county. Mrs. M. E. De Geer & S. W. Case were the editors and proprietors, Charles L. Waite was the publisher. The *Times* was a continuation of *The Crusader*, a monthly temperance publication, established in Chicago in 1874, and published by Mrs. De Geer and her daughter.¹⁹ In January, 1885, Mrs. De Geer came to Kansas and temporarily established *The Western Times* at Garden City, "Devoted to Western Immigration, Temperance and Justice." Under title, "Wedded," in the issue of January 30, 1885, listed as Vol. XI, No. 2, the *Times* stated:

In the month of January, 1885, *The Crusader* and *The Western Times* joined hands and became one, henceforth to go forward together in the blending and extending of knowledge and principles calculated to educate and make the *dependent* masses happy, by becoming *independent*; for without self-reliant independence there can be no happiness.

The Crusader, after years of reformatory and educational work, on the part of its editors, was devoted to temperance, literature, justice and the best interests of humanity, and took its stand, not in the ranks alone of the grand crusade of 1874 against intemperance, but as a leader among the advance guards of God's own army. We were at that time denounced as fanatic, trying to do too much, and were besought by many overcautious friends of the cause, not to mix politics (advocate prohibition) and temperance and let woman suffrage alone altogether. But knowing we were right that temperance, justice and equality were cardinal virtues, and that the God of battles was with us in that right, we moved steadily onward, and at the expiration of ten years, rejoice in the advancing millions that are now in the same onward march. . . .

Mrs. De Geer, however, had interest in the Scott county ranch lands and soon directed her attention to the county northward. On May 13, 1885, the *Times* carried the notice: "Office of *Western Times* will be moved this week to De Geer ranch. We look for our post-office outfit every day." The following week, although still

18. *Ibid.*

19. *American Newspaper Directory* . . . (Geo. P. Rowell & Co., New York, 1877), p. 50.

dated Garden City, the *Times* already boosted Scott county. A "postal" in this issue remarked in a teasing manner: "Let us know when you have lots for sale in De Geer." The next number, May 27, 1885, was dated Scott Center.²⁰ This issue explained that Scott Center was "so called because of it being located in the exact geographical center of Scott county." The article went on to describe the town as "two months old and consists of one store building 30 x 40, one good sized hotel, one printing office and three dwellings. The town is situated on the highest point in the county yet excellent water is obtained at a depth of 45 feet." At the end of the article it said that *The Western Times* was printed by "Mrs. De Geer at the Center and is devoted to booming the county and publishing land office notices." Scott Center soon became Scott City. The change first appeared in the date line September 16, 1885.

The Western Times continued to be published at Scott City till September 16, 1886, when it was moved to Sharon Springs, Wallace county. The first issue published there was dated October 16, 1886. Mrs. De Geer severed her connection as editor and proprietor of the paper in October, 1885, when Kate B. Russell, daughter of Mrs. De Geer, and S. W. Case assumed control. The change appeared first in the masthead October 28, 1885. Mrs. De Geer remained for some time as corresponding editor. *The Western Times* is still published at Sharon Springs. Harry F. Lutz is the present editor and publisher. The Society has an incomplete file of this paper, commencing with the issue of January 30, 1885.

HAMILTON COUNTY

The Syracuse *Journal*, June 12 (?), 1885.

The Syracuse *Journal* was the first newspaper published in Hamilton county. *The Kearny County Advocate*, Lakin, made this statement when it announced the first number of the *Journal*, June 13, 1885:

Vol. I, No. 1, of the Syracuse *Journal*, published by Lester & Armour, has been received. It is a very nice and news[yl] sheet and is a credit to its publishers. It is the first paper ever published in Hamilton county, and the names hoisted at its head guarantees success. May their labours be crowned with their highest ambitions.

In the earliest issue of the Society's file, dated July 17, 1885, listed

20. Oliver S. Lawson, in "History of Scott County, Kansas" (August, 1936), p. 70 (MS. in library of Kansas State Historical Society), mistakenly dated the first issue of *The Western Times*, published at Scott City, as March, 1886. The Scott City *News Chronicle*, June 24, 1937, was more accurate in listing it as "the spring of 1885." *History of Kansas Newspapers . . . 1854 to 1916* (Topeka, 1916), p. 311, was also in error.

as Vol. I, No. 6, the editors advertised that "The Syracuse *Journal* is the only newspaper published in Hamilton county." If the paper was issued regularly, the first number should have appeared June 12, 1885. One of the founders of the paper was H. N. Lester, who was also one of the original members of the Syracuse colony.²¹ Associated with him as publisher of the *Journal* was one Armour.

The Society has scattered issues of this paper for 1885, but a more complete file from 1886 on. The Syracuse *Journal* is the only paper in the county, begun in the early days, that has had a continuous history. At present Albert M. James is editor and publisher.

GRANT COUNTY

Grant County Register, Ulysses, July 21, 1885.

Ulysses was less than a month old when the first number of the *Register* flung its banner to the breeze. A. Bennett was the editor and proprietor and Charles D. Majors the manager. It was an eight-page, five-column folio, independent in politics. The first number was printed at Lakin, because, to quote the publishers, "our press has not arrived." Under "Our Bow," Majors wrote:

Ulysses wanted a paper, we wanted a location, and finding Grant with greater natural advantages than any unorganized county in the state, and sure to become one of the foremost, we have cast our lot here. We may be a few days or weeks, or even months ahead of the times—in advance of the settlement—but we are willing to wait. . . . Six weeks ago hardly a claim was taken in Grant county. Now there are over 500 actual settlers and they still come in swarms, and all who come locate. If the rush continues there will not be a vacant piece of land in the county. . . .

The establishment of Ulysses, according to George Earp, one of the pioneer settlers of the county, was delayed by a Texas cattleman. He wrote: "We didn't start it [Ulysses] as soon as we expected, for a Texas cattleman was branding 18 or 20 thousand steers on the very spot we had picked out for the business center and we could not start our town till the Texas man moved away."²² Under the caption, "Ulysses," the *Register* in the first issued stated:

Everything is newness and bustle, but dispatch, haste, push is the motto. Where a month ago—where on the 7th of June six thousand head of cattle were rounded up on a gentle western slope near a beautiful lake, and not a habitation of any kind within 7 miles, and only one within 15 miles, there is now a bustling, prosperous young city, and all the country round is dotted with the "settlements" of locators.

Surely no such town ever before sprang up. The Arabian Nights have noth-

21. Syracuse *Journal*, March 29, 1940.

22. "Grant County Clippings," p. 11.—Library, Kansas State Historical Society.

ing like it. No such thing ever before happened in wonderful Kansas where towns spring up in a day, for here one month 16 townships with but one house—a cattle ranch—has a population of 500 souls the next month. . . .

At this time ten new stores were under contract, said the paper, and the cry all over Kansas was "Ulysses or bust."

As to Grant county, the editor wrote, it had not yet been "habilitated." "You search on the present map for it in vain. But you will soon see it again. It was wiped out three years ago, but the next legislature will surely restore it." There was seldom a pessimist in those frontier counties, if we can trust the newspapers.

The Society has a good file of the *Register* from July 21, 1885, to February 22, 1890, when it was merged with the *Ulysses Tribune*, published by George W. Perry.

SEWARD COUNTY

The Prairie Owl, Fargo Springs, August 27, 1885.

County authorities are agreed that *The Prairie Owl*, of Fargo Springs, was the first newspaper published in Seward county. The *Seward County Courant*, Springfield, November 11, 1887, carried the statement:

The Prairie Owl, the first paper in the county, was recently moved from Fargo Springs to this county. The *Owl* has labored for the advancement of Seward county from its earliest settlement, and during the more prosperous days at Fargo Springs, it done noble work for the town, but when Springfield conquered in the fight, it quietly folded its wings and is now hooting for this city with as much earnestness as in the days agone.

What the author meant to say, no doubt, was that *The Prairie Owl* had recently moved "from Fargo Springs to this town."

The *Liberal News*, May 2, 1935, stated:

C. L. Calvert was editor of the first paper printed in Seward county. It was *The Prairie Owl*, the first issue of which appeared at Fargo Springs, October 8, 1885. After a stormy career of about three years, the paper was moved to Springfield where it ceased publication in 1888.

The earliest issue of this paper in the Society's file is dated October 8, 1885, listed as Vol. I, No. 7. C. L. Calvert and Hays were the editors and A. B. Carr & Co. the publishers. The *News* leaves the impression that the first issue of *The Prairie Owl* published at Fargo Springs was dated October 8, 1885. If the paper was established at Fargo Springs, and there is no reason to question the assumption, and if it was issued regularly, the first number should have appeared August 27, 1885. In the first anniversary edition, August 26, 1886, the editor of the *Owl* wrote: "With our last issue

ended the first year of the existence of *The Prairie Owl*." He did not say whether or not all numbers had been published at Fargo Springs.

Fargo Springs, which at one time was a thriving city, is today extinct. Not even the name is left on the map. Springfield, its erstwhile rival, likewise is no longer. In early days, however, the rivalry between these towns was so marked that no business man "in one town dared even to solicit business from the other town and so closely were the lines drawn that members of the church would have been ostracized had they dared attend communion service in the rival town. So thoroughly were they organized that all the voters in the county friendly to Springfield would assemble in that town and camp out on the night before an important election and next morning march in a body, heavily armed, to Fargo Springs, which was for a long time the voting place for both towns. . . ." ²³ The following amusing incident was related in the *Dodge City Daily Globe*, December 26, 1922:

The story is told of the night when word came to Fargo Springs that a bunch of men from Springfield were coming to clean up the town. The Fargo men, among whom were A. K. Stoufer and L. A. Etlod, lay at the foot of the rise near the town all night guarding it from attack. Little did they dream at the time that the report had gone to Springfield to the effect that the Fargo citizens were planning a night attack there. And while the Fargo men lay at the foot of the rise on one side guarding from the Springfield men, on the other side of the rise all night long lay Springfield men on guard against Fargo. And neither suspected the presence of the other.

The Society has a good file of *The Prairie Owl* from October 8, 1885, to June 5, 1888, listed as Vol. III, No. 29. The first issue of the paper published at Springfield was dated October 6, 1887.

LOGAN COUNTY

Oakley *Opinion*, October 12, 1885.

The *Opinion*, according to the records, was the first newspaper published in what is now Logan county. Originally the county was named after Gov. John P. St. John, but in 1887 the state legislature, by vote of 64 to 54, changed the name to Logan county, in honor of Gen. John A. Logan, the "Black Eagle of Illinois." In the first number the editor, Edward Kleist, wrote that the *Opinion* was the "only paper published in St. John county," but expressed doubt that the new venture would bring him financial security:

With the merits, responsibilities, duties and privileges of a newspaper in

23. *Kansas City (Mo.) Journal*, October 18, 1911.

view, the proprietor, editor, business manager, compositor, printer, etc., all personified in one being, has taken it upon himself to launch this sheet upon the troubled and rather treacherous waters of newspaper enterprise.

Kleist was willing to take the chance, however, and promised his constituency that the paper would be published "in the interest of the public," that it would be "the slave of no man," but "the servant of all."

His fears were well founded. Less than four years later he was forced to suspend business. Under the caption, "Demise," July 20, 1889, he wrote:

With this number the *Oakley Opinion*, after almost four years of hard labor, is laid to rest. It is unnecessary for us to enlarge upon the combination of causes that induce us to take this important step, for they have but one general trend, that of making the *Opinion* a financial failure. The suspension of the *Opinion* is not due, however, to our lack of faith in the town or country; on the contrary, we believe that both are on the threshold of prosperity and development.

Edward Kleist's fate is the story of many other pioneer Kansas newspaper men. Years later while describing his early ventures, he wrote:

When a young man I drove across the country from McCook, Nebraska, to Grainfield, Kansas. I took the train there for Oakley (I believe the station was named Cleveland at that time). I arrived early in September, 1884 [1885?], and the next day met Judge Freeman and Mr. Hogue from Kansas City, of the Union Pacific Townsite Company, on Oakley's proposed townsite. There was only a depot, section house and water tank there then.

That evening I started for Kansas City, Mo., purchased a small printing outfit and hurried back to have my print shop built. . . .²⁴

The name of the townsite formerly was Cleveland, with Gilmore as post office, but owing to the fact that Kansas had another Cleveland, in Kingman county, the town fathers decided to call it Oakley. The name was suggested by David D. Hoag, who laid out the town. In a letter to the editor of the *Oakley Graphic*, dated September 11, 1931, Hoag explained that he named the townsite in honor of his mother Eliza Oakley (Gardner) Hoag. The railroad company had called it Cleveland, but he had been able to secure the change in the name.²⁵

The Society has a good file of the *Opinion*, including Vol. I, No. 1.

24. *Oakley Graphic*, September 9, 1932

25. *Ibid.*, September 18, 1931.

SHERMAN COUNTY

The New Tecumseh, Gandy, November 9, 1885.

It is generally conceded that *The New Tecumseh*, of Gandy, was the first newspaper published in Sherman county. The editors in the first number referred to it as the pioneer paper in the county. W. E. Bissell and Gird published the paper until the third number, when Saxon and Bissell assumed control. The paper was named after "Old Tecumseh," nickname of Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman in whose honor the county was named. The publishers thought the name *New Tecumseh* appropriate and suggestive of the progress and rapid development the county had undergone. The idea of the name was suggested by D. M. Dunn, editor of the *Thomas County Cat*, of Colby.²⁶

The paper was moved three times. First published at Gandy, it was transferred to Leonard in March, 1886. By August 20, 1886, the post office of Leonard changed to Itasca. In November, 1886, the paper was moved to Eustis and remained there until January, 1889, when it was moved to Goodland, where it suspended June 13, 1889. The paper changed to the *Sherman County Democrat* with the issue of April 7, 1887.

The Society has a good file, including Vol. I, No. 1.

WICHITA COUNTY

Wichita Standard, Leoti City, November 19, 1885.

The *Wichita Standard* was established before Leoti had a post office. C. S. Triplett was the editor and publisher. The *Standard's* rival paper was the *Coronado Star* which first appeared December 31, 1885.²⁷

The two towns were only three miles apart, and the bitter rivalry which culminated in a bloody county-seat fight in 1886-1887, had a mild beginning in the first issue. The editor of the *Standard* wrote:

We had intended to say nothing disparaging of the new town project intended as a rival to Leoti, nor of the parties having the matter in hand, being liberal enough in our views to understand that they had a perfect right to build a new town if they wished to do so. . . . What we have to say is against the underhanded way in which the management is attempting to forward their prospects at the sacrifice of those of their neighbors, instead of on their own merits. . . .

26. *The New Tecumseh*, Gandy, November 9, 1885.

27. *Topeka State Journal*, May 19, 1923. The first issue of the *Star* in the Society's file is dated August 12, 1886, listed as Vol. I, No. 33.

Before the contest ended the newspaper editors of the rival towns had exchanged harsh words and seven prominent Leoti citizens had paid with their lives for the victory in the county-seat fight.²⁸

The paper is still published at Leoti, although the name has been changed from *Wichita Standard* to *Leoti Standard*. Bryant Holmes is the present editor and publisher.

The Society has a good file of this paper, including Vol. I, No. 1.

HASKELL COUNTY

The Ivanhoe *Times*, December 12, 1885.

The available records indicate that the Ivanhoe *Times* was the first newspaper published in what is now Haskell, then part of Finney county. George H. Apperson was the editor. The paper was Republican in politics. It was a four-page, seven-column folio. The Society's *History of Kansas Newspapers* (1916), p. 206, and the *Sublette Monitor*, June 12, 1930, mistakenly gave C. T. Hickman as founder of the *Times*. His name does not appear in the masthead until May 22, 1886.

The *Times* may have been the organ of the Ivanhoe Town Company, formed in June, 1885, which carried a two-column, full length advertisement in the paper.

The *Sublette Monitor* mentioned above very aptly said: "Newspapers are the most fervent advocates of their territories. Sometimes their enthusiasms exceed sound reasoning, but they keep tearing at the clouds and beckoning to the silver lining." This was especially characteristic of the frontier papers and the editor of the *Times* was no exception. In the salutation he wrote, among other things:

The *Times* believes in Kansas, and has implicit faith in the "New West." It believes there is no state in the Union that has such vast and unlimited resources, so fine natural advantages, so energetic, intelligent and enterprising people, and such great possibilities for the future. It believes furthermore, that Southwestern Kansas in particular, is a country of which the half has not been told, and that the historian of the future will have to record of this section a progress and development unparalleled in the history of the world. . . .

The Society has a good file of this paper from December 12, 1885, to November 18, 1892, when it was absorbed by the *Santa Fe Monitor*.

28. *Wichita Standard*, March 10, 1887.

WALLACE COUNTY

Wallace County Register, Wallace, January 2, 1886.

The *Wallace County Register*, of Wallace, no doubt was the first newspaper in Wallace county. The editor, S. L. Wilson, made the claim under the title, "Our Greeting," when he wrote:

In presenting you with this, the first number of the *Register*, the first paper published in Wallace county, we are highly gratified with the seemingly auspicious circumstances which have brought us into this relation. While there has been no "long felt want" of a newspaper at this place nevertheless there are many in this community who have resided here for years, who will doubtless appreciate the establishment of this branch of business in their midst, and give it their hearty support. . . . In politics we are Republican, but our intention is to publish a newspaper in the interest of Wallace county and for the advancement of her local affairs. . . .

In describing the territory to new settlers, he spoke of it as "a new and broader field, wherè the antelope has not yet ceased to graze and the track of the buffalo is scarcely washed out, in which there is opportunity for almost unlimited growth and development." The Union Pacific railroad crossed the center of the county from east to west, years before the county was reorganized.

Two business firms that have attracted national attention were advertising their merchandise in the first number of the *Register*. Peter Robidoux, a swarthy French Canadian, won fame through his general store and the manner in which he closed it. He also operated a saloon in which for twelve years the doors were never locked. Moreover, he was a land baron owning 32,000 acres by the end of the World War.²⁹ In the memorable blizzard of 1886 when stock in the territory of the upper Smoky Hill river drifted more than fifty miles with the storm and perished along the fence of the Santa Fe railroad, it was said by men who were sent to skin the dead bodies that "one might walk from Garden City to the Colorado state line on the bodies of dead animals bearing the Robidoux brand, whose loss was estimated at more than 4,000 head."³⁰

The fame of Thomas Madigan is due largely to the fact that he was Robidoux's competitor. The second number of the *Register* had the following description of their stores:

There are two very large general stores in town, the one owned by Thomas Madigan and the other by Peter Robidoux. We use the word "general" in describing these places, in a very broad sense, as the reader will see by glancing over the advertisements of these establishments. These two gentlemen have

29. Thompson, W. F., "Peter Robidoux: A Real Kansas Pioneer," *The Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XVII, pp. 289, 290; Colby *Free Press-Tribune*, July 22, 1936.

30. Thompson, W. F., *loc. cit.*, p. 289.

been in business in Wallace for a number of years and there is scarcely anything called for that they do not keep and furnish. Their stocks are necessarily very large, worth many thousand dollars each, and are both kept in excellent condition. The business of each occupies three large rooms probably 24 by 60 or 80 feet, and well filled. Here you find goods that would never be called for or seen in an eastern store. "Ranch supplies" are a specialty with them. A "cow-boy's" hat was a curiosity to us. It is what would be known as a white hat, broad brim, crown medium height and made of very thick material, impervious to the rain, and ornamented with a band of leather that frequently costs nearly as much as the hat, and the whole worth sometimes ten or twelve dollars. "Mexican" spurs and saddles and saddle trimmings, bridles, girths, pistol and knife holsters, and a thousand other paraphernalia not seen in the east. All these are carried in stock in these stores.

Peter Robidoux's advertisement in the first number of the *Register* read:

PETER ROBIDOUX PIONEER STORE OF WALLACE, KANSAS. Dealer in General Merchandise, Dry Goods, Notions, Ready Made Clothing and Gents Furnishing Goods, Hats, Caps and Gloves. "The Celebrated" Selz Schwab & Co's Boots, Shoes and Rubber Goods. Full line of Groceries and Provisions of all kinds. Flour, Feed & Baled Hay. Stockmen & Ranchmans Supplies. Hardware, Tinware, Barb Wire & Nails. Crockery, Glassware & Lamps, Oils, Paints and Brushes. Harness, Saddles, Blankets & Horse Covers, Farming Implements and Wagons. Terms after January 1, '86, strictly cash. Will not be undersold and guarantees satisfaction. Give me a Call. Peter Robidoux.

His rival's advertisement read:

THOS. MADIGAN, WALLACE, KANSAS, Has in store the largest, best and most varied Stock of General Merchandise in Western Kansas, and sells goods as low as they can be bought anywhere west of the Missouri River. Try Him For Dry Goods, Prints, Muslins, Flannels, Linens, Yarns, Crash and Notions. For Hats, Caps, Boots and Shoes. For Groceries of all Kinds, especially Coffees, Teas, Sugars, Spices, Syrups and Vinegar. Canned Goods and Fish, Green and Dried Fruits, Soaps and confections. Headquarters for Cigars and Tobaccos. A full stock of Hardware, Stoves, and Tinware, also of Queensware and Woodenware, Flour, Corn Meal and Feed. Ranch supplies of every description at very low prices wholesale and retail. Buy of Thomas Madigan and Save Money! Store south of the Railroad.

The Society has a good file of the *Register*, including Vol. I, No. 1.

MORTON COUNTY

The Frisco *Pioneer*, January 6, 1886.

Two newspapers in Morton county competed for priority. The *Frisko Pioneer*, by Euphrates Boucher, appeared January 6, and the *Richfield Leader*, by D. L. Kretsinger, January 9, 1886. The *Pioneer* was Republican and the *Leader* Democratic in politics. Both papers

referred to their county as Kansas. Under the title, "Kansas County," the *Leader* stated:

We take it, that there is not a school boy in the land but what can tell you where Kansas county is, or at least where it ought to be, but owing to "an act" of a fool legislature last winter Kansas county was merged into, and made a part of Seward county. These very fellows are the chaps that we of Western Kansas are after this winter at the special session, and we propose to demand our rights, and restore the old lines as they were prior to '81. . . .

In the issue of February 24, 1886, the *Pioneer* had changed the headline from Kansas to Morton county. The *Leader* made the change March 6.

In the introductory statement the editor of the *Pioneer* wrote:

With this issue begins the initial number of the *Pioneer*. Just what success it will meet time will only tell. One thing is sure, it is a permanent institution to begin with. It will be devoted to the building up of Frisco, particularly, and Kansas county generally, while the interest of the southwest, as well as the state will be looked after. Politically it will be Republican.

Under "Greeting" the editor of the *Leader* wrote:

Friends and fellow citizens of Richfield, Kansas county, the advent of the *Leader* is no blessing in disguise. Your active work, intelligence and enterprise demand the establishment and publication of a newspaper in your well chosen county center. Well do you know that newspapers are the beacon lights of a higher and better civilization through which rights are enforced, and wrongs redressed, and the moral and social world made better. Acting then upon your demands, not our whims. The Richfield *Leader* weighs anchor and sets sail in your midst, not with fear or trembling, but upon the broad flat form of justice, liberty, and equal rights, "with malice toward none but with charity for all," the *Leader* shall be essentially a newspaper, striving more to convey information to its readers, than to mould opinions or shape their convictions. . . .

Politically the *Leader* will be democratic straight from the shoulder and no foolishness.

The Society has good files of both papers.

STEVENS COUNTY

The Hugo *Herald*, February 13, 1886.

The Hugo *Herald* was established in Seward county, but before the third number appeared, March 3, 1886, the legislature had changed part of Seward to Stevens county. Likewise Hugo was changed to Hugoton. The first seven issues were published in Hugo, but beginning with the eighth number, April 7, 1886, the name of the town had changed to Hugoton. The paper however retained the name Hugo *Herald* or Hugo *Weekly Herald* throughout its his-

tory. Hugo was located at or near the geographical center of Stevens county and was the principal town. It was located in June, 1885, surveyed and platted in August, and by February, 1886, boasted a population of "about one hundred, . . . about twenty houses for business purposes and about the same number of residences, with a prospect that before the falling of snow . . . the population will reach one thousand."³¹

In the first number the editor, G. W. McClintick, late of McPherson, wrote: "We to-day greet the people of Hugo and Seward county with the first number of the first paper ever published in this part of Kansas." This statement, while not absolute proof, nevertheless indicates that the *Hugo Herald* was the first paper published in what is now Stevens county. In the same issue the editor boasted: "She [Hugo] has no rival competing for the same favors she asks and there is no prospect of any town being started in the near future that will be a rival." The only other towns listed on the map of Stevens in the *Agricultural Report* of 1885-1886 were Pearl City, Valparaiso and Dermot.³² However, in western Kansas, towns developed over night. The *Woodsdale Times*, published by George W. Reed & Co., the only other paper known to have been established in Stevens county in 1886, appeared October 15.

In politics the *Herald* claimed to be Democratic, in religion neutral, and in enterprise, "energetic and aggressive." In the first issue the editor wrote:

We have met with many discouragements in getting out this the first copy of the paper. We left home 7 weeks ago and expected to have issued a paper at least two weeks sooner than we have. The unexpected snow storms and blizzards not only delayed our operations, but delayed and inconvenienced everything else. Railroad travel was almost entirely suspended for over four weeks and the hand press that we shipped from Great Bend on Dec. 30th did not reach here for over six weeks. The delay has been a great inconvenience [to] us and has deranged nearly all of our plans. We hope in the future to be able to issue the paper regularly and on time.

The editor no doubt had reference to the memorable blizzard of 1886.

The Society has a good file of this paper from February 13, 1886, which includes Vol. I, No. 1, to September 5, 1889, when it suspended publication.

31. The *Hugo Herald*, February 13, 1886.

32. *Fifth Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture . . . 1885-86* (Topeka, 1887), p. 546. McClintick spelled his name without the "k" in the *McPherson Messenger*, December 13, 1873.

STANTON COUNTY

Veteran *Sentinel*, March 19, 1886.

Veteran was one of several western Kansas towns, including Coronado, established by "Winfield gentlemen."³³ The Veteran *Sentinel*, according to the records, was the first newspaper published in what is now Stanton, then part of Hamilton county. The earliest issue in the Society's file is dated April 16, 1886, listed as Vol. I, No. 5. If regularly issued the first number should have appeared March 19. Will C. Higgins was the editor and proprietor of this five-column, eight-page paper.

In May the name of Veteran changed to Johnson City, and the name of the paper to the Johnson City *Sentinel*.³⁴ Stanton county, however, remained unorganized during the history of this paper. In 1887 Johnson City was made the county seat of Stanton county.

The Society has a good file of the *Sentinel* from April 16 to December 10, 1886.

GREELEY COUNTY

Hector *Echo*, April 1, 1886.

The *Echo* no doubt was the first newspaper published in this county. In the initial number the editor asked the settlers of the county to subscribe "for the only paper in Greeley county." The Society has the first eighteen numbers of this paper, probably all that were published under this name. C. C. Thompson, a Republican Prohibitionist, was the editor, and Thompson Brothers the publishers. In the first number the *Echo* stated that it had "a bonafide circulation of 400." Under the caption, "Shake," the Thompson brothers said they were publishing the *Echo* to make money, the larger the patronage the better paper they could produce. They promised to "fight a good fight for truth and morality; we will mind our own business and run the *Echo*. If you can meet us on these terms, here is the  of—Yours Truly, Thompson Brothers."

Greeley was the last county in the state to be organized. It came in July 9, 1888. Twenty-three counties had been organized during Gov. John A. Martin's administration, making a total of 106 organized counties in Kansas. Garfield county was an "illegitimate child," organized in 1887. In 1892 the state instituted quo warranto proceedings against it to test the validity of the organization. The supreme court decided that it was illegally organized, having less

33. Veteran *Sentinel*, April 16, 1886.

34. *Ibid.*, May 14, 1886; Johnson City *Sentinel*, May 28, 1886.

than 432 square miles of territory.³⁵ It was therefore annexed to Finney county by the legislature of 1893.

There were at least three other papers started in this county in 1886. The *Greeley County Gazette*, Greeley Center, published its first number April 15, 1886. The *Greeley Tribune*, of Tribune, also appeared in April, 1886. The Society's file of this paper starts with the second number, dated April 24, 1886. The *Greeley County News*, Greeley Center, no doubt appeared in October, 1886. The Society's earliest issue of this paper is dated November 4, 1886, listed Vol. I, No. 3. The Society has good files of these papers.

SUMMARY OF FIRST NEWSPAPERS

Below is a list of first newspapers published in Kansas counties, as determined in this survey. If additional information comes to light changes may be necessary. Counties are listed in the order in which the newspapers appeared. The title of each paper is shown, together with the page where it is discussed in this volume. The map shows the year of publication of the first newspaper in each county, with a number indicating its chronological order among the counties of the state.

1. Leavenworth Co.—*Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, September 15, 1854 [pp. 4-6].
2. Douglas Co.—*Kansas Pioneer*, Lawrence, October 18, 1854 [pp. 6-9].
3. Atchison Co.—*Squatter Sovereign*, Atchison, February 3, 1855 [pp. 9, 10].
4. Shawnee Co.—*Kansas Freeman*, Topeka, July 4, 1855 [pp. 10-12].
5. Doniphan Co.—*Kansas Constitutionalist*, Doniphan, May, 1856 [pp. 12, 13].
6. Bourbon Co.—*Southern Kansas*, Fort Scott, July, 1856 [pp. 13, 14].
7. Wyandotte Co.—*The Wyandott City Register*, May 2, 1857 [pp. 14, 15].
8. Lyon Co.—*The Kansas News*, Emporia, June 6, 1857 [pp. 15-17].
9. Franklin Co.—*Kansas Leader*, Centropolis, June, 1857 [pp. 17, 18].
10. Coffey Co.—*Ottumwa Journal*, August 29, 1857 [p. 18].
11. Miami Co.—*Southern Kansas Herald*, Osawatomie, November, 1857 [pp. 19, 20].
12. Marshall Co.—*Palmetto Kansan*, Marysville, December 9 (?), 1857 [pp. 20, 21].
13. Jefferson Co.—*Grasshopper*, Grasshopper Falls, June 5, 1858 [pp. 21, 22].
14. Geary Co.—*Junction City Sentinel*, August, 1858 [pp. 22, 23].
15. Jackson Co.—*The Cricket*, Holton, 1858 or 1859 [p. 24].
16. Johnson Co.—*Johnson County Standard*, Olathe, March, 1859 [pp. 24, 25].

35. "The State of Kansas . . . v. The Board of Commissioners of Garfield County et al.," 54 Kan. 372-374; Gill, Helen G., "The Establishment of Counties in Kansas," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. VIII, p. 469.

17. Linn Co.—*Linn County Herald*, Mound City, April 1 (?), 1859 [p. 26].
Montana Co. (now Denver county, Colorado)—*Cherry Creek Pioneer*,
K. T., April 23, 1859, or *Rocky Mountain News*, Cherry Creek, K. T.,
April 23, 1859 [pp. 26, 27].
18. Riley Co.—*Kansas Express*, Manhattan, May 21, 1859 [pp. 27, 28].
19. Chase Co.—*Kansas Press*, Cottonwood Falls, May 30, 1859 [p. 29].
20. Morris Co.—*The Kansas Press*, Council Grove, September 26, 1859
[pp. 29, 30].
21. Brown Co.—*Brown County Union*, Hiawatha, May, 1861 [p. 30].
22. Wabaunsee Co.—*The Wabaunsee Patriot*, September 7, 1861 [pp. 30, 31].
23. Osage Co.—*Osage County Chronicle*, Burlingame, September 26, 1863
[pp. 31, 32].
24. Nemaha Co.—*Nemaha Courier*, Seneca, November 14, 1863 [p. 32].
25. Allen Co.—*Humboldt Herald*, November 25 (?), 1864 [pp. 32, 33].
26. Anderson Co.—*Garnett Plaindealer*, March, 1865 [p. 124].
27. Saline Co.—*The Salina Herald*, February, 1867 [pp. 124, 125].
28. Pottawatomie Co.—*Pottawatomie Gazette*, Louisville, July 17, 1867
[p. 126].
29. Cherokee Co.—*Baxter Springs Herald*, October, 1867 [pp. 126, 127].
30. Ellis Co.—*Hays City Railway Advance*, November 9, 1867 [pp. 127, 128].
31. Ellsworth Co.—*Ellsworth Advocate*, March, 1868 [p. 128].
32. Neosho Co.—*Neosho Valley Eagle*, Jacksonville, May 2, 1868 [pp. 128, 129].
33. Labette Co.—*The Oswego Register*, May or June, 1868 [pp. 129, 130].
34. Greenwood Co.—*The Eureka Herald*, July 10, 1868 [p. 131].
35. Woodson Co.—*Frontier Democrat*, Neosho Falls, October, 1868
[pp. 131, 132].
36. Washington Co.—*The Western Observer*, Washington, March 25, 1869
[pp. 132, 133].
37. Crawford Co.—*Crawford County Times*, Girard, April 16, 1869 (?)
[pp. 133-136].
38. Montgomery Co.—*Independence Pioneer*, September 11 (?), 1869
[pp. 136, 137].
39. Wilson Co.—*The Wilson County Courier*, Fredonia, January 20, 1870
[pp. 137, 138].
40. Dickinson Co.—*The Western News*, Detroit, January 20 or 21, 1870
[p. 138].
41. Butler Co.—*Walnut Valley Times*, El Dorado, March, 1870 [p. 139].
42. Cloud Co.—*Republican Valley Empire*, Clyde, May 31, 1870 [pp. 139, 140].
43. Sedgwick Co.—*The Wichita Vidette*, August 13, 1870 [pp. 140-142].
44. Cowley Co.—*Cowley County Censor*, Winfield, August 13, 1870
[pp. 142, 143].
45. Ottawa Co.—*The Solomon Valley Pioneer*, Lindsey, September, 1870
[p. 143].
46. Marion Co.—*The Western News*, Marion, September, 1870 [p. 144].
47. Republic Co.—*The Bell[e]ville Telescope*, September 30, 1870
[pp. 145, 146].
48. Elk Co.—*Elk Falls Examiner*, before February 17, 1871 [pp. 146, 147].
49. Mitchell Co.—*Mitchell County Mirror*, Beloit, April, 1871 [p. 147].

50. Sumner Co.—*Oxford Times*, June 22, 1871 [p. 148].
51. Clay Co.—*Clay County Independent*, Clay Center, August 31 (?), 1871 [pp. 148, 149].
52. Russell Co.—*The Kansas Pioneer*, Bunker Hill, November, 1871 [pp. 299, 300].
53. Harvey Co.—*The Sedgwick Gazette*, January 19, 1872 [pp. 300-302].
54. Osborne Co.—*Osborne County Express*, Arlington, February or March, 1872, or *Osborne City Times*, February or March, 1872 [pp. 302-304].
55. Jewell Co.—*The Jewell City Weekly Clarion*, March or April, 1872 [p. 304].
56. Reno Co.—*The Hutchinson News*, July 4, 1872 [pp. 304, 305].
57. Barton Co.—*Arkansas Valley*, or *Arkansas Valley Echo*, Great Bend, July (?), 1872 [pp. 305, 306].
58. McPherson Co.—*McPherson Messenger*, December 19, 1872 [pp. 306, 307].
59. Smith Co.—*The Smith County Pioneer*, Cedarville, December, 1872 [pp. 307, 308].
60. Lincoln Co.—*The Lincoln County News*, Lincoln Center, March 5, 1873 [p. 309].
61. Rice Co.—*The Rice County Herald*, Atlanta, May, 1873 [pp. 309, 310].
62. Pawnee Co.—*The Larned Press*, June 10, 1873 [p. 310].
63. Chautauqua Co.—*Howard County Messenger*, Boston, July or August, 1873 [pp. 311, 312].
64. Phillips Co.—*The Kirwin Chief*, August 2 (?), 1873 [pp. 312, 313].
65. Edwards Co.—*Kinsley Reporter*, September, 1873 [p. 313].
66. Ford Co.—*Dodge City Messenger*, February 26, 1874 [p. 314].
67. Rush Co.—*The Walnut Valley Standard*, Rush Center, December 24, 1874 [pp. 314, 315].
68. Rooks Co.—*The Stockton News*, January 6, 1876 [pp. 315, 316].
69. Norton Co.—*The Norton County Bee*, Norton, January 1, 1877 [p. 316].
70. Stafford Co.—*The Stafford Citizen*, November 30, 1877 [pp. 316, 317].
71. Barber Co.—*Barbour County Mail*, Medicine Lodge, May 21, 1878 [pp. 317, 318].
72. Kingman Co.—*Kingman Mercury*, June 14, 1878 [pp. 318, 319].
73. Gray Co.—*The Cimarron Pioneer*, July 2, 1878 [p. 319].
74. Pratt Co.—*Pratt County Press*, Iuka, August 15, 1878 [p. 320].
75. Harper Co.—*Anthony Journal*, August 22, 1878 [pp. 320, 321].
76. Hodgeman Co.—*Hodgeman Agitator*, Hodgeman Center, March 1, 1879 [pp. 321, 322].
77. Trego Co.—*Wa-Keeney Weekly World*, March 8, 1879 [p. 322].
78. Finney Co.—*The Garden City Paper*, April 3, 1879 [pp. 322, 323].
79. Meade Co.—*The Pearlette Call*, April 15, 1879 [pp. 380, 381].
80. Ness Co.—*The Ness County Pioneer*, Clarinda, May 3-10, 1879 [pp. 381, 382].
81. Graham Co.—*The Western Star*, Hill City, May 15, 1879 [pp. 382, 383].
82. Kearny Co.—*Lakin Eagle*, May 20, 1879 [pp. 383, 384].
83. Decatur Co.—*Oberlin Herald*, June 12-19, 1879 [pp. 384, 385].
84. Rawlins Co.—*Attwood Pioneer*, October 23, 1879 [pp. 385, 386].
85. Gove Co.—*Grainfield Republican*, January 28, 1880 [pp. 386, 387].

86. Lane Co.—*Lane County Gazette*, California, January 29, 1880 [pp. 387, 388].
87. Sheridan Co.—*Sheridan County Tribune*, Kenneth, June, 1880 [pp. 388, 389].
88. Cheyenne Co.—*The Cheyenne News*, Wano, October 2, 1880, and May, 1881 [pp. 389, 390].
89. Comanche Co.—*The Western Star*, Coldwater, August 23, 1884 [pp. 390, 391].
90. Clark Co.—*Clark County Clipper*, Clark City, September 25, 1884 [pp. 391, 392].
91. Kiowa Co.—*Greensburg Rustler*, January 15, 1885 [pp. 392, 393].
92. Thomas Co.—*Thomas County Cat*, Colby, March 12, 1885 [pp. 393-395].
93. Scott Co.—*The Western Times*, Scott Center, May 27, 1885 [pp. 395, 396].
94. Hamilton Co.—*The Syracuse Journal*, June 12 (?), 1885 [pp. 396, 397].
95. Grant Co.—*Grant County Register*, Ulysses, July 21, 1885 [pp. 397, 398].
96. Seward Co.—*The Prairie Owl*, Fargo Springs, August 27, 1885 [pp. 398, 399].
97. Logan Co.—*Oakley Opinion*, October 12, 1885 [pp. 399, 400].
98. Sherman Co.—*The New Tecumseh*, Gandy, November 9, 1885 [p. 401].
99. Wichita Co.—*Wichita Standard*, Leoti City, November 19, 1885 [pp. 401, 402].
100. Haskell Co.—*The Ivanhoe Times*, December 12, 1885 [p. 402].
101. Wallace Co.—*Wallace County Register*, Wallace, January 2, 1886 [pp. 403, 404].
102. Morton Co.—*The Frisco Pioneer*, January 6, 1886 [pp. 404, 405].
103. Stevens Co.—*The Hugo Herald*, February 13, 1886 [pp. 405, 406].
104. Stanton Co.—*Veteran Sentinel*, March 19, 1886 [p. 407].
105. Greeley Co.—*Hector Echo*, April 1, 1886 [pp. 407, 408].

Cheyenne (88) 1880	Rawlins (84) 1879	DeCATUR (82) 1879	Morton (69) 1877	Phillips (64) 1873	Smith (59) 1872	Jewell (55) 1872	Republic (47) 1870	Washington (38) 1869	Marshall (12) 1857	Memaha (24) 1863	Brown (24) 1861
Sherman (96) 1885	Thomas (92) 1885	Sheridan (87) 1880	Graham (84) 1879	Rooks (66) 1876	Osborne (54) 1872	Mitchell (49) 1871	Cloud (42) 1870	Clay (31) 1871	Eiley (18) 1859	Pottawatomie (28) 1867	Jefferson (19) 1866
Wallace (104) 1886	Logan (97) 1885	Govc (85) 1880	Trego (77) 1879	Ellis (60) 1867	Russell (52) 1871	Lincoln (60) 1873	Ottawa (45) 1870	Dickinson (40) 1870	Alvord (35) 1867	Shawnee (4) 1855	Alchison (2) 1855
Greeley (109) 1886	Wichita (99) 1885	Lane (86) 1880	Ness (80) 1879	Rush (67) 1874	Barton (57) 1872	Ellsworth (31) 1868	Saline (27) 1867	Marion (20) 1859	Wabauance (22) 1863	Osage (22) 1863	Johnson (11) 1857
Hamilton (94) 1885	Kearny (82) 1879	Finney (78) 1879	Hodgeman (76) 1879	Pawnee (62) 1873	Stafford (70) 1877	Reno (61) 1873	McPherson (56) 1872	Chase (19) 1859	Lyon (8) 1857	Coffey (10) 1857	Anderson (26) 1865
Stanton (104) 1886	Grant (96) 1885	Gray (72) 1878	Ford (64) 1874	Edwards (61) 1865	Prairie (74) 1878	Kingman (72) 1878	Harvey (53) 1872	Butler (41) 1870	Greenwood (34) 1868	Woodson (25) 1864	Allen (25) 1864
Morton (102) 1886	Sivens (103) 1886	Merde (79) 1879	Clark (90) 1884	Kiowa (61) 1865	Barber (71) 1878	Harper (75) 1878	Sumner (50) 1871	Cowley (44) 1870	Elk (46) 1871	Wilson (39) 1870	Neosho (32) 1868
				Comanche (83) 1884	Barber (71) 1878					Montgomery (36) 1869	Labette (32) 1868
										Chautauqua (63) 1873	Cherokee (29) 1867

FIRST NEWSPAPERS IN KANSAS COUNTIES—YEAR AND ORDER IN WHICH EACH APPEARED

Bypaths of Kansas History

EMIGRANTS CROSSING KANSAS IN 1853

From the *Daily Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, May 10, 1853.

The steamer *Alton* arrived from St. Joseph yesterday with a very light cargo. Her officers inform us that they were employed at that point three days in ferrying emigrants over the river. During which time they took over 7,563 head of cattle, 382 head of horses, and 212 wagons. The emigrants had nearly all started for the Plains on Friday last when the boats left St. Joseph. The *Alton* made a very quick run down—fifty-two hours was her running time from St. Joseph to this city.

A VALUABLE WALNUT TREE

From the *Kansas Weekly Tribune*, Lawrence, August 17, 1865.

We were shown some walnut boards of the very best quality we have ever seen, three feet wide. They came from a tree which measured eighteen feet in circumference. It was sawed at Zimmerman's mill on the railroad, ten miles east, and the lumber measured full five thousand feet. This lumber is cheap at fifty dollars per thousand, and at that rate the whole products of this tree would amount to two hundred and fifty dollars. That is the value of the lumber alone. How much cord-wood and veneering the balance of the tree will make has not been estimated. We call that a valuable tree.

STYLE NOTE FROM LINN COUNTY

From the *Fort Scott Monitor*, November 7, 1867.

Some fifty ladies in the vicinity of Trading Post, Linn county, have adopted short skirts, which fall about to the knee. Their nether extremities are encased in pants of the same material, many of them cut very like the unmentionables of the sterner sex, while some are gathered at the ankle in genuine turkish style.

IN 1870 THIS WAS NEWS!

From the *Abilene Chronicle*, November 10, 1870.

HOW SAMBO VOTED IN ABILENE.—There was but one darkey vote cast in Abilene, at the recent election, and the foolish "cuss" voted an unscratched democratic ticket. He did it under the plea that he had "promised Massa Kuney dis mornin' dat he vote de demycrat tick sure—and dat he mus' keep de promise." We admire the darkey's pluck in keeping his promise, but he's evidently "raw," and ought to see the inside of a school house for a term or two. This case demonstrates one fact pretty clearly, namely, that if a darkey votes a democratic ticket his vote counts as much as that of a white man voting the same, or any other ticket! It's wonderful, but it's true.

REAL LONG HORNS

From the *Ellsworth Reporter*, December 21, 1871.

Last fall during the shipping season, three steers were found with horns of such enormous length that they could not get into a car, with a five-foot door, 'til after five inches was sawed off of each horn.

SURVEYING IN THE WILDS

From the *Seneca Weekly Courier*, October 11, 1872.

Armstrong's surveying party, which left Centralia last summer, have finished their work, and are coming home. They had a good time. They saw lots of wild horses, some of which were very nice. A Leavenworth man offered \$1,000 for one if it could be delivered there. The Indians gathered around them near the last, and gave them five "sleeps" to get through and leave, or off would come their scalps; and they showed them how it was done! But the surveyors succeeded in getting ten "sleeps," and by working late and early got done, and crossed the Arkansas river September 28. Part came home by rail, and some overland with teams.

CIRCUS TROUBLES

From the *Junction City Union*, August 16, 1873.

There was a big trouble at Hays the other day, caused by a locomotive trying to go into John Robinson's show without paying. The forward section of the train went too slow, and the second section too fast, the consequence was a collision, which waked up the largest and most varied collection of animals ever shown under fifteen tents, and gathered from all parts of Asia, Africa, Europe, and Billings county, to an unprecedented extent. Several cars were jammed up, and it looked at one time as if Robinson would have enough tiger steaks and monkey cutlets to last him all summer. The gorilla was heard to remark that he was mighty glad he had left off "showing," and gone to driving a team this season. Fortunately neither man nor beast was injured. The precise cause of the accident is not known. Some say one of the engineers had gazed too long at the "one-fifth of a mile" of serpents, but this is contradicted.

HOLDING COURT IN EARLY-DAY WICHITA

From the *Wichita City Eagle*, April 6, 1876.

The first term of the district court began on the 13th day of June. It was held in the attic of a livery stable, nearly opposite the Empire House. Hon. W. R. Brown, of the 9th district, which included Sedgwick county, was the judge. The other officers present were W. N. Walker, sheriff, F. J. Fulton, county attorney, and C. S. Roe, deputy clerk. The attorneys of the Wichita bar present, besides Fulton, were Reuben Riggs, P. T. Weeks and H. C. Sluss. The attorneys from a distance present, were D. C. Hackett, Esq., of Emporia,

and W. P. Campbell, of El Dorado. The court room was provided with one chair which was occupied by his honor the judge. The table for the accommodation of the lawyers consisted of two goods boxes set "end for end." The seats for the bar consisted of a two by six cottonwood scantling resting at each end on cracker boxes, and placed at a convenient distance from the table, and along which ranged the lawyers. Behind the boxes sat the judge in his solitary chair with his right heel resting gracefully over his left knee, his right elbow resting upon the arm of the chair, and his chin firmly planted in his right hand, and his left hand in his pants pocket. The seats for the bystanders consisted of the same material and pattern as that for the bar, and ranged around the wall. The trial docket consisted of a single sheet of foolscap paper, and the bar docket and the journal of the same. The cases at issue were three: one a murder case, one a state case against . . . Alexander Jester, charged with an assault with intent to kill, and the other a divorce case. The divorce case was tried, witnesses examined and a decree for the plaintiff, which was the husband. It was developed on the trial that the defendant in her playful mood had kicked the plaintiff out of bed and compelled him to sleep on the floor, and as they lived in a dugout, this was adjudged a sufficient "ground" to justify a divorce. The case of murder was taken, by change of venue, to Butler county. In the assault case the defendant interposed a motion to "squash" the information, which was done. It is a curious fact that no record of the proceedings of that court was made, and not even the scratch of a pen remains to tell the fact of the granting of that divorce.



Yoo, Hoo!

From the *Garden City Paper*, May 1, 1879.

The boys must be getting hard up for seeing girls when they will go two miles to an emigrant camp to see one, as some of the boys did here last Sunday.



PLAYING INDIAN

From the *Dodge City Times*, November 29, 1879.

The "Indian racket," once a favorite sport in Dodge City, was indulged in on Monday last. A party of three citizens leisurely took a ride over the hills in search of antelope, as it was stated to the young man who was to be made the victim of the joke. The antelope hunting party discussed the probability of Indian wars and redskins generally, and all at once ran across five persons dressed in Indian costumes and war paint, who gave the antelope hunters a chase for about two miles, until within a half a mile of town, the deception being uncovered by a proceeding most "fowl." A number of citizens had gathered on boot hill to witness the Indians drive in the antelope hunters, but the latter discovered the deception before they reached the city limits. This game has been played successfully many times before. The practice had been to give the "Indian racket" to a conceited or cheeky person, and subjecting him to this scare would take the "starch out of him." In his humiliation and feelings of disgrace the victim of the joke would take the first train out of Dodge. But the old practices in Dodge are fast fading away.

A LAWYER'S COMPETITION

From the *Phillips County Herald*, Phillipsburg, March 11, 1880.

Geo. W. Stinson was suddenly shut down on last week. He was arguing a point of law with much earnestness before Esq. McCormick when Mr. Lowe, the county clerk, rushed in in great haste, exclaiming: "Mack, your office is on fire." Stinson finished his sentence as he followed the court out at the door. Six years ago he says he was suddenly interrupted in his argument by a herd of buffalo rushing into town.

EXCITEMENT IN LOGAN

From the *Logan Enterprise*, June 17, 1880.

On Monday a jack rabbit hailing from Iowa and going west to escape the drought, passed up Main street with all the dogs in town after him. He happened to pass by the place where city election was being held and in less than three shakes of a dead lamb's tail the judges and clerks of election and candidates for mayor had joined in the chase. It is needless to add that the jack made a better run than some of the candidates.

NEGROES IN GRAHAM COUNTY

From the *Seneca Weekly Courier*, September 17, 1880.

A gentleman from out west named Gregory . . . tells some queer works by the negro colony in Graham county. There are 800 in the colony, and all are doing well. One negro has a cow with which he broke and improved twelve acres of prairie and cultivated eight acres of corn; his wife drives the cow and keeps the flies off. Another one spaded a four-foot hedge row around 160 acres of land.

A SHORT CROP

From the *Norton County People*, Norton, September 23, 1880.

Peter Smoker, who resides one mile east of the Catholic church, near Almelo, has the right kind of grit for this country. His wheat being so short that it could not be cradled, he harvested three acres by cutting it with a butcher knife.

SOME SNOW!

From *The Buckner Independent*, Jetmore, February 18, 1881.

One of Lillard Sanders' horses was drifted up against the roof of his stable, inside, on Monday last. The snow drifted in behind the animal and was packed down under its feet as fast as it came in, until the animal was jammed up against the roof. Lillard procured a shovel and worked faithfully until he rescued the horse.

IT MUST HAVE BEEN BOOGIE-WOOGIE

From *The Globe Live Stock Journal*, Dodge City, February 23, 1886.

The buffalo that runs about town is accustomed to the music of the Cowboy band; it's Western in appearance and does not interfere with the peace and happiness of the buffalo, but there are some things that the buffalo won't stand, and among them is a strange lot of men blowing horns marching through the streets, headed by a drum major dressed in red trimmings and a woolly hat. Yesterday the buffalo observed the Simon Comedy Company's Hussar band parading the streets and took exceptions, and with head down and tail up charged that band. The music ceased with the first bellow of that wild animal, and the band done some excellent running. It was the worst broke up parade you ever saw. The buffalo took possession of the street, while the band roosted on fences, porches and small shanties.

SODA FOUNTAINS AND PEANUTS FIRST

From the *Ford County Republican*, Dodge City, June 8, 1887.

The city council have shut off the soda fountains and peanut stands on Sunday, but the whisky joints go unmolested. There is a belief that this action was taken to relieve the police from watching the soda stands so they could give their exclusive attention to the joints. We can now look for some decisive action. The joints must go.

PIONEERING IN MORTON COUNTY

From the *Harper Sentinel*, November 28, 1889.

November 15, 1889.

I am writing in my far western home, the one I love best. Let me describe it to you. It is what we call in Morton county a dug-out. Ours is dug four feet down, and has a frame part about five feet high on top of the ground. It is 12 x 20 inside, with a white-washed ceiling and a canvas partition. The door, a "shoot" as we call it out west, is in the east end. There is a whole window in the north side, a half window in the west, and a whole window and two half windows in the south. The last three are filled with house plants—they do splendidly in a dug-out. I have a canary bird to sing to me; a pet skunk, a dog and a cat. I was raised in the city; never saw a cow milked until I was past sixteen. It is hard work to come west to make a home. Few have the vim and back-bone to stay long enough to prove up their land under the homestead law. I don't want to brag, but we are going to try to be among the few. I'll tell you how we manage: There are four of us. My husband and two little boys (most too small to be of much use, but a great comfort) and myself comprise our family. This year everything was a failure in this county. Everybody left that could, but we have a few

cattle and enough corn stalks to keep them alive till grass comes. I said "we must stick to the land, old boy, just as long as we can raise the roughness to winter on." Some mornings there would be fourteen wagons going east, but they are not all gone, for we are here yet. Last spring everything was fine; good prospects for plenty in the fall; but the hot winds came and the rain did not. Out of the eighty acres of spring crops we planted we got nothing but corn stalks, not an ear of corn or a kernel for the seed. We may be thankful for the stalks, as some did not even get stalks. We are 47 miles from the railroad and the only way to get a living is to freight. It takes four days to go to the railroad and back with a load. My man has gone for a load now. While he is gone I take care of thirteen head of cattle, two pigs, one colt, and milk four cows, do my house work, make lace and crazy patch. This morning I sawed a new stove-pipe hole through the roof and put up a tin to run the pipe out through. The boys are at school. I sleep with a double-barreled shot-gun loaded in the closet and a revolver handy. I hear some one say, "Of course, she's afraid of those horrid cowboys." No, that is not what I'm afraid of; the cowboy is a gentleman; if you treat him as such you will never have a better friend. It is the out-law that people fear "out west." The outlaw will dress much like the cowboy, and an inexperienced person will take him for one, but there is a vast difference. We are near the "Strip," or "No Man's Land," as it is called here. This "No Man's Land" is a place without government. Everyone does as he pleases, so of course it is the abode of criminals, who break out once in a while and make a raid through the country. Stealing mules was their last meanness. In this country a man's team is his living, and anyone stealing it takes the bread and butter out of his little children's mouths, making them as well as their parents suffer. We have a good span of mules and sometime I'm afraid they will come to steal them. If they should not find the mules they might try to carry us off. In that case, they would strike a Tartar, someone would get hurt. My nearest neighbor is one mile northeast. Our nearest town is Richfield. The people east are sending aid to Morton county, and it needs it bad. There are a great many people here that can't get away, and can't make a living here, for there is nothing to do. Fortunately we have not had to be helped yet, but I don't know how long we can keep up. It is hard work, hard work, I tell you, and little pay. We have already had a bitter touch of winter. It began by raining, and rained two weeks steady. Then the snow came and the wind with it, and for four days and nights kept snowing and blowing. We were literally snowed under. Through it all the stock had to be looked after and run under shelter. When they get out in a storm they drift with the wind, and get lost, often killed. Times are hard, but I am generous and when you come "out west" just stay awhile at our dug-out.

You shall have pancakes and meat grease for breakfast—maybe a little coffee. Light bread for dinner, and mush and milk for supper the year round, with occasionally a young jack-rabbit fried with some milk gravy. . . .
P. E. T.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

The story of the Nelsons, a Swedish family which came to Lindsborg, McPherson county, in 1868, appeared in the McPherson *Daily Republican*, January 29, 1941. Mrs. T. J. Darrah, one of the Nelson's seven children who made the trip from Sweden, furnished the material for the story.

"History of Kansas Wheat Development" was the title of an article on the introduction of hard Turkey wheat into Kansas by the Mennonites, printed in *The Kansas Stockman*, Topeka, April 1, 1941. The story was based on an article by Mary Jens in *Food Facts*.

A brief biographical sketch of Frank Fussman, now seventy-three years old, whose father settled on the present site of Humboldt in 1855, appeared in the Chanute *Tribune*, April 18, 1941. According to Mr. Fussman, the Newcomer, Schleicher, Sinner and Swanseker families were among the early settlers of Humboldt.

"Pioneer Days in Kansas" was the title of a column by Jessie Hill Rowland in the McPherson *Daily Republican* during May, 1941. Included in the sketches were the following: "Kansas" (in the days of Spanish exploration), May 6; "McPherson Settlers," May 7; "Buffalo Drank the Smoky River Dry," May 8; "Making a County Seat," May 9; "Pioneer Memories," as told by Mary Darrah, May 12, 13; "Some Incidents in the Life of a Pioneer Mother," by Edith Haight, May 23.

The following Kansas historical subjects were discussed by Victor Murdock in the Wichita (Evening) *Eagle* in recent months: "Word 'Cordelle' Is Gone But Steamboat Survives for Kansas on Its Seal," May 6, 1941; "Some Pioneer Wichitans Appeared to be Old Who Were Really Young," May 9; "Most Important Period for Future of Wichita Appeared Fifty Years Ago," May 12; "Construction of Cache Once a Familiar Device on the Prairie Frontier," May 13; "Old Book of Accounts Tells Story of Start of a University Here" (Garfield now Friends University), May 16; "Saw Mrs. Griffenstein in Her Home in Oklahoma in Later Years of Her Life," May 20; "Double-Barreled Banquet on the Border of Kansas When It Was Next Mexico," May 24; "Early Land Investment in the Wichita Area Showed Rich Returns," June 2; "Start of Oil Era Here as Frank Rexford, Wichita, Has It Stored in Memory," June 3; "Way

One Early Wichitan [Ola Martinson] Crowded Twenty Years of Activity Into His Life," June 10; "Life of Sally Toler Here and Contribution She Made to the Early Community," June 25; "To Pep Up Street Fair Wichita Found Feature in First Automobiles," June 27; "Introduced a Bullfight on 4th of July Program to Entertain Kansans" (review of Kirke Mechem's article in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* of 1933 about Dodge City bull fight in 1884), June 6; "He Saw the Last Herd of Buffalo That Roamed Sedgwick County Prairies," June 30; "What Kansas Was Like and the Prices It Paid Eighty-Six Years Ago," July 10; "First Chinese in This Town, Yung Wing Was His Name, Shows Up as Capitalist," July 18; "Town For Vegetarians Which It Was Proposed to Locate Here in Kansas," July 23; "Power With Bow and Arrow Acquired by the Indians as Noted by the Pioneers," July 24; "Three Wichita Pictures Which Tell Vivid Story of the City's Ambition," July 25; "Pioneer Business Desk Used by Wm. Mathewson Is Preserved in Wichita," July 28; "When Father of Wichita Traveled the Plains With a Townsite in Mind," August 1; "Contrast in Tree-Growth in This Part of Kansas Between Early Day and This," August 11; "Early Experience Here of Recreational Parks Part of Local History," August 15; "Kearny County Oil Strike Brings Up Notable Name Among Prairie Explorers" (Stephen Watts Kearny), August 19; "When Barnum Circus Came It Was Not Able to Show Jumbo in Full Action," August 22; "Store Called a Factory Among First on Frontier Was Run by Government," August 23; "Last Sight of Buffalo as Far East as Wellington Experience of H. L. Woods," August 30.

Articles on the schools, and group pictures of the children who attend district schools in McPherson county, were featured in the "28th Annual McPherson All-Schools Day" edition of the *McPherson Daily Republican*, May 10, 1941. "The Story of the Last Buffalo in County Revealed in Letter," by Mrs. C. M. Kindblade, several historical articles by Mrs. H. A. Rowland, and early pictures of the city of McPherson were also printed.

The great overland trails leading west across Kansas were discussed by LeRoy T. Hand in the *Leavenworth Times*, May 11, 1941. Two maps illustrated the article.

The following articles appeared in the "Clark County Historical Notes" in recent issues of *The Clark County Clipper*, of Ashland: "Early Days in Kansas," a story of Lexington, by Lulu B. Stephens, May 15, 1941; "Boucher Family," by Lillie (Boucher) Owings, and

a poem "The Fate of the Boucher Girls," written by Thos. O. Kirk in 1886, May 22; "History of Lexington Cemetery," May 29; "Mosquitoes Got Scalps in Last Indian Scare," by John R. Walden (from the Dodge City *Daily Globe*), May 29 and June 5; "Sixty Years of Clark County," by Dorothy Berryman Shrewder, June 5; an "Old Timer" story by Mrs. Leona Dougan, June 12; "Victim of an Indian Scare," by Mrs. Hattie Mayse, June 12 and 19. An index for volume one of *Early Notes on Clark County* was published in installments in the issues of June 12, 19, 26 and July 3.

During the summer of 1941 the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* carried the following historical feature articles of interest to Kansans: "A Part of Kansas Has Been Under Flags of Five Different Countries," by Cecil Howes, May 17; "'Admiral' Paul Jones Brings Coronado Back to Kansas," May 18; "A Distinguished Alumnus Returns to His College After Fifty Years" (James G. Harbord to Kansas State College commencement), by Milt Dean Hill, May 19; "Kansas Representative 20 Years, Phil Campbell Had the Glamour," June 6; "She Raised Her Boys To Be Soldiers—All Eleven of Them!" (Mrs. Margaret Penrod of Weir), by Alvin McCoy, June 29; "U. S. Army Looks to Ft. Riley For Its Crack Cavalry Officers," July 10; "The Fullers of Leavenworth, A New Commandant Finds His Father's Name at Every Turn," by Henry Van Brunt, July 13; "Wheat Seed Brought From Ukraine Made Kansas Nation's Breadbasket," by Cecil Howes, August 1; "Eighty Years on the Same News Run of the Oldest Newspaper in Kansas" (the career of Frank H. Roberts), by Alvin S. McCoy, and "Ninety Years: A Vast Panorama Unfolds in One Man's Life," by Frank H. Roberts, August 17.

The dedication of "Buffalo Bill" park and monument in Leavenworth May 25, 1941, climaxed the Leavenworth "Pioneer Days Festival." For more than one hundred years the tract of land at the top of Cody hill near the old Oregon and Salt Lake trail, which is now Cody Memorial Park, has looked down upon historic ground. An article entitled "Cody Hill and Salt Creek Valley Have 100-Year History," by LeRoy T. Hand in the Leavenworth *Times*, May 25, described some events which occurred near this site in the early days.

Several articles of Kansas historical interest appeared in recent months in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*: "University of Kansas for 75 Years Grew on Adversity and Uncertainty," by Theodore M. O'Leary, May 29, 1941; "The Oak, Lion Among Plants, Marks Notable Spots From Coast to Coast," by Margaret Whittemore,

June 5; "Outstanding K. U. Feature Restored by the Reopening of Dyche Museum," by Theodore M. O'Leary, June 6; "Kansas Staged a Real Bull Fight at Dodge Fifty-seven Years Ago" (condensed from article by Kirke Mechem in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*), June 10; "Tragic Episode of Custer's Command Recalled by Young Officer's Letter," by Elmo Scott Watson, July 16; "Two Decades in the *Gazette* Office With Emporia's William Allen White," by Lois Jacquith, July 25; "An Ambitious Kansas Experiment Recalled by Relics of Silkville," by Margaret Whittemore, August 21.

Flags of five countries were on display in Dodge City during the summer of 1941, as a feature of the Coronado Cuarto-Centennial celebration. An article in the Dodge City *Daily Globe*, June 2, explained the significance of the flags under which a part of southwestern Kansas has existed in the past four hundred years.

A story, "Civil War Vet Makes 66th Annual Trip to Grave," was printed in the Wichita *Sunday Eagle*, June 8, 1941. It concerned the annual pilgrimage of A. J. Ralston to the grave of his friend Louis C. Hart who came to Kansas with him from Illinois in 1867. The two were early settlers in Butler county and today Ralston is the only G. A. R. survivor in the county.

In celebration of "70 Years of Progress" the Chanute *Tribune* issued a thirty-six page anniversary edition, June 24, 1941. How the merger of New Chicago, Tioga and Alliance made possible the town of Chanute is told. Included also are articles of historical interest concerning schools, churches, newspapers, railroads, public utilities, aviation, farm bureau, oil industry, and defunct industries of Chanute and Neosho county. Members of the *Tribune* staff and others who contributed to the anniversary edition include: E. W. Johnson, John W. Berkebile, Dorothy P. Heilman, Vincent Lane, Fletcher McClary, H. G. Curl, Ross Cooper, Charles F. Jones, Lester Shepard, and Kathryn Nelson.

The story concerning the Dutch windmill which formerly stood on West Ninth street in Lawrence, as told by Mrs. C. F. Greenwood of Columbus, Wis., appeared in the Lawrence *Daily Journal-World*, June 28, 1941. The mill was built in 1854 by Andrew Palm, father of Mrs. Greenwood, and John Wilder and was a flourishing business institution for more than thirty years. In addition to the mill (operated by wind power—the eighty-foot wheel, bearing great canvas sails, making thirteen revolutions a minute), Palm and Wilder established the Wind Mill Agricultural Company where plows and other farm implements and utensils widely used throughout Kansas were manufactured.

A special "Cuarto Centennial Entrada" supplement was issued by the *Salina Journal*, June 30, 1941. A number of articles on Coronado's journey into the Southwest 400 years ago by Maude Davis, Jessie Kennedy Snell, Kirke Mechem, and members of the *Journal* staff make up the forty-page edition.

The Advocate-Democrat, Marysville, under the title "Early Days in Marshall County," printed the field notes of Augustus Ford Harvey, government surveyor, in the issues of July 3, 10, 17 and August 7, 1941. In 1858 Harvey surveyed the territory now known as Washington and Republic counties.

"Pioneer Incidents," a series of reminiscences by R. B. Williams, were published in the *Oswego Independent*, July 18, August 8 and 22, 1941. Mr. Williams came to Kansas from Tennessee in 1873 and recalled many incidents of his childhood in Kentucky and Tennessee and of pioneer days in Kansas.

"Vivid Memories of Indian Scare Near Dodge Remain For Kansan," a story of Burt Brown's experiences as a boy in the late 1870's and early 1880's, was a feature of the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, July 20, 1941.

A historical sketch of the Lakin Methodist Church, by Mrs. Luella Stutzman, appeared in the *Lakin Independent*, July 25, 1941. The Rev. William V. Burns preached his first sermon there in April, 1886, and in June of that year the church was organized.

Both the *Wichita Sunday Beacon* and the *Wichita Sunday Eagle* issued special anniversary editions July 27, 1941. The *Eagle* commemorated the sixty-ninth year of publication of the paper, and the *Beacon* the thirteenth anniversary under its present ownership. These special editions included information concerning the industrial development of southern Kansas in general and of Wichita in particular.

On July 31, 1941, the *Tonganoxie Mirror* recalled the days when the negro population of that vicinity celebrated Emancipation day, August 1, with picnicking and dancing. Pres. Abraham Lincoln issued the proclamation January 1, 1863, and the negroes in the South usually celebrated that day, but Kansas negroes for many years commemorated emancipation in midsummer.

An article by Edward Bumgardner on the Free-State men of Kansas who faced charges of treason in the territorial conflict was printed in the *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, August 6, 1941. The

story was illustrated with a picture from a daguerreotype of seven of the men who were held in a prison camp twelve miles west of Lawrence.

The Cherokee county-seat fight was reviewed in the *Columbus Daily Advocate*, August 8, 1941. A special election in 1867, called to settle the question of permanent location of the county seat by popular vote, was the beginning of a controversy between Columbus, then known as Cherokee Center, and Baxter Springs which continued for several years.

A series of articles entitled "School Days in Old Wichita Vividly Portrayed," by Royse Aldrich, were published in *The Democrat*, Wichita, August 9 to September 6, 1941. Mr. Aldrich discussed the old Lincoln school, built in 1885 and recently replaced by a new building, and the Harry Street school.

The sixty-fifth anniversary edition of the *Great Bend Tribune*, August 12, 1941, featured brief sketches of Barton county residents who came in the 1870's. This forty-page issue also contained several articles on the history of Great Bend and Barton county, a list of twenty-four daily Kansas newspapers fifty-four years old or older, and a table entitled "Moisture in Great Bend Since 1875."

A "Pioneer and Progress Edition" of the *Sedan Times-Star* was issued August 14, 1941. Much history of Sedan's churches, schools, clubs and business organizations was chronicled in this eighty-page edition, as well as sketches of institutions and historical events in Elgin, Cedar Vale, Peru, Hewins, Chautauqua, Wauneta, Jonesburg and Niotaze. An interesting account of the county-seat fight between Elk Falls and Boston was also published. The *Sedan Times-Star* traces its lineage back to the *Chautauqua Journal* founded in 1873, according to the article on Sedan's newspapers by Charles A. Dunn, publisher of the *Times-Star* from 1918 to 1938.

The story of Mission Neosho was reviewed in the *St. Paul Journal*, August 14, 1941. An article on the mission by T. F. Morrison, printed in the August, 1935, *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, was quoted in part.

Commemorating the seventieth year of the organization of Osborne county, the *Osborne County Farmer*, of Osborne, issued a special sixteen-page anniversary edition August 14, 1941. Several pages were devoted to articles about the pioneer settlers of the county.

"Tecumseh Once a Boom Town," by Fred Bergmann, appeared in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, August 17, 1941. Mr. Bergmann

secured information for the story from a study of the Tecumseh newspapers of 1858.

"A Short History of Pottawatomie County," was featured in the *Onaga Herald*, August 21, 1941. Subheadings include "Water-Power Mills," "Brewery in Pottawatomie County," "Ghost Railroads," "Indian Guide Post," and "Laclede."

The capture of a buffalo in Ross township, Osborne county, in the spring of 1874, was recalled by Mrs. Louise Cox-Evans in an article entitled "The Rounding Up of the Last Buffalo," in the *Downs News*, August 21, 1941. The story had previously been read by Mrs. Cox-Evans at the Downs picnic in Los Angeles, Calif., on June 27.

H. P. Tripp discussed the building of a bridge across Wolf creek at Grand Center in his "Memories of Early Days" column in the *Luray Herald*, August 21, 1941.

A historical sketch of the Friends Meeting House in Lawrence by Edward Bumgardner appeared in the *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, August 23, 1941. The meeting house, built in 1872, has been razed and a new modern church is being constructed to take its place. The Kansas yearly meetings were held in this building continuously for nearly a quarter of a century; in recent years, however, most of the meetings have been at Wichita. The yearly meetings drew hundreds of people from the Quaker communities in Kansas, as well as prominent individuals from other parts of the United States and from abroad.

Eighty-one years of the Santa Fe railroad were briefly reviewed in special feature sections of the *Topeka Daily Capital*, August 24, 1941, and the *Topeka State Journal*, August 25. The eighteen presidents of the railroad, from Cyrus K. Holliday to Edward J. Engel, were pictured in the *Capital*.

The sixtieth anniversary of the organization of St. John's Lutheran Church, south of Lincoln, was announced in the *Lincoln Sentinel-Republican*, August 28, 1941. Printed in the issue were an account of the anniversary services held August 24, and a brief history of the church and the names of its pastors.

A twenty-page special edition of the *Wellington Daily News*, September 1, 1941, marked the fortieth anniversary of the paper, first issued on Labor Day, 1901. The paper was founded by H. L. Woods and W. R. Stotler. Woods has remained editor of the *News* throughout this period and Stotler is now a member of the reportorial

staff of the Tacoma (Wash.) *News-Review*. Articles of historical interest include stories of the old opera house, the railroads, and Wellington before the debut of the *Daily News*, as well as "Items From the First Year's Edition of the Wellington *Daily News*," and a list of the mayors of Wellington.

The discovery of oil in El Dorado and the organization and development of the El Dorado Refining Company were briefly described in an article in the *El Dorado Times*, September 3, 1941.

"Government Housing Began Back in 1859 For Benefit of the Kaw Indians," an article by Theda Felton related in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, September 7, 1941. Some of the houses built for the Indians near Council Grove still stand.

Souvenir editions of the *Marion Review* and *Record* were published as a part of the Coronado and old settlers' celebration held in Marion, September 10, 11, 1941. A special edition of the *Review*, dated September 10 and 11, contained the following articles of historical interest: "Jack Costello, First Mayor of Marion Centre," and "Ehrlich's Old Mill Model For Painting," by Lucy Burkholder; "Memories of Old Chingawassa Railroad and Resort," by Al Nienstedt; a portion of the historical address delivered by Judge John M. Williams July 4, 1876, and some reminiscences of Mrs. Frank Doster, ninety-four years old, who came to Marion Centre to join her husband in 1871. Mrs. Doster's story was continued in the regular September 10 issue of the *Review* which also carried a description of the first Sunday school in Marion county, August 8, 1868, by Alex E. Case. The *Marion Record* of September 11, featured the following articles: "Presbyterian Church [in Marion] Seventy Years Old"; "The Boom Days of the 80's in the News Stories of Those Days"; "Some Miscellaneous 'First' Items Regarding Marion County History," and "The First Newspaper in County and How It Got Its Start."

A paper on "Old Indian Trails and Military Roads," given by Albert Stroud of Lafontaine at the Wilson County Historical Society meeting in Fredonia on September 6, 1941, was published September 12 in the *Fredonia Daily Herald*. At the same meeting Mrs. Edith S. Caughron of Neodesha gave a history of Little Bear, an Osage Indian chief well known to early settlers of Wilson county. Mrs. Eva Keys Stephens of Coyville gave additional information about Little Bear. A list of the charter members of the society was printed in the *Neodesha Register*, September 11.

Kansas Historical Notes

The annual convention of the American Pioneer Trails Association and the Oregon Trail Memorial Association opened in historic Marysville, August 11, 1941. Members of the group spent two days visiting places of historical interest in northeast Kansas. Oregon trail markers were dedicated near Bremen and near Bigelow. On August 12 the party was shown the collections of the Kansas State Historical Society at Topeka. Among the guests calling at the Society were: Dr. Howard R. Driggs, president of the National Oregon Trail Association, Maj. Arthur W. Procter, secretary of the association, Martin S. Garretson, secretary of the American Bison Society, Lester C. Jennings, H. Wayne Driggs, and Florence W. Carroll, all of New York City; Madeline Schoenhof, Helen Young and Helen Voss, Harrison, N. Y.; Dorothy Denz, East Norwalk, Conn.; Walter Meacham, Portland, Ore.; Mrs. Clyde Porter, Jean Porter and Louisa P. Johnston, Kansas City, Mo.; W. R. Honnell, Kansas City, Kan.; John G. Ellenbecker, Irene Ellenbecker and Joseph Ellenbecker, Marysville; William E. Smith, Wamego; Otto J. Wullschleger and Mrs. Lawrence Griffie, Frankfort, and Fred A. Prell, Bremen. On August 13 the party began a commemorative trek over the Overland Stage route from Marysville through Nebraska to Denver, Colo., where the convention's business meetings were held. Stops were made at Hastings, old Fort Kearny, Gothenberg, and North Platte, Neb.; Julesburg, Sterling and Latham, Colo. John G. Ellenbecker, of Marysville, arranged the Kansas tour for the association. George A. Root, who has been a member of the staff of the Kansas State Historical Society for over fifty years, accompanied the caravan. Mr. Root's father, the late Frank A. Root, became an express messenger on the Overland Stage Line between Atchison and Denver in January, 1863. From December, 1863, to October, 1864, he served as mail agent at Latham.

The early history of the Baptist church in Kansas was briefly reviewed in the "Program of Dedication" issued for the opening of the new chapel of the Missionhill Baptist Church at Mission, Johnson county, on January 5, 1941. The present-day church is not far from the site of the first Baptist mission in present Kansas, established for the Shawnee Indians in the early 1830's.

A plaque dedicated to Helen Miller Gould, "The Angel of the Spanish-American War," was presented to the Kansas State Historical Society by the United Spanish War Veterans, Department of Kansas, and the Ladies of the Auxiliary, at their annual meeting in Emporia, May 19, 1941. Phil Zimmerman, of Topeka, made the presentation speech, and William Allen White, of Emporia, accepted for the Society. The plaque has been placed in the Memorial building, Topeka, near the entrance to the state headquarters of the United Spanish War Veterans.

Fifteen charter members were enrolled in an organization formed at Kansas City, July 14, 1941, to promote a national park on State Line between Eighty-first and Eighty-fifth streets, at the old home of Alexander W. Majors. The organization, sponsored by the American Pioneer Trails Association, will be known as the Russell, Majors and Waddell Memorial Association. Officers are: Mrs. Clyde Porter, 821 W. Fifty-sixth street, president; W. R. Honnell, vice-president for Kansas; N. D. Jackson, vice-president for Missouri; Mrs. J. W. Quarrier, recording secretary; Louisa P. Johnston, great granddaughter of Majors, corresponding secretary, and Alexander W. Graham, treasurer.

A Coronado pageant, sponsored by the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society, was presented at the stadium of the Shawnee-Mission High School in Johnson county, July 17, 1941. The pageant, in which 100 persons participated, was a feature of the Northeast Johnson County Summer Musical Festival. Included among the members of the historical society who served on the pageant committee were: Mrs. C. A. Brooks, chairman, Mrs. A. V. Fuller, Mrs. G. A. Stobaugh, Mrs. O. W. Shepard, and Mrs. Ross B. Smith.

A memorial stone in Swensson park, Lindsborg, marking the place of organization of the Woman's Missionary Society of the Lutheran Augustana Synod in June, 1892, was dedicated August 13, 1941. The stone, bearing a bronze plaque, was erected last January on the site of the old parsonage of the Bethany church in which the society was organized. Mrs. Daniel Martin, national president of the organization, was in charge of the short dedicatory service in the park, following a program at the Bethany church.

The Clark County Historical Society met August 16, 1941, at Ashland. W. H. Shattuck was elected president of the society to succeed Lois McCasland Martin. Other officers are: Ruth Clark

Mull, first vice-president; Lois McCasland Martin and William R. Nunemacher, honorary vice-presidents; Melville Campbell Harper, recording secretary; Villa Harvey Ihde, assistant recording secretary; Lena Smith, corresponding secretary; Sidney E. Grimes, treasurer; Sherman G. Ihde, auditor; Mrs. Barth Gabbert, curator; Dorothy Berryman Shrewder, historian.

Frank H. Roberts, ninety-year-old editor of the Oskaloosa *Independent*, was honored by the Topeka Press Club with a buffet luncheon at the Jayhawk Hotel August 26, 1941. Following the luncheon Mr. Roberts spoke on "Major J. K. Hudson, the Fighting Editor, Noblest Roman of Them All." J. W. Roberts, father of Frank, founded the Oskaloosa *Independent* in July, 1860, and for more than eighty-one years the family has continued to publish the paper.

Members of the Douglas County Old Settlers Association met at the First Methodist Church in Lawrence September 15, 1941. Dr. A. R. (Bert) Kennedy was elected president to succeed Mrs. Nellie Colman Bigsby who was named treasurer. Other officers are: Mrs. May Hoyt Seetin, vice-president; Elmer Brown, secretary; Dr. Edward J. Bumgardner, necrologist. Dr. James C. Malin spoke on "The History of Agriculture in Douglas County." Doctor Bumgardner gave the necrologist's report, the Rev. L. H. Griffith told of early days in the Lone Star neighborhood, and Sen. Robert C. Rankin discussed the raising of funds for a museum building.

Errata in Volume X

Page 4, line 12 from bottom, and page 6, line 19 from top, read "Lucian J. Eastin."

Page 10, line 12 from top, read "October, 1889, when he died and Philip Krohn became managing editor."

Page 24, line 18 from top, read "Miss Beck."

Page 27, line 15 from top, read "now Denver county, Colorado."

Page 39, line 5 from top, read "Bellevue."

Page 51, line 1, read "Lowrey."

Page 83, line 20 from top, read "Joseph L. Bristow."

Page 135, Footnote 33, bottom line, read "The Society has the Pittsburg *Daily Headlight* from July 5, 1887, to September 8, 1888; May 21, 1891, to March, 1909; May 14, 1928, to date."

Page 222, line 13 from top, read "Mr. W. H. Edmundson."

Page 223, line 10 from bottom, read "Miss Louisa P. Johnston."

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