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THE
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Contents of Volume XI

Number 1—February, 1942

	PAGE
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE BLUESTEM-PASTURE REGION OF KANSAS; A Study in Adaptation to Geographical Environment, <i>James C. Malin,</i>	3
With a chart showing "Type-of-Farming Areas in Kansas," p. 5.	
"LETTERS FROM KANZAS"	29
<i>Julia Louisa Lovejoy,</i>	
NOTES ON THE PROSLAVERY MARCH AGAINST LAWRENCE.....	45
With a portrait of Gov. Wilson Shannon, <i>opposite</i> p. 56, and a lithograph, "River Scene at Leocompton in 1855," <i>opposite</i> p. 57.	
LETTERS OF DAVID R. COBB, 1858-1864; Pioneer of Bourbon County, Edited by <i>David Glenn Cobb,</i>	65
THE ANNUAL MEETING: Containing Reports of the Secretary, Treasurer, Executive and Nominating Committees; REMINISCENCES OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, George A. Root; Election of Officers; List of Directors of the Society.....	72
<i>Kirke Mechem, Secretary,</i>	
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY.....	93
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS.....	103
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES	109

Number 2—May, 1942

	PAGE
THE FORT LEAVENWORTH-FORT GIBSON MILITARY ROAD AND THE FOUNDING OF FORT SCOTT	115
With a map showing "Line of the Western Military Frontier, June, 1845," <i>opposite</i> p. 120; photographs, "Early Views of Fort Scott," <i>opposite</i> p. 128 and map of "Fort Leavenworth-Fort Scott Military Road," <i>opposite</i> p. 129.	
THE FOURTH OF JULY IN EARLY KANSAS (1858-1861).....	130
<i>Cora Dolbee,</i>	
THE INGALLS AMENDMENT TO THE SHERMAN ANTI-TRUST BILL, <i>David F. McFarland, Jr.,</i>	173
SOME NOTES ON COLLEGE BASKETBALL IN KANSAS.....	199
<i>Harold C. Evans,</i>	
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY.....	216
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS.....	218
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES	220

Number 3—August, 1942

PAGE

OVERLAND TO THE GOLD FIELDS OF CALIFORNIA IN 1852: The Journal of John Hawkins Clark, Expanded and Revised From Notes Made During the Journey	Edited by <i>Louise Barry</i> , 227
With portrait of John Hawkins Clark, <i>opposite</i> p. 240; photographs, "Two Views of Fort Bridger, Wyoming," <i>opposite</i> p. 241; "An Emigrant Train of the 1860's," <i>opposite</i> p. 272, and "Placerville, Cal., About 1856," <i>opposite</i> p. 273.	
ATCHISON, A GREAT FRONTIER DEPOT.	<i>Walker D. Wyman</i> , 297
RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY,	
Compiled by <i>Helen M. McFarland</i> , Librarian, 309	
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY.	332
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS.	333
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES	335

Number 4—November, 1942

PAGE

RESTORATION OF THE NORTH BUILDING AT SHAWNEE METHODIST MISSION	339
With photographs showing exterior and interior views of the restored North building, <i>opposite</i> pp. 340, 341.	
THE STORY OF A KANSAS FREEDMAN.	Edited by <i>Alberta Pantle</i> , 341
With map showing "Some of the Places Mentioned by Larry Lapsley in the Story of His Escape From Texas," p. 349.	
THE SOFT WINTER WHEAT BOOM AND THE AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE UPPER KANSAS RIVER VALLEY (Part I).	<i>James C. Malin</i> , 370
BYPATHS OF KANSAS HISTORY.	399
KANSAS HISTORY AS PUBLISHED IN THE PRESS.	410
KANSAS HISTORICAL NOTES	419
ERRATUM IN VOLUME XI.	423
INDEX TO VOLUME XI.	425

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An Introduction to the History of the Bluestem-Pasture Region of Kansas¹

A Study in Adaptation to Geographical Environment²

JAMES C. MALIN

THE bluestem-pasture region of Kansas has come to be recognized as a natural region with rather clearly defined boundaries. On the map it appears as a somewhat elongated oval-shaped area about 200 miles from tip to tip, with Pottawatomie county, Kansas, at the northern end and Osage county, Oklahoma, at the southern end, the intervening country being some fifty miles, or somewhat more than two counties, in width. Roughly, this is the central third of the eastern half of the state, between 96° and 97° west longitude and 36° 30' and 39° 30' north latitude. The average annual rainfall varies from 30 to 35 inches except in the southern portion, but there the higher precipitation is offset, in part at least, by the higher temperatures and longer period of frost-free days—186 or more annually in the southern tier of Kansas counties, as against about 178 days in the central and northern sections. Topographically the region is rolling to hilly, with rather narrow valleys, but the most characteristic features of the typical pasture portions are hills, or bluffs, formed by outcroppings of rock of the Permian and Pennsylvania strata. For the most part this rock is limestone, but in places, especially in the southern end, there is sandstone. The soil is of the residual type derived from the limestones, shales, and sandstones. In the typical limestone area outcroppings of stone appear near the top of the hills, the weathering process washing the decomposed materials down their sides to the lower ground.

Bluestem is the dominant native grass, represented by two major varieties: the Big Bluestem (*Andropogon furcatus*) which thrives in the lower lands, and the Little Bluestem (*Andropogon scoparius*) found on the high uplands. These are tall grasses, as contrasted with the short grasses, the buffalo and the gramas, which are present in greater or lesser numbers according to location and season, invading the region from the western side. Kentucky bluegrass has in-

1. This is a slightly revised version of the presidential address delivered before the annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society at Topeka October 21, 1941.

2. The paper printed here 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.

vaded the region from the eastern side, extending its occupation westward during wet periods and retreating eastward under the adversity of prolonged drought. Prior to the occupation of the country by white settlement the bluestem grasses were widely distributed over the open prairie regions of the Middle West, occupying a dominant position over most, if not the whole of eastern Kansas. They were and still are present also in limited areas of the plains, especially in the sandhill districts where the common name is bunch grass. For various reasons early descriptions of the grass associations of the West are often contradictory. Historical experience has indicated in part at least an explanation in the fluctuations of the weather. Descriptions written by observers during periods of prolonged drought would tend to emphasize the short grasses which thrived at the expense of the tall grasses and moved eastward under such influences, and similarly those descriptions written during favorably wet periods would reflect the reverse process. Several such cycles have occurred since white observers began writing descriptions and consequently the first necessity in making interpretations of such materials is to fit them into the weather chronology.

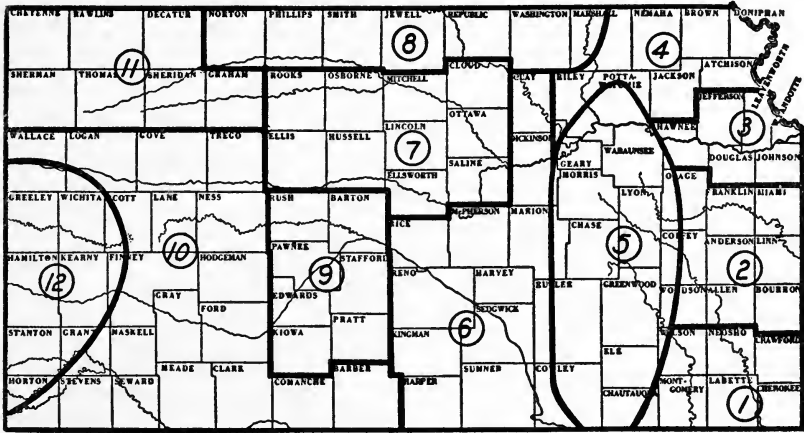
The growing season of the bluestem grass is the spring and early summer months. During May, June and July its nutritive value is strongest, declining until it reaches a minimum after frost. Bluestem makes the best hay when cut just after mid-summer and before it has seeded, while most tame grasses are at their best for hay during the blooming period. In hay making, early settlers followed Eastern tame hay practices and only after years of experience did they come to appreciate the importance of early cutting.³

The assumption is made frequently, indirectly if not directly, but without foundation in fact, that the bluestem region is unique and that even in the natural state it possessed the present limits as natural boundaries. The historical development of the area indicates, however, that the present limits are the result of a prolonged process of differentiation from the surrounding country. On the north and northeast, for example, the commercial cornbelt, utilizing glacial drift soils, encroached early upon the hill country; on the east a mixed farming area developed which invaded the hills from that direction; and on the west the wheat belt of central Kansas

3. The grama and buffalo grasses retain more feed value than bluestem when cured on the ground (in the pasture), and therefore make better winter pasture. The Kentucky bluegrass makes an earlier spring growth and a later fall growth, being nearly dormant during the summer, and during mild seasons remains green well into the winter.

For winter pasture the bluestem region is more valuable in proportion to the amount of grama and buffalo grass that may be intermixed with it, and for early spring and fall pasture in proportion to the mixture of Kentucky bluegrass with the bluestem, but for summer pasture the bluestem with the minimum of mixture is best.

challenged the hills; while on the south the Indian reservation pastures of the old Indian territory and Oklahoma delayed the process of demarcation from the lower end. Within the region, the land most obviously suited to cultivation was occupied and the native sod broken. This included not only bottom land, but also upland. The principal barrier to general cultivation of the whole were the hills, with their outcroppings of stone, sometimes a succession or series like terraces up their slopes. In many places land was cultivated at one time that was later returned to grass.



TYPE-OF-FARMING AREAS IN KANSAS

Areas 1-3, general farming, but with somewhat different emphasis as between areas; area 4, corn belt; area 5, bluestem-pasture region; areas 6, 7, 9, wheat, but with different combinations; area 8, secondary cornbelt; areas 10, 11, wheat and cattle; area 12, short-grass grazing region and wheat.—This map is Figure 18 from J. A. Hodges and associates, "Types of Farming in Kansas," *Bulletin 251*, Kansas Agricultural Experiment Station (Topeka, Kansas State Printing Plant, 1930). Used with the permission of the director.

The Osage-pasture region of Oklahoma is not shown on this map, but it lies south of Cowley, Chautauqua and Montgomery counties of Kansas and centers in Osage county, Oklahoma.

At some points the stock country has persisted beyond the conventional limits of the bluestem region. To the eastward a spur of such country runs into Linn county along the divide separating the water sheds of the Marais des Cygnes and the Neosho rivers. In 1857 a local observer described the hill country of Linn county as follows—in terms almost identical with those so frequently applied to the bluestem-pasture region of the present:

Owing to the very singular position of the limestone—rock strata near the top of the "divide"—their constant washings and decomposition continue to enrich the land below, causing the grass to grow in great luxuriance, making the best feed for stock during the summer and winter.⁴

4. John O. Wattles, Moneka, Kan., in the *New York Tribune*, March 31, 1857.

To the northwest across Clay county the hill country connects the bluestem-limestone area to the Dakota sandstone area of Ellsworth, Lincoln and Cloud counties, which is also a bluestem country. To the southwest across Cowley, Harper and Sedgwick counties the Arkansas valley only briefly interrupts the bluestem-pasture region in its transition into the bluestem and short-grass pastures of the Medicine river red lands, and into the bluestem-bunch grass of the sandhills along the southern banks of the Arkansas and Cimarron rivers.

The bluestem-pasture region serves three significant functions, but the one that gives it distinction, if it does not render it unique, is that it occupies an intermediate position as a maturing ground or a grass-fattening area between the cattle-growing ranges of the southwestern plains and the central markets for grass-fattened cattle, or the feedlots of the cornbelt. Cattlemen have praised this unusual arrangement on the ground that the finishing weights are put on the animal near the market, saving freight and shipping shrinkage, and permitting flexibility in quick adjustment of shipping schedules to take advantage of favorable prices.⁵ It is the largest such commercial grazing area for transient cattle in the United States. The time limits of the grazing season are about six months, April 15 to October 15, but the grass is ready earlier in the southern than in the northern end of the region. The movement of southwestern range cattle by rail into the bluestem grass begins in the latter part of April and is usually completed by mid-May. These cattle from a distance are supplemented to some extent by stock from local or nearby sources. The out-shipments to market usually begin in July, but vary with the season, the condition of cattle when delivered to the pastures, and the condition of the grass and are completed by October 15, leaving the pastures empty during the winter. The second function of the region is feed-lot finishing. This process is carried out on corn and alfalfa or other feeds, without grass, or with grass. This is not done so extensively as in the cornbelt, but on a scale large enough to account for a substantial contribution to the market for full-fed beef. The third function is the maturing of young cattle by roughing through the winter, sometimes with grain added, pasturing through the following summer, and if not marketed as grass-fattened beef, full feeding into the second winter. The fourth and an important function is that the blue-stem region serves as a breeding area for thoroughbred livestock. Although these func-

5. *The Kansas Stockman*, Topeka, May 1, 1933.

tions have persisted together in varying proportions throughout the history of the area and often are hardly distinguishable from one another, the purpose of this address is to emphasize the evolution of the pasture function. The other aspects are included only as seems necessary to the principal objective.

The bluestem grass and the region have been the subject of many eulogies, some of which have gone beyond the limit of facts that can be or have been demonstrated scientifically. Furthermore, there is some disagreement concerning what factors give distinctive value to it as a grazing region. One school of thought, and the one most widely held, takes the ground that the limestone imparts to the bluestem grass its remarkable strength for fattening cattle. If this test were applied rigidly, it would restrict the limits of the region by excluding the sandstone country. The occupants of the sandstone pastures object, however, to the discrimination, holding that it is the grass itself that is distinctive, and that the bluestem grass has the same qualities whether grown on the limestone or the sandstone soils of eastern Kansas. Comparative scientific tests seem not to be available at present to determine conclusively the merits of the divergent views.

In the early days no particular name was applied to this pasture region, the term Flint Hills being a geographical name for the hills themselves in which flint or chert outcroppings occur. As a region it was not then thought of as conspicuously different from others. When the grazing for Southwestern cattle was being referred to by livestock men of the 1880's the terms used were usually "northern pastures" which meant primarily the northern Plains States and territories. At that time Kansas excluded "green" Texas cattle on account of the Texas fever except for shipment, either from designated western stations or through rail consignments. When Kansas came to be referred to in particular, which occurred rarely prior to the 1890's, the terms used were "Kansas pastures," or "Southern Kansas pastures," or some equivalent and they were used so as including western short-grass as well as eastern long-grass grazing grounds.

The term "Flint Hills" as applied to pastures occurred only occasionally in the early accounts and then designated only the grazing in the hills themselves rather than the region. Thus the people of Chase county differentiated the Flint Hills as grazing grounds from the farming lands of the bottoms and the upland prairies.⁶ As time passed a broader usage of the term Flint Hills developed, especially

6. *Chase County Leader*, Cottonwood Falls, March 1, 29, 1872.

on the part of those outside the area. During the second and third decades of the twentieth century the term was rather generally used, but was not altogether appropriate because the pasture district was more extensive than the Flint Hills.

The name "Bluestem" was used in the later years of the nineteenth century to describe the grasses from a botanical standpoint, but popularly the more frequently used names were prairie grasses, long grasses or tall grasses. In the early years of the twentieth century bluestem was sometimes used to designate the grass of certain pastures, but not until after the World War did the term bluestem pastures gain general currency as applying to the region.⁷ The J. E. Edwards eulogy of the bluestem grass, printed in 1918, contributed to grass consciousness among cattlemen, the more effective portions being frequently quoted.⁸ A suggestion was made in 1923, but not acted upon, that the new hotel at Emporia be named "Blue Stem" and advertised nationally.⁹ The term "Kansas Bluestem Region" or some variation was used with increasing frequency during the 1920's, gaining in popularity over the term "Flint Hills."¹⁰ Other possible names, the "Limestone Pastures" or the "Bluestem-Limestone Pastures," did not find popular favor. In a sense, therefore, when in 1929 the Kansas State Board of Agriculture adopted the name "The Bluestem Pasture Region of Kansas," it was registering what was already well on the way to becoming an accomplished fact.

The first steps in white occupation of the bluestem region occurred in the northern part prior to the organization of the territory—at Council Grove on the Santa Fe trail and at St. Mary's mission, the latter in the late 1840's where stock raising and general farming, except wheat production, were carried on vigorously in order to provide support for the mission and to teach agriculture to the Pottawatomie Indians. With the organization of the territory, settlements were made immediately in the Kansas river valley as far west as Fort Riley. Only shortly afterwards settlements were made on the Neosho and Cottonwood rivers in the central area. Following the Civil War the settled area expanded rapidly, first occupying the bottom land and then pushing into the upland prairie. Part of the area was railroad land, but a substantial part could be acquired under the pre-

7. Junction City *Union*, November 16, 1872; Ottawa *Daily Republican*, April 2, 1884; *Texas Live Stock Journal*, Fort Worth, November, 1886; George E. Tucker, "Blue[stem] Grass and the Beef Steer," *Greenwood Magazine*, Eureka, April, 1906, pp. 7-10.

8. *Kansas Stockman*, Topeka, April 5, 1918, December 15, 1922. Cf. eulogies of the bluestem by T. H. Lampe, *ibid.*, February 15, June 15, 1927, April 15, 1931, November 15, 1935, February 15, 1941.

9. *Ibid.*, January 15, 1923.

10. *Ibid.*, August 1, 1919, June 15, 1921, August 15, 1922, April 15, 1925, February 1, June 15, 1927, February 1, 1928.

emption law and after the Civil War under the homestead act, the taking of homesteads being reported in Chase county as late as 1880.¹¹ As had happened on earlier frontiers, livestock was for a time the predominant interest, but it was generally viewed as a temporary or transitional stage which would give way to general farming on all but the roughest of the uplands. On these matters opinion fluctuated somewhat with the weather, however, and during dry periods especially the advocates of livestock as a permanent interest had the opportunity to urge their views.¹²

During the decade of the 1870's the agricultural interests of eastern Kansas were relatively diversified. There were at least four types of activities represented: general farming on a small scale which was largely of the subsistence type, but which emphasized grain crops; farming which emphasized the raising of corn to be fed to livestock on a commercial basis; the breeding of fine stock; and the maturing and grazing of transient cattle.

In Chase county in the heart of the bluestem the small-farmer point of view was hostile to the transient herds driven in for grazing and demanded the herd law:

We want this law to protect us from the large herds that are driven in here by men who do not settle and help to improve the country, but merely to turn non-residents' and railroad lands into stockyards, and allow their cattle to run at large, destroying all crops that are not strongly fortified.¹³

A spokesman for the resident stockmen declared that nine of every ten men in Chase county depended upon stockraising as the basis of prosperity:

This is truly a stock raising county, we have thousands of acres of land that cannot be cultivated, but cannot be surpassed for grazing.¹⁴

Later an Elmdale correspondent reported that farmers were enlarging their cultivated fields "being convinced that farming will pay in this country."¹⁵ Three weeks later the *Chase County Leader* announced through its boom column to prospective immigrants that the valleys of the watershed of the Cottonwood river were destined to be occupied by small farmers and that "the divides between them are excellent grazing grounds for cattle and sheep, and will always be open to the stock-raiser without cost."¹⁶ On this assumption small farmers made no effort to secure title to the hills.

11. *Chase County Leader*, Cottonwood Falls, April 29, 1880.

12. *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, January 25, 1878, June 23, 1881; *Dickinson County Chronicle*, Abilene, February 10, 1882.

13. *Chase County Leader*, Cottonwood Falls, March 1, 1872.

14. *Ibid.*, March 29, 1872.

15. *Ibid.*, May 17, 1872.

16. *Ibid.*, June 7, 1872. A later statement to the same effect was made as a reminiscence and was reported by Vandergrift in the *Atchison Globe*, reprinted in the *Chase County Republican*, Strong City, May 15, 1890.

After the lapse of two years the herd law provided again the text for the argument that without it the county could never be settled and to be a first-class county the uplands, "the best wheat land in the state . . ." must be occupied. "Give us the herd law and we can settle every quarter section of prairie land in the county."¹⁷ Another correspondent endorsed this assertion but with some qualification, saying that "nearly every quarter section of arable land would be a fine farm."¹⁸

Calling attention to differences in geographical environment another letter writer asserted that:

Every new county and country is always opened up by men of moderate circumstances. In a heavily timbered country it takes a life-time; in a country like this, but a few years, if all work for the public good.¹⁹

The year 1874 with its drought and grasshoppers was one to make Kansas conscious of climatic differences and in protest against an Ohio man's clover theories, an old resident wrote:

The writer seems altogether ignorant of an important fact, which is about the first lesson taught to every practical farmer, viz.: that farming in Ohio, or any other state, is one thing, and farming in Kansas is something altogether different; and crops that pay in one section of the country are comparatively worthless in another.²⁰

During 1875 farmers were searching for substitute crops that would make a profit in adverse years,²¹ but with a more favorable year in 1876 a local correspondent reported that "the settlers are in hopes that in a few years all the land on this creek that will bear cultivation will be under fence [cultivated]."²² At the opening of the next year grain prospects were bright and again the *Leader* asserted that while the bottoms were better for corn, the uplands were better for small grain.²³

However promising the early spring might be, unfavorable years for grain crops almost became a habit for Kansas during the late 1870's. By mid-summer of 1877 the *Leader* was proclaiming that Chase county was the best stock county in the state and was explaining why the wheat crop failed.²⁴ In another three years the

17. Unsigned letter to the *Chase County Leader*, Cottonwood Falls, May 8, 1874.

18. *Ibid.*, May 22, 1874.

19. *Ibid.*, May 15, 1874.

20. *Ibid.*, February 4, 1875.

21. *Ibid.*, February-March, 1875.

22. *Ibid.*, June 15, 1876.

23. *Ibid.*, February 22, 1877.

24. *Ibid.*, June 21, July 26, 1877.

admission was made that wheat had been practically abandoned as a crop.²⁵ In Greenwood county wheat was similarly abandoned.²⁶

In the upper Kansas river valley, where the bluestem region now makes its transition into the wheat belt (Riley, Geary and Dickinson counties) one observer in 1869 gave livestock not more than ten years of dominance by which time the rising price of land would operate to eliminate livestock and favor grain as a more intensive land-use.²⁷ Four years later another insisted that Geary county was peculiarly a livestock country, only to be contradicted in turn by those who held that the livestock industry was perpetuated only by an artificial influence, the failure to adopt the herd law.²⁸ The winter wheat boom in Dickinson county was pointed to as proof of what would happen on Geary county hills if only the opportunity were given. Although Geary and Riley counties tried to evade the issue by laying the blame for retardation in wheat production upon the herd law, and other artificial factors, the passing years made clearer that more fundamental forces were at work.²⁹ In 1878 the *Manhattan Nationalist*, in commentary on the wheat propaganda of T. C. Henry of Abilene, insisted that "we are satisfied, however, that a large majority of the farmers of this section have lost money on wheat, taking year in and year out."³⁰ If these were merely isolated comments or expressions of discouragement over a crop failure they might be subject to misinterpretation, but they are, in fact, representative of a trend indicating a more definite drawing of the line of demarcation between the pasture and the wheat country, a process that was in progress but not yet complete by the end of the decade of the 1870's.

During the decade of the 1880's far-reaching changes came to the bluestem area. There was more intensive encroachment by the small farmer upon the outer fringes, thus tending to differentiate more sharply than formerly the strictly grazing region from the surrounding grain farming. Within the bluestem region the influence of the small farmer declined. A livestock boom dominated the early part of the decade. It included horses, sheep, and hogs, but the major emphasis was upon fine cattle and the improvement of herds. This was based upon the expansion of some of the herds

25. *Ibid.*, April 22, 1880. In the issue of September 15, 1881, it was stated that "many have quit sowing wheat and but little ground is being plowed for it."

26. *Livestock-Indicator*, Kansas City, Mo., December 6, 1883.

27. *Junction City Union*, September 11, 1869.

28. *Ibid.*, March 15, 22, 29, June 28, 1873, May 9, 1874.

29. *Ibid.*, November 27, 1875.—"Mize on Junction City Grain Market," a reply to John Davis in the *Junction City Tribune*.

30. *Nationalist*, Manhattan, January 25, 1878.

started during the previous decade and upon the coming of new men and money; some from the Southwest and Colorado, some from the East, and some from Canada, England and Scotland. The volume of production increased until by 1883 heavy shipments of thoroughbred bulls to the range country was a reality. The Short-horn breed had been the early favorite, then the Galloway and Angus gained a following. In a short time, however, the Hereford came to dominate the breeding for the range market. Combined with this breeding of fine cattle was an increased business in maturing pasturing cattle from outside the area, especially wintered Texas and Colorado cattle.

In order to provide the land for these extensive operations free range quickly disappeared. The process of assembling acreages can be traced in part through the newspapers which record the purchase by stockmen of one small adjoining farm after another and the purchase of railroad land. The assembling of large acreages was facilitated also by syndicates which bought up railroad land from different roads, throwing it together for resale to those forming large ranches. Board and stone fences had been built around the earlier fields and pastures, but the thing that largely made possible this great enclosure movement and which characterized it, was the introduction of barbed wire. Thus the herd problem of the 1870's was eliminated. The use of wire began slowly about 1879 and 1880 and reached boom proportions by 1883 and before the end of another two years the free range was gone. The passing of the free range marked also the end of many small farmers who had neglected their opportunities or had been financially unable to buy hill pasture land. Shut off from grass, they had to sell out.

This breeding-cattle boom was short-lived. It was dependent for its market upon the range-cattle boom which had reached its height by 1884 and run its course by 1886 and by that year a drought decade opened along with a world-wide economic depression. Few of the thoroughbred herds survived and new adjustments had to be made in utilization of the grass resources of the region. The new era was introduced by railroads and Texas cattle with the accompaniment of Texas fever.

The main lines of the Union Pacific and the Santa Fe railroad systems ran east and west. The former had no southern connections, and the Santa Fe system could serve directly only the Colorado and the northern New Mexico ranges prior to 1880. The southern Kansas branches and subsidiaries of the Santa Fe reached

the Indian territory border and the shipping points for Texas cattle at several places. The Texas cattle driven north could be loaded at these border points for through shipment to the terminal markets, but could not be unloaded within the state unless inspected and pronounced free of Texas fever. Pasture operations in transient cattle during the early 1880's were limited accordingly to those wintered north of the quarantine line and to Colorado range cattle. These were the same classes of cattle that were shipped in for winter feeding to be roughed through or half or full-fed on corn. In these days there was little distinction between the several classes of cattle and the finishing processes were not clearly standardized as to either season or method. Cattle were being received and shipped out during every month of the year, but with an accent on the spring and fall movements.

Only slowly did the campaign against Texas fever enlarge the source of supplies for grass cattle, the success depending in turn upon the shutting off of the cattle-drives to northern Texas and the Indian territory and the substituting of rail shipment as a means of clearing these intermediate ranges of Texas fever. The cattle associations of the northern Indian territory took steps in the winter of 1883-1884 to restrict to two designated trails the drives from further south. The Texas Panhandle and western Indian territory cattle associations followed closely in 1885. During the same period New Mexico, Colorado and northern range territories established quarantines, Montana following in the rear in 1886. Texas complained, but to no avail, that these quarantines were solely to monopolize free grass and not to protect cattle from disease. The western Kansas settlement boom of the middle 1880's served only to supplement the activities of the cattlemen who had effectively closed all but the most westerly cattle trails and they were usable only under close restrictions.

During the 1870's Texas had secured rail outlets for its cattle to the St. Louis and Chicago markets by way of the Missouri Pacific (St. Louis, Iron Mountain and Southern) railroad or by way of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas railroad across Indian territory and southeastern Kansas connecting with the Missouri Pacific road. Jay Gould had gained control of these roads and aroused the hostility of the cattle interests. The northern drive served as a more advantageous competitive marketing route for cattle intended for beef, fattening on northern grass along the trail and being shipped from western Kansas or Nebraska points to the Kansas City, Omaha or

Chicago markets. The closing of the ring of quarantines around Texas by 1885 was closing this competitive route and terminating bargaining power with the Gould interests.³¹ Texas explored other alternatives. As trade in refrigerated dressed beef was becoming more important, one line of action suggested was to fatten beef on grain and cottonseed products, slaughter at home and ship by water from a gulf port, thus circumventing both the dressed beef combine and the railroad extortion. Attempts in this direction were initiated, but failed.³²

Another possibility was a change of procedure in the northern outlet. In 1883, and prior to the closing of the trails, competing Texas railroads experimented in a large way with rail shipments from south Texas by way of Fort Worth to rail heads on the Red river, particularly Wichita Falls from which the drive would commence. This would put the cattle on northern grass earlier and if rates were favorable, more cheaply than to drive the whole distance.³³ As the trails were closed such cattle were driven from the northern rail heads into the Indian territory as the only place left where Texas cattle might go legally.³⁴ Fattened on grass they were shipped from Kansas border points or railroads in the eastern Indian territory where the Frisco offered competitive service to St. Louis as early as 1883.³⁵

As the range cattle business shifted into the High Plains of western Texas and New Mexico in the later 1880's more direct rail service from that area became insistent, and supplemented a growing demand from southern and central Texas for through competitive lines. The Kansas City livestock market interests had been aggressively challenging the St. Louis market and had been agitating during the same period to secure direct rail service from the Southwest to Kansas City in order to compete successfully with St. Louis and Chicago. As the rail situation stood prior to 1887 Kansas City had no direct connections and could only divert on unfavorable terms from the Gould-St. Louis combination a small part of the increasing rail shipments of cattle from southern Texas. The Santa Fe railroad was the best located strategically to take the lead and with the support of the combined interests of Southwestern cattlemen

31. Quarantines: *Texas Live Stock Journal*, Fort Worth, August 9, 1884, May 2, 9, 23, 30, June 13, July 4, 1885, June 5, 1886, April 5, 1890, June 20, July 4, 1891. Gould railroad difficulties: *Ibid.*, May 19, 26, November 24, 1883, March 1, July 12, 1884.

32. *Ibid.*, August 9, 1884, December 26, 1891.

33. *Ibid.*, January 27, February 24, April 21 (railroad map), May 5, 1883, May 10, 17, 24, 31, June 14, 28, 1884, January 10, April 25, 1885.

34. *Ibid.*, April 2, 1892.

35. *Ibid.*, June 2, 9, 1883.

and Kansas City market men undertook a through line south from Arkansas City to Galveston, and one southwest across the Panhandle of Texas into New Mexico. The first connections were completed during 1887 and the year 1888 was the first full-length cattle season to be served by the new accommodations.³⁶ Much of the immediate significance of the new situation was lost, however, because of the economic depression of the period which was particularly severe on the range industry. The Rock Island railroad lines were extended into the Southwest as far as the Red river in 1892 making a second competing system and opening the Omaha market to Texas cattle by introducing competitive rates.³⁷ It is important, however, to distinguish between beef cattle and the stocker and feeder classes. Only beef cattle could be shipped to Northern markets for slaughter. The stocker and feeder trade was subject to the restrictions of the quarantine systems, only a relatively small number moving into the northern ranges.

The first descriptions of Texas fever occur in the late eighteenth century when cattle from the Carolinas were taken north. Steps were taken to prevent further movement of such cattle, but the volume of the trade was not insistent enough to force a serious interstate issue. The southern borders of Virginia, Tennessee and Missouri had the problem with them more or less constantly, but almost a century passed after the disease was first described on the Atlantic seaboard before the issue was joined at the southern Kansas-Missouri border on a scope which made of it a national problem in Northern-Southern intersectional relations.

Effective control of the disease was all but impossible prior to 1893 because little was known for certain of its nature or of the agency by which it was transmitted. The geographical distribution of the disease was determined by the federal bureau of animal industry and the boundary line of infested territory drawn upon maps, the first issued in 1884 for the section east and in 1885 for the section west of the Mississippi river. The fever was identified in 1889 as a blood disease caused by an intra-corpuseular parasite of the protozoan order, which caused a break down of corpuscles on so large a scale as to clog the organs of elimination. The cattle tick was suspected of serving as the transmitting agent and experimental

36. *Live-Stock Indicator*, Kansas City, Mo., July 3, 1884, September 24, October 1, 8, 1885, April 1, 1886; *Texas Live Stock Journal*, Fort Worth, January 26, 1884, July 3, 1886, April 23, 30, September 3, 1887; map of the railroad situation is in *ibid.*, October (special Panhandle edition), 1887; *Annual Reports of the Board of Directors of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company, 1885-1887* (Boston, 1886-1888).

37. *Texas Live Stock and Farm Journal*, Fort Worth, June 17, 1892.

work proved the point, the announcement of the results being published in 1893. The federal quarantine line established in 1890³⁸ became the basis of coöperative federal-state action in segregating tick-free cattle and controlling the disease when it appeared in northern pastures. Texans finally admitted the existence of such a disease and coöperated in controlling it by a quarantine line from north of which Texas cattle could move into the normal channels of the national cattle trade.³⁹ One phase of control work begun in 1892 was to inoculate susceptible cattle, later Southern cattle were dipped to free them of ticks, and lastly efforts were centered after the turn of the century in freeing the Southern land of tick infestation.

This background knowledge of the disease is important to the understanding of the history of attempts in Kansas to deal with the fever menace. As the settlers in territorial Kansas accumulated livestock, the Proslavery and Free-State men were able to agree on protective measures and set up vigilance committees to turn back herds of Southern cattle. Severe outbreaks of fever in 1858, 1859, and 1860 brought drastic legislation by the territorial legislature of 1859 and by the first state legislature of 1861, the latter prohibiting Southern cattle from entering the state at all. After the Civil War there were successive outbreaks of the disease and the Kansas legislature amended the law repeatedly; 1867, 1872, 1873, 1876, 1877, 1879, 1881, 1883, 1884, 1885, setting a dead line, first at the sixth principal meridian, just west of Wichita, and in later enactments further west and prohibiting the movement of Texas cattle into Kansas at any point east of the line. The bluestem region was east of the line, but the driving of infected cattle into or across these counties occurred again and again, and the infiltration of cattle from the Indian territory across the border proved more or less continuous.

The fact that in the early 1880's so many Kansas stockmen were engaged in improving their native herds and in building up herds of thoroughbreds made imperative the exclusion of Texas fever. The pasturing of transient cattle was limited under such circumstances to animals from safe territory. The first steps on the part of the state to provide special machinery to safeguard the livestock interests against disease came in 1884 as the result of a foot-and-mouth disease scare. The Livestock Sanitary Commission thus created

38. *Second Biennial Report of the Live-Stock Sanitary Commission of the State of Kansas, 1889-90* (Topeka, 1891).

39. *Texas Live Stock Journal*, Fort Worth, December 5, 12, 1891, April 16, 1892.

became an active agent in dealing with all livestock diseases and in combating Texas fever exercised the power of inspecting herds entering the state and of quarantining herds in which disease appeared. The federal law was enacted the same year creating the bureau of animal industry and vesting in it the power to exercise control over interstate transmission of disease. These two agencies, together with the discovery of the rôle of the cattle tick gradually placed the cattlemen in a position to handle Texans without excessive risk and the bluestem pastures were among the beneficiaries during the depression years of the late 1880's and the 1890's. Deprived of sharing in the heavy movement of Texans into the eastern Indian territory during the decade of the 1880's, the supply had come from the east and more largely from Colorado and the farther Southwest. Now the stock formerly diverted around Kansas could enter eastern Kansas directly. This did not occur all at once, but gradually through continuous readjustment in quarantine administration, and the bluestem grass lands resumed more completely the rôle geographical location and peculiar natural resources fitted them to serve in the national livestock economy.

From the standpoint of the bluestem region the railroad systems which served the grass sections were much the same ones that had become most important as outlets to the market for Southwestern cattle, the pasture country lying on the way to the packing house. Because of this geographical relationship it was possible to ship stock from the ranges to the market destinations with privileges of pasturing in transit. The Missouri Pacific and the Frisco railroads had east and west lines in the southern part of the bluestem region of Kansas and the former across the central area. The Missouri, Kansas and Texas lines had a diagonal road from Parsons running northwest by way of Emporia to Junction City. The Rock Island railroad served the west and northwestern section. The Santa Fe railroad system enjoyed the most complete coverage as far north as the Kansas river and the most strategic location of through lines connecting with the stock regions of the greater Southwest. The Santa Fe lines carried the largest volume of in-coming cattle of any one system, but shared the trade widely with the others. Of the out-movement to market, however, the Santa Fe lines carried more than the others together.

In the twentieth century the pasturing of Southwestern cattle was continued as the major interest and the breeding of thoroughbred livestock was revived with new vigor. The pasture business was not

static, however, and vigilance was necessary to make adjustments which would insure its continuance. Among these problems were the procedures employed in filling the pastures; the terms of the pasture contract; the methods of financing the business; the cumulative market preference for younger light-weight cattle instead of mature heavy-weight animals, and the difficulties of utilizing grass in producing this type of beef; the restoration of the grasslands after years of depletion and drouth; the effects of the changes in the South and Southwest in cattle production, markets, and packing facilities; the results of shifting population centers; and the outcome of the changing transportation facilities accompanied by the Southern demand for remodeling of the rail rate-structure. Separate consideration should be given also to other livestock activities of the region, breeding of dairy cattle, hogs, sheep and horses, and the production of feed crops that must be an integral part of any major livestock production program. In such an introductory survey as this, however, only a few problems can be selected from the list for treatment.

The methods of bringing the cattle to the grass vary with respect to the ownership of both, and may be described under four general types of combinations. The owner of Southwestern cattle might lease the Kansas pastures, delivering the cattle to the pasture operator who would take responsibility for them while on grass or, less frequently, the owner might retain management. The pastureman might buy the cattle and graze them himself. A man might own both the cattle and the grass, operating a ranch in the Southwest for cattle production and grasslands in the bluestem region for finishing, all under his own management. A fourth type involves a third party, the speculator, or middleman, who would buy cattle and lease pasture, leaving management of the cattle to the pastureman upon delivery. In years when cattle markets seemed to offer opportunities for profits a larger portion of cattle was bought from the producers, but when conditions were discouraging a large portion was left in first hands to be shipped to pasture by the Southwestern owners. In the latter case if the economic outlook became too unfavorable after shipment to grass the stock was wintered in Kansas or shipped to the home ranges as in 1930 or 1934.

The purchase of cattle for the pastures might be accomplished by different methods. The pasture operator might visit the Southwestern ranges during the winter and contract his purchases for spring delivery. The same procedure might be followed by the

speculator. The cattle trades might be made at the annual spring conventions of the cattlemen's associations in the Southwest or since 1916 at the Kansas Live Stock Association's spring meeting, usually at Wichita in March. The speculator might make purchases by either of the foregoing methods, reselling the cattle in smaller lots to third parties before delivery or at delivery time. On occasion, especially during a period of cattle shortage on the ranges, cattle might be purchased on the Kansas City stocker and feeder market to fill the pastures.

The leasing of grass was accomplished through several channels. A few cattlemen and pasturemen advertised in livestock journals. More leases were arranged at the stockmen's annual meetings and others were handled through an information service of the livestock associations. Some were arranged through livestock commission houses at the markets. Once having established desirable connections a large part of the contracts were renewed from year to year with adjustment to changing conditions. The historical development of the terms of the pasture contract is difficult to trace because few examples are available for study and the terms did not become fully standardized. Early herd and pasture advertisements sometimes announced terms. In 1872 herding was offered for 500 to 1,000 head of cattle, price not indicated, but the herder assumed responsibility for all losses except by disease. In 1879 another announced an intention to make up a herd of part-fed steers for the June and July market, assuring a supply of salt, the herding rate being one-half cent per head per day. Another offered to handle cattle for the season at seventy-five cents per head. Still another offered the service of a Shorthorn bull with the herd at one dollar per head per season. A similar offer was made in 1886 but did not announce the price.⁴⁰ The nature of the advertisements indicate the variety of the types of cattle being handled, part fed steers, breeding cows, and miscellaneous stock. A number of advertisements of pastures for rent implied that the lessee would assume the management of the pasture and cattle while on grass. In other words he was renting land only, without services.⁴¹ These transactions were limited to spring and summer grass, but if the number of newspaper items for the same period is any criterion a larger number of farmers took cattle to winter on pasture and feed.

40. *Abilene Chronicle*, May 16, 1872, February 2, 1879; *Junction City Union*, March 1, 1879; *Chase County Leader*, Cottonwood Falls, February 11, 1886.

41. *Dickinson County Chronicle*, Abilene, March 24, 1882, Alioth ranch; *Chase County Leader*, Cottonwood Falls, May 27, 1886, S. A. Stephenson.

Another phase in the development of contract requirements appeared in 1890, when one advertisement specified three acres per head.⁴² This was a period when Colorado and other Western men, not Texans, were in the majority. Based upon payments through Strong City, Emporia and Cottonwood Falls banks it was estimated that Chase county had 20,000 head from Colorado, New Mexico and Arizona on grass with the result that a number of Western cattlemen were spending much of their time there.⁴³ This indicated that many owners were supervising their own cattle on grass rather than transferring the full responsibility to the pasture owner. Another example of owner supervision resulted in taking the herd from the pasture because of dissatisfaction with the care they received.⁴⁴ An instance where the pastureman was taking full responsibility is illustrated by the theft of the hide from a dead steer. The importance of the episode did not lie so much in the value of the hide as in the fact that the pastureman must have the brand from it to present at settlement time when he must account to the owner for delivery of all steers received.⁴⁵

In 1930 the pasture owners of the Northern bluestem region launched the "Kansas Bluestem Pasturemen's Association," one point in their four-point program being the formulation of a uniform contract. The decade of the 1930's introduced important variations in contracts, however, rather than uniformity, but in general the terms required the pastureman to receive the stock at the railroad station, transfer them to pasture, take care of them during the summer and deliver a full count at the railroad at the end of the season. He was required to assume losses, except from disease. Minimum acreage allowances were required depending upon the age of the cattle, and rental prices were paid by head per season for each age class or by the acre. A newer procedure was some form of rental payment on the basis of pounds gained for the season, either at an agreed price per pound gained or for a part of the gain at the market price when sold. Contracts were usually made at a flat rate per season for the identical animal without respect to the actual number of days the cattle were on grass and without right of replacement of animals shipped early.⁴⁶ The rentals were

42. *Ibid.*, April 24, 1890.

43. *Chase County Republican*, Strong City, June 26, 1890.

44. *Chase County Leader*, Cottonwood Falls, August 8, 1901.

45. *Ibid.*, August 30, 1900.

46. Cf. A. D. Weber, "Problems in Leasing Blue Stem Grass," *Kansas Stockman*, Topeka, March 1, 1936; T. H. Lampe, *ibid.*, January 15, 1938, from *The Livestock Leader*.

usually deferred until marketing, and on occasion the pastureman advanced the freight.⁴⁷

The price of pasture rentals fluctuated and was controlled primarily by the market price of beef rather than by the price of land.⁴⁸ About 1900 a rental of one dollar per head per season was a good price on land worth \$3.50 to \$5.50 per acre. By 1911 the rates had advanced to \$5.00 to \$6.00 on land worth \$18.00 to \$30.00 and with cattle selling at \$3.00 to \$5.50 per hundred weight.⁴⁹ The World War lifted rentals to \$14.00 to \$20.00 per head with prevailing prices from \$16.00 to \$18.00,⁵⁰ and in some pastures the cattle were allowed five acres each, in consequence of the experience of the 1918 season which was dry.⁵¹ By 1920 cattle prices were too high and leading pasture owners declined to buy, leaving cattle owners to rent the pastures. In Wabaunsee county rates ruled \$12.00 and up.⁵² The extension of the depression drove rentals down in 1921 to \$6.00 to \$12.00.⁵³ Further declines continued through 1922 when the ruling price was about \$8.75.⁵⁴ By the middle 1920's more emphasis was being placed on young cattle and a wider range in prices was emphasized accordingly. In 1925 there was some recovery from depression lows, young cattle being pastured at \$5.00 to \$8.00 with an average of about \$6.25 and aged steers and cows from \$7.00 to \$10.00 with an average of about \$8.50. Acreage allowances for young stuff averaged 3.25 acres and for steers 4.3 acres per head.⁵⁵ In 1927 the rate for aged steers was quoted at \$6.00 to \$10.00 with an average of \$8.10 and an allowance of three to five acres, and young cattle at \$4.00 to \$8.50 with an average of \$6.00 and an allowance of two to four acres. In the Osage limestone pastures the rates for aged steers were \$4.00 to \$8.00 with an average of \$6.25 and an allowance of 5.1 acres and \$3.00 to \$6.00 with an average of \$4.50 and an allowance of 4.5 acres. The sandstone pastures were quoted at lower rates.⁵⁶ By 1929 the rates reached \$8.00 to \$11.00 for aged steers. There had been only three prosperous years

47. T. H. Lampe, "Blue Stem Grass," *Kansas Stockman*, Topeka, April 15, 1931, from *The Livestock Leader*.

48. A. D. Weber, *loc. cit.*

49. *Daily Drover's Telegram*, Kansas City, Mo., January 10, 12, April 18, 1911. Rental prices represent reports from Wabaunsee and Greenwood counties.

50. *Kansas Stockman*, Topeka, February 15, May 1, 1919.

51. *Ibid.*, January 15, August 1, 1919.

52. *Ibid.*, April 15, July 15, August 16, September 1, 15, 1920.

53. *Ibid.*, April 15, 1921.

54. *Ibid.*, April 1, 1922.

55. *Ibid.*, April 15, 1925.

56. *Ibid.*, April 15, 1927; *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, February 13, 1929; *Kansas Stockman*, Topeka, March 15, 1929.

for cattlemen in the decade, 1925, 1927, and 1928; 1929 was favorable for those who marketed early.

As the depression of the 1930's deepened pasture rates declined and by 1933 reached \$2.50 to \$5.00 for aged steers with an average of \$3.50 to \$4.00, and young cattle at \$2.50 to \$3.00. On account of dry weather the allowances were increased to six acres.⁵⁷ Prices recovered somewhat in 1935 and 1936, but allowances were further increased because of the prolonged and severe drought and some pastures were idle. The rates for 1937 were \$7.00 to \$9.00.⁵⁸ In 1941 prices began about \$8.50 declining near the end of the leasing season to \$7.00.⁵⁹

A long-time trend toward smaller, younger beef animals culminated after the World War and presented the bluestem region with a new crop of problems. On grass a mature steer took on fat, but a young animal added growth first and fat only if the feed provided nutrition definitely in excess of that necessary for growth. Grass needed a supplement for satisfactory finish. Systematic experimentation conducted by the state experiment station worked out new feeding procedures and rations. One important trend derived from these experiments was to prepare young cattle on dry feed before the grass season and later to finish them in the feed lot after grass. These adjustments assured the continuance of utilization of the bluestem grass in the maturing and fattening of the increasing proportion of young animals handled as well as grazing the continued run of mature cattle.

Financing the cattle business in any of its several phases requires facilities not necessary to other fields of agriculture. The turnover of capital is necessarily slow, as much as three years in breeding and maturing cattle and from six months to a year in handling grass and fed cattle. Large amounts of capital are employed and heavy risks involved because of the fluctuation of markets and price levels between the time of incurring first production costs and realizing final market returns.

These problems of financing have important social implications. While there was always a fair complement of small farms, the features that gave the character to the bluestem region were large stock farms and large pastures, both of which involved capital investment much beyond the means of the traditional family-size, family-owned-and-operated farm. Both land and cattle were

57. *Ibid.*, April 1, May 1, 1933.

58. Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, April 15, 1937.

59. Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, May 6, 1941.

figured not only in hundreds but often in thousands of units. A substantial number of old families survived through two or three generations. A much larger number had come and gone, many through the ordinary course of American farm population turnover, and many as the result of voluntary or forced liquidation—victims of depressions. Capital requirements and the nature of operations on large stock farms induced many fathers to associate their sons with them in the enterprise, or brothers to pool their interests. Urban capital was largely represented: grain and livestock commission men, doctors, lawyers and bankers—especially bankers—either as sole owners or as majority partners. Many of the commercial pastures, as distinguished from stock farms, were in similar hands. The words “banker and stockman” were used together so frequently as almost to constitute one word descriptive of the leading men of the region. From the standpoint of rurality, the families residing in country homes were in conspicuous degrees minority partners or agents managing the enterprises and employees, sometimes specialists in herd management and administration, but more numerous were relatively unskilled farm laborers. Conspicuous in the boom days of the 1880's were establishments of manorial proportions occupied by the owners, and in some degree these families survived.

The devastating effects of the prolonged drouth of the 1930's brought alarm to the bluestem region, an alarm not justified in the perspective of history. The grass problem had been ever present and ever a source of anxiety to stockmen. Much of the attitude of the early settlers toward grass was conditioned by the humid climate-timbered land point of view. There the grasses were not strictly native, but grass covering came only after the forests were cleared. Dependence upon tame grasses for pasture and meadow was the rule. Upon coming into the sub-humid prairie-plains this type of mental furniture was carried West along with other farm properties. Allowing for a reasonable number of exceptions, there was a rather general assumption that the native grasses could not survive occupation of the country for purposes of agriculture. Writing from Osage county in June, 1880, prior to his long tenure as secretary of the State Board of Agriculture, F. D. Coburn expressed the view that the days were numbered when reliance could be placed upon wild prairie grass for pasture and hay.⁶⁰ A writer in Dickinson county in 1881 looked upon the wheat

60. *Stock, Farm and Home Weekly*, Kansas City, Mo., June 19, 1880.

boom as temporary insisting that "the time is not far distant when every farmer will have to depend on his own land for hay . . . and we predict that in ten years from now, there will be thousands of acres of clover and timothy growing, and cattle and sheep grazing thereon, where now are luxuriant and magnificent fields of wheat."⁶¹ Three years later another writer repeated the Coburn view but went further in exposition: "The prairie grass must go. It is but a matter of a few years time when eastern Kansas will have to depend on tame grasses for hay. . . . Prairie grass does not make permanent pasturage. As soon as a tract of land is fenced and pastured, the wild grass soon dies and gives place to weeds and the pasture becomes almost worthless."⁶²

The tame grasses of which so much was expected were bluegrass, clover, timothy and orchard grass, but it took extended and severe ministrations of time and nature to prove to these Easterners the extent of their mistaken preconceptions. First introduced experimentally into the area in 1875, alfalfa, a rank outsider among the tame grasses, had still to prove its worth and become second only to the native bluestem as a foundation grass for the cattle industry. A clear recognition of the permanence and significance of the bluestem grass was slow in materializing, a fact that is vividly illustrated by a report on Western grasses made by an investigator for the federal Department of Agriculture in 1886 which depreciatingly declared that "although somewhat coarse it is considered valuable and everywhere cut for hay."⁶³ In view of such misconceptions concerning the behavior of nature there is little wonder at the confusion manifested concerning the future of grass. Nearer right than most, but still not sufficiently appreciative of nature's own careful selection based upon ages of experimentation in her own laboratories, was a writer who dismissed all the grasses from east of the Mississippi insisting that "in view of the peculiarities of our climate, if not of our soil also, would we not suppose, *a priori*, that some of the many *native* grasses could be found that would be superior both for pasture and for hay?"⁶⁴

At the opposite pole from these erroneous, early ideas concerning the native grasses, are the equally mistaken views of the soil and grass conservation experts of the 1930's and 1940's who pointed back to the supposed golden age when the grass was plentiful and no

61. *Dickinson County Chronicle*, Abilene, February 25, 1881.

62. *Kansas City (Mo.) Live-Stock Indicator*, July 24, 1884.

63. *Texas Live Stock Journal*, Fort Worth, November, 1886. An article based upon the report of Prof. George Veasey.

64. *Kansas City (Mo.) Live-Stock Indicator*, October 4, 1888.

question was raised respecting its permanence—only inexcusable abuse, they said, caused its depletion. In neither period was there sufficient appreciation of the alternation of favorable and unfavorable climatic conditions and their effect upon grass, nor of the remarkable recuperative powers of native grass. A grass covering is as natural to the prairie and plains as a forest covering to the humid East or jungle to the tropics. But in times of drought hysteria over depletion of grass there was only an occasional clear-minded old-timer who insisted that these conditions were a recurring phenomena and that ninety percent of the problem depended upon nature and the return of favorable rains.⁶⁵ In other words, man's control measures could account for only ten percent. The exact figures might be challenged, but not the principle.

Various weeds thrived at the expense of grass during the drought of the 1930's, broom weed arousing particular comment from Council Grove to the south line of Greenwood county. The one favorable season of 1938 brought the following comment:

Broom weed, which last year caused alarm and no little damage is very scarce this season. Some report it entirely disappeared and other weeds which threatened many acres of good grass land, are not so prevalent this season. It all shows that when there is plenty of moisture in the ground the rugged native grass will take care of itself. . . . ⁶⁶

The renewed vigor of the bluestem grass was so conspicuous that a number of people reported to the press on the extreme height to which it had grown: from Chase county, prior to the drought decade, eight feet, five inches; after the drought, six to eight feet; from Marshall county, nine feet tall; and in several pastures in Wa-baunsee county, five to six feet tall even though it had been pastured all summer.⁶⁷ These measurements recall the statements of old-timers that the bluestem along the Cottonwood river would hide a man riding horseback.

The original carrying capacity of the grasslands varied widely because of the differences in soil quality and depth and in topography, the extremes being found in the rocky hilltops and in the

65. *Kansas Stockman*, Topeka, October 15, 1937; Cf. Francis H. Arnold, "Conditions in Southwest," in *ibid.*, April 1, 1938.

66. *Ibid.*, July 1, 1938. Cf., also, September 15, 1938.

A similar thing happened in the short grass of the High Plains. The cactus menace was the subject of vigorous eradication measures. During the wet season of 1941 an apparent miracle happened, the cactus died out, in some regions almost completely, and in and around where each clump of cactus had been the buffalo grass and grama grass appeared in most vigorous condition, the cactus having served as protection and nurse crop to the new grass. The author made a tour of observation of these grasslands during the mid-summer of 1941.—Cf., also, *Topeka Daily Capital*, August 17, 1941.

The Russian thistle served much the same nurse crop function on both the grass lands and the fallow fields in the Great Plains region, the outcome being conspicuous in the summer of 1941. Old settlers told the author that the same thing occurred in connection with the restoration after the drought of the 1890's.

67. *Kansas Stockman*, Topeka, December 15, 1929, October 15, 1937, September 15, 1938.

river bottoms. Another type of extreme was to be found in periods of favorable rainfall in contrast with periods of severe drought. In the course of years much of the best grass-producing land was brought into cultivation, leaving the less fertile to carry the grazing load. Waste land developed in pastures around watering places and feeding grounds.⁶⁸ These factors are an important reminder that comparisons of carrying capacity for different periods seldom apply to identical acres. During boom periods carrying capacity was greatly over-rated and under adverse conditions the depletion was represented in correspondingly pessimistic terms. Experimental work in pasture restoration lacked the essential elements of perspective afforded only by the lapse of a long period of time. The oldest controlled pasture experiment in the bluestem area was begun so recently as 1915.⁶⁹ To be fully convincing it would be necessary to have records of a reasonable number of samples representing different sections of the region, records that would in each case apply to identical acres, and records which would embrace at least a century of climatic experience. Making a moderate allowance for error, the tentative conclusion from this historical study of the bluestem region is that no substantial long-time change has taken place in the carrying capacity of pastures which have had reasonable treatment. Furthermore, experience indicates that not only may depleted pastures be restored, but that bare places and even plowed fields may be reseeded and restored successfully in a comparatively short time when the essential weather conditions are favorable.

By way of conclusion to this introductory survey of the history of the bluestem-pasture region attention is directed to the volume of the pasture movement of Southwestern cattle at different periods and some evaluation of it in comparative terms. Probably there is no phase of Western history with which the public has a more general interest and at least a superficial familiarity than the Texas cattle drives from the time of the opening of the Abilene market in 1867 to the closing of the cattle trails to Dodge City in the 1880's. Around this phase of American history there has grown up an amazing accumulation of history, legend and folklore. The exact volume of those drives can never be known, but estimates are available which indicate some approximation of numbers.⁷⁰ Except for three

68. Cf. Henry Rogler, "Pasture Situation in Kansas," in *ibid.*, April 1, 1938, covers some of these points.

69. Kling L. Anderson, "Deferred Grazing of Bluestem Pastures," *Bulletin 291*, Kansas Agricultural Experiment Station (Topeka, State Printing Plant, 1940). The introductory statements in this study are lacking in historical background and make assertions regarding carrying capacity which would be difficult to prove and which ignore weather cycles.

70. E. E. Dale, *The Range Cattle Industry* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1930), pp. 59, 60, and footnotes. Dale used Nimmo's figures as the most accurate.

isolated big years, the estimates of the annual drives of Texas cattle northward range from 150,000 to 350,000 for the years 1869 to 1884. From other estimates the conclusion is derived that not over 25 percent of such cattle were shipped to market for beef, or 50,000 to 75,000 head each year.⁷¹

Systematic estimates are lacking of the volume of Southwestern cattle shipped by rail to the Kansas pastures for grass fattening as they proceeded on their way to market, but significant fragments can be pieced together for the earlier periods and for the recent period the federal agricultural marketing service has provided rather full data. In the 1890's the Kansas inspection service reported on the number of permits granted for entrance into the state, but the figures were on a calendar year basis and did not segregate cattle for pasture from those for feeding and the pasture regions within the state were not designated separately. The admissions into the state for 1891 and 1892 averaged 325,000 for each year. The movement for the year 1895 was evidently one of the smallest as only 58,481 were admitted for pasture and feeding. Big volume was attained again in 1897 with 424,249 admitted, the sources of this movement being distributed as follows: Texas, 233,444; Arizona, 82,048; Oklahoma, 30,497; New Mexico, 29,819; Missouri, 7,351; and Old Mexico, 31,090. The numbers for 1898 were larger, but the annual volume for the four years 1900-1903 ranged from 213,000 to 319,000.

Skipping over two decades to the five-year period 1925-1929 the federal marketing service figures are more explicit and are available for the bluestem region and for the Oklahoma Osage pastures separately. The combined figures for these pastures ranged from 423,000 to 486,000 annually. The bluestem's share of these ranged from 263,000 to 278,000 annually. During the depression years of the 1930's the numbers of cattle sent to the Kansas-Oklahoma pastures fluctuated widely and the general trend was downward until 1939. The ten-year average, 1930 to 1939 inclusive, was 287,000 head for the combined pastures and 209,000 for the bluestem, but the low year was 1938 with 196,000 and 131,000 head respectively. The cattle movement for the current year 1941 credits the two pasture regions with 240,000 transient cattle, the bluestem with 177,000 head and the Osage with 63,000. This reflects a partial recovery in volume but there is still a question, because of the economic changes that

71. *Wichita Eagle*, June 14, 1872. Not over twenty-five percent were beef cattle according to Dale, *The Range Cattle Industry*, p. 82. The analysis of herds and the disposition of driven cattle in part based upon the tenth U. S. Census, v. III, p. 21, cited by Dale.

have occurred in the South during the depression decade, whether the volume will again reach the levels of the earlier years.

In comparing periods it is evident that the numbers of Southwestern beef cattle handled annually by rail through Kansas in 1897 was six to eight times as great as during the Texas-drive period, when as pointed out above not over 50,000 to 75,000 of those driven annually were suitable for beef. The numbers for the bluestem region alone in the late 1920's was four to five times those for the wild years at Abilene, Ellsworth, and Dodge City. A comparison of the size of the animals and the percentage of commercial beef dressed out of each gives an even greater advantage to the more recent periods. In quality of beef the Texas steer could not be compared with the modern steer. On all points the more recent procedures for fattening cattle account for more and better beef, and the Kansas bluestem grasslands serve as the maturing and fattening ground in a more efficient style than was ever possible under the drive regime.

Unfortunately for good history, the general public has overvalued the ephemeral, the sensational and the pathological features of the short-lived cowboy boom days. At most the Texas drives of song and story lasted not more than twenty years, while the practice of rail shipments through the bluestem pastures has already functioned more than half a century. The bluestem-pasture business is more efficient, it is relatively standardized and avoids the sensational and the spectacular as the herds are moved by train to pasture to insure the least possible shrinkage. The shipments are delivered at numerous small railway stations which serve the pastures. When the cattle leave the pastures for market the shipment is usually accomplished by an overnight haul. None of these operations come to the attention of the public, and like most of the stabilized institutions of a complex social system they are taken for granted so long as they continue to deliver beef to the consumer's table. Outside the ranks of the cattlemen themselves, few understand the significance of this beef-producing process. It is not a local industry only, but a vital intersectional link in the national economic system. The history of the bluestem-pasture region is important in its own right as Kansas history, but it is more than that. To the extent that the Kansas bluestem contributes to the essential meat supplies of the nation, it is also national history. Nevertheless, there are few regions in the United States that are more important and less known than this bluestem-pasture region of Kansas.

“Letters From Kansas”

JULIA LOUISA LOVEJOY¹

I. INTRODUCTION

THE four letters here reprinted were published in the *Independent Democrat*,² Concord, N. H., in 1855, under the heading “Letters From Kansas.” Julia Louisa (Hardy) Lovejoy was the wife of the Rev. Charles H. Lovejoy, a Methodist minister of Croydon, N. H. In a letter to Isaac T. Goodnow, January 13, 1855, Mr. Lovejoy wrote:

. . . I have been making my plans for a few months to go west in the spring. . . . I am a member of the N[ew] H[ampshire] Conference—have trav[el]led in the regular work 21 years—have been an opposer of Slavery from my earliest recollections—have acted with the Abolitionists from the first—am possessed of good health—have a wife & three children—one, a boy 17 years, a girl 15 and another girl 6 in the spring—All in good health, & spirits . . .³

Mrs. Lovejoy’s letters continue the story—describing the journey of her family to Kansas territory; the pleasures, hardships and sorrows of pioneer life; incidents in the founding of Manhattan in which the Lovejoys had a part. The last two letters are of particular value for their first-hand information on the pioneer settlement which is today the city of Manhattan.

According to historical accounts, the Lovejoy’s son, Irving Roscoe, was the first white child born within the town limits.⁴ This birth occurred September 17, 1855.⁵ An older child, Juliette,⁶ born in New Hampshire, married Dr. Samuel Whitehorn, who settled in Manhattan in 1855.

The Rev. Charles H. Lovejoy was a member of both the Boston and Manhattan town companies, organized April 4 and June 4, 1855, respectively. He served as a traveling Methodist preacher, his circuit covering a large area around Manhattan. In 1856 he made a

1. Julia Louisa Hardy was born March 9, 1812, in Lebanon, N. H., daughter of Daniel Hardy. She married in 1833, or 1834, the Rev. Charles H. Lovejoy. Her death occurred February 6, 1882, in Douglas county.

2. Published in both the daily and weekly *Independent Democrat*, the dates given here are for the weekly edition: Letter No. 1, June 21; Letter No. 2, June 28; Letter No. 3, July 5; Letter No. 4, August 23, 1855.

3. Charles H. Lovejoy to Isaac T. Goodnow, January 13, 1855.—MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

4. Dr. S. Whitehorn, “An Historical Sketch of Riley County,” in the *Manhattan Nationalist*, July 7, 1876; Sarah A. (Dyer) Woodard, “Early Times in Kansas,” in *Log Cabin Days*, published by the Riley County Historical Society (1929), p. 26. Doctor Whitehorn’s account gives the child’s name as Irving Pomeroy.

5. *Alumni Record of Baker University* (Baldwin City, 1917), p. 69, gives the exact date.

6. An avenue in Manhattan is named Juliette, possibly for Juliette (Lovejoy) Whitehorn.

trip East to appeal for funds to build Methodist churches in Kansas.⁷

Early in 1857 the Lovejoys moved to Douglas county. Subsequent events in their lives are not relevant to this series of letters.⁸

II. THE LETTERS

ON BOARD THE "KATE SWINNEY,"

MISSOURI RIVER, March 13, 1855.

MR. EDITOR: By your permission, I will make use of your paper as a medium through which to give our dear N. E. friends who have said beseechingly, "*write to me*," some idea of our journey to the far-famed Kansas, and a brief description of the country as far as we have become personally acquainted with the Territory.

We took the cars, Monday the 5th inst., at White River Junction, Vt., and via Springfield, Mass., reached Albany, N. Y., Tuesday noon, and Wednesday morn, left with a large company from Massachusetts and R. I., for the "land of promise."⁹ Arrived in Buffalo about 8 o'clock in the evening, stopping three hours for rest, when we were whirled rapidly away toward Toledo, O., which we reached with jaded limbs and empty stomachs, about 3 P. M. Our ride was all that we could desire, through a fine country, good accommodations in the cars, (*bating* a little about the dense crowd of human beings *closely packed* from dire necessity in each "seat,") gentlemanly conductors along the route, until we reached Toledo, when we suffered some inconvenience in crossing the Maumee River, in a miserably old crazy boat, where hundreds of human beings were pushed through a narrow aperture for ingress and egress, hardly sufficient to admit one at a time, of corpulent dimensions. There were other boats in sight, externally inviting, but safely ensconced in winter quarters. Our next stopping place was Chicago, where we were glad to partake of a refreshing breakfast, Thursday morn-

7. T. C. Wells, "Letters of a Kansas Pioneer," in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. V, p. 172.

8. A brief sketch of the life of the Rev. Charles H. Lovejoy was published in *The Kansas Historical Collections*, v. VII, p. 497; the obituary of Mrs. Lovejoy was printed in the *Western Home Journal*, Lawrence, February 23, 1882.

9. This company preceded by one week the first regular spring party of the New England Emigrant Aid Company in 1855, sent out on March 13. Isaac T. Goodnow advertised in the *Herald and Journal* (city of publication not identified) late in February that he had made arrangements for friends and acquaintances of the Rev. J. Denison and himself to start from Boston on March 6 ("Webb Scrap Books," v. III, p. 20.—Library, Kansas State Historical Society). In Goodnow's diary for 1855 (MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society) under date of March 6 is this entry: ". . . Finished preparations for my departure with Br. Lincoln, Revs. C. H. Lovejoy, Newell Trafton & others. Left Boston in the Express Train . . . for Albany. 20 passengers for Kansas. 8 added at Framingham. 30 at Springfield 8 at Albany 2, Buffalo." An item in the Boston *Atlas* of March 13, 1855 (quoted in "Webb Scrap Books," v. III, p. 45), states: "The Kansas Party under the charge of Messrs. Lincoln and Goodnow (numbering 75 individuals), which left this State on Tuesday, the 6th inst., reached St. Louis safely, and thence took passage by steamer *Kate Swinney* for Kansas City, Mo., on Saturday afternoon last."

ing, furnished to our company, at the low rate of 25 cts., through the kindness of L. P. Lincoln, Esq., our energetic Agent, who is untiring in his efforts to make our journey pleasant, and seems interested in all that interests the emigrant.¹⁰ We left Chicago about 9 A. M., and our noble steed bore us impetuously on over the far-famed prairies of Illinois, with almost lightning speed, allowing us only a moment to snatch a glance at the smooth, mirror-like surface, of one [of] the loveliest land-scapes our wandering eyes ever beheld,—accustomed, as we have been from earliest childhood, to N. E. scenery, diversified with hill and dale. O how did the wish, which we vainly endeavored to suppress, escape us, ever and anon, as some new eminence—crowned with thrifty fruit trees, affording a fine “rural seat” for some wealthy occupant, that we too had caught the fever of emigration, long years ago, and had found a home with the almost envied Hoosier.

Onward we were borne, in one continuous routine of “jar and whistle,” toward the sunny south, reaching Alton, the scene of the Lovejoy tragedy,¹¹ about midnight, where we left the tilt of the cars for the less-fatiguing motion of a commodious steamboat, and so at last, we are on this great “father of waters,” this mighty artery,—whose constant pulsations drain the heart of this vast continent—the Mississippi River, whose course we have traced with the enthusiasm of childhood, on Morse’s old *Atlas*, little thinking when the hey-day of youth was passed, we too, should find a transient home on a vessel, whose prow should plough its turbid waters. The scenery along the Mississippi is as we supposed, low and monotonous; not dotted with thrifty looking villages or stately mansions, as in N. E., and we could not resist the impression we have everywhere felt in Missouri, that the blighting mildew of *slavery*, is evident on this productive soil, is seen on the dilapidated dwellings of the planters, and on all you come in contact with. O how often did we wish that energetic yankees, eking out a life of toil, on sterile, unproductive soil, could for a few years, occupy these rich lands, how greatly would the face of things be changed!

We entered the Missouri Hotel, St. Louis, about 3 o’clock Saturday morning, and found the first hour of undisturbed sleep since we left V[ermon]t. Here we found ample accommodations, a nice breakfast awaiting us, and were soon fortunate enough, under the

10. Luke P. Lincoln, whom Isaac T. Goodnow called “our superintendent,” in his “Personal Reminiscences and Kansas Emigration, 1855,” in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. IV, p. 245.

11. Mrs. Lovejoy refers to the murder of Abolitionist Elijah P. Lovejoy by a Proslavery mob at Alton, Ill., in 1837. He was a relative of the Rev. Charles H. Lovejoy.

guidance of friend Lincoln, to secure a passage on the "Kate Swinney," from St. Louis to Kansas City, for the meagre charge of \$10 each, and superb fare, that would pamper the most fastidious epicure. Now Mr. Editor, if you can travel 500 miles for this "wee bit" living in princely style, your every want anticipated by swift-footed waiters, officers and crew, with clocklike regularity, moving in their appointed sphere of action, eager to answer all your inquiries and show you every indulgence, *why—in this matter—we congratulate your good fortune!*

We came on board about 8 o'clock, Saturday morning, and through the kindness of Capt. Chouteau,¹² were permitted to take an excursion to "Jefferson barracks," down the Mississippi River, which took us about all day to perform, with no additional charge. Our company consisted of upwards of 100 men, women and children, from New England, New York and Pennsylvania, and a most happy family we are. By the permission of Capt. Chouteau, we had public religious service on board, Sabbath, A. M., commencing at the usual hour, sermon by Mr. Lovejoy; and in the evening, by Rev. N. Trafton¹³ of the "Biblical Institute" of your goodly city.

There are slaveholders on board—the Captain himself being one; but as yet no conflicting sentiments have been advanced to cause collision, though it is well-known that we are from Yankee land and *hate* slavery to the death, with all its kindred evils. We have one bright little slave girl on board, valued by her mistress at \$500.

Here may be seen a world in miniature.—On one hand sits the industrious Bay State lady, plying her knitting needles, there another putting the "finish" to a substantial pair of overalls, to make comfortable that much loved husband, as he tills the soil of Kansas. In another corner a pleasure-loving group, at "chequers," or thumbing over the keys of the piano-forte, or the guitar; and still another, singing lustily, old-fashioned, soul-enlivening Methodist hymns. Truly, Mr. Editor, notwithstanding our differences of opinion, we are a model family, so far as harmony and love are concerned, and as I gaze on this group of wives and mothers, who have torn themselves away from dear New England homes to follow the fortunes of that loved husband, to become a light in his mud-walled cabin—to wipe the sweat of toil from his care-worn brow—and like an angel-watcher, to minister to his comfort in sickness and health—and, *prospectively*, to brave hardships of no ordinary character—I

12. Capt. P. M. Chouteau.

13. The Rev. Newell Trafton.

ask, "Who shall wipe the dew of death, that will ere long gather on *her* brow in yon stranger land? What soft hand will smoothe *her* pillow in death, or shed the symphathetic tear, with bereaved loved ones, as her "remains" shall be laid away in the dark, damp tomb, or *who* shield her orphaned ones, far from kin and childhood's home when she is no more? I pause: my heart is full, and tears unbidden well-up from the *deep-fount* of feeling. I list! A mournful echo, borne from the wilds of Kansas answers "*Who?*"

We are at this hour at Murpheysville, on the Missouri, 20 miles from Washington, St. Charles Co., where we have been for three hours, firmly imbedded in the sand, and though every effort has been made to extricate ourselves from this predicament, our noble vessel is so heavily laden, she sullenly refuses to move an inch. There are 112 officers and soldiers and 90 horses on board, belonging [to] the U. S. Army. These, with the Kansas emigrants and their luggage, amounts to no small sum of freight. Flocks of wild geese, ducks, and beautiful white swans sailing gracefully over turbid waters, now meet the eye. But the wheel sluggishly moves, and we are onward bound. Adieu. You may hear from us again.

JULIA LOUISA LOVEJOY.

AMERICAN HOTEL, KANZAS CITY,
Mo., April 13, 1855.

MR. EDITOR: We took leave of your readers, whilst we were sentimentally thinking of the song of the "dying swan," occasioned by "association of ideas" in seeing a group of "living ones" sporting on the "mad Missouri."

Our journey up the river was delightfully pleasant, though somewhat protracted on account of low water. We saw some places of interest, on the river, but "few and far between," and not one that looked home-like, or that would compare in tastefulness of Architecture with a New England cottage. Even Jefferson, the Capitol of the State, had nothing peculiarly attracting, save the green hills sloping down to the water's edge, covered in mid-March with verdure that was very welcome to us from the Granite State, who had just been sleigh-riding over snow-drifts six feet in depth!

The Capitol was a spacious building on a beautiful eminence overlooking the river, but we thought it would look very contemptible along-side of the one in the Green Mountain State. One thing seemed to us like *neglect* or *indolence*; the *rusty* appearance of the unpainted copper sheathing that covered the cupola of the structure, that by

heavy rains had soiled the exterior of the walls the entire height. Near this place we saw what called forth exclamations of *disapprobation and disgust* from some of our warm-hearted anti-slavery New Englanders, who had not been accustomed to such sights. A cart drawn by mules, was being relieved from its "contents" of manure, by a hoe in the hands of a colored woman, whilst her overseer stood by with an air of content, giving directions that it should be properly done, whilst he moved not a finger to assist the poor creature in her masculine task! O slavery, thou unsexing demon, how art thou cursed of God and humanity.

We reached Kansas City Sabbath Morn, March 18th, in season to attend divine worship; and Mr. Lovejoy, though a known minister of the Northern M. E. Church, that is just now making such a stir amongst the enraged Missourians, was called to officiate in the pulpit. The practice obtains, we think through their indolence throughout the State, of one service in the day-time, and one in the evening. There is but one Church edifice in the city, and this unpainted, uncarpeted, and as *filthy* as any incorrigible tobacco chewer would wish to have it; stove, benches, and other "fixtures" bearing unmistakable evidence that the delicious weed, had been thoroughly *masticated*.

Our first impressions of this city were extremely unfavorable; and boarding in this hotel as we have for weeks past, confirms us in the belief, that though a great business place, on account of emigration to Kansas, yet the place itself, the inhabitants and the morals, are of an *indescribably repulsive* and undesirable character. Indeed, we know of but few places that we would not select for a permanent residence, in preference to Kansas City.

But "Kansas Ho!" is the watch-word for our party, and lo! all with one consent, begin to make a move in that direction. Teams being purchased, and all due preparation made the "pioneer party" with a noble span of horses and covered wagon, loaded to its utmost capacity with tents, mattresses, provisions, &c., for an exploring tour, started ahead, leaving the "ox team" to follow in due time.¹⁴ The company, some of whom were clergymen, presented a very unique and ludicrous appearance when fully equipped for their

14. Isaac T. Goodnow in his "Reminiscences," *loc. cit.*, p. 248, says a committee of seven was chosen to explore and select a site where the company was to settle. He names only six: Isaac T. Goodnow, Luke P. Lincoln, Charles H. Lovejoy, N. R. Wright, C. N. Wilson and Joseph Wintermute. In his diary for 1855, *loc. cit.*, entry of March 20 reads: "Several of the party bought oxen & horses. 7 of us started with a two horse team, leaving 12 to come on with the oxen." They reached the junction of the Kansas and Blue rivers on March 24, 1855. Others of the party remained in Kansas City for a time. A. Browning was the seventh member of the locating party according to a secondary source.—*Portrait and Biographical Album of Washington, Clay and Riley Counties, Kansas* (Chicago, Chapman Bros., 1890), p. 547.

journey. Some with oil-cloth hats and overcoats, and long boots drawn over their pants, to protect them from the mud, each armed with his rifle or revolver, for *game*, not for fear of the Indians or Missourians; the oxen, some without horns, and others less fortunate, *minus* in a certain appendage, very necessary in musquito-times; the drivers armed with a stick a number of feet in length, to which was appended a lash of enormous length, which dexterously used by one accustomed to it, makes "all ring again."

The party went in various directions, until by unanimous consent, a location was agreed upon at the junction of the Big Blue, and Kansas Rivers. There for the present we will leave them, busily selecting their "claims," and erecting their cabins to shelter them and their families, who are to follow, whilst we return to "matters and things" in Kansas [City]. It would seem almost incredible to all, save an eye witness of the fact, of the hosts whose name is "legion" that have been emptied from the boats on to the shores of Kansas during our stay here, and *still they come!* Thousands upon thousands, from almost every State in the Union, arrive here, and many go to Westport and Parkville, without stopping here. Some return in a week or two homeward bound, venting their curses against the "Aid Company" that has "humbugged them," in misrepresenting the country, (but these, almost invariably, are found not to possess the most necessary elements of frontier life, courage and endurance,) whilst thousands brave hardships, and are determined to "rough it" for a season, that they may enjoy the fruit of their labors.

A number of instances of a painful character have come under my observation, where almost, and in some instances quite, the last dollar has been expended in travelling "to and fro" in the Territory, and, like Noah's dove, finding no rest, turn their faces Eastward, sick of every thing they have seen in Eden's imaginary garden. Others, after being absent a few weeks, have stuck their stake, built their cabins, made their gardens, and return in triumph to New England, (or take the boats here for that purpose,) for their dear ones left behind. This class usually are extravagant in their praises of the country, and, like the Eastern Queen, declare the one half of its beauties have not been told them, and their portfolios or "common place" books exhibit the "Olive leaf" in the shape of beautiful prairie flowers, plucked in their wanderings, and sacredly preserved to carry to their Eastern friends, that they may see the "blossoms of Eden."

I have seen more of human suffering since I came to this place than I have ever seen lifelong before; and this is not to be wondered

at, so many coming such an immense distance, each bringing in his veins the seeds of disease, pertaining to his own peculiar clime, and when he arrives, worn out with fatigue and exposure, he is ripe for sickness and death. An affection of the lungs, called here "pneumonia, and winter fever," has prevailed amongst the emigrants and citizens to an alarming extent, and swept many to the tomb. At one time in this hotel, five men in one room were sick with lung fever, and one in another, Rev. J. Dennisan,¹⁵ of the N. E. Conference, sick with the same disease, and lost his youngest child by it. Scarcely an emigrant but has had a touch of it until they get away from the air of this river into the territory, where the air is purer, when their lungs are soon healed. I have seen the emigrant pay almost his last dollar for board at this house, said to be built expressly for his benefit, and published to the world "three and four dollars per week for board," when in every instance during our stay it has been one dollar per day, for those under the protection of the "Aid Company," and all others \$1.50. Though as far as we are personally concerned, the needle has supplied all our demands for "board and lodging" hitherto. The table-fare we will leave for abler pens to describe. The hotel is very commodious, built of brick, four stories high, and an addition for an airy dining-room now being erected.

Provisions are very high in this city, flour per hundred, \$5.75, corn meal, \$1.50 and \$1.75, butter, 30 cents, ham 11 and 12, smoked sides of hogs, much eaten here, 9 and 10, dried apple 12 1-2 per pound, molasses 75 per gallon, sugar 8 and 9. The freight from St. Louis to Kansas is enormously high, water is so low at this time.

We are anxiously looking for rain, as a drought almost unparalleled in the history of the State, has long prevailed.

A party have just arrived from Indiana, and among the number is a man one hundred and four years old. His second wife is along with him, aged 77. This old man has traveled over 1000 miles on the water, to get here with his son, who takes care of him. My heart ached for him when I thought of what he must unavoidably meet. Indeed, I have wept almost every day with some poor emigrant in trouble, and have named this "reception room" the "bridge of sighs," that all must pass over to find the promised land. Wives parting from their husbands, children from their parents, or friends weeping for friends left behind, some sick and disheartened, some

15. The Rev. Joseph Denison, later a founder and first president of the Kansas State Agricultural College, Manhattan.

spent all their money, others hom[e]sick, and still others burying their children or friends, and I have found a daily work for weeks, to console the emigrant, and sympathize with the afflicted.

JULIA LOUISA LOVEJOY.

MOUTH OF THE BIG BLUE RIVER,
K. T., May 22d, 1855.

MR. EDITOR:—With sad and grief-stricken hearts we resume our communications for your paper—and O, how can we narrate the heart-crushing events of a few past weeks? The sorrows of a life of forty years, have been as nothing, compared with what our poor hearts have felt in a few brief days. Ah me! the insatiate Archer has selected another victim—our little circle has been broken—the lamb of the flock taken, and our sweet Edith,¹⁶ a child of many prayers and hopes, laid low in death! For five short summers she has gladdened our hearts, and been a light in our dwelling, and within four days of her sixth birthday, the spirit took its heavenward flight, and we laid her precious dust away on a beautiful prairie, near Lawrence, Kansas Territory. Sleep on, my angel child—though thy mother's heart is breaking with untold anguish—death's icy grasp will ere long be broken, and then my eyes undimmed by burning tears, will behold thee, a seraph, with the "shining band."—Lung fever, that has swept like a pestilence through Missouri, seized all of our family who remained in Kansas, and measles setting in, our little one was soon numbered with the dead.

We arrived at our intended home about two weeks ago, and, notwithstanding the vacant spot in the home circle, and our own desolate hearts, we must pronounce this the most charming country our eyes ever beheld! I wish to write to our New England friends, things as we view them in this Territory, and *only as far as we do know them!* It seems to us impossible that any spot on earth, uncultivated by art, can be more inviting in appearance than this country. Beautiful rolling prairie, undulating like the waves of the sea, high limestone cliffs with immense bottom-lands, stretching into thousands of acres as rich as it is possible for it to be, high tablelands, with a soil a number of feet in depth. The only thing we have noticed as being lacking to make this country all that could be desired, is a scarcity of good building timber, such as spruce and

16. Edith Urania, the Lovejoy's younger daughter, died May 5, 1855, of measles and exposure. This event occurred the day after the family arrived in Lawrence. Her grave is said to have been the third made by pioneers on Mount Oread.—*United States Biographical Dictionary, Kansas Volume* (Chicago, S. Lewis & Co., 1879), p. 289.

pine.— There is a sufficiency of wood for many years to come, and limestone in plenty for fencing here, and for building purposes. There are living springs of pure sweet water on most of the claims in this vicinity, and wells are dug on the open prairie, where water is found of excellent quality but a few feet below the surface.

Our company consists of men of the "right stamp," mostly from Massachusetts and Rhode Island, including a number of clergymen, and men of liberal education, who have been successfully engaged for years as teachers in our distinguished seminaries of learning at the East, and are henceforth to devote their energies for the benefit of this new Territory.— They have pitched on a beautiful site for a city, at the junction of the Big Blue and Kansas Rivers, and to-day surveyors are busy in staking out the streets on an immense scale, a number of miles in circumference; frames and cabins are going up all around to secure this city property, whilst for miles around farm claims have been taken, and five, ten, and so on acres planted, and every thing is growing rapidly.¹⁷

Our present abode is a floorless cabin, built of logs, the crevices filled with sticks and mud, the roof covered with "shakes" split from logs, resembling your Eastern clapboards, in a rough state. These answer a good purpose in a fair day, but woe to the beds and everything else when the rain falls heavily. Mr. Lovejoy has a stone house going up on his "claim," just beyond the city limits. This claim is in the "Great bend" of the Big Blue, three quarters of a mile from its mouth, where thousands of acres of as rich bottomlands as can possibly be found, lie in a body. The whole can be easily enclosed by a fence across the neck, of perhaps [omission] in length. In sight, is the great government road¹⁸ to Fort Riley, 18 miles, on the Kansas River above this intended city, and the government bridge¹⁹ across the Blue, costing an immense sum. A bluff of limestone rises abruptly, at the base of which our house is in process of erection. He [Mr. Lovejoy] has four acres ploughed and nearly planted, besides his garden, which is in a flourishing condition, vegetables growing far more rapidly than in the East.

A fairer, more genial climate, we think, cannot be found on earth, though early in the spring we are told "high winds" and clouds of

17. At a meeting on April 4, 1855, a city organization was effected—a consolidation with the settlers of 1854, whose townsites Poliska (or Poleska) and Canton were encompassed by the new town named Boston. There were thirty-four or thirty-five members of the town company.—A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler, *History of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 1306; letter, Isaac T. Goodnow to his brother William, April 9, 1855, in MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

18. The Fort Leavenworth-Fort Riley military road.

19. The government bridge, built at a cost of about \$10,000, was destroyed by ice on January 26, 1856.—Mrs. Chestina B. Allen, "Sketches and Journal," entry of January 26, 1856, in MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

dust were a great annoyance. The air is so pure and clear that objects six and eight miles distant can be distinctly seen, as those in the East at one quarter of a mile, strange as it may seem. It is hard for us to become habituated to it, and it seems a constant phenomenon to us—so healthy too, that one can lie in the open air and realize no inconvenience from it. An instance occurs nightly in sight of our cabin. A gentleman from Maine,²⁰ a graduate of Waterville, and for years past teacher in the Charlestown Academy, who was, to all appearance in the last stages of consumption, given over by his physicians to die, as a last resort came to Kansas, has lived here through the winter, and now is so well he labors constantly, and at night wraps a buffalo robe about him, and throws himself on the open prairie, with no covering but the canopy of heaven.

There has been no sickness in the Territory here as we have learned, only as it was brought here. There has been a drought which has made things later than usual, but for two weeks past the heavens have literally poured their contents upon the earth. The grass in some places is nearly knee-high—thousands of acres that I wish might be covered with grazing flocks and herds. Hard-working cattle with nothing but this grass to eat, are fit for beef in a few weeks. But O our thunder-storms, Mr. Editor, you have need to witness them before you can conceive of their awful sublimity. On a sudden the heavens are overspread with black angry clouds, and seem for hours to be wrapped in a sheet of flame, heavy thunder, as if the whole artillery of heaven was at once discharged, when the rain not only falls in drops but in copious streams, deluging the earth, but soon disappears, and we see no chance for stagnant water, the land is so rolling.

Our present cabin is near the centre of the city site, and is literally in the centre of a garden of flowers of varied form and hue, surrounded with acres of rose bushes, which, when in blossom must perfume the air for miles around. In the cool of the day we love to sit at the door of our cabin and inhale the sweet perfume of flowers, and snuff the bracing air. Were it not for the vacuum made in our "trio band" by death's ruthless hand, we should feel happier than in any other spot we ever found on earth, though we greatly desire our dear friends in New England to come and live in this inviting land.

Provisions are scarce and high, having to be brought from Kansas City by teams though a steamboat is hourly expected laden with

20. E. M. Thurston, an 1854 settler from Maine, and member of the group locating the Canton townsite. A street in Manhattan is named Thurston.

freight for the Territory. A landing and temporary warehouse has been prepared. Quite an excitement is being felt to-day among the members of the "City Association" as a number of men are busy jumping claims within the city limits, and they had not previously taken the precaution to have them all secured by erecting cabins within suitable distances of each other, but more about this matter in my next.

Mr. Park,²¹ of immense wealth, who has lately had his printing press destroyed in the Missouri River, at Parkville, Mo., by hundreds of armed ruffians, and his own life threatened, has taken seventy-five shares in our "city" stock, and given a handsome bonus to a "squatter Missourian to get rid of him." Great things are expected of him here in pecuniary matters. Game is very plenty about the Blue. Wild geese, turkeys, ducks, prairie hens, and deer; but they don't always stop long enough for a ball to hit them. The rivers are full of fish of the finest flavor I ever tasted, similar to the Eastern trout, but a richer treat for the table. They are called cat-fish, and some of them weigh over 50 lbs., and sometimes twice that amount, and the flesh when dressed, looks as large as a fat calf. A man just above us, on the Blue River, one night last week with a "seine" caught 1,500 lbs. and carried them the next day to Fort Riley to market.

A neighbor a few days since took an excursion up the valley of the Blue, and he says the country in his opinion, in some respects is preferable to this near the mouth, but we hardly think it possible. He informed us that 200 families from Ohio were on the way to settle there, and 20 more families are now making a settlement just above us on the Blue, from the Buck-eye State. Towns are starting up as by magic all along the valley of the Kanz[a]s. Ashland, Manhattan and Pawnee, between this place and Fort Riley. But more anon.

Yours respectfully,

JULIA LOUISA LOVEJOY.

MANHATTAN CITY, MOUTH OF BIG
BLUE RIVER, K. T., Aug. 1, 1855.

MR. EDITOR: Monday is a "busy day" in this far-off land, as well as in New Hampshire: but "suds" and "scrubbing" are all postponed as a matter of course, for this eventful day. For lo! the mail has arrived, bringing "lots" of papers and letters from the East (which have been delayed on the way long enough to have crossed

21. George Shepard Park, publisher of the Parkville (Mo.) *Luminary*, whose press was destroyed by a Proslavery mob April 14, 1855.

the Atlantic twice) and among them we find three numbers of your paper, that we loved so much to read in our Eastern home, now doubly dear separated by a stretch so vast, as now intervenes between us, and our dear New England friends—from our “heart of hearts,” we thank thee, Mr. Editor for this delicious morsel, though we expect they will be so eagerly sought, and be read, and re-read by so many, that before one week they will be completely “thumbed” to pieces, and used up. Since the date of our last letter, a great and important change has occurred in business matters here,—a steamboat, the “Financier” was then on her way up the Kansas River—she arrived at the Mouth of the Blue, the 29th of May—a short distance in the rear followed the “Hartford,” a splendid boat, owned by a company of wealthy capitalists from Cincinnati, Ohio, who had sent on their agent ahead, selected a location for a town, about two miles from Fort Riley—had it surveyed and regularly laid into “lots,” and named it “Manhattan”—this boat was bringing out the “settlers” with their families, heavily freighted with ready-made houses, all prepared for immediate erection.²² When they came in sight of our beautiful locality almost encircled as it is by these two rivers, they were so charmed with the spot, and concluding, wisely too, that the Mouth of the Blue, must be eventually at the head of navigation, they made proposals to our “Boston Association,” on certain stipulated conditions, to abandon the project of founding a city, as first intended, and expend their capital here. This offer was cordially accepted and in return our “Association” made them a present of one-half our “City-site,” or one side of “Main Street,” that runs through the centre, and the privilege of changing the name from “Boston,” first given it, to “Manhattan.”²³ Things now look quite city-like, and the sound of the hammer is heard on every hand. Nine of their houses, are already erected, 25 or more “habitations” of one kind or another, are now dotting this “broad area,” known as “City limits,” and for miles around, the “claims” are mostly taken up. We have purchased, and moved into one of these Cincinnati houses, furnished (in these “ends of the earth” as our friends at home, are pleased to term it) with better furniture, than it has been our fortune heretofore to possess. You could hardly credit what a rush there is for “claims” here now, and one that has been considered of but little consequence, has been purchased within a week, for

22. On the *Hartford* were some seventy-five settlers, members of the Cincinnati and Kansas Land Company.

23. Isaac T. Goodnow in his diary for 1855, *loc. cit.*, under date of June 2, wrote: “Met representatives of the Manhattan Comy. Cincinnati”; and under June 4 made this entry: “Meeting of our Association. Passed a resolution giving to the Manhattan Coy. of Cincinnati $\frac{1}{2}$ of our city site on condition of making certain improvements. . . .”

\$200, and we are told today the owner has been offered thrice that sum. Vegetation is of a luxuriant growth. Mr. L. went into a heavily eared cornfield, a few days since, and with a long hoe, endeavored to reach the top, but found it impossible; neither could he reach a part of the ears, with his hands, without the aid of stilts! One of our neighbors, who came here last summer, has forty acres that bid fair to yield 50 bushels of shelled corn to the acre, and also a fine field of wheat. We had green corn to eat the first of July, not as early as some others. Grapes of a fine flavor, have been ripe a number of weeks—they are very abundant, and our good housekeepers are busy in making their jellies, which are very nice preserves and a variety of little "et cetera," that answers the purpose of other plumbs, and berries, they have been accustomed to use in New England. Paw-paws, that now resemble (as they hang on the tree) a large rich pear, grow here, but the fruit, this year, is not plenty—also large blue plumbs, like New England garden plumbs, mulberries also, very fine, that grow on tall, slender trees and look almost precisely like an unripe blackberry—gooseberries, black raspberries, &c., but not a strawberry—in this part of the territory. We have understood they are farther south, but here the annual fires sweeping over the prairies, prevent their growing—we design this fall to get a supply, and not to suffer the "devouring element" to harm them, or anything else that grows within the limits of "our claim" if we can possibly prevent it. With regard to climate, I doubt whether any other can be found equal to it. Our hottest days in July, would not compare with New England; for when the thermometer stood at 90° the heat was counteracted by a constant cooling breeze, so refreshing, and delightful, when not too strong, as is sometimes the case. And it would occasion surprise, to hear any one exclaim, "Ah me, I have taken cold!"—men (and even ladies too) I'll whisper this parenthesis, can ford (wade) creeks, rivers, sleep in the open air, on the prairies, in the ox-wagons, or wherever night overtakes them, and suffer no inconvenience. I mean delicate ladies, who have been bred to effeminacy and accustomed to the luxuries of a home, where wealth abounded. Provisions are falling rapidly, so that the greatest trouble in this part of the Territory, now is about our Missourian neighbors, whose "hearts are set on mischief." We were apprehending trouble if not "hard fighting" in our quiet community at the opening of the Legislature, in Pawnee, a few miles above here, as some of the "viler sort," had threatened to "exterminate every abolitionist here, and demolish their houses"; and I can

assure you, every man, not excepting our good peace-loving minister, **WAS PREPARED FOR THEM!** The people in this Territory have suffered until "forbearance is no longer a virtue" and now if help is afforded from no other source, they are resolved individually to defend their "rights" and their homes. Mr. L. was present at Pawnee, at the opening of our Guasi legislature,²⁴ and notwithstanding the blustering and threats of the half-drunk pro-slavery party, not one solitary revolver was fired at any free-soil man or one bowie-knife aimed at one defenceless head. Though a more reckless set, stirred up to deeds of daring by the fumes of the brandy bottle, never probably met for like purposes; and Stringfellow,²⁵ when elected speaker of the House of Representatives, invited his "cronies" to a certain Hotel, "to discuss together the merits of a bottle of champagne." They made a mere cypher of Gov. Reeder,²⁶ taking every thing out of his hands, and finally adjourned to the "Shawnee Mission," more than a hundred miles south [east]—a miserable pro-slavery "sink," leaving the Governor "alone in his glory" to follow, or remain behind, as he should choose. He and Judge Johnson²⁷ came leisurely along a few days afterward, stopping for the night, with our next door neighbor—the Governor looking unscathed, notwithstanding the fiery ordeal he had just passed thro'. True, he retained a few slight scratches on his face, the effects of being unceremoniously knocked down by the notorious Stringfellow, editor of the "Squatter Sovereign," one of the vilest pro-slavery sheets that ever disgraced the American press! Ah! Mr. Editor: scenes have been enacted in this Territory, within a few months past, and lawless ruffianism, perpetrated on peaceable, unoffending citizens, sufficient to rouse the spirit of '76, in the breast of every freeman; and it is aroused. Military companies are forming, and though we may be accounted feeble in regard to numerical strength, compared with the hordes that may flock here from Missouri, the "battle is not always to the strong," and truth and justice, will eventually triumph. "Kansas must be free" though blood is shed, and hundreds fall victims to the bloody moloch of slavery. Jehovah is on the side of the oppressed, and He will yet arise in His strength, and His enemies will be scattered.

There is work enough for every minister, or free-soil man that can be spared from the old Granite State, or any part of New England.

24. Quasi-legislature. The opening meeting was held July 2, 1855.

25. Dr. John H. Stringfellow, a founder of Atchison and editor of the Proslavery *Squatter Sovereign*, Atchison newspaper.

26. Gov. Andrew H. Reeder.

27. Judge Saunders W. Johnston, associate justice of Kansas territory.

Mr. L. has preached every Sabbath since he left the East, and in June entered on his duties as a missionary, on "Fort Riley Mission," officially appointed. His field of labor extends from Pottawatomie Mission, 30 miles on the South[east], to 70 or 80 miles West from here beyond the Fort, and finds 12 places where they need constant Sabbath preaching. Drones that cannot work hard or live on coarse fare, or sleep in cabins, with or without a bed, or on the open prairie need not come here—they are not wanted, for they will be going back the second week, telling a doleful story of "Kansas fare." But those who can endure and be willing to "rough" it for the sake of doing good in the cause of liberty and religion, let them come, and God speed them in their glorious work! A great work is to be done, and Kansas is the great battlefield where a mighty conflict is to be waged with the monster slavery, and he will be routed and slain. Amen and Amen.

JULIA LOUISA LOVEJOY.

Notes on the Proslavery March Against Lawrence

I. INTRODUCTION

THE siege of Lawrence, stronghold of the Free-State party in Kansas, began about May 11, 1856, and culminated ten days later in the looting and destruction of a considerable part of the city. This attack by Proslavery forces received nation-wide publicity and resulted at once in a greatly increased flow of money, weapons and supplies from Eastern sympathizers to the hard-pressed foes of slavery in Kansas.

A "Proclamation to the People of Kansas Territory" issued May 11, 1856, over the signature of the United States marshal, I. B. Donalson, was the Proslavery call to arms for the march on Lawrence:

WHEREAS, Certain judicial arrests have been directed to me by the First District Court of the United States, etc., to be executed within the county of Douglas, and whereas an attempt to execute them by the United States Deputy Marshal was evidently resisted by a large number of the people of Lawrence, and as there is every reason to believe that any attempt to execute these writs will be resisted by a large body of armed men; now, therefore, the law-abiding citizens of the Territory are commanded to be and appear at Leecompton, as soon as practicable, and in numbers sufficient for the execution of the law. . . .

The response to the proclamation showed unquestionably, as Free-State men charged, that it was "the consummation of a well-planned conspiracy. . . . The van of the army appeared in the vicinity of Lawrence two days *before the proclamation was dated*, and commenced hostile demonstrations. . . ." ¹

Among the hot-blooded Proslaveryites answering the invitation to beard the Yankee Abolitionists in their den was an unidentified humorist who joined a Leavenworth company as a recruit on May 11, 1856, and kept a quasi-factual diary of his adventures. Editor Lucian J. Eastin, of Leavenworth, who published the narrative in his Proslavery *Kansas Weekly Herald* beginning July 12 and ending August 23, 1856, introduced the series with this commentary: "We stumbled upon the following memoranda of incidents and accidents upon overhauling the kit of a fourth Sergeant of the Kansas Militia, who has left the Territory, we suppose more in anger than sorrow."

1. A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 123.

The memoranda, entitled "Notes To and From the Siege of Lawrence," end abruptly with the entry of May 21, and although the last installment carried a "To Be Continued" at the end, no further "Notes" appeared in the *Herald*. Perhaps Eastin felt that the time for humor had passed. His editorial of August 30, 1856, "The Crisis at Hand," expressed his realization of the "serious and critical position" in which Kansas found itself.

. . . A crisis is at hand which involves the greatest question which can be addressed to any people—the right to enjoy the acquisitions of their common blood and treasure, and peaceably to spread their institutions and civilization. Our Territory is invaded by a foreign foe, swollen with the spoils of repeated aggression, devoted to the one idea of crushing us of the South as a people, and extinguishing in Kansas the new born hope of Southern equality.

. . . We are now embarked in a struggle for life; . . . let us turn from any peace offered us by the Abolitionists, and seek that peace only which comes of our rights. . . . This method will alone save us and our country from ruin and destruction.

The account is reprinted here not for its modicum of factual content but for its general interest. It is a rare specimen of humor from a Proslavery pen, written at a time when humor was a scant commodity on either side in Kansas.

II. THE JOURNAL—MAY 11-21, 1856

May 11.—To day arrived in Leavenworth City anxious for glory and a boardinghouse, saw some other patriots on the Levee, inquiries made of me as to my soundness on that remarkable bird the Goose.² Patriots satisfied with my soundness, borrowed all my money from me, felt dubious as to who the goose was; struck peculiarly with the pugnacious qualities of some of the citizens of Leavenworth, great anxiety manifested on all sides to meet Abolitionists. Conspiracy rife in our midst, arrests made, and the most salutary methods to check the onward stride of Abolitionism adopted; hanging to be a minor punishment; however no convictions, nor no executions.—Feel hungry toward the evening, look out anxiously for patriots who so kindly borrowed my money from me, but look in vain. *Mem* nature abhors a vacuum, so do I, felt how poor a panacea for hunger was. Night approaches, mount guard four hours, arrest an intoxicated man who to all my enquiries for the countersign, begs me to treat; call Sergeant of the Guard, Sergeant of the Guard calls me a fool, feel resentment, but stifle the same; superior officer. Sleep at last,

2. "Sound on the Goose.—A phrase originating in the Kansas troubles, and signifying true to the cause of slavery."—John Russell Bartlett, *Dictionary of Americanisms* . . . (Boston, Little, Brown, and Co., 1877), p. 630.

and think with pleasure how many more imbeciles there are around me besides myself.

May 12.—Wake at daylight, most intense excitement, soldiers getting tight all around, feel inclined to pitch in myself; conquer myself, remember the holiness of the cause, and resolve not to allow myself to get fuddled. Ten o'clock, gallant Captain assembles the boys for a grand parade, shoulder my musket and attend, are informed that the eyes of the country are upon us, that great deeds and Abolitionists are awaiting us, are advised not to be too precipitate, but rush on boldly and be killed; felt the glory of the suggestion, but cavilled inwardly at the humanity of it. Orders to be ready for the road at one, but on account of unavoidable circumstances, and probably the proximity of grogeries, did not leave until five P. M. A cortege small but determined wends its way slowly to the westward, composed of all sizes of men, and clad in any kind of uniform, with the ever ponderous musket. Wonder to see so few of the most gaseous citizens in the crowd, understand they stay behind to make arrangements. Conclude making arrangements is their forte. Our cavalcade rendered most imposing by our oxen, whom every one of the company appear to be driving. Oxen pause often to reflect, and when they have ascertained the voice of the majority, plod on steadily. Ladies gaze fondly on us thus marching forward to meet the enemy. Nothing occurs to detract from the sublimity of the scene, but an unsuccessful attempt on the part of one of the company to kick a young urchin, who kept continually gyrating his fingers at the end of his nose, thereby reflecting upon the military appearance of the company. At length one whole mile from town and completely in view of the same, a halt is made, with all the pomp and circumstance of war; and our grounds posted, have myself an unenviable post in a swamp, where two refractory steers keep continually passing the out-post; am kept very busy remonstrating with them on their conduct; felt peculiarly how uncertain life is on the tented field; hailed upon one occasion when returning to my post after an unexciting chase after the aforesaid steers, by the sentinel immediately above and within a few paces of me, demanded of me the countersign; asked him jocularly if he was gasping? He replied by clicking his musket, when I, in a stentorian voice accommodated him with the countersign, and thus saved my life. Kept whistling the balance of the night to keep from being shot. Observed two individuals approaching me, asked in a gentlemanly manner who they were, answered officers of the guard; told

them to pitch in, and received a severe reprimand for my courtesy and was told how for the future to hail persons advancing; felt that taking into consideration how seldom I had acted in a military capacity, that this was piling on the agony too thick. Mysteriously relieved by two gentlemen to whom I whispered the talismanic countersign, which was, whiskey, and went to bed i. e. to grow relieved in more senses than one.

May 13.—Awake at a very early hour, after a very unrefreshing sleep full of hideous dreams, and wondered how I could have dreamed so much in so short a space of time. Once dreamed I was a soldier under Napoleon, exposed to a galling fire from some enemy, then with Scott in Mexico, now being hung for desertion, or undergoing some other beautiful principle of military tactics: I found that while I had not made any impression on my bed from its hardness, it had made considerable impression upon me; found all hands very busy about breakfast, the post of chief cook assigned to a wagoner, said wagoner succeeds admirably with the water, boils it to perfection, tries his hand at the bread, but alas, fatally, bread intended to be light, is of the consistency of a brick and something of the color of a quadron. Wagoner returns from the post of cook receiving the curses of a lot of very hungry and rather profane young men. Another attempts the arduous task of making rolls, succeeds as far as the shape is concerned, but fails again, rolls prove to be soft as mush, and he retreats from the scene of action with a consciousness that his forte is not cooking; all hands resolve to be their own cook, and each promiscuously attacks his ham and eat it like cannibals. Coffee is made and drank in something the same manner that one will take a nauseous dose of physic, that is by shutting the eyes during the operation. After breakfast, all hands turn out to help to gear the oxen, which is done after an immensity of trouble; oxen proving the most infernal obstinate animals in the whole creation, shall henceforth regard a mule as a perfect gentleman compared to them. At last we are all right, pots and kettles stored away, and resume our line of march for Lawrence or eternity. Take a casual survey of the company to see more fully what manner of men there are amongst us. Result of my observations are that there are four Doctors, a sprinkling of Lawyers, some business men and mechanics, altogether it would be hard to find a more varied group. Felt pleased to see that soundness of the Goose was a question calculated to awaken interest in so many different minds. Find a prisoner amongst us who was taken the night previous, understand that our

gallant Major has gone to Head-Quarters to ascertain what disposition to make of him. Men mysteriously hint at roasting or hanging—hope they are not serious; but am satisfied that if they attempt to make a roast they will lamentably fail, as from the signs at the breakfast this morning, there is no culinary art among us. Prisoner does not seem to feel at all the awfulness of his situation, but travels on very quietly—am at a loss to know whether it is resignation at his fate, or satisfaction that he will be set free. Gallant Major comes along and on reaching us, informs prisoner that he is at liberty, prisoner mounts his horse and courteously bids us adieu, and puts spurs for Leavenworth.—Felt as if I would not much care if I were the prisoner. Keep travelling on without anything to disturb the even tenor of our way until midnight; when from the perverseness of the oxen we are in contact with an enormous stump; now ensues a scene of confusion, take a seat upon another stump and wait philosophically for our trials and wagon to get over. Drivers halloo at the top of their voices, amateurs follow suit, curses loud and deep rend the air, but the oxen feel no disposition to be rash. I determined to wait until the hubbub subsides, and our party exhaust their whole vocabulary of anathemas, and give themselves up to grim despair; coming to the conclusion that they are stumped. An unassuming old man steps into the arena and attempts his skill on the perverse brutes; he adopts quite a different style of tactics, and succeeds by fair words and gentle inuendoes in getting us out of our dilemma. Feel satisfied that this man whom all call General, is a wonderful ox-driver, as he never curses them, and thinks persuasion is better than force.

At noon, halt for dinner; oxen let run to eat theirs. Wish for the time that I was a grammivorous animal instead of a carnivorous one, that I might satisfy my appetite with grass a la Nebuchadnezzar. A committee of three sent to a house in view, where, from the signs hanging on the clothes lines, lovely and useful women were living, to request they would cook us dinner from our stock of raw materials. Impatiently wait the action of committee, and fill up the interim by discussing politics; hear an interesting lecture from a certain Doctor on military tactics generally, and duties of private soldiers in particular. A jug of whiskey, found in some of the recesses of our capacious wagons, is introduced, and, like an old acquaintance, is hailed with delight and cordially embraced by all. Retract my wish that I was grammivorous, made a short time before, in view of the whiskey, and take a hearty pull at it. Feel much better. The day

wearing apace, and committee on dinner not coming. Hitch up again, and proceed on our travels. Get but a short distance from our resting place, when committee on dinner appear in sight, apparently heavily laden. A halt is ordered, and on the approach of the dinner, men take advantageous positions to surround the basket. The basket arrives full of bread and meat, and after having been regularly divided, contrary to the hopes of some individuals, we find that each man has enough to swear by. Out of the necessity of the case, we rise from our meal, in accordance with Franklin's suggestion, with an appetite. Again on the road; come at last to the creek called Stranger. Wish all the creeks were strangers to me, and would remain so. After a series of heartrending trials at this creek, arrive, very wet and with more mud on my clothes than I ever owned in real estate, on the other side. Got to our camping place and prepared to camp for the night. Here we have the pleasure of getting our food cooked by ladies; but for myself, feeling too sick and disgusted, I went to bed, where, after the fuss had subsided, consequent to the mounting of guard, I slid gradually into the land of nod; not long there, however, ere an alarm is given of an attack; all hands turn out, rings from every mouth. Satisfied that my hour was come, and after all, I would die by an Abolitionist's hand, yet I, in despair, rushed to the scene of action, and found to my horror, that in my confusion I had rushed out with a tin pannikin, nor would I ever have discovered my error but from my attempt to cock it; felt obliged to Providence for the darkness of the night, as it prevented my confusion and pannikin from being seen by fellow soldiers. Succeeded in getting a loaded musket at last, and detailed to scout with some other gentlemen. Our scouting party fired at something several times, and I think really hit it, as there were several dead trees observed next morning there and thereabouts. After tramping with some vigor through the woods and hailing all the cattle in the neighborhood, came to the righteous conclusion that there was nobody around. Kept up the balance of the night until morning, as to sleep was impossible. Inquiries made as to who made the alarm during the night, fastened it upon a certain Doctor, and fired sixteen or seventeen buckshot in an enormous stump, the result of his well directed aim. Another Doctor receives a rather severe shock at his own hand, having put three or four cartridges in his musket and fired off the same; the result can better be imagined than described. Musket and Doctor parted company, and the latter lay senseless for a time; while another Doctor made a star of sticking plaster on his

cheek, which brought him to. Then to breakfast, and the road once more.

May 14th. . . .—Flattered myself a halt would have been ordered, but no, the cry is, onward, still onward. Learn that a very important appointment has been made by the officer in command during the previous evening. That the little doctor, in view of his having become the Surgeon of the company, (though how he became so no one knows), is also appointed commissariat of the company.—Understand he accepts the same with the spirit of a martyr. The men, evil minded of course, think the two jars of whiskey, property of the company, tend greatly to his resignation toward the duties of his appointment, as by it, he has entire control of all the whiskey, which is a consummation devoutly to be wished for by all. But now the road and the road only claims our attention. To cross the flats from Stranger to the opposite heights requires much skill and energy, less excitability and nervousness than our band of raw recruits possess. The oxen geared properly with the best intentions in the world, start on their mission; but before they are one-half of the way through the flats, they cave. Now occurs a scene of fierce invectives. Our general, for the once, is out generalled, and the oxen, with probably a juster appreciation of the soil than we have ourselves, refuse, in spite of kind or ferocious treatment, to exert themselves. In vain do we assail them with words of endearment. In vain is woo or gee reiterated. They are insensible to our exertions, and are as stoical as brutes can be. After making more than ordinary efforts, I retire from the field in disgust, and sit at some distance on a stump to ruminate on my prospects as far as glory is concerned, in the never-to-be-forgotten campaign. Find myself in such a state from mud and filth that no one would take me for a white man, and am only satisfied at seeing that at least there is no one better off in this respect than myself; indeed, did we exchange or swap clothing the one with the other, all parties swapping would have been cheated. After a great deal of trouble and much profanity, it was agreed to take a circumambulatory route to cross this slough of Despond, and some hardy individuals, not having the fear of rheumatism in their eyes, tracking out a road through the same swamp. The oxen followed and arrived on the other side of the same, decidedly broken down. To gain the heights was now the object; to do which and relieve the oxen from a dilemma they had inserted themselves into by sticking and remaining so stuck in the mud, all hands were ordered to turn out and help unload the wagons.

Found in one wagon a certain doctor as passive as a side of bacon, with the original star of sticking plaster on his cheek, who, in excuse for his position there, informed us that his extraordinary exertion the day before, and the extraordinary discharge of his musket, rendered it impossible for him to be in any other condition than that of an invalid. Evil minded men in the company suggested that whiskey had an effect on his present position. Think not, however. After much trouble and tribulation found ourselves on the other side of the flat, and on the heights beyond Stranger. Again in motion, we arrived at the house of a Dutchman, who, although with free soil proclivities, had whiskey. With one or two others constituted an advance guard, and assailed the house of said Dutchman for whiskey. After considerable parleying, whiskey produced, and I take the liberty of stating that it was as good as any whiskey I ever tasted in the Territory, either from pro-slavery men or others. All hands drink here *ad libitum*, but no one made drunk come. From here, still onward, and marched without anything of interest occurring until we arrived at Butler's, and here nothing happened very interesting save our dinner. To me, this was especially interesting. Here met with the gallant Colonel of our company, who had the best brandy with him I had seen since I left Leavenworth City. Endeavored to get as thick with him as I could in consideration of his own *spirited* qualities and that of his flask.

After a hearty dinner at Butler's we are once more on the road. Am rather disgusted at our officers in command, or at least some of them, who for reasons best known to themselves, go on a different and more pleasant route to our intended camping place, and on horseback too, while we poor fellows of the line tramp over one hill then another; hoping that one will meet the main road which we contrived to do at last, after an immensity of exertion and more curses than would fill Webster's last dictionary. At last at night we reached our halting place, and the usual scene occurs of mounting guard, &c. Our halting ground is near a creek more famous for the filthiness of its water than anything else.—Here supper is had, and any fastidiousness that might be extant amongst us, is swallowed by our inordinate appetites. After a very hasty consideration of the supper, we are turned out to drill; drilling is a perfect humbug in my opinion; all are straightened out in a line. A fat, good natured Orderly Sergeant drills us, twenty-five of us, green as gourds on the subject of military tactics.—Shoulder arms! present arms! and order arms! are strangely commingled in our brains, and the order to do

one of the foregoing is responded to by attempts to do a little of all we know. Our marching, and countermarching is painful, as we all form a sincere wish to do right, tread on the heels of the person in front, and are cursed accordingly, regretting seriously our incapacity to be Napoleons. Our Orderly Sergeant dismisses us amongst the acclamations of the company, and we all make a rash attempt to sleep, but alas our attempts prove futile; hardly do we compose ourselves so that Morpheus may embrace us, when we are rather roughly informed that we must turn out to fight the enemy. All turn out with their muskets, in most murderous attitudes.—One-half of our force sent toward the creek to reconnoitre; the balance, amongst whom I was, remain in camp to guard the same. After a few minutes of absence; first half returned, and informed the company in general, and the officers in charge in particular, that some two individuals had passed, and had told the gentleman on guard near the road, that he might if he found it convenient, proceed to Pandemonium; a decided reflection on our company, but said reflection was responded to in a manner calculated to strike terror into unbelievers, and such who could not prove unmistakably their soundness on the Goose. But the firing of all the pistols in the direction that they who had insulted us had gone, quiet was once more restored. Felt relieved that we had not been attacked by Abolitionists. Heard officers expressing resignation, and satisfaction that they had made their wills and were willing to die. Thought seriously about making my own will, but remembered that I had nothing to leave, so thought I would defer it. Between two and five a. m., went on guard receiving particular instructions to beware of Abolitionists, walked backward and forward after the most approved form all night, did not see an Abolitionist once, but kept a keen look out for the person on the post below, who once had nearly shot me. Determined not to be taken unawares again. Miscalculated several times by the oxen, whom I in my fertile imagination thought Abolitionists. Beg their pardon for the error, as I do not wish to reflect upon them. Think upon the whole that it is a very bad thing to alarm falsely soldiers upon such an expedition as ours, as they might in a moment of excitability, kill a first rate working steer instead of an Abolitionist; a mistake which would be very serious. Daylight, relieved once more, now comes my breakfast, then the road.

May 15.—Having been up all night, am consequently up very early in the morning, and proceed to the breakfast ground, anxious to eat something. Find that a bottle of whiskey was going its rounds

with unusual vigor; take my station that it might find me in its circle of acquaintances. Whiskey being all drank, the more important matter of breakfast claims our attention, and each has some office to do in this respect. Grinding coffee requiring less culinary talent than anything else, the job is assigned to me. All are very jolly and dirty, and the conversation very lively: some form plans for the future, based upon the eminent glory that may ensue to them in this campaign; others more moderate wish they were at Ki's or Charley's drinking a mint julep; for myself I only wish I had another shirt, as then I would have two, which number would enable me to present a more human appearance. Breakfast at last being ready, all hands attack it; observe that the longer we are out the less polite towards each other do we become. This is peculiarly apparent at our meals; our maxim is now first come, first served.

After breakfast, good natured Orderly Sergeant gets us into as near a straight line as he can, and proceeds to drill us again, with, if possible, less success than the previous evening. At the command right wheel most of us wheel the wrong way; and the nearest approach to a hollow square that we can attain to is an imperfect oval. Our muskets are seldom, if ever, in their proper position, and prove for an inanimate subject very hard to manage.

After coursing up and down the prairie to our disgust, and to the acceleration of our digestion, we are dismissed with the melancholy conviction that we are but poorly drilled, although we feel awfully bored. At last we are under way, and from our proximity to the enemy are cautious in our movements. Careful of a surprise, with muskets on our shoulders, we surround the wagons in the most advantageous positions. Am a rear guard myself, and keep my eye on one of the hind wheels. But Providence or the enemy spares us for Buck creek, which we are fast approaching and which threatens to be more fatal to us than a number of engagements.

Nothing occurs to distract us from our monotonous snail's pace, or attracts our attention save two dogs who join us more from interest than glory. At last Buck creek appears; we think how gladly would we "pass" the *Buck* as at "*Poker*," but we are not playing that game now, although before getting through we got to "*all fours*." Buck creek is a succession of ugly hills and gloomy hollows. We get down the hills and cross the creek, but to ascend the other side requires a little more exertion. We had not gone far when we succeed in sticking admirably. By common consent, we all sit down to ruminate. Few men could have blamed the oxen, as they seldom

did probabilities, and of course would not attempt impossibilities. Providence at this juncture turns on what superfluous water there was immediately above us, so as to render it still more impressive.— Instead of solid earth, we have now to cope with pure mud, and we stand grimly looking on, wishing that Buck creek was on the confines of the bottomless pit—for if it was, few of our crowd would go to the same pit if it was necessary to cross the creek to get there. Thunder peals over our heads, and is turned to a masterly account by a gallant Colonel, who assures us the fight is now raging at Lawrence, and what we suppose to be thunder is the distant booming of cannon. This assurance, coupled with the timely application of the elixir of life from a well known stone jar, restores our saturated energies and drooping spirits, and we attack our difficulties to conquer them or die.

All the oxen are hitched to the wagon that is mired, and all the company turn out, each one selecting a beast to “pour into” and to receive his unmitigated attention. The word is given and the oxen get Jessie, nor do we cease, until overcome with our exertions we give up the useless job. Some sanguine individuals seize axes and attempt to cut down some trees, and several are cut down that were originally no hindrance to us. At last comes the order to unload, which was effected; unloading flour, muskets, sugar, ham &c., in such mud and such weather has a rather deleterious effect upon my enthusiasm. Once unloaded, the oxen get along to the top of the other hill with the inward conviction that Buck creek is “*one of 'em,*” sure. The same operation, and some effect is produced on the other wagon—but here our difficulties are but commenced—to get all our freight up to the wagons is now the task.

This is done by the use of certain vehicles, constructed more for use than ornament, called “*skids,*” upon which we stow all we can safely, and with our oxen get along pretty well.—Mud being about one foot deep, men fall in it with perfect impunity; seldom going far with a load before they are immersed. That day there were but few of us but deserved the euphonious title of “*stuck-in-the-muds.*” While stuck in the mud we are met by several gentlemen, who read to us Marshal Donaldson’s Proclamation, calling upon us to aid in support of the laws, &c.³ The Proclamation is received with great glee, and our throats give signal of our hearts’ joy. Retire to a little distance to do some shouting on my own hook, and sit

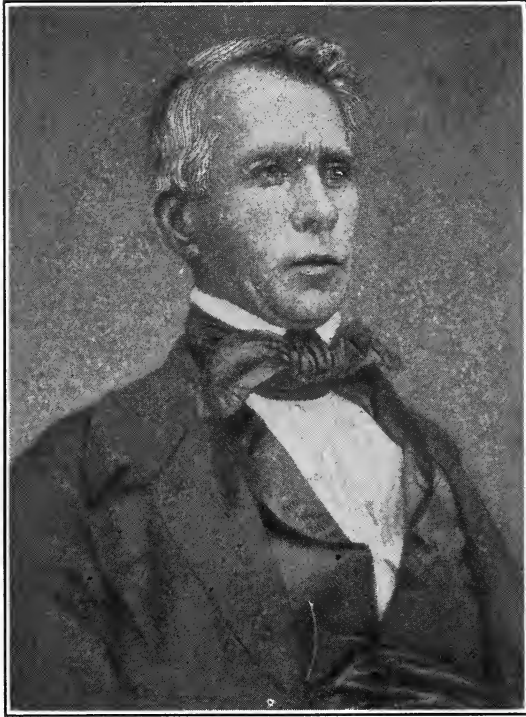
3. This is evidence of considerable interest since it supports the implication of Andreas-Cutler, cited in the introduction, that Donaldson’s proclamation was the excuse rather than the reason for the attack on Lawrence and was actually not known to the attacking force from Leavenworth until three days after they had begun their march.

immediately behind a horse to gratify my exhilaration. The horse rather unceremoniously kicks me in the midst of a most glorious yell, and on a portion of my frame that for several days after rendered it a matter of impossibility for me to take a seat. Limping from the scene of my disgraceful kicking, and breathing curses against all horses in general, and this individual in particular, I wend my way slowly to the top of the hill. On my way thither meet a Chief Justice proceeding homeward; Chief Justice greets us kindly, and after we assist him to catch a runaway steer, he bids us adieu, thinking that we are a very irregular looking portion of the regular militia.

After a variety of ludicrous circumstances we arrive at the top of the hill, bag and baggage, very much relieved indeed. Considering what we had overcome, and come over, speeches are volunteered by several, and are received with universal applause. After a little our wagons are re-loaded and we start onward, after having been seven hours getting over Buck creek—and only one mile of road accomplished in that time.

May 15.—Awfully exhausted and prostrated by our herculean efforts at Buck creek, a halt is soon ordered and joyfully responded to by the crowd. Buck creek has certainly taken the starch out of us, and a more deplorable dead-beaten crowd never assembled around a camp fire as do to-night. Hunger again assumes its supremacy, and as our stomachs are vacant, save the necessary *furniture*, and perhaps a little brown sugar, furtively grasped from the stores, we all turn in to eat something. Slapjacks form our bill of fare. Succeed in purchasing an interest in several at an exorbitant price, and satisfy myself with them.—Guard is again posted as we are getting nearer and nearer the Philistines. Manage to get into a wagon and sleep placidly until awakened in the night by a report of a musket; understand somebody is shot, but postpone further enquiries until morning.

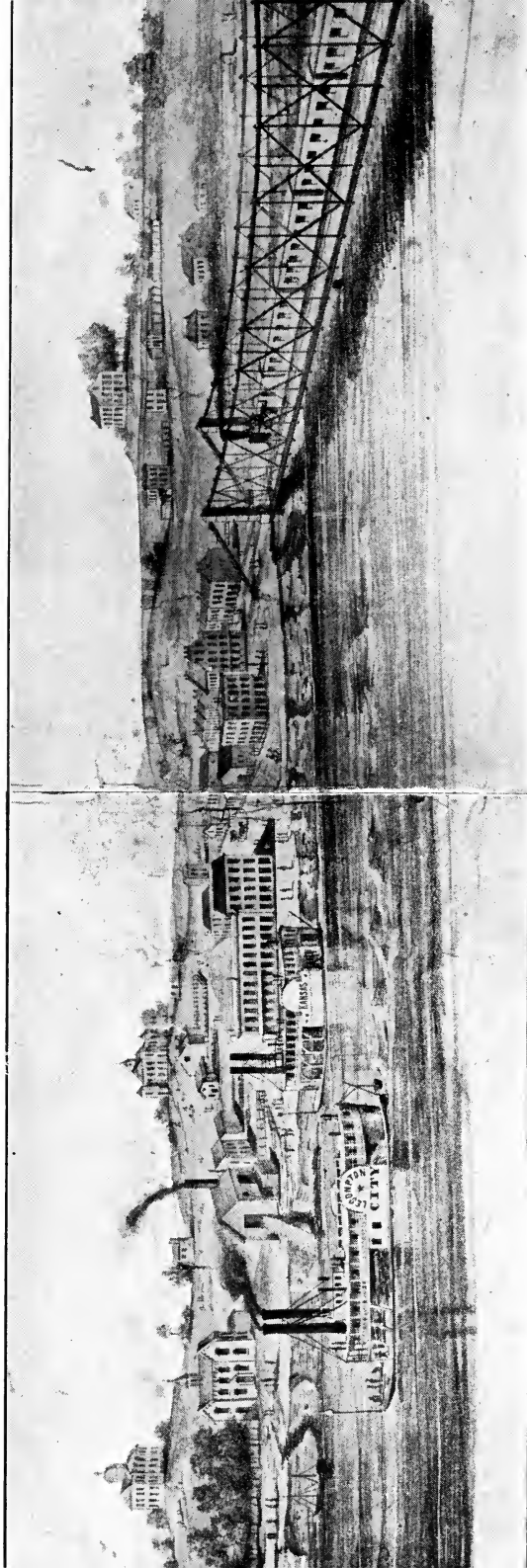
May 16.—Understand this morning that a Court-Martial has been ordered in relation to the shooting affair of the previous evening.—Find that one of the guard shot one of the dogs, having taken the unfortunate animal in the darkness of the night, for one of the enemy. After hailing him according to dogs generally, he was shot instantly. A melancholy victim of misplaced confidence, and an evidence of the indefatigable watchfulness of the guard! The guard, having made his statement, was rightfully acquitted of any crime, but being a humane man he felt ashamed to look at the other dog



WILSON SHANNON

Territorial governor of Kansas before whom the company from Leavenworth paraded at Lecompton, May 18, 1856. The troops were disgruntled because he neglected to treat them to whisky. (See page 59.)

Governor Shannon was born in Ohio in 1802. He served as governor of Ohio in 1839-1840 and 1843-1844; minister to Mexico, 1844-1845; representative from Ohio, 1853-1855, and governor of Kansas, 1855-1856. He died at Lawrence in 1877.



RIVER SCENE AT LECOMPTON IN 1855, ACCORDING TO A LITHOGRAPHED REAL-ESTATE MAP OF THAT PERIOD

The author of the accompanying notes possibly had this picture in mind when he first saw the town in May, 1856. (See opposite page.)

(companion of the deceased) in the face, who followed the unfortunate individual very doggedly. After a few appropriate remarks upon the uncertainty of life from several serious individuals, we hastily breakfast and resume our way to Lawrence.

Understand we will reach Kaw river to-day, where we are informed other forces await us. Up hill and down hollow we pursue our path, and at last come to a creek which requires some ability to ford, or get to the other side. A log, about fifteen feet high being our bridge, and not having been brought up to the tight rope business, I endeavored to coon it, but on account of my kick of the day before am compelled to relinquish a process, which, while ludicrous, has the merit of safety. Am at last packed across on a horse, like a sack of meal. All are safely over, and now we strike a prairie; have to wade knee deep for about a mile through the same—think it a great country for ducks. At last we approach Kaw river, and as we near it, our Captain comes booming along in a buggy, and very thoughtfully distributed some whiskey amongst us. We are informed that our greatest wish (*i. e.*, a fight) will soon be gratified. Many cheer the announcement vigorously, but never having loved fighting myself for its sake, do not cheer, but am content to be quietly grateful for the benefits we may receive in that line.

At last we arrive at Kaw river, where we have a rest. Opposite Lecompton, find to my regret that the beautiful bridge so *ostensible* on the chart of this city is not visible; and that the railroad can hardly be deemed completed, as it is an air line only existing in the brain of a few enthusiasts. Lecompton is on a pretty site, has the merit of not being densely crowded, judging from my view of it from this side. Find here other men, citizens, soldiers, all of whom welcome us most cordially. After unhitching our oxen, and getting out our cooking utensils, we are instructed to form in messes. Think that each man is in a *mess* enough as he is, without any consolidation. Am put in a mess with some others, who from some fiendish motive elect me cook, a position to me more than horrible. I go to my duties with a vague idea of what they are as cheerfully as the circumstances will admit—as is the case with all amateurs. I make errors fatal to my achievement of any fame as a cook.

After dinner proceed to make my toilet and change my linen, which change is effected by turning it inside out. After a good bath and the resumption of my old clothes in all their pristine mud, I lay myself down, to reflect upon the mutability of human affairs. Am awakened from my meditations by the news of a capture; find

we have caught a live Yankee, as no earthly inducement can make him mention *cow*. The man asserts he is a good Pro-slavery man; we all think he is—in a horn.—Yankee displays a great amount of coolness, and evidently takes notes for a leader for the [New York] *Tribune*. After mature deliberation we agree to let him slide, treating him with all the courtesy imaginable. He retires thanking us for our humanity, but will write for old Greeley's paper, I presume, at the first opportunity an account of the *barbarous treatment of a Free State man by the Pro-slavery party*. Many of the boys go over to the Capitol, and return in amazingly good *spirits*, and bring some over with them too. As cook I again officiate, and a supper, a facsimile of our dinner in point of material, with the adjunct of coffee, graces our board.

After supper, in a few short and appropriate remarks, (as the newspapers say) I tender my resignation, which I hope they will receive, for if they will not I intend they *shall*. After some argument wasted on their side, I am ex-cook, and resign with pleasure all the pots, &c., to my successor in office. No guard to-night, as we are here at least safe from any attacks. Making an admirable bed out of some barrel staves, and using a couple of one inch planks for coverlids, I sleep like a top until morning.

May 17.—Awake early, and turn out accordingly. After breakfast all hands turn out to drill. Now ensues the usual awkwardness, and we severely try the patience of our officers.—While our drilling does not present the concert of action so highly prized by commanders in their men, it always has the merit of *variety*; and I think that a company attacking us would be at a loss to know how to approach us.—After two mortal hours at this refreshing exercise, we are dismissed and improve our time by firing off our firearms, to the great annoyance of the squirrels in the vicinity. After a day spent in masterly inactivity, as they say in the Crimea, succeeds a night long to be remembered. Our mess has a sort of tent, to keep up a military appearance, I suppose, for it does not keep out the rain. This institution deceives us, trusting to its firmness of position, and blows down on us, the rain pattering at an awful rate. After recovering from our surprise and finding how matters are, we all crawl under a tree, the rain following us up all the time, where, convinced that the fates have conspired against us, sit it out rather discontentedly all night.

May 18.—A good fire being made this morning, we all dry up, and breakfast rather poorly. To-day we are to cross the Kaw river,

and to get to Lecompton. An enormous flat boat, seemingly large enough for another Noah's Ark, receives us on board, bag and baggage. The baggage being all packed on board upon our shoulders, we are further convinced, to use rather a stale phrase, that "Jordan is a hard road to travel." To get to the other side is now the difficulty. We all work our passage, hauling ourselves along by an old rope and making about a half a mile an hour. After keeping up this process until we are far above the Capitol, we strike out, and at the imminent risk of several of our men strike *terra firma*. We are received with raptures of applause by the inhabitants of Lecompton. Men disperse in various quarters to refresh themselves—so do I. After exploring the whole of the city, I return to the landing and help to unload the baggage; learn with delight that here we will leave the greater part of it. At this point one of our company leaves us, unable to proceed farther, being, like another Achilles, wounded in the heel. Receiving an honorable discharge he takes leave of us, carrying away with him a large consignment of compliments to disperse amongst the friends of the company in Leavenworth.

Once more are we formed into military position, and march to our intense disgust into the heart of the town. Here we have the honor of seeing his Excellency the Governor,⁴ and he also has the honor of seeing us. Think he looks on us rather apathetically; think also that he should at least stand a treat when we meet him, but no we are doomed to disappointment—not so much for the liquor, but it would be a pleasant recognition of us as the bulwark of the law and order party.⁵ After marching and countermarching through this burg until it was thoroughly daguerretyped in our memory, we march out of Lecompton to go somewhere else to camp. We have a small wagon with us; meet on our exit the triumphal entry of some of our party with a prisoner. Going on slowly we come at last to a hill that proves a fatal one to us, for we are upset, our goods and chattles dispersed to various points of the compass, and our wagon made an unmitigated wreck. After the usual amount of cursing and speculation as to the probable cause of our mishap, we proceed to get ourselves out of the difficulty, and being relieved of some of our load by another wagon, and at last our own being tinkered up, we resume our march, setting this accident to the debit side of the

4. Gov. Wilson Shannon.

5. This was the self-bestowed title of the Proslavery party in Kansas, presumably to emphasize the contrast with what they considered the illegal and disorderly Free-State party.

Abolitionists account, to be wiped off if we ever get a showing at them.

May 18.—Through mud and mire, tired, hungry and discontented, we keep on our line of march. Understood that our camping ground would be but two miles from the Capital, but before night feel convinced that the miles are remarkably long ones. About 10 P. M. we strike Benicia,⁶ and Benicia strikes us as being a very primitive town, but may be a metropolis one of these days, when the wars are all over, and the *goose* shall be allowed to slumber peacefully upon the land, as she has a natural right to do.

Our company arrives here in much disorder, tired out, hungry, and cross generally; and in a ripe state for a fight, and would do great execution upon the enemy, if they had an opportunity. No commissariat to be found; men prowling about like hungry lions, seeking what they may devour; ham becomes common property, and is eaten with bread and avidity—every man being his own cook.

After our hunger is compromised with, all are summoned into line for review, with a very ill grace. The call is responded to, the muster roll is called, and some are found missing, the flesh pots of Lecompton having probably detained them. After a short speech from a gallant Captain, who now has charge of us, we are apportioned into a guard for the night. Hugging myself inwardly at my exemption from this duty for the night at least, and feeling about seventy-five per cent below par, I hie me to bed in a large frame building, intending to devote all my talents and attention to sleeping out the balance of the night.

Am just asleep when a friend awakens me, informing me that the gallant Captain desires an audience with me outside. Proceed half asleep outside and find the Captain surrounded by about eight of our men. Captain advances towards me, and hands me a small flask to lubricate my ideas with. The lubrication having been effected, he proceeds to inform me, that out of kindness to me, and a sincere wish to further me in this campaign, and for other causes too numerous to mention, he has resolved that I shall be one of a chosen band to intercept and capture, *vi et armis*, a *small* band of Abolitionists (only eighteen) armed to the teeth, who have a boat a few miles from where we are, on the river, plying to Lawrence, and conveying aid and comfort to the enemy.

6. The village of Benicia, Douglas county, was located on the south bank of the Kansas river in NW $\frac{1}{4}$ sec. 8, T. 12 S., R. 19 E., about three miles southeast of Lecompton and five and one-half miles northwest of Lawrence. It was incorporated in 1855 and in 1857 had a population of twenty. It is now extinct.

For my further gratification he informs me that a severe engagement may be expected, and that if I fall I may be expected to be interred with all the military honors. Not being particularly struck with the immense benefit that this enterprise might confer upon me, and having rather a vague idea of what military honors were, I hardly grasped at the chance of distinction, as enthusiastically as I ought to have; but thought that really men had honors thrust upon them some times. I however calmly acceded to the project, and with a faint attempt at a smile, jocularly alluded to the disparity of our numbers.

After a little we are in motion. I selected a fat man to be my shield, and through the woods wended our way in painful silence. After a short review of my past life in my own mind, I come to the conclusion that after all I should feel thankful; that if I were to die, I had no very enormous crimes to answer for. At last we approach the point; our guns are cocked; and the boat is seen. We enter on board, and find that the birds have flown. We capture, however, two or three prisoners, take some arms, and proceed homeward to camp.

Arrive in camp, and congratulate ourselves upon the success of our mission. Our prisoners are seated comfortably around the fires, and evince a confidence in our magnanimity, which I am proud to say was never misplaced. After a little the lubricating system is indulged in quite freely, and our ideas are getting brighter, and our thoughts livelier. Songs are sung with great glee. Some pour forth with a great deal of effect amorous ditties; others vociferously roar out war songs, and so on *ad infinitum*, until the clear gray of the morning appears, when we turn in to sleep a few hours—before proceeding upon the arduous duties of another day.

May 19.—All get up very early to answer to muster roll; after which we proceed to elect a Commissariat. This being done, we resume our former messes, and commence to cook our breakfast. Rumors are flying amongst us of a lot of Sharpe's rifles in the possession of the enemy, and after breakfast a company is formed for the purpose of entering into negotiations with the owners of the same for their possession.

March in single file to the place where the supposed rifles are, which locality is a saw-mill. Find the saw-mill in active operation, and men about at work. The Captain politely asks the information we require from the apparent owner of the mill, who evinces an unaccountable ignorance of every thing. After a vain endeavor to elicit facts or rifles, we proceed to examine around, and find several

Sharpe's rifles stored securely away.—Think upon a cursory examination of one of them, that they are rather a ticklish weapon; but think also a good old shot gun has its merits. How soon will the Yankees invent a rifle to fire at Border Ruffians from Boston, and thus carry on a war? I think for them this would be a consummation most devoutly to be wished for, as the tendency of their improvements in firearms seems based upon the fact that distance lends enchantment to the scene.

After scouring the vicinity we muster several rifles, and are constrained to make prisoners of two dangerous Abolitionists, who proclaim openly their hostility to law and order, and are satisfied completely with Beecher's *higher-lawism*. After completing our mission, with our prisoners in our midst, we form a line for camp. Our Captain, first delivering a lecture to the individuals in whose possession the Sharpe's rifles were found, that ought to effectually quell any symptoms of higher-lawism that may exist amongst them—the word is given, and we march to our camping place. Our prisoners and rifles disposed of, we consume our time until drill in the afternoon the best way we can.

After drilling with our usual ability, an election for non-commissioned officers occurs. The candidates are numerous, but the platforms unanimous. I find to my horror that I figure myself as a candidate, some sanguine individual having proposed me as a suitable person to fill the high and important position of Fourth Sergeant. Being a modest man, I excused myself, and desire to withdraw; find it is of no use, and at the desire of "*many* friends" (as all candidates in the political world say) consent to run. The result, which is a unanimous election, and a vote of thanks upon my acceptance of the position, almost prove too much for my equilibrium. Impressed with the dignity of my station, I endeavor to look and act authoritatively with the men, but upon being informed that it would not be healthy for me to "*put on airs*," I sink myself into my original mildness of deportment. It now being nearly night, our supper is proceeded with, and after an amicable discussion of it, guards are posted around, as usual. My guard not occurring until morning, I go to bed, hoping that I may have the felicity of enjoying a night's rest without any more attempts at military distinction.

May 20.—Am up with the sun, having watched the same tardily rising while on my morning watch. All hands having been thoroughly aroused, we proceed to receive our portion of whisky, which the U. S. Marshal has in his kindness made one of the emoluments

of our position.—Said liquor has the credit of being very old, but is decidedly diminutive for its age; and when in our tin pannikins, a fly can with little danger ford from one side to the other of said pannikin. It having been all discussed, the only comments made on it being in regard to its scarcity, we proceed to our breakfast, and hastily consume it. After the consumption of which the men moodily resolved themselves into knots, and deprecate the tardiness of our proceedings—being but a few miles from Lawrence. Feel indeed that we are in a state of inglorious inactivity, and our commanders come in for their share of heartfelt condemnation. At this stage of the proceedings, and while mutiny in its most insidious form is spreading itself amongst us, good news arrives, and by good authority we are informed, that but a few circumstances prevent our meeting the Abolitionists—the greatest circumstance being, in my humble opinion, the fact that they studiously avoid us.—We are also informed that we soon will have the opportunity of testing ourselves, and them as well, at the gates of Lawrence. This announcement gives us a good deal of satisfaction, and confident that all will be right we resign ourselves to our predicament, and play poker generally until night, when we mount guard as usual.

May 21.—To-day the joyful tidings came that we must march onward. We immediately make our arrangements to proceed, and about the middle of the afternoon start for Coon Point. Our wagon has in it a miscellaneous assortment of dry goods, groceries and hardware, and perched upon the summit is an invalid with rheumatism of the direst nature.—This wagon with its valuable contents is entrusted to an amateur ox driver, who to casual inquiries in regard to his abilities assures us that he can drive “to h—l in about a minute.” He succeeds in convincing us of the aptness of his remark, by upsetting in the creek, the first on our road. The rheumatic individual displays more agility than he had credit for, and in his choice of a landing place evinces considerable ingenuity—think an upset a great remedy for any disease affecting the limbs.

Dry goods, groceries, and hardwares, find themselves in the creek; sugar, flour &c., at a discount. Altogether we come to the conclusion that we are the most unfortunate set of individuals that circumstances ever got together. Not feeling a great amount of interest in the wagon, and coming to the conclusion not to wait for it—being uncertain whether I should get a ride if I did—I with others, make for Coon Point, which at last we reach.—Am particularly struck with the military appearance of this place, and the vast amount of

red shirts. Report ourselves as the Leavenworth detachment, and receive cordial invitations to sup with the gentlemen composing the camp. Remembering the situation of our groceries, and their distance from us, we joyfully accept. Toward night our wagon comes along with the balance of our men, hungry and tired, who, after appeasing their appetites, turn in, breathing a few curses audibly against things and individuals generally.

Letters of David R. Cobb, 1858-1864

Pioneer of Bourbon County

Edited by DAVID GLENN COBB

I. INTRODUCTION

DAVID Ransom Cobb was born at Saxton's River, Vt., January 2, 1824. Family records do not indicate when he started West. He stopped for a time in Wisconsin, where his brother, Judson M. Cobb, the recipient of the first of these letters, then lived. David R. Cobb, like many others, was interested in taking up a good farming claim in the new territory. Eventually he located six miles west of Fort Scott and one-half mile north of the town of Marmiton, which had been incorporated early in 1858.¹

David R. Cobb was always interested in public affairs, and held many offices. He was the first superintendent of schools for Bourbon county (1859), county clerk (1860), probate judge (1861-1863), a representative in the state legislature (1863-1864), postmaster at Marmiton (1865-1866), and county commissioner (1868-1870). He was active in local and state Republican party affairs. In the Civil War he served in the militia during the Price raid. He died at his farm, October 19, 1891.

In the first of these letters, Cobb tells of his arrival in Kansas territory. In it he also describes an unusual encounter between Free-Staters under James Montgomery and federal troops from Fort Scott. The other letters throw some light upon the social activities of the members of the 1864 legislature. The originals of these letters are in the possession of D. R. Cobb's grandson, who has written this introduction and edited the letters for *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*.

II. THE LETTERS

MAPLETON BOURBON CO. K. T. Apr 25th 1858

My Dear Brother Judd

You will doubtless be looking for something from me eer this. Well I should have written last week but the severe rains of Saturday and Sunday week swelled the streams so that it was impossible to get to the office or for the mails to [go] out.

We arrived at Ft. Scott and to Mapleton on friday found the people glad to see us.

1. His claim was located on the W $\frac{1}{2}$ and NE $\frac{1}{4}$ NW $\frac{1}{4}$ sec. 31, T. 25 S., R. 24 E., comprising 120 acres.—Records of the General Land Office, v. 184, p. 55, now in the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

We left Kansas City on Monday two week[s] tomorrow with a two horse team loaded with provision that Chap bought. So we put our valises aboard. The roads were very bad, and weather rainy. The team refused to work and we put up at Westport [Mo.] for the night— found another team in the morning, and took up our line of march walking and riding alternately.² As to the country along the State line— tis somewhat broken for some 12 or 15 miles from the river, with small prairies and some timber of an inferior character. Then we came to some very good land and beautiful scenery,³ well located farms and good ranges— farther out the Prairies are larger with less timber but pretty well watered— couldn't say how it would be in dry time.

There is a large strip of country, say from 30 to 50 miles from the river, where the prairies are too large and a good deal less timber than I should wish to see and in all probability will not be settled up at present.

Passing along in the vicinity of the Marais des Cygnes or Osage river the country is more diversified, finer tillage lands, more timber, pleasanter country— and in fact a much better place to make a home.

The timber in this country is only to be found on the streams, and is not generally in abundance though in some localities there is sufficient for all ordinary purposes.

Passing the Marais des Cygnes (pro Marie de Sene) (Swan river) the land is good, scenery pleasant, and will in all probability support a dense population, and that e'er long too— most all the land is claimed up now, good claims now selling from 2[00] to \$500, for prairie; and from 300 to \$1000 for timber claims. The timber is chiefly Hickory, Oak, Black walnut, Sycamore— a little bass wood, Maple & cotton wood— Some of the trees are very large, say 5, 6, & 7 ft in diameter— but generally they are not overgrown— The Streams rise to a great hight during the Spring and fall rains, overflowing the banks and covering the bottoms— There could be found mill privileges in almost any of these rivers if it was possible to find a good site where a mill would be safe in flood time— I was at Stream Mill yesterday when at a freshet this Spring the saw was covered with water, and now the water is some 25 to 30 ft lower.

2. The stage line from Kansas City to Fort Scott had not yet been established.—Goodlander, C. W., *Memoirs and Recollections . . . of the Early Days of Fort Scott* (Fort Scott, 1900), p. 4; Robley, T. F., *History of Bourbon County, Kansas . . .* (Fort Scott, 1894), p. 106.

3. Horace Greeley was impressed with the beauty of this region a year later.—Caldwell, Martha B., "When Horace Greeley Visited Kansas in 1859," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. IX, p. 120.

The Soil is what is called a limestone soil— water is found on low and high prairie at from 10 to 25 ft. Springs of water are more common than in Wis[consin].

The land on the Marmaton⁴ is pretty good— some pleasant locations, and good farms— we tramped three or four days without finding anything that suited us exactly—and then came up to this place some twelve miles on the little Osage,⁵ and 14 miles from the State line.

This place⁶ (that is if it should ever be one) is on the north side of the river, on a beautiful site—the prairie sloping in every direction, good timber in close proximity and surrounded by a very fertile country and is well located and will be a town of some importance if nothing should happen to prevent.

I should have first described [the] general appearance of the country and will do so now— The south side of the river⁷ is bluffly and broken, with here and there a bold mound raising its lofty head overlooking the prairie, and between these mounds are to be found the most fertile farms in the country— on the north side banks are lower and the prairie and bottoms (one should hardly know the difference) as they recede, rise gradually, till a mile or two back they reach the high prairie which resembles in appearance the table lands of Mexico giving a variety of scenery unsurpassed for beauty and grandeur in the Western country— In fact Judd this is the most beautiful country I ever saw—that is a wild country— If the Lord is willing and nothing prevents I shall set my stakes here.

As to the troubles and mess at Ft. Scott⁸ and in this vicinity you will have doubtless have heard all the particulars before this will reach you—but will say that I was within a mile or two of the battle on the Yellow Paint last Wednesday—⁹ saw the troops just before the collision— I happened on this wise Capt M—[ontgomery] of the Jay Hawkets as they are called, who are a self constituted com-

4. The Marmaton river rises in Allen county, flows east across Bourbon county, and joins the Little Osage in Vernon county, Missouri.

5. The Little Osage rises in Anderson and Allen counties, flows east across the northern part of Bourbon county, and joins the Marais des Cygnes in Vernon county, Missouri.

6. Mapleton, a village nineteen miles northwest of Fort Scott, was located by New Englanders in 1857.—Andreas, A. T., and Cutler, Wm. G., *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 1097. The census of 1940 gives it a population of 226.

7. The Little Osage, near Mapleton.

8. Fort Scott was the scene of much friction between Proslavery and Free-State elements at this time.—Goodlander, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-24; Robley, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-95, 100-102.

9. This would be April 21, the date of Montgomery's encounter with the soldiers.—Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 1068; Robley, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-104. Wilder, D. W., *Annals of Kansas* (Topeka, 1886), p. 216, is in error when he dates this fight late in March; so, also, is Sanborn, F. B., "Notes on the Territorial History of Kansas," *The Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XIII, p. 260. Yellow Paint creek, or South Fork of Marmaton river, rises in southwest Bourbon county, joining the Marmaton about nine miles southwest of Fort Scott.—U. S. Geological Survey, *Fort Scott Sheet*.

pany of free state regulators— some 17 passed up the creek from Marmaton¹⁰ last Wednesday morning ordering all the proslaveryites¹¹ to leave the country immediately on point of death— also taking from them their horses, [and] arms— the proslaveryites despatched a messenger to the Ft for a company of troops to take them— So the Marshall¹² ordered out Capt Anderson with 20 regulars— they followed on their track passing by the Mill¹³ where the free state folks were holding a county convention, they soon surprised some 14 of the Jay Hawkiers graising their horses— the latter mounted and fled for the timber, but the troops pressed them so hard that they were obliged to turn upon them and defend themselves— the J. Hs had just time to get a good position, having passed a little creek skirted with timber— they called upon the troops to halt, which was disregarded and they (the J. Hs) fired upon them, or rather six of them did, making in all 14 shots— the troops also fired, but having nothing but sabers & revolvers did but little execution wounding only one man—¹⁴ While the troops lost one man and two or three wounded, and two or three horses killed— The troops displayed a white rag, and came down and asked the privilege of carrying off their wounded—which was granted— The troops sent for reinforcements and the Jay Hawkiers left— Such are the facts of the Battle on the Yellow Paint—

Yours

David

TOPEKA KAN. Jan'y 16, 1864

Miss Barrett;¹⁵

Dear Madam; . . . I reached Leavenworth on the night of the second day, cold, and disgusted with staging in mid winter. But the city was gay and joyous. There was in full operation the Grand Fair for the benefit of the invalid Soldier. That night was the last.

10. Site of old Marmiton (or Marmaton), once the county seat of Bourbon county, was abandoned in 1882 when buildings were moved to a new location on a railroad less than a mile north.—Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, pp. 1071, 1089, 1090.

11. Montgomery was avenging a recent raid by Missourians on the Little Osage. He avoided direct encounters with federal troops, this fight of April 21 being perhaps the single exception.—*Ibid.*, p. 1068; *The Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XIII, pp. 260, 261. See, also, *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. XIII, p. 97.

12. The Deputy United States Marshal John A. Little, under whose orders had been placed the two companies of the First cavalry, commanded by Capt. Geo. T. Anderson, which were ordered to Fort Scott from Fort Leavenworth in February, 1858.—*The Kansas Historical Collections*, v. V, p. 521; Robley, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

13. Probably Ed Jones' saw-mill, near Marmiton, often a rendezvous for Free-Staters. A meeting was held there April 21, 1858.—Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 1068.

14. John Denton. The soldier killed was Alvin Satterwait.—Robley, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

15. Frances A. Barrett was born at Alden, Erie county, N. Y., June 7, 1835. She came to Kansas territory in 1859 with her parents, who located near Marmiton, in Bourbon county. She taught the first school in Marmiton. On May 9, 1864, she was married to David R. Cobb. She died at Fort Scott, March 5, 1901.

Everybody with their wife and friend was out, to say nothing of the belles and sweethearts. Twas a brilliant success. Lotteries, mock auction and games lent their charms to drain to the dregs the pockets of the visitors.

Leavenworth is the Gotham of Kansas. Tis commercial to all intents and purposes. The amusements of a city like those of a family indicate their taste, their education. A Mrs. Walters is their beau ideal of an actress, a prima donna whose excellence consists in her half disguised (I was going to say) vulgarity, but modesty would be a prettier word. But she caters to her audience, and receives her reward. It has its thousand advantages, its virtues, and its faults. We leave it and pass on.

The appearance of the country between Leavenworth and this city is perhaps more picturesque than with us— more rugged and broken in places, and then again broader, smoother prairies, surrounded with high bluffs in the distance advancing into the prairies as promontories to the sea— all add beauty and grandeur to the scenery.

We come to Kansas' noblest river, and cross the stream where a boat unites opposite shores

While the crescent moon's charmed ray
Kisses the waters where it lay;

and soon the light from an hundred houses tells us we are near the State Capital.

Topeka has grown some within the last year. The Capitol buildings add somewhat to the appearance of the principal street, Kansas Avenue, and is in fact an ornament to the place. There has been also several fine residences built, all worthy of the citizens.

The organization of the House, the caucusing for petty officers would be uninteresting I presume, so I omit. The Message of the Governor will appear in the *Monitor* probably, though I could hardly recomend its perusal. . . .

The Sabbath here seems more like civilization— the good old Bell chimes forth its notes of peace, of rest, and love. The people are not a church going people if I was to judge from those I saw out last Sabbath and today (the last part of this letter is written on Sunday) The preaching in this city is of a rather higher order than what we usually get at Marmiton, singing passable perhaps— not so tonight.

The Ball has just been put in motion— I mean the soiries, sociables, etc. Yesterday the Ladies of the Presbyterian Church

asked us for the Hall for the purpose of holding a festival next Tuesday evening a week. . . .

The Session is destined to drag itself out to its full length, fifty days. Well it will soon wear away, and as I am on two Committees,¹⁶ one of which is quite an important one and the other a very laborious one I shall be quite busy.

The weather is moderating—the snow almost all gone. . . .

Sincerely yours,

David R. Cobb

TOPEKA, KAN. Jan'y. 27th 1864

Miss Barrett,

Dear Friend;

Your very kind letter came safely by todays mail, and was read with a great deal of pleasure. . . .

Topeka is quite gay this winter, and will be while the Legislature is in session. Tuesday evening the first grand entertainment was given by the ladies of the Presbyterian society. They have a peculiar way of advertising their festivals; they will ask the House for the use of their Hall for the purpose of holding a festival, well knowing that about half of the members will oppose it— the resolution will cause discussion and as by rule it must be laid over till the next day, when it will come up again and pass.

Our Hall¹⁷ is about 45 by 80 feet, the Speaker's stand at the middle of one side—and opposite the entrance door there is a lobby cut off of one side of about eight feet by a little wicket fence the members occupying seats in confused order within the bar. On this occasion the House adjourned by the middle of the afternoon and the ladies arranging the tables against the bar of the House upon which they displayed the nicest entertainment I have seen for many a year. Waxfruit and flowers, paintings, and evergreens contributed their share to adorn the table.

There was a large gathering, three hundred perhaps— the Hall was too much crowded, but perhaps as we were nearly half strangers it had a tendency to make us more social. Everything passed off very pleasantly. . . .

Sincerely yours,

David R. Cobb.

16. David R. Cobb was in Topeka as representative of the 52nd district, one of four in Bourbon county, in the Kansas house in the sessions of 1863 and 1864. He was a member of the committees on ways and means and engrossed bills in the 1864 house.—*House Journal* . . . , Kansas, 1864, pp. 72, 73; Robley, *op. cit.*, pp. 178, 182; *House Journals* for 1863 and 1864, *passim*.

17. "The rooms occupied by the state legislature prior to the completion of the east wing of the new capitol, were in the upper stories of buildings on the west side of Kansas avenue, between Fourth and Fifth streets. . . ."—Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

TOPEKA KANSAS February 13 1864

Miss Barrett:

Dear Friend; The few weeks passed have been so thickly crowded with events, both political and social, that for a pastime for myself, I attempt to reproduce them in my feeble way, hoping they may be a source of pleasure to you.

The Senatorial question which has been before the Legislature for several weeks was discussed by some in a very humorous style, was the cause of a great deal of merriment and fun—and if the Grim Chieftain's ears did not burn while the subject was under discussion then the old saying failed to prove true in one instance. The result you have no doubt heard. The Hon. Thos. Carney was elected by a two thirds vote. The opposition refusing to vote at all.¹⁸

Last night (Friday) the Senator elect, in honor of his election gave a Banquet at the Representative Hall, to which the members of both branches of the Legislature, distinguished strangers and eminent citizens were invited with ladies. After supper, the guests repaired to the Hall where sparkling Catawba gave point to wit, studied sarcasm, and strains of eloquence held a large audience in the highest enjoyment till past two o'clock in the morning. Oh! how I wish you might have been here.— Everything passed off pleasantly—all seemed to get their full share of the pleasures of the occasion. I should have said that the Hon. Gov. and lady received the guests in regular Court style. There was a dance going on at the same time in an adjacent Hall, where those who preferred tripped the fantastic toe to music's sweetest strains till morning hours.

Socials, and festivals have been the order of the nights for the last few weeks— have attended some though not many. . . .

The weather has been most delightful since I have been here. You are having a very pleasant time for keeping school since the cold weather. . . .

Yours truly,

David R. Cobb.

18. On February 9, 1864, the legislature chose Governor Carney as United States senator for the term beginning March 4, 1865. There was some opposition to this action on the grounds that the next legislature was the proper body for choosing a senator. Governor Carney, however, never claimed nor took the senatorial office.—*House Journal, Kansas, 1864*, pp. 289-296; *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. III, p. 506.

The Annual Meeting

THE sixty-sixth annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society and board of directors was held in the rooms of the Society on October 21, 1941.

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

SECRETARY'S REPORT, YEAR ENDING OCTOBER 21, 1941

The past year has been one of continued growth in all departments of the Society. The dedication of fifty historical markers and the celebration of the Coronado cuarto centennial have prompted many inquiries about state and local history. Even the defense program has brought hundreds of persons to the Historical Society, as will be mentioned. During the year there was a material increase in the number of persons from other states using the Society's collections.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

President James C. Malin reappointed Justice John S. Dawson and T. M. Lillard to the executive committee, the members holding over being Thomas Amory Lee, Robert C. Rankin and Charles M. Correll. Mr. Correll had been appointed just prior to last year's annual meeting to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Chester Woodward. The death of Thomas Amory Lee was the second on the committee within the year. Milton R. McLean was appointed by President Malin to succeed Mr. Lee.

THE LEGISLATURE

The 1941 legislature provided for the acquisition of three historic sites for the state. The mission building near Highland, erected in 1846 for the Iowa, Sauk and Fox Indians, is to be partially restored. Part of the original walls of brick and stone still remain. A ranch house near Hanover, built by G. H. Hollenberg on the old Oregon trail in 1857, is to be preserved. This building was a Pony Express station in 1860-1861. And the site of the Marais des Cygnes massacre of 1858 in eastern Linn county, together with a sixty-acre tract of land given by the Pleasanton post of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, was accepted as a state memorial park. The Historical Society gave active support to these bills in their progress through the legislature.

The Society received the usual appropriations from the legislature with an additional \$1,500 a year for the contingent fund, \$500 a year for printing, and \$500 a year for microfilming and filing equipment.

The legislature also added \$100 a year to the salary of the caretaker of the First Capitol of Kansas, which restored it to \$600 a year, the pre-depression level.

LIBRARY

During the year approximately 3,000 persons did research in the library. More than half of these were working on Kansas subjects. Nearly a thousand were helped in genealogical research and more than 200 were served by mail from the loan file on Kansas subjects.

Many Kansas books and genealogical works were received as gifts. The family of Paul Parrish, who died April 11, 1940, presented his splendid World War collection as a memorial. This included 543 books, 580 pamphlets, and numerous magazines, newspapers, scrapbooks, music, pictures and maps. Paul Parrish had been interested in the Historical Society for many years and it is fitting that his valuable collection should be preserved here.

Another large and interesting collection of more than 700 books and pamphlets was donated by Mrs. Thomas Amory Lee. Mr. Lee was a director and past president of the Society and one of its most enthusiastic supporters. In his collection there were a large number of biographies and books on the World War. Duplicates and books outside the Society's specialized fields were given to other libraries at Mrs. Lee's request.

From Mrs. Thomas F. Doran came a number of Kansas books which had been in Mr. Doran's library.

Many valuable historical works are received in exchange from other historical societies and libraries. Recently added to the exchange list are publications of the following: Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society; Augustana Historical Society; Cape May County Magazine of History and Genealogy; Dutch Settlers Society of Albany; East Tennessee Historical Society; Long Island Historical Society; Mennonite Historical Society; Colorado Archaeological Society; West Texas Historical Association; the Southwest Museum at Los Angeles; Berks County Historical Society and the Ulster County Historical Society.

The Society has subscribed to the American Genealogical Index, a card index to family names in genealogies and local histories. Installments are received several times a year and it will be years before the index is completed. Many books that have no indexes and are not indexed in other publications are now made easily available. This index is being prepared by a committee of librarians experienced in genealogical research.

Kansas newspapers have been increasingly history-conscious this year, due probably to the Coronado celebrations. The volume of clippings has been fully fifteen percent larger. Anniversary editions, historical markers, county history, pioneer reminiscences and army and defense activities have also contributed largely to the feature material published. An average of 350 clippings were clipped and mounted each month. WPA employees helped mount many maps and broadsides, repair books and pamphlets, and remount old clippings for rebinding.

PICTURES

During the past year 375 pictures were added to the picture collection. Of unusual interest was a water color entitled "Attack on General Marcy's train near Pawnee Fork, 1867," which came from Mrs. Bertha Kitchell Whyte of Milwaukee. This painting was done by H. Stieffel of Co. K, fifth U. S. infantry, the company which escorted General Marcy's train, and was found in an antique shop in Milwaukee.

STATE ARCHIVES

Major accessions for the year were 2,965 manuscripts containing the statistical rolls for 1933 as returned by assessors to the state board of agriculture and a number of documents from the state board of agriculture, the secretary of state and the state auditor.

The catalogue of state charters and amendments recorded in 189 copy books, has been completed through 1938. There are now more than 194,000 cards in this index. Work on the catalogue will be resumed when books containing copies of charters granted since 1938 are released by the secretary of state.

Work was continued on the loose-leaf catalogue of old townsites, discontinued post offices and railroad stations of Kansas.

PRIVATE MANUSCRIPTS

Seventeen manuscript volumes and 30,732 individual manuscripts were received during the year.

Of outstanding importance are the papers of the late Chester I. Long, of Wichita, the gift of his daughter, Mrs. W. E. Stanley. The collection embraces correspondence, letter press books, speeches, scrapbooks, and miscellaneous papers. The correspondence (28,000 items) dates from 1889 to 1917, the larger part from 1901 to 1909 when Long was representative and later United States senator from Kansas. These papers will be of special value to students of the political history of that period, both state and national.

The Isaac T. Goodnow papers received last year have been organized and an additional 257 items were received during the year. These consist of letters, business papers, lectures and a small portion of his diary.

Judge J. C. Ruppenthal presented records of the district court of the twenty-third judicial district. Included is an inventory of all court records to 1928. There is also a list of qualified justices of the peace in Kansas for the years 1928 and 1929.

Through the courtesy of Dr. Frank Melvin, of the University of Kansas, the Society secured photostat copies of microfilmed letters, telegrams and documents from Eastern libraries. The collection totals 264 pages and relates to the history of the University of Kansas. The correspondence dating from 1854 to 1868 includes numerous letters of Charles Robinson to A. A. Lawrence, letters of S. C. Pomeroy, E. Nute, S. N. Simpson, I. T. Goodnow and other pioneer leaders.

Dr. Robert Taft of the University of Kansas lent for copying a group of original manuscripts of Theodore R. Davis, the noted artist and correspondent, whose sketches and articles appeared in *Harper's Weekly* in the 1860's. Davis and Henry M. Stanley, the explorer, were press representatives with Hancock's expedition on the plains in 1867. The manuscripts are interesting accounts of Davis' experiences while covering these Indian campaigns.

Gifts were received from the following during the year: Mrs. G. R. Angell, J. E. Bartholomew, Fred B. Bonebrake, Meribah Clark, Mrs. Dorothy DuVall, Edward Thomas Fay, Earl Fickertt, Ruth Maria Field, Kipp Gimple, A. A. Godard, Mrs. Blenda Palm Greenwood, Mrs. Fannie (Pratt) Griggs, Alexander S. Hendry, Ben Hill, Biona Hull, Mrs. Charles H. Humphreys, Lucina Jones, Kansas State Highway Commission, John Kranhold, Jr., Tracy Learnard, Mardie B. Millikan, William Mitchell, Harrie S. Mueller, John C. Nicholson, Frank W. Nickel, Mrs. Clarence E. Osborn, Jennie Small Owen, Harriet Parkerson estate, Albert T. Reid, J. C. Ruppenthal, W. L. Sayers, Mrs. W. H. Sears, Mrs. A. B. Seelye, Mrs. W. E. Stanley, Dr. Robert Taft, Topeka Public Library, Judge Clark A. Wallace, William Allen White, Samuel M. Wilson, Mrs. Winifred Clark Wolff.

NEWSPAPER AND CENSUS DIVISIONS

For several years the newspaper division has had charge of the state and federal census records. These include early federal records and complete listings of seven state census returns ending with 1925. When old-age assistance acts were passed requiring proof of age these census records, and to some extent early newspaper files, had to be consulted by many claimants. This increase in demands on the department became a landslide this year when workers in defense projects were required to have birth certificates. During the year this department has issued more than 2,000 census certificates. Since there is no index to these thousands of books of records, nor any alphabetical listing of names, it often requires hours of research to find the desired information. With the help of WPA workers an index of the census records of 1855 and 1860 has been completed, together with approximately 100,000 names in the 1875 census. A street index for a number of the larger cities in the state, covering the 1915 and 1925 records, has also somewhat simplified this work.

During the year 5,395 patrons were registered. Nearly 14,000 bound newspaper volumes and 12,139 loose newspapers were consulted. In addition, there are daily requests by mail for census certificates, obituaries and copies of legal documents, to be found in the records and newspapers.

The WPA workers in this department have continued the work of listing changes in names of newspapers, editors, publishers and owners.

The 1941 *List of Kansas Newspapers and Periodicals* was published in August. It shows the issues of 759 newspapers and periodicals being received regularly for filing. Of these, 61 are dailies, 11 semiweeklies, 487 weeklies, 29 fortnightlies, one trimonthly, 16 semimonthlies, 83 monthlies, 9 bimonthlies, 22 quarterlies, 34 occasionals, 3 semiannuals and 3 annuals, coming from all the 105 Kansas counties. Of these 759 publications, 160 are listed Republican, 40 Democratic and 284 independent in politics; 96 are school or college, 34 religious, 20 fraternal, 17 local and 108 miscellaneous (including four Negro publications).

On January 1, 1941, the Society's collection contained 47,374 bound volumes of Kansas newspapers, in addition to the more than 10,000 bound volumes of out-of-state newspapers dated from 1767 to 1941.

The year's accessions have been valuable. The most important among them is the film copy of the *Seneca Weekly Courier*, February 10, 1871, to November 26, 1875, representing about five years of weekly newspapers. The Society in coöperation with other libraries also had film copies made of its own files of the *Wichita Vidette*, August 13, 1870, to March 11, 1871; the *Dodge City Times*, October 14, 1876, to December 28, 1882, and the *Kansas Cowboy*, Dodge City, June 28, 1884, to December 5, 1885.

Among the other accessions are: a one-column extra of the *Holton Recorder*, July 2, 1881, probably Kansas' smallest newspaper issue; one issue and two extras of the *Olathe Herald*, April 11 and August 9, 1860; *The Vox Populi*, Lawrence, June 14, and October 30, 1873; seven numbers of the *Weekly Anti-Monopolist* of Parsons and Fort Scott, January 12 to March 9, 1871; issues of *PM*, New York daily and weekly, June 14 to July 22, 1940; one number each of the *Topeka Press and Spear*, April 26, 1934, and July, 1936, respectively; the *Ellsworth Reporter*, a Republican convention extra, June 12, 1936; a centennial edition of the *Commercial Appeal*, Memphis, Tenn., January 1,

1940; and *The Western Globe*, Stockton, August 1, 15 and October 10, 1902 (Vol. I, Nos. 1, 2 and 5). The Society also received a number of duplicate copies of newspapers already in its files. Donors were: Edward Bumgardner of Lawrence, Peter J. Hoexter, W. M. Hutchison, George A. Root and Everett Stroud of Topeka, Gertrude S. Kunkle of Ellsworth, Mrs. Don E. Wells of Erie, George C. Weber of La Crosse, and D. J. Green of Stockton.

MUSEUM

During the year there was an increase of 10,588 in the number of visitors to the museum, the total being 41,700. School classes from nearly every county in the state, boy scout and camp fire troops, and other organized groups of visitors increase each year. The Santa Fe railroad sponsored a number of educational tours to Topeka. In April four tours numbering 750, 863, 900 and 1,000 children respectively visited the museum. The Missouri Pacific also brought 400 on one tour.

There were 43 accessions. Among the most valuable was a 1909 model four-cylinder automobile, a Thomas "Flyer," presented by the Dillon family through Emma Ward and T. M. Lillard, representatives of the estate. An interesting miscellaneous collection, including papers, books and relics, came from Lillian Forrest of Jewell.

SUBJECTS FOR RESEARCH

During the year the following have been subjects for extended research: *Biography*: David L. Payne; Gov. Robert J. Walker and Gov. Frederick P. Stanton; Arthur Capper's senatorial career; Mary Ellen Lease; Samuel Irvin; Mother Bickerdyke; William E. Borah; Gov. John R. Rogers of Washington; Alfred W. Jones; Chouteau family and outstanding Kansans. *County and town history*: Ellsworth; border troubles in Bourbon and Linn counties; Rice county; Pratt county; Neosho county. *Education*: History of Emporia High School, a curriculum study, 1876-1940; history of Quaker education in Kansas. *General*: History of the religious influence on the community of the Sisters of St. Joseph; history of Young People's Societies of the Lutheran church; irrigation; farm movement; Osage Indians; Santa Fe colonization and land promotion; grain belt farm representatives and the tariff, 1865-1913; negro exodus, 1879-1880; bicameral system in Kansas; United Brethren church; Kansans in the United States navy; Black Bob lands; history of the Santa Fe railroad; Mennonites; reconstruction; geography of the high plains; bond problem, 1879-1889; Kansas' attitude toward the tariff; the Grange in Kansas since 1875; history of sports writing; regulation of terminal agricultural markets; civil service; Kansas territorial period; Buchanan's administration of Kansas territory; early trails through Kansas to Colorado; public opinion on the Spanish-American War.

ACCESSIONS

July 1, 1940, to June 30, 1941

Library:		
Books (volumes)	1,492	
Pamphlets	4,358	
Magazines (bound volumes)	180	
Archives:		
Separate manuscripts	2,965	
Manuscript volumes	None	
Manuscript maps	None	

Private Manuscripts:	
Separate manuscripts	30,732
Volumes	17
Printed maps, atlases and charts.....	142
Newspapers (bound volumes)	881
Pictures	375
Museum objects	43

TOTAL ACCESSIONS, JUNE 30, 1941

Books, pamphlets, bound newspapers and magazines,	397,373
Separate manuscripts (archives)	1,075,974
Manuscript volumes (archives).....	27,897
Manuscript maps (archives)	583
Printed maps, atlases and charts.....	11,496
Pictures	19,632
Museum objects	33,048

THE QUARTERLY

The Kansas Historical Quarterly is now in its tenth year, nine 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

The WPA project sponsored by the Society for work in the building has employed an average of seventeen persons four days a week. The staff has supervised the work, which is mentioned in departmental reports. Federal expenditures for the year from October 8, 1940, to October 6, 1941, were \$12,322.04 for salaries. The Society's contribution for the same period was approximately \$300 for materials.

The Historical Records Survey, sponsored by the Society and supervised by Harold J. Henderson of the WPA, issued county inventories for Shawnee, Osage and Phillips during the year. Twelve books have been published in the series to date. The Gove county volume is now being mimeographed. Preliminary drafts of record descriptions also have been compiled for eight other counties. Several months ago this work was considerably curtailed. The project now employs thirty-two workers and operates in seventeen counties.

During the year the listing of American Imprints prior to 1877 held by municipal and college libraries of the principal cities of Kansas was about completed. Within the year compilations were made at the college libraries of Baker, Bethany, McPherson, Sterling and St. John's of Winfield. This project, sponsored by the Society since October 1, 1938, was discontinued on June 30. The small amount of remaining work is being completed by the Historical Records Survey.

KANSAS HISTORICAL MARKERS

Seven 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. To make a beginning, the His-

torical 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. Fifty-six texts have now been turned over to the commission and it is expected all the markers will be in place this fall. A brief sketch of the history of this project, together with the texts of all the inscriptions, will appear in the November, 1941, number of the *Quarterly*.

OLD SHAWNEE METHODIST MISSION

Work on the restoration of the north building at the mission, made possible by an appropriation of \$15,000 by the 1939 legislature, was completed last winter. The state architect, Roy W. Stookey, and his assistant, Charles Marshall, who drew up the plans and supervised the work, took a personal interest in this project. With their help it was possible to complete this work at a cost of about \$10,000. The legislature of 1941 reappropriated the \$5,000 balance and made it available for all the buildings and the grounds.

This summer George Dovel was employed to supervise the decoration of the north building. A number of fine pieces of furniture of the period, about 1845, have been obtained. After a study of old wallpapers several appropriate patterns were selected. The smaller rooms and those that were used as dormitories for Indian girls will be painted. This work of papering and painting was begun last week.

A landscaping plan calling for the planting of numerous trees and shrubs about the north building was prepared by Ray V. Murphy of Manhattan under the supervision of L. R. Quinlan, head of the department of landscaping at Kansas State College. It is hoped these plantings can be made in the spring.

During the year minor repairs were made on the other buildings. The grounds are being constantly improved by grading and the removal of stone. A new power mowing machine purchased last spring will enable the caretaker to keep the grounds in a better and more attractive condition.

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 continued 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 manner in which the buildings and grounds are maintained.

FIRST CAPITOL OF KANSAS

Construction of the new Camp Funston necessitated an additional spur of the railroad across the old capitol grounds between the building and the highway. Work gangs and trucks also used part of the grounds as a roadway. For several months the building was more or less isolated from the highway. This condition and the fact that highway 40 has been detoured around the reservation have somewhat reduced the number of visitors. Minor repairs have been made on the capitol building and next spring it will be necessary to replant grass and shrubbery on part of the grounds.

THE STAFF OF THE SOCIETY

The accomplishments noted in this report are due to the Society's splendid staff of employees. It is a pleasure to acknowledge my indebtedness to them.

Respectfully submitted,

KIRKE MECHEM, *Secretary.*

At the conclusion of the reading of the secretary's report, I. B. Morgan moved that it be accepted. Motion was seconded by W. F. Thompson.

President Malin then called for the report of the treasurer, Mrs. Lela Barnes. The report, based on the audit of the state accountant, follows:

TREASURER'S REPORT

September 1, 1940, to August 31, 1941

MEMBERSHIP FEE FUND

Balance, August 31, 1940:		
Cash	\$1,076.17	
Treasury bonds (par value \$3,500).....	3,441.81	
		<u>\$4,517.98</u>

Receipts:		
Memberships	333.00	
Bond interest	146.25	
Refund for postage, etc.....	424.00	
		<u>903.25</u>
		<u>\$5,421.23</u>

Disbursements		742.45
Balance, August 31, 1941:		
Cash	1,236.97	
Treasury bonds (par value \$3,500).....	3,441.81	
		<u>4,678.78</u>
		<u>\$5,421.23</u>

JONATHAN PECKER BEQUEST

Balance, August 31, 1940.....		\$78.00
Treasury bonds		950.00
		<u>\$1,028.00</u>

Interest received:		
Bond interest	\$27.80	
Interest on bank balance.....	.58	
		<u>28.38</u>
		<u>\$1,056.38</u>

Disbursements, books		26.09
Balance, August 31, 1941:		
Cash	80.29	
Treasury bonds	950.00	
		<u>\$1,056.38</u>

JOHN BOOTH BEQUEST

Balance, August 31, 1940.....		\$13.35
Treasury bonds		500.00
		<hr/>
		\$513.35
Interest received:		
Bond interest	\$13.91	
Interest on bank balance.....	.30	
	<hr/>	14.21
		<hr/>
		\$527.56
		<hr/>
Balance, August 31, 1941.....		27.56
Treasury bonds		500.00
		<hr/>
		\$527.56
		<hr/>

THOMAS H. BOWLUS DONATION

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

The above report covers only the membership fee fund and other custodial funds. It is not a statement of the appropriations made by the legislature for the maintenance of the Society. These disbursements are made not by the treasurer of the Society, but by the state auditor. For the year ending June 30, 1941, these appropriations were: Kansas State Historical Society, \$27,670; Old Shawnee Mission, \$2,000; First Capitol of Kansas, \$650.

On motion by Edward Bumgardner, seconded by Mrs. W. D. Philip, 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 17, 1941.

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 September 1, 1940, to August 31, 1941, and that they are hereby approved.

ROBERT C. RANKIN, *Chairman.*

Mrs. Bennett R. Wheeler moved that the report be accepted; seconded by Edward Bumgardner.

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

NOMINATING COMMITTEE'S REPORT

OCTOBER 17, 1941.

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: Charles H. Browne, Horton, president; W. E. Stanley, Wichita, first vice-president; F. W. Brinkerhoff, Pittsburg, second vice-president.

Respectfully submitted,

ROBERT C. RANKIN, *Chairman*,
MRS. BENNETT R. WHEELER,
MRS. A. M. HARVEY,
MILTON R. MCLEAN.

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

The following motion was made by I. B. Morgan: That the next legislature be requested to make an adequate appropriation to publish the annals of Kansas from the last date of Wilder's *Annals* to the present time, supervision to be under the direction of the Kansas State Historical Society. Motion was seconded by Edward Bumgardner. Various problems involved in such a compilation were brought out in the discussion which followed and it was the sentiment of the meeting that the work should not be undertaken for a greater period than the fifteen years following Wilder's *Annals*, or 1885 to 1900. Mr. Morgan moved that this limitation be included in the motion. Seconded by Edward Bumgardner, and passed.

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, James C. Malin.

The annual address by Mr. Malin, "An Introduction to the History of the Bluestem-Pasture Region of Kansas," is printed in this issue.

A paper by George A. Root, for fifty years a member of the Society's staff, was read by the secretary after the president's address. The paper follows:

REMINISCENCES OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

GEORGE A. ROOT

ONE of the incidents in the life of an ordinary individual, and one which happens but once in a lifetime, is the privilege of sticking to one job for half a century, or longer. This privilege has been mine. "Accepting a position" on the force of the State Historical Society, the middle of March, 1891, I completed my first fifty years in the service of the state of Kansas in March of this year. The *Topeka Capital* and the *Topeka State Journal* gave the incident state-wide publicity, while the Society's personnel gave a party for me. For these recognitions I feel duly grateful.

My first actual service with the Society began in the year 1880. That year I lived with Judge Adams, my uncle, then secretary of the Society, and with the younger members of his family assisted in opening and sorting the newspaper mail which accumulated during the week. This chore was on Saturday afternoons, and was looked on by us youngsters as more of a lark than a task.

This was only five years after the organization of the Society, which had its first home in a bookcase in the office of State Auditor D. W. Wilder. Judge Samuel A. Kingman started the collection with the gift of about fifty books and pamphlets. Later it had temporary quarters in the attorney general's office, and still later in the state treasurer's quarters. From 1880 on I am familiar with the various homes of the Society. For a time it was located in a long, narrow room on the ground floor of the east wing, in the extreme northeast corner. The west wing was then being built, and the two wings were connected with a boarded walkway, on a level with the second floor, and dubbed the "cattle chute." In this corner room I assisted in opening the newspaper mail and sorting the newspapers. Later the Society was assigned to a committee room in the east wing, on a level with the senate gallery, and in the extreme northwest corner.

With the completion of the west wing the Society was allotted quarters on the south side of the ground floor, and in 1893 three rooms, formerly a part of the suite occupied by the court of appeals, were set aside by the executive council for our library. These rooms were the north five of those on the east side of the south wing—ground floor.

The greater portion of the Society's newspapers in the early days were stored in the cellar of the state house, which was badly infested with rats and mice. Many a time while working in those

catacombs I have seen a procession of rats, sometimes twenty or twenty-five, trekking from west to east, making the journey on the top of the steam pipes which were fastened to the ceiling. Many a volume of the Society's newspaper collection was more or less damaged by rodents which nibbled the cloth and labels for the paste used in sticking the binding together.

The Historical Society at this time was the fastest growing institution about the state house, and was eternally in need of extra room. Within two or three years from the time the Society had moved into new quarters in the south wing, the executive council built an open top room in the foyer of the south wing. This annex was soon crowded with newspapers and in addition many volumes were piled high on top of the shelving as well as corded up on the floor. It was a hard job even to get some volumes from the shelves without moving a hundred or more that were in the way.

About the year 1899 the supreme court moved from its old quarters on the ground floor of the south side of the east wing to its new quarters on the third floor, and the Society managed to get one of these old rooms, into which several thousand books and pamphlets and unbound magazines were moved.

A few months later the state library moved out of the north side of the east wing, ground floor, whereupon the Historical Society took possession of about half of its old quarters. The other rooms vacated by the state library housed the Goss collection of birds, then under the superintendency of Prof. Bernard B. Smythe. These small rooms became an ideal place for "spooning" on the sly. Professor Smythe was not inclined to encourage anything of this sort and it kept him pretty busy "policing" the rooms. He eventually evolved a series of mirrors so placed that they reflected just what was going on. He told me this stopped these early-day "necking" parties.

About this time the Society was given the use of sub-basement rooms beneath the adjutant general's rooms of today. There were five of these rooms in all, and in the larger one about half a mile of running shelving was installed. Here for the first time we were able to consolidate all our duplicates in one room.

Of more interest, perhaps, than a recital of the various makeshift quarters of the Society before the erection of the Memorial building would be mention of some of its early personnel. The first secretary, Franklin George Adams, accepted the position when it consisted of nothing but a name and had its headquarters in a book-case. He was a pioneer in Kansas territory, coming out in 1855,

and being actively engaged in the Free-State cause from the start. Settling at Leavenworth in 1856, which was practically ruled by the Proslavery element, he was obliged to flee to save his life, and went to Lawrence and joined a company of Free-State men being raised at that place. He was with Captain Harvey's company at Slough creek which had captured an Alabama company at that point. He was at Lawrence at the time of the arrival of the 2,700 Missourians, took part in their reception and rejoiced at their dispersal. In 1857 he went to Atchison and became part owner of the *Squatter Sovereign*, changing its politics from violent Proslavery to Free State. At this place some time later, when Gen. James H. Lane had been invited to make an address, Mr. Adams and Caleb A. Woodworth, Sr., were attacked by Proslavery men who were determined that Lane should not speak. The report came to his wife that he was lying on the street, injured, whereupon she armed herself with a brace of revolvers, pushed her way through the mob, stood off the crowd, and got her husband away.

Mr. Adams' work with the Society was a passion with him. He always took notes while listening to reminiscences of any old timers who called, and among his private papers are dozens of pocket notebooks filled with such items, and most of these notes are in the old correspondence style of shorthand as perfected by Ben Pittman back in the 1850's. During the early years when the Society had but a scant book fund he wrote hundreds of letters soliciting newly issued volumes for the library. When unable to get a gift copy he would try to get one by exchange, giving a volume of *The Kansas Historical Collections* in return. He was forever on the lookout for rare Western Americana, and through his foresight the Kansas Historical Society has been enriched by one of the most complete collections of this sort of any library in the West.

One of the standbys of the Society, almost from the very start, was Miss Zu Adams, daughter of the secretary. In the early days there were no funds to pay for office work and for several years Zu helped outside of school hours, receiving no salary whatever until 1880. During her father's later years she was made librarian and during his last year she did both his and her own work.

She was familiar with every phase of the Society's activities and in particular had made a special study of Indian history. As a young girl she took up the study of shorthand and was of great service to her father, whose phonographic notes she could readily read. She contributed a number of historical articles to various publica-

tions. She also helped in the compilation of various earlier volumes of *The Kansas Historical Collections*.

After a lingering illness she passed away on April 12, 1911, after about thirty-five years service for the state.

It was in Judge Adams' administration that the staff had one of its most exciting experiences and got two very interesting relics. This was during the legislative war between Populists and Republicans. A number of Populists who claimed to have been elected and counted out by Republican election boards demanded recognition. These individuals took their seats on the north side of representative hall and took part in the proceedings and deliberations of their party members, while the Douglass house members carried on at the same time on the south side of the hall. J. M. Dunsmore, who presided over the Populists, was a trifle undersized, dark complexioned, had dark snappy eyes and wore glasses. His forehead reached to the back of his head, which characteristic earned him the honorary title of "The Bald Hornet of the Neosho."

The legislative war broke out on February 15, 1893, when the Populists took possession of the hall and stationed several national guardsmen, which they had called out, along the stairs leading up to the hall. That morning the Republican members of the house learned of the action of the Populists and met at the Copeland Hotel. At nine o'clock these members, headed by E. W. Hoch, started out and marched—two abreast—from the hotel to the state house, up the east steps, through the east wing, rotunda, and to the stairs leading up to representative hall, followed by about a thousand deputy sheriffs and assistant sergeants-at-arms. The stairs were blocked by militia men, with muskets crossed to prevent anyone going up.

I was standing in the corridor by the door to the state treasury—not over ten or twelve feet away and saw the men start up the stairs. There was a bit of confusion as the procession started up. One of the men towards the front grabbed one of the militiamen and pointing down to the floor beneath told him to "drop that gun or I'll drop you overboard." The youth did so. Up the stairs surged the members followed by the crowd. They were too late to get in, however, as the doors had been swung shut and locked. Someone called for a hammer. A few minutes later a sledge hammer had been procured from a hardware store on the avenue a few doors north of Ninth. A few well-delivered blows and the panels gave way, and the hosts entered. The members and employees of the Dunsmore house had all disappeared by the time the Republicans entered, so the Douglass

house members and attachés took possession. These doors and the sledge hammer are now relics in the museum.

Following the rush of the legislators, Governor Lewelling ordered Col. J. W. F. Hughes to disperse the Republican members. His refusal to do so is a matter of record. The Populists, following their retreat from legislative hall, set up shop on the ground floor of the south wing, closing off that floor and holding sessions until the supreme court declared them out of order. On the morning of February 28 the dual houses met together in representative hall and answered roll call. I was present in the hall at this time and recollect that a goodly number of the Dunsmore faction rose to a question of personal privilege as their names were called. Dr. P. Daugherty, of Junction City, was one of the wheel horses of the reform party, and as his name was called he got to his feet and addressed the chair, explaining in plain language his stand in the late unpleasantness, and closing his remarks with the statement "We bow to the decision of the supreme court." There was tumultuous applause and hand clapping at the conclusion of his little speech, the doctor still remaining on his feet until the applause died away. The orator had not quite finished it developed, for he then turned and faced the members on the south side of the hall and roared forth at them, "But damn such a decision!" A few minutes later another of the returning members arose to a question of personal privilege when his name was called. He started out with the intention of dubbing the Douglass house members a self-constituted house but in the excitement he blurted out that they were a *self constipated house*. Some suppressed giggles followed this statement and he realized he had blundered. Taking a fresh start as the chuckles continued, he again used the same expression. When he made a third attempt with no better results a member on the south side of the hall called out: "Say, mister, just what do you think ails the members on this side of the floor?" The confused legislator sat down as another round of applause broke forth.

In those days many of the men who played a prominent part in the state's early history often visited the Society. I well remember Col. Cyrus Kurtz Holliday, first president and chief promoter of the Santa Fe. He was tall, around six feet in height, dignified, bald, with a fringe of snow white hair extending around his head from ear to ear. He wore a mustache and side burns, dressed immaculately, wore spats, a long Prince Albert coat, and a silk plug hat. He sported a cane, and wore pince-nez glasses, suspended by a

small gold chain. He lived in a large square frame mansion at the northeast corner of Sixth and Monroe, which was one of the centers of social activities in the days when Topeka's Four Hundred lived, for the most part, on the east side of the avenue. The colonel was a past president of the Historical Society, a member of the board of directors for many years, one of the three members of its auditing committee, and as such was called upon to O. K. the Society's regular grist of monthly bills.

Another frequent visitor was Eugene F. Ware, early-day Fort Scott harness maker, poet, editor, and lawyer. About a year before Secretary Adams died he wrote Mr. Ware for the gift of a late edition of his *Rhymes of Ironquill*. Ware came into the library one noon hour a week or so later when Adams and the librarian were gone and gave me the book. Then he said, "Say, about ten years ago a Topeka book dealer collected a lot of my verse and printed it. It was a heluva looking job! Every time I look at the volume it gives me the hydrophobia!" Ware had a shrill falsetto voice that came to a climax as he continued: "I wish you would take that book down to the basement and stick it in the furnace!"

Ware's reputation as a poet got a good start when he published his "Washerwoman's Song." He was an avowed agnostic, yet this early poem will be remembered for many years to come. He was at one time president of the Historical Society and for years served on the board of directors.

Once in a while an out-of-state visitor dropped in to see what we had in the museum. I recall a rather prepossessing female of middle age, from Missouri, who wound up her visit among our numerous mementos and relics of "Old John Brown." As I was putting them away she turned and in a most deprecating tone informed me that "Down where I came from we don't hold Mr. Brown in very high esteem." This little dig provided a temptation I couldn't resist. Pulling out a pasteboard box from a nearby shelf of the vault I removed the lid and put it in her hands. "These shin bones," I told her, "were once part and parcel of Quantrill, the noted guerrilla, and I can assure you he didn't stand very high in these parts, either." The visitor hastily gave me back the box and soon departed. Honors were even.

Another woman visitor I can remember was more emphatic in her disapproval of one of our museum pieces. Back in the early 1900's when there was considerable activity in enforcing the prohibitory law, the governor's office was the recipient of a reproduction

of a famous painting. This picture was "Custer's Last Fight," and the donor was the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Association. The governor presented the picture to the Historical Society. As Custer had been stationed at several forts in Kansas and as the Seventh cavalry was organized at Fort Riley, there was a valid excuse for placing this noted picture on the Society's walls. However, we began hearing rumors that the Society was advertising beer by allowing the picture to hang in its collection. In a move for appeasement I pasted a strip of paper over the offending lines.

It was about this time that Carrie Nation had led several crusades against local jointists, and she was already finding imitators. One morning Mr. Martin, then secretary, had arrived early and was sitting in his office when he heard the crashing of glass in the hall. He stepped out and saw Miss Blanche Boies standing beside the Custer picture. She had an axe in her hand and she explained that she was trying to cut out the line mentioning the brewing association. Mr. Martin took the axe from her and someone called the police. After she was led away the glass was swept up and the picture still remained on the wall. From that time on the old picture became a drawing card. Then one day some vandal gouged a hole through the picture and for a while it was open season for souvenir hunters who wished a fragment of the historic picture. About one-third of the center was cut away. The story of the mutilated picture traveled all over the country and visitors from out of the state seemingly never forgot to ask to see the old wreck. Although a new Custer picture with the beer advertisement carefully painted out was donated to the Society, our original had to be allowed to hang on the wall. Of the thousands who see the old picture annually probably not over one in a hundred now knows why such a shabby relic is still on display.

The foregoing occurred shortly after George W. Martin became secretary. He was really the second secretary, assuming the duties before Judge Adams' death. His was a happy selection on the part of the Society. He came to Kansas with his parents in 1857, landing at Wyandotte, their destination being Lecompton. They were due to reach that point by steamboat. At the mouth of the Kansas river the elder Martin was patiently waiting till the steamboat arrived. But young George, a youthful red head, was ready and anxious to go, and a few days later he told his parents that he wasn't going to wait any longer, boat or no boat. He was going to walk. They tried to dissuade him, arguing that when the boat did

arrive it would pass him en route. He struck out anyway and reached his destination about ten days before the steamboat. He was soon working in a printing office at Lecompton and attending all the political meetings that were held in that vicinity. He met many of the Proslavery politicians of that era and got well acquainted with them.

In the early 1860's Martin managed to get hold of the Junction City *Union* and made it a red hot paper. In 1873 he was elected state printer and held that position for four consecutive terms. Martin came to Topeka on a number of occasions during Secretary Adams' latter days and succeeded in getting the legislature to vote more generous appropriations for the Society than Mr. Adams had been able to get. He had a state-wide acquaintance and could relate anecdotes about any Kansan of prominence from the time he came to Kansas up to the last year of his life.

On one occasion a couple of Eastern ladies were going through the Historical Society's rooms. Our gallery of notables for the most part was hung on the walls surrounding the dome. The women were armed with notebooks and pencils and soon began criticising the art work of the various painters who had done the portraits. George W. listened for some time in silence but finally he could hold in no longer. "Ladies," he said, going up to them, "this is no *art gallery*, and was never intended to be. But I just want to tell you about these people whose faces you see on the walls. They were the salt of the earth; not much to look at, but they helped make this state what it is today." He then pointed out the picture of one of the governors whose face the women had criticized, and related his history, giving a word picture that only George W. could give. He went to another portrait and had as good a story about the original of that one. Those two women followed him around for the balance of the forenoon, neither one making any further notes, until one of them discovered they just had time to make their train for Chicago. As they left one of them said "Mr. Martin, I have visited many art galleries and looked at thousands of pictures but I never spent a more interesting forenoon anywhere than I have in this one."

Mr. Martin had much to do with the erection of the Memorial building and securing it for the Historical Society. Unfortunately he did not live to see it occupied by the Society, although he did take part in the ceremonies when it was dedicated by William Howard Taft.

Following the reading of his paper, additional remarks were made by Mr. Root.

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

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS FOR DIRECTORS

OCTOBER 17, 1941.

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, 1944:

Aitchison, R. T., Wichita.
 Baugher, Charles A., Ellis.
 Capper, Arthur, Topeka.
 Carson, F. L., Wichita.
 Chandler, C. Q., Wichita.
 Dawson, John S., Hill City.
 Doerr, Mrs. Laura P. V., Larned.
 Ellenbecker, John G., Marysville.
 Euwer, Elmer E., Goodland.
 Hobbie, Frank A., Dodge City.
 Hogin, John C., Belleville.
 Hunt, Charles L., Concordia.
 Knapp, Dallas W., Coffeyville.
 Lilleston, W. F., Wichita.
 McLean, Milton R., Topeka.
 McNeal, T. A., Topeka.
 Malin, James C., Lawrence.

Miller, Karl, Dodge City.
 Moore, Russell, Wichita.
 Murdock, Victor, Wichita.
 Price, Ralph R., Manhattan.
 Raynesford, H. C., Ellis.
 Russell, W. J., Topeka.
 Smith, Wm. E., Wamego.
 Solander, Mrs. T. T., Osawatomie.
 Somers, John G., Newton.
 Stevens, Caroline F., Lawrence.
 Stewart, Donald, Independence.
 Thompson, W. F., Topeka.
 Van Tuyl, Mrs. Effie H., Leavenworth.
 Walker, Mrs. Ida M., Norton.
 White, William Allen, Emporia.
 Wilson, John H., Salina.

Respectfully submitted,

ROBERT C. RANKIN, *Chairman*,
 MRS. BENNETT R. WHEELER,
 MRS. A. M. HARVEY,
 MILTON R. McLEAN.

By 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, 1944.

Reports of other societies were called for. The following responded: Mrs. Ross B. Smith, retiring president of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society; the Rev. Angelus Lingenfesler, secretary of the Kansas Catholic Historical Society; W. H. Edmundson, historian of the Wilson County Historical Society; Robert C. Rankin, president of the Douglas County Historical Society; and F. W. Brinkerhoff, director of the Crawford County Historical Society.

Charles H. Browne of Horton described a mock parachute raid in Louisiana during recent army maneuvers in which Kansas men participated.

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 President Malin. He asked for a rereading of the report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society. On motion of Edward Bumgardner, seconded by Mrs. W. D. Philip, the following were unanimously elected:

For a one-year term: Charles H. Browne, Horton, president; W. E. Stanley, Wichita, first vice-president; Fred W. Brinkerhoff, Pittsburg, second vice-president.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned.

DIRECTORS OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AS OF
OCTOBER, 1941

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1942

Bailey, Roy C., Salina.	Nicholson, John C., Newton.
Beeks, Charles E., Baldwin.	Norris, Mrs. George, Arkansas City.
Beezley, George F., Girard.	Philip, Mrs. W. D., Hays.
Bonebrake, Fred B., Topeka.	Rankin, Robert C., Lawrence.
Bowlus, Thomas H., Iola.	Ruppenthal, J. C., Russell.
Brinkerhoff, Fred W., Pittsburg.	Ryan, Ernest A., Topeka.
Browne, Charles H., Horton.	Sayers, Wm. L., Hill City.
Embree, Mrs. Mary, Topeka.	Schulte, Paul C., Leavenworth.
Gray, John M., Kirwin.	Simons, W. C., Lawrence.
Hamilton, R. L., Beloit.	Skinner, Alton H., Kansas City.
Hardesty, Mrs. Frank, Merriam.	Stanley, W. E., Wichita.
Harger, Charles M., Abilene.	Stone, Robert, Topeka.
Harvey, Mrs. A. M., Topeka.	Taft, Robert, Lawrence.
Haucke, Frank, Council Grove.	Trembly, W. B., Kansas City.
McFarland, Helen M., Topeka.	Walker, B. P., Topeka.
Malone, James, Topeka.	Woodring, Harry H., Lecompton.
Mechem, Kirke, 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.

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1944

Aitchison, R. T., Wichita.	Miller, Karl, Dodge City.
Baughner, Charles A., Ellis.	Moore, Russell, Wichita.
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.
Euwer, Elmer E., Goodland.	Somers, John G., Newton.
Hobble, Frank A., Dodge City.	Stevens, Caroline F., Lawrence.
Hogin, John C., Belleville.	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.	

Bypaths of Kansas History

MUSIC OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Reproduced below is a fragment of martial music of the American Revolution. The manuscript was received by the Kansas State Historical Society from Ellen G. Parkhurst, of Topeka, to whom it was given in 1910 by Samuel J. Reader. Across the top Reader wrote: "The tune my grandfather (Wm. James, of the New Jersey Minute men) played when fifer of his company during the Revolutionary war, 1776." Samuel Reader came to Kansas in 1855 and settled at the now extinct town of Indianola near present North Topeka. Extracts from his diaries, preserved by the Historical Society, have been published in previous issues of the *Quarterly*. An entry for November 29, 1910, records the copying of the tune for Miss Parkhurst. Reader was then seventy-four years old.



GIFTS FOR THE GREAT SPIRIT

Included in the series of Kansas Historical Marker inscriptions published in the last issue of the *Quarterly* was one on "Waconda, or Great Spirit Spring." This item, from the *Cawker City Free Press* of sixty years ago (June 30, 1881), lists some of the "tokens," intended as gifts for the Great Spirit, which were found in the pool.

. . . The work of cleaning out the Spring is progressing finely. . . . As the pressure, by removal of the mud, is relieved the water accumulates faster, and to get rid of it Mr. Michener has devised a new sort of pump that throws a three-inch stream of water and is very easily managed. Many relics of "original proprietors" are being taken out of the Spring, among which we noticed the much dreaded scalping knife, a tomahawk, bows, arrows, javelins, rings, chains, brass or copper kettles, some old time flint lock guns and pistols, many parts of which are in a good state of preservation. . . .

NOT ONE REDEEMING QUALITY?

From the Kansas City (Mo.) *Enterprise*, August 22, 1857 (reprinted from the Hericon *Argus*).

We are sorry to see the girls of the present day have such a tendency to utter worthlessness. . . . Years ago, . . . it was fun to go a dozen miles afoot, with mud knee deep to see them, nature instead of art. But now it is different. The dentist supplies the teeth, . . . an artist furnishes the paint, a yankee the hoops, some "French milliner" gets up artificial maternal founts, and the very devil robs himself to give them a disposition to lie, tattle, gossip, make mischief and kick up all sorts of hobberys among people generally. . . .

 JAKE STOTLER COULD DISH IT OUT, TOO

From the *Emporia News*, December 21, 1861.

By the way, Jake, we observe in your last issue that there has been a revival in your town [Emporia], lately, and that about thirty sinners have been reclaimed from the embraces of the Old Boy; and we also notice in the same issue that you publish several selections of a serious and religious character. Are we to infer from them—the "hard times," the revival and your pious selections—that you are one of the redeemed? If so, good boy! Nothing like adversity to bring a youth to his milk.—[Burlington] *Neosho Valley Register*.

No, [S. S.] Prouty; we are sorry to inform you that we are not among the number of our citizens who were made happy by being convinced of the "error of their ways," at the late religious awakening here. Our readers, unlike yours, are an enlightened and Christian set of people; and this may account for our publication of articles of a religious and moral character. Of course, we publish something for them as well as for the politicians and others. We are glad to see that you have read those articles—for if you had not told us, we would never have known that you had any taste for anything of that character. It would take something more than an ordinary run of adversity to bring you to your milk, you dried up (morally, not fleshy) old sinner, you. . . .

 A NEW TYPE OF SEED

From the *Netawaka Chief*, July 23, 1872.

TEXAS COWS.—The best time to plant them is the last of July, and from the number running around town, destroying gardens and breaking fences, there will be a large number planted. To do it properly, prepare a hole about four feet wide, three feet deep, and six feet long, cover them deep. Any place outside of town on the prairie, where a friendly bullet will fetch them, will do. That is what I know about farming.—A CITIZEN.

NO "CLINGING VINES" WANTED

From the Cawker City *Sentinel*, copied in the *Netawaka Chief*, July 30, 1872.

Mrs. Mary C. Hawes, of Crooked creek, four miles north of Bulls City, has this season, with a yoke of oxen driven by herself, broken 25 acres of prairie; drove the oxen to break 25 acres more; has shot two buffalo with her rifle, which she calls "Betsey." Her plowing is very well done and with the rifle she is an expert. She has the best crops of corn, etc., that there are in her neighborhood.

Our "devil" is very anxious to know if Mrs. Hawes is a widow. Says he wouldn't mind settling on that farm!

From the Newton *Republican*, June 8, 1888.

Miss Tosa Jones, of Argonia, aged 18 years, daughter of J. W. Jones, has this spring broken forty-five acres of land and planted it in corn and intends to cultivate it herself. She can husk and crib sixty bushels of corn per day. She also attends to the feeding of a large number of cattle every winter. Miss Jones should succeed Mrs. Salter as mayor of Argonia.

SOCIETY NOTES

From the *Wilson County Citizen*, Fredonia, May 29, 1874.

The accomplished burglar and thief, Mr. Chase Noble, Esq., who knows how to pick five locks and break jail twice all in one-half hour, has concluded, by unanimous request of twelve of his countrymen, to accompany the sheriff of this county to Leavenworth soon for the purpose of inspecting the public improvements of that place. He contemplates remaining about ten years.

From the Oberlin *Herald*, April 10, 1884.

Mr. George Pratt and Eli Craig, of Museum, had a little circus over a claim a few days ago, and during the performance Mr. Pratt felt of Mr. Craig's head with a revolver; after which Sheriff Batchelor organized a pleasure excursion, composed of Mr. Pratt, Mr. Craig and a few other invited guests, and made a trip to Sheridan, taking in the county attorney as they passed through Kenneth; arrived at Sheridan they visited J. Leatherman, Esq., where they held a short entertainment. The programme consisted of short dialogues, off-hand speeches and a clincher by the host. All parties enjoyed themselves, and Mr. Pratt in his generosity paid the expenses of the excursion besides making a small donation to the school fund.

PUNS FORBIDDEN

From *The Commonwealth*, Topeka, June 6, 1875.

And now comes Mary A. Spring as editress and publisheress of the *Index*, at Cherokee, Crawford county. The first Kansas editor who gets off anything about "lingering in the lap of spring" is to be killed and fed to the grasshoppers.

GENESIS OF THE AUTO-TRAILER

From the *Eureka Herald*, June 1, 1876.

A Canadian gentleman, traveling for his health, passed through town Monday evening. He had the most comfortable traveling wagon we ever saw. It was large enough to contain stove, cooking utensils, bed, etc. He was accompanied by his wife, and had along an extra horse and nine dogs. He evidently enjoys himself as he goes along.

STYLE NOTE

From the *Garnett Weekly Journal*, November 25, 1876.

The latest style of young ladies' hats is called the "Kiss-me-if-you-dare." When worn by a cross-eyed woman with a wart on her nose, the defiance is terrible and unanswerable, but when it is backed up by a pretty face, every youth with a spark of manhood in his bosom answers the challenge the first good chance, if it does take all the wax out of his mustache.—*Hawkeye*.

HARDSHIPS OF THE PIONEER TOURIST

From the *Eureka Herald*, May 10, 1877.

The *Emporia News* calls for the building of a first class hotel in that city. One of the most varying, indefinite and uncertain terms we have met in Kansas is that of "first class hotel." As we approached Topeka on our introduction to the state in 1870, we saw the Tefft House loudly advertised as a "first class hotel in every respect." We registered at this establishment and were introduced into as shabbily furnished apartment and to as poorly prepared food as we were ever accustomed to see at hotels not aspiring to be rated in any particular class. We heard of the fame of the Robinson House of Emporia on our approach to that city. It also said to the world it was par excellence "first class." We tried it on several occasions. On one occasion we were kept awake all night by native occupants, commonly called bed bugs, disputing our right of possession by practicing tricks that only bed bugs know how to practice. On another occasion we were as effectually entertained by broad gauge rats disporting themselves over us in a most unceremonious manner. Our experience in these and similar instances in Kansas, causes us to feel a smiling sensation whenever we hear the term "first class" used with reference to hotels. If the "first class" hotels we have struck in Kansas are samples of all hotels of said class in the state, we hope our neighbors will think better of it and not encourage the builder of another. We prefer a good hotel at any time to first class establishments as they have been dished up to us.

DODGE CITY PREPARES FOR THE CATTLE TRADE

From the Dodge City *Times*, May 4, 1878.

In this delectable city of the plains the winter of discontent is made glorious by the return of the cattle trade. With the countless herds come the hordes of bipeds. Weeks and months before, through the blasts of winter and the gentle zephyrs of spring, has impecuniosity longed for the opening of the cattle trade, in which Dodge City outshines all envy and rivalry.

This "cattle village" and far-famed "wicked city" is decked in gorgeous attire in preparation for the long horn. Like the sweet harbinger of spring, the boot black came, he of white and he of black. Next the barber "with his lather and shave." Too, with all that go to make up the busy throng of life's fitful fever, come the Mary Magdalenes, "selling their souls to whoever'll buy." There is "high, low, jack and the game," all adding to the great expectation so important an event brings about.

The merchant and the "hardware" dealer has filled his store and renovated his "palace." There are goods in profusion in warehouse and on shelves; the best markets were sought, and goods are in store and to arrive. Necessarily, there is great ado, for soon the vast plains will be covered with the long horn—and the "wicked city" is the source from which the great army of herder and driver is fed.

The season promises to be a remarkable one. The drive is reported to be larger, and the first herd will probably reach this point within a couple of weeks. There has been no undue preparation, and the earlier season has stimulated activity to the greatest measure of expectation.

 IT DOESN'T RAIN IN CALIFORNIA, EITHER

From the Lakin *Eagle*, May 20, 1879.

DOES IT BLOW IN KANSAS?—As a truth and no fabrication, Kansas is not a windy country.

We have 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. . . .

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 out.

Why they are afraid of turning wrong side out we never knew, but the wind has nothing to do with it. We are often compelled to stay down town late of nights, and when we arrive home it generally strikes up a lively breeze, espe-

cially if our breath smells a little of cloves or coffee, yet strictly speaking Kansas is not a breezy country.

The fish are very tough in this country because when they walk out to eat grass the wind blows all of their scales off and makes the meat hard and sunburnt. . . .

From the Junction City *Union*, May 10, 1873.

The Colorado papers think Kansas zephyrs are no-where because they can't budge a locomotive. Colorado winds can lift such light obstacles without the least effort.

From the Dodge City *Times*, March 24, 1877.

On Wednesday a gust of wind removed seven dollars out of the stocking of Alice Chambers as she was walking up Front street. After a six-hour search, participated in by all the tramps in town, one dollar was recovered. We had supposed that the Kansas wind was of a higher order, and did not stoop to such larceny. The thing is now settled, that under some circumstances even the wind can be found feeling around in by and forbidden paths.

FAITH COMES TO THE WILD WEST

From the Dodge City *Times*, June 8, 1878.

The "wicked city of Dodge" can at last boast of a Christian organization—a Presbyterian church. It was organized last Sunday week. We would have mentioned the matter last week but we thought it best to break the news gently to the outside world. The tender bud of Christianity is only just beginning to sprout, but as "tall oaks from little acorns grow, so this infant, under the guide and care of Brother Wright, may grow and spread its foliage like the manly oak of the forest. Years ago John the Baptist preached in the wilderness of Judea, and his meat was locusts and wild honey, but he baptized many converts in the river of Jordan. Who can tell but that years hence another Luke may write a book about our minister preaching in the wilderness of Dodge City and baptizing in the river Arkansas?"

GET READY THE FATTED CALF

From the *Inland Tribune*, Great Bend, August 9, 1879.

The Colorado exodus has set in; those who went there in the spring are on their return to their wives' people to spend the winter. On Saturday a wagon passing through had large letters inscribed on the corner: "Prodigal sons going home for a square meal."

NO NEED TO CALL FATHER

From the *Larned Optic*, July 30, 1880.

The lightning struck a Great Bend girl last week. She was not injured in the least, but her corset ribs were sadly demoralized, as was also the arm of a young man who was trying to keep them in place. When asked by his friends why he keeps his arm in a sling he explains that he "didn't know she was loaded."

 BAR-FLY BUZZES

From the *Daily Kansas State Record*, Topeka, April 22, 1870.

They sell a little whisky occasionally in Leavenworth. The *Conservative* says that the liquor licenses in the city clerk's office make a strip nine feet long, one name to the line.

From the *Logan Enterprise*, September 23, 1880.

An Atchison county man who had been bitten by a copperhead snake, carried the snake with him to the drug store in order to procure the necessary whisky.

From *The Independent*, Kirwin, January 26, 1881.

Since the saloons at Beloit closed, the residents of that burg are drinking water from the Spirit Springs at Cawker City.

From the *Cawker City Free Press*, August 18, 1881.

Strangers visiting the Great Spirit Springs will do well to bear in mind that its waters are laxative as well as healing and soothing to the nervous system, according to the amount imbibed. Like intoxicating drinks, imbibed in moderate quantities and with judgment, it is beneficial, but if guzzled in immoderately large doses it won't stay with a fellow. At least this is the judgment of Put Smith, of Beloit, who visited the great phenomenal wonder the other evening and came home in another man's clothes—they were too large for him. He looked as if he had taken *passage* for Bulu Land. . . .

 SCOTT CITY INVADDED IN 1894

During the depression following the panic of 1893 Jacob Coxey, of Ohio, proposed that the unemployed be put to work by the issuance of legal-tender currency to be spent for good roads and other public improvements. To arouse public and congressional interest he organized a march of a "living petition" of the unemployed to Washington. The movement, favored with considerable publicity, inspired the dissatisfied elsewhere and several "industrial armies" sprang up to join Coxey.

One brigade numbering half a thousand was recruited in eastern Colorado by "Gen." S. Sanders. The men appropriated a switch engine and cars and set out for Washington. Several attempts by the railroad company to halt them ended in failure. Not until the army reached Scott City, where it was met by a United States marshal and posse, was it overcome. The men were hauled to Leavenworth for trial. After a delay of more than a month, perhaps because the judges felt that "Populist Kansas was no place to convict industrial armies of train-stealing," those who had not escaped were brought before the court and convicted. They were distributed in county jails with sentences of varying lengths to prevent them from reassembling when released. [See Donald L. McMurry, *Coxey's Army* (Boston, 1929), pp. 206-213.]

An account of Sanders' march across eastern Colorado and the capture of the army at Scott City was printed in the *Scott City Republican*, May 17, 1894:

On Thursday morning the Mo. Pac. west-bound passenger train was ordered to stop here until further orders, on account of the expected approach of the Sanders Industrial Army. The army was from Cripple Creek, Coal Creek, Victor, Florence and Pueblo, Colo. and were under the leadership of "General" J. S. Sanders. The army had, as they claim, borrowed a D. & R. G. switch engine, and captured five flat cars from the Mo. Pac., and started east. The Co. ditched an engine in front of them. This obstruction the army built a track around, and came on. Five miles west of Chivington, Colo. the road unspiked the rails and turned a box car against the sides of a cut, and then raked the fire from an engine with a good head of steam its throttle pulled wide open, and left it to rush into the box cars. This effectually blocked the road. An engine is so heavy that no number of men unaided by machinery can move it when ditched. The army went to work chopping up the boxcars, burning the fragments for light by which to carry on the work. At this juncture Road Master Keelan received orders at Horace to take his force of 50 men and go to Chivington and clear the track. This was a ticklish duty to perform as he knew he and his train would be captured on his arrival. He started at once. When he arrived he and his train were at once seized, and the army prepared to proceed with the captured train. Mr. Keelan called for their leader, and so well plead his case before the "General" that he ordered the train to be returned to him, and also told him that if he needed the assistance of the army he could have it. He availed himself of the offer, and highly praises the will with which they responded. He hitched his engine to the boxcars and snaked them out. He then laid a track around the engine and the army prepared to start again. Mr. Keelan complained to Mr. Sanders, that his men had taken a lot of his tools, and that he would not side-track his train to let the army pass until they were thrown out. Mr. Sanders seemed vexed, and at once ordered the men to throw them out, which was at once obeyed. Both trains proceeded to Horace where the army took a side-track and waited for the east bound passenger train. At Horace the army

abandoned the switch engine and seized one of the Mo. Pac. engines which had been recalled from the retreat ordered the day before. The one they chose was one of the best on the road. Now came a waiting match, each train wanting the other to lead out. After waiting a couple of hours the passenger led out, and the army followed.

Scott had been selected for the *coup d'etat*. At 4 P. M. the passenger came running like a scared antelope. It probably made the fastest time ever made on this part of the road. In the meantime the track had been torn up east of the switchyard, so the army could not seize one of the passenger trains blocking the tracks and escape, the object being to detain them here at all hazards until the special could arrive with the U. S. marshal and his posse. To prevent a retreat the track was also torn up this side of Selkirk after the army passed. To make matters doubly sure the road instructed Mr. T. A. Jenkins to have an order of replevin for the engine and cars, and to have warrants for the arrest of Mr. Sanders, his captains and 100 of his men, and put them in the hands of the sheriff, and to instruct him to summon an armed posse to enforce them, but not serve them unless it became necessary to detain the army. District Clerk W. A. Thomson issued the order of replevin, and Esquire T. C. Carroll issued the warrant of arrest charging the army with bringing stolen property into this state, and they were placed in the hands of Deputy Sheriff J. F. Moreau.

The eastbound passenger train took the sidetrack, leaving the westbound train on the main track. About half past 4 the army came in, 450 men closely packed on five flat cars with stars and stripes and motto banners flying. As it approached the westbound train pulled out beyond the switch and stopped. The army stopped within 30 feet, and sent a "Lieutenant" asking that the track be cleared so they could pass. The answer was, that the train was carrying the U. S. mail and demanding the right of way. This brought Mr. Sanders who answered they would not obstruct the mail, but would back and take the first siding to let it pass, at once backing to, and sidetracking at Modoc. While at Modoc, the army committed the only depredation we have heard of, except against the road. Mr. R. B. Irwin complains that they took a robe and a lot of tools at least worth \$25. We suppose they thought a friend would not object to this little donation. The passenger did not follow until the special came an hour later, when it pulled west.

The special contained Genl. Sup. H. G. Clark, Sup't. S. T. Shanklin, Ass't. Master Mechanic W. J. Hill, Gen. Atty. B. P. Waggener, U. S. Marshal S. T. Neeley, with 55 armed deputies, and reporters for the *Capital*, the *K. C. Star* and *Times*, *Chicago Times*, and *Denver News*. The track was repaired. As soon as the passenger passed Modoc the army added a box car to their train and returned to Scott. As they came in the special pulled in on the switch leaving the passenger on the main track at the depot. A flagman went out and signalled the army to stop. It obeyed, pulling in on the switch at the coal chute, while the deputies began to leave the special with their guns. At this moment things looked warlike. Messrs. Neeley, Clark and Waggener came up and called for Mr. Sanders who promptly joined them. Marshal Neeley explained the charge of stopping the mails, and demanded their surrender. Mr. Sanders took a half hour for consultation with his men. The army was ordered from the cars and formed in companies and drilled. This afforded us a good opportunity to see the men and observe their discipline. The army is

a mixed crowd. A few were well dressed, but the great majority are miners and mechanics in their labor soiled clothes, there were comparatively few Americans among them. Their discipline and order was surprisingly good, they are governed by written laws adopted before they left Cripple Creek. We were told that they blacklisted all disorderly and tough characters and expelled them, and that 100 such had been weeded out. Mr. Sanders is a tall fine looking, intelligent and quiet appearing young man, with a graceful easy bearing. His word is law. After a consultation with his captains permission was asked of Mayor L. L. Bingaman to make a camp, which was granted, and the different detachments marched to camp between the roads. The surrender had been unconditionally made, and Marshal Neeley made a short speech to each company, explaining that they were under arrest and would be made as comfortable as possible in the coaches, his words were received with cheers by the men. They were told to be ready to start by midnight. Camp-fires were quickly lighted, and the men proceeded to butcher, dress and cook a beef which the citizens gave them. Many begged their suppers from one house to another, while some few offered to pay for what they received, about half of those who got cheese, crackers and tobacco at the stores voluntarily paid for them, we have not so far heard of any ungentlemanly conduct of these men in town.

So closed the most exciting day Scott ever witnessed. Our whole city population witnessed the spectacle. Business had been suspended all day in expectation of no one knew what. The time was divided between looking towards the west for the smoke of the Sanders army engine, and toward the east for the U. S. army engine's smoke. Our officers were not called on to serve their papers. The Santa Fe train was held at Dighton until the morning after the surrender so as to be out of danger. The road had emptied its water tanks in front of the army and they had to carry water for their engine a quarter of a mile in buckets. We were told that Mr. Sanders is an electrician and a practical miner, and a schoolfellow of "General" Kelley, of the Denver army now in Iowa. It is said that at one time in Cripple Creek, his check was good for \$70,000, and that he now carries a check given him by the people of Cripple Creek, for \$7,000. The most rational theory of the situation was given us by one who had the best opportunities for observation. He says they are mostly ignorant foreigners, they are single men who have no home or local ties, and were out of work and money, and excited by agitators, like the Indians, believe that if they can only get to Washington, and just get to see the Great Father that he will take pity on them. Of course the leaders know better, and have more definite ideas, and expect to petition Congress: 1st. For free and unlimited coinage of silver; 2d. Adequate aid in irrigation; 3rd. Restriction of foreign immigration.

Our opinion is that the rank and file is thoroughly ignorant, thoroughly earnest and thoroughly misled.

At midnight the army was put on the special and taken to Topeka, and from there to Leavenworth for their preliminary hearing. Four of the men were asleep when the train pulled out, and so got left, but were taken on by Mr. Tester, who left Monday morning to attend the trial.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Ralph Richards, Fort Scott lawyer, is the author of "The Forts of Fort Scott and the Fateful Borderland," a history which has been printed serially in the Fort Scott *Tribune* since January 13, 1941. Mr. Richards has been engaged for many years in compiling information from newspapers, documents and other sources which are here assembled in one of the most detailed histories of the city and vicinity yet produced.

A double celebration was held at Andale May 6, 1941, commemorating the founding of the town in 1885 and the establishment of St. Joseph's parish in 1890. A brief history of the community and church was published in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, May 7, 1941. Andale received its name from two of its early families, the Andersons and the Dales.

On August 7, 1941, the Masonic lodge at Xenia celebrated the seventy-fifth anniversary of its founding. The Fort Scott *Tribune*, August 6, 1941, featured a brief history of the organization. The first meeting was held June 8, 1866, and a charter was granted October 17, 1866. The Masonic hall, still used as a meeting place by the lodge as well as by other local organizations, is a frame building erected in 1865-1866. The article lists the masters of the lodge from 1866 to the present.

Articles of historical interest to Kansans in recent issues of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* were: "Leavenworth and Riley Are Links in a Broken Chain of Kansas Forts," September 3, 1941; "The Story of Quantrill's Last Ride Told at Reunion in Wallace's Grove," September 30; "Oklahoma 'Historical Day' Brings Memories of Kansas City Pioneers [the Chouteau family]," October 10; "A Fatal Incident of Border War Recalled on Ride to a Picnic" (story of a long-range shot by one of Quantrill's guerrillas), October 16.

"Early Day Buyers of Graham County Grain," was the title of an article in the Hill City *Times*, September 4, 1941. The information was furnished by the "Pioneer Days" historical committee.

Kansas historical articles in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* in recent months include: "Henry Allen Meets 'Mr. Punch,' Sees Crisis in London Shelters," by Marcel Wallenstein, September 6, 1941; "Medicine Lodge Peace Parley To Be Re-enacted in Pageant," by Paul I. Wellman, October 5; under "Kansas Notes" Cecil Howes listed

some odd and humorous names of Kansas newspapers October 8, and discussed ghost towns October 18; "Thompsons of the *Courant* Mark Sixty Years in Kansas Journalism," October 24.

The first Fourth of July celebration in Phillips county was recalled in the *Kirwin Kansan*, September 11, 1941, in the "Pioneer Memories" column. The event took place in the John Lord grove in 1874.

Bellevue Evangelical Church, three miles north of Leona, celebrated its fifty-seventh anniversary September 14, 1941. A brief history of the church appeared in the *Highland Vidette*, September 11.

Victor Murdock's column in the *Wichita (Evening) Eagle* included the following items of historical interest: "Wichita Has a Place in Military Records of Winter Campaigns" (Indian campaign of 1868), September 12, 1941; "Location in Wichita of Last County Fair Here and Its Predecessors," September 15; "Diligence of Kansans To Uncover Treasures To Be Found Underfoot," September 17; "Marvelous the Results [in agricultural development] Shown by This County in Less Than Seventy Years," September 24; "One Early Factory Here Made a Washing Machine [Benbow] Invented by a Wichitan," September 29; "Pioneer of Prairies [Gene Pardee, now past ninety years of age] Who Visited Wichita When It Was a Village," September 30; "Genius With Electricity, Late William Leroy Emmet, Once Lived in Wichita" (installed first trolley-cars), October 2; "When in Kansas Affairs City of Odessa and Kharkov Played an Important Part" (their names were given to some of the earliest shipments of hard winter wheat from Russia), October 8; "Buffalo Guide On a Mule, Grand Duke From Russia and a Cable From a Czar," October 14; "Men Had Prophetic Eye on the Site of Wichita Long Before Settlement," October 16; "When Couch the Boomer, Capt. Payne's Successor, Ran Livery Stable Here," October 22; "Store of the Ketchums Once a Familiar Spot Along Douglas Avenue," October 24; "Origin of Photograph of David Payne's Colony of Historical Interest," October 27.

Historical sketches and reminiscences by Royse Aldrich, entitled "Local Landmarks of Old Wichita Are Recalled," were published serially in *The Democrat*, Wichita, beginning September 13, 1941.

The forty-third anniversary edition of the *Perry Mirror*, September 18, 1941, contained several articles of historical interest, including a brief history of Perry and the surrounding territory, an account of the battle of Hickory Point, a description of *The Grass-*

hopper, the first newspaper in Jefferson county, and verses by A. C. Wilson on the cyclone of June, 1893.

A marker on the Oketo cutoff of Ben Holladay's Overland Stage Line, two miles southwest of Oketo, was dedicated September 14, 1941. There are remnants of the old stage station near the marker. Charles T. Guise presided at the ceremony. Principal speakers were C. E. Hedrix and John G. Ellenbecker. A picture of the marker and a report of Ellenbecker's talk on the life of Holladay, appeared in the *Marshall County News*, Marysville, September 18, 1941.

Articles describing Arkansas City in the year 1871 were printed in the *Arkansas City Tribune*, September 18 and October 23, 1941. Two copies of the weekly *Traveler*, May 3 and July 19, 1871, found recently in Arkansas City by Rodney Myer, furnished the material for the articles. The earliest number of the *Traveler* in the Historical Society's file is dated January 26, 1876.

The Vittoria Società Italianá di Mutuo Soccorso celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its founding September 21, 1941, at Frontenac. This mutual benefit society, the first of its kind in Kansas, had its beginning in 1891 when a group of Italian immigrants met at the home of Chiaro Mingori in Frontenac. At one time the society had four hundred members, but now the membership is around fifty. The *Frontenac Press*, September 19, 1941, published an account of the celebration.

A column "Early Days in Kirwin," by Mame A. (Mrs. Frank) Boyd, appeared in the *Kirwin Kansan*, September 25, October 2 and 30, 1941. Mrs. Boyd featured items of interest printed in early Kirwin newspapers.

The fourth quinquennial celebration commemorating the seventy-fourth anniversary of the signing of the peace treaty between the United States and the Five Tribes of Plains Indians in October, 1867, was held at Medicine Lodge, October 8-10, 1941. A pageant written and directed by F. L. Gilson reënacting this historical event was produced by the townspeople and several hundred Indians from Oklahoma in the natural amphitheater near Medicine Lodge. The pageant, usually produced every five years, was moved up a year to climax the state-wide Coronado celebration. A fifty-eight page "Indian Peace Treaty" edition of *The Barber County Index*, Medicine Lodge, issued October 2, contained many articles of historical interest, including sketches of the five tribes who signed the treaty, a reprint of an article by a special correspondent which appeared in

the New York *Daily Tribune*, October 23, 1867, the text of the treaty and names of those who signed. The celebration is regularly sponsored by the Medicine Lodge Peace Treaty Association. Sen. Riley W. MacGregor is the association's president.

Reminiscences of Plainville, Rooks county, by Clinton L. Johnson, appeared in the *Plainville Times*, October 2, 1941. Mr. Johnson's parents came to Kansas in a covered wagon in 1879, and his memories of Plainville extend from the 1880's to 1902 when he left the town for railroad work. He is now retired and lives in Alliance, Neb.

The First Christian Church of Emporia, organized in 1856 by Solomon G. Brown, celebrated its eighty-fifth anniversary commencing October 5, 1941. A brief history of the church, the oldest in Emporia, and articles on the celebration were printed in the *Emporia Gazette*, October 4, 6 and 7, 1941.

An address delivered by Fred W. Brinkerhoff October 5, 1941, at the dedication of the Kansas Historical Marker for the Marais des Cygnes massacre was published in the *Fort Scott Tribune*, October 6. The marker was erected on U. S. highway 69, near the Trading Post cemetery where massacre victims are buried.

The experiences of D. P. Sims, who established the telephone exchange in Hill City in 1903, were related in the *Hill City Times*, October 9, 1941.

Religious services, a parade and reception marked the observance in Atchison on October 12, 1941, of the diamond jubilee of St. Benedict's abbey and parish. In 1857 the first mass was said at Atchison and the first baptism administered. The first mass in the church of Saints Peter and Paul was said on Christmas day, 1858, the same year in which the first Catholic marriage ceremony was performed. The cornerstone of the present church was laid August 26, 1866. Articles on the jubilee appeared in the *Atchison Daily Globe*, October 10, 11 and 13. A list of former pastors, beginning with the Rev. Augustine Wirth, OSB, who served from 1857 to 1868, was published in the *Globe*, October 10.

Early-day football at Friends University, Wichita, was reviewed in a feature article in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, October 12, 1941. The game began at Friends in 1898, the year the school opened, when the Quakers defeated Winfield, Fairmount and Wichita High School, but lost to the Newton "Giants." Football continued to be a major sport at Friends until it was dropped in 1936.

Phillips county observed its seventh annual old settlers' day at Kirwin October 7, 1941. Historical verses by Mrs. Jess McMIndes which were read at the meeting were printed in the *Kirwin Kansan*, October 16. The following "old-timers" gave talks on early-day happenings: Fred Albright, Logan; Mrs. E. H. Boughton, Mrs. Frank Hite and I. C. McDowell, Phillipsburg; Marion Scott, Agra; Sam Hough, Gaylord, and Mrs. Mary Rogers, Kirwin.

The early history of the town of Sedgwick was reviewed by Muriel Schaefer in the third annual homecoming edition of the *Sedgwick Pantagraph*, October 16, 1941.

A biographical sketch of Glenn L. Martin by Rex M. Harlow appeared in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, October 19, 1941. Martin spent his childhood in Kansas where he experimented with kites on the windy prairies around Liberal and Salina. He attended grade school, high school and the Kansas Wesleyan business college in Salina. When the Martin family moved to California he engaged in the motor car business and experimented with airplanes. His first plane was flown in 1909. In recent years Martin has become a world-famous airplane manufacturer. He recently visited Kansas to attend the dedication of the new Glenn L. Martin athletic field and stadium at Kansas Wesleyan University.

The *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, of October 19, 1941, also featured an article by David D. Leahy concerning the establishment of counties in Kansas. Particular note was made of Sedgwick county, organized in 1870.

Ashland was host to the third annual "Pioneer Mixer" of the Clark County Historical Society October 25, 1941, which was attended by a hundred early settlers of the county. Willis H. Shattuck, president of the society, and others related experiences of early days. The weekly column of "Clark County Historical Society Notes" was resumed in *The Clark County Clipper*, Ashland, beginning with the issue of October 23. On November 20 the column printed an account of the flight in 1878 of several hundred Northern Cheyenne Indians from their agency in Indian territory to the Black Hills of North Dakota. This was the occasion of the last Indian raid in Kansas, the subject of a Kansas Historical Marker at Oberlin. The *Clipper's* story was taken from accounts in the *Wichita Beacon* of October 2, 1878, and October 12, 1941. On November 27 the column included two articles by John Walden, on a shelter belt planted in 1885, believed to have been the first in the county, and the

route of the Sun City trail. Reminiscences of Fred Hinkle appeared in the issue of December 4, and the following week the column published a biographical sketch of Chris Hinkle, a Clark county pioneer.

The fiftieth anniversary of the Mount Zion Church of the United Brethren in Christ, northwest of St. George, was celebrated October 26, 1941. A history of the church read at the celebration by William Soupene was printed in the *St. George News*, October 30.

"Chief Little Bear—His Life and Works" was the title of a paper by Mrs. Edith S. Demoss-Caughron read at a meeting of the Wilson County Historical Society at Fredonia, September 6, 1941, and published in the *Neodesha Register*, November 6.

A history of the Mary Somerville Library of Mound City by Theodore W. Morse appeared in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, November 23, 1941. In November, 1876, thirteen young women of Mound City organized a literary society with the founding of a library as its chief object. One of the founders, Mrs. Anna Vertrees Kincaid, eighty-one years of age, is still an active member.

Various types of pioneer dwellings, from the crude "half-faced camp" which was no more than a lean-to thrown up against the side of a hill to the substantially-built log cabin and stone house, were described by Edward Bumgardner in the *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, November 28, 1941. The article included sketches of events at John Brown's cabin near Osawatomie, the "Hermit's Cave" at Council Grove, the site of Lawrence, and several other well-known points in Kansas, and was illustrated with drawings and photographs.

Kansas Historical Notes

The American Pioneer Trails Association and the Oregon Trail Memorial Association will sponsor a caravan to follow the general route of the old Santa Fe trail from Kansas City to Santa Fe, N. M., August 15-25, 1942. Those interested in making the journey are invited to join the travelers at Kansas City, Mo., August 15. From Kansas City the party will proceed by private automobiles to Santa Fe, stopping at important cities, markers and other places of interest en route. Further particulars of the proposed pilgrimage may be obtained from John G. Ellenbecker, of Marysville, president of the Kansas council of the trails association.

At a meeting of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society, September 22, 1941, the following officers were elected: Mrs. X. O. Meyer, president; Mrs. Clifton Shepard, vice-president; Mrs. Percy Miller, recording secretary; Mrs. Frank Lyle, treasurer; Mrs. A. V. Fuller, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Carl Harder, historian; Mrs. C. A. Brooks, curator.

Officers of the Hodgeman County Historical Society, elected at the annual meeting at Jetmore October 10, 1941, are: L. W. Hubbell, president; Mrs. Margaret Mooney, vice-president; E. W. Harlan, secretary; Mrs. O. L. Teed, treasurer; Mrs. Margaret Raser, historian; L. H. Raser, Mrs. Mooney and O. W. Lynam, directors. Mrs. Raser was appointed chairman of the program committee.

Kansas' own "Fighting Twentieth" infantry held its annual reunion in Topeka October 12 and 13, 1941. At the banquet Gen. Chas. I. Martin, a captain in the old regiment, and Walter Wilson, state treasurer, delivered addresses. Mrs. Anna Matterson, 92, of Rogers, Ark., widow of a Civil War veteran who had two sons in the Twentieth Kansas, was honored. Newly elected officers are: William Callahan, Leavenworth, president; Albert M. Shipley, Coffeyville, vice-president; Harry Brent, Topeka, secretary and treasurer; Jerry Springstead, Topeka, historian; Homer Limbird, Olathe, chairman of the Funston memorial committee. The Twentieth Kansas auxiliary elected Mrs. L. E. Coffield, Yates Center, president; Mrs. Arthur Gibson, Topeka, vice-president; Mrs. Harry Brent, Topeka, treasurer; Mrs. Margaret MacElhenny, Manhattan, secretary; Mrs. Jessie Scott, Lawrence, chaplain; Mrs. Nellie Rowe, Topeka, reporter.

In celebration of a number of anniversaries occurring in 1941, Lindsborg held a "Svensk Hyllnings Fest" October 17-19, 1941. This is the centennial year of the birth of Olof Olsson, founder of the community; the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of Bethany academy; the sixtieth anniversary of the organization of the Messiah chorus, and the fiftieth anniversary of the graduation of the first class from Bethany College. Scandinavian music, folk dancing and costumes were featured. Visitors from twenty-seven states and from almost every section of Kansas attended.

The annual "Gold Ribbon Pioneer Party" sponsored by the Kiowa County Historical Society took place October 29, 1941, at Greensburg. A candle service was held in honor of pioneers who had died during the year. Reminiscences of early days were related during the basket dinner at the noon hour. Pioneers who came to Kiowa county fifty or more years ago were presented with gold ribbons and those who came thirty-five or more years ago received blue ribbons.

The Lyon County Historical Society met October 30, 1941, at the Civic auditorium in Emporia. One hundred and seventy persons attended. The program included a talk by W. A. White. A memorial to the late W. L. Huggins, first president of the society, was read by Leroy Reynolds. A picture of Mr. Huggins was presented to the society by his family.

The Crawford County Historical Society held its annual meeting at Girard November 4, 1941. Officers of the society include Ralph H. Smith, Pittsburg, president; Harry B. Price, Cherokee, first vice-president; Mrs. Alice Gregg, McCune, second vice-president; Ralph J. Shideler, Girard, recording secretary; Mrs. George Elliott, Pittsburg, treasurer; J. H. Tharp, Cherokee, Ellen Davidson, Mulberry, and Fred W. Brinkerhoff, Pittsburg, trustees. The program consisted of short talks and reminiscences concerning Crawford county history by Mrs. Robert Laughlin, George F. Beezley, and H. W. Shideler, of Girard, and Mrs. A. C. Graves, Mrs. Ralph H. Smith, S. L. Householder, and H. M. Grandle of Pittsburg.

The Pawnee County Historical Society met November 15, 1941, at Larned. The following officers were re-elected: A. H. Lupfer, president; Mrs. E. G. Wickwire, first vice-president; Mrs. A. A. Doerr, second vice-president; Mrs. Jessie B. Grove, secretary; Mrs. Leslie E. Wallace, treasurer; Lois Victor, custodian. Members of the board of directors are: J. C. Browne, J. A. Dillon, E. E. Frizell, Henry Norton, Mrs. A. H. Moffet, and H. L. Reed. County com-

missioners are ex officio members of the board. Mr. Lupfer presided at the meeting and told of his pioneer experiences. Mrs. Doerr read a paper, "Pioneer Days of the '60's and '70's," and Miss Victor read a brief autobiography of I. H. Ulsh. Mrs. Doerr's paper was printed in *The Tiller and Toiler*, Larned, November 27, 1941.

On November 21, 1941, the Dickinson County Historical Society held its annual meeting at Abilene. The following officers were elected: Mrs. Carl Peterson, president; Mrs. E. E. Rohrer, vice-president; Mrs. Walter Wilkins, treasurer, and Mrs. H. M. Howard, secretary. Talks were given by J. B. Edwards of Abilene, Mrs. W. C. Bocker of Solomon, W. T. Sterling of Carlton, and Mrs. A. B. Seelye of Abilene. At two o'clock the meeting adjourned so that members might participate in the ceremony dedicating the Kansas Historical Marker, "Abilene, End of the Chisholm Trail," which was placed at Sand Springs.

For the second year officers of the Douglas County Historical Society were reelected at the society's ninth annual meeting December 10, 1941, in Lawrence. They are Sen. Robert C. Rankin, president; Irma Spangler, first vice-president; John Akers, second vice-president; Ida G. Lyons, secretary, and Walter H. Varnum, treasurer. Mrs. E. M. Owen, Mrs. Alice Sears, Fredo Barteldes, J. R. Holmes and Ed Arnold were elected to the board of directors. The principal address, on the military history of Douglas county, was delivered by Richard B. Stevens. Special mention was made of the work of the late W. L. Hastie, chairman of the committee to preserve records of rural cemeteries.

Last October the first of the *Bulletins of the American Association for State and Local History* was published. This organization was formed in December, 1940, to coördinate the efforts of institutions and individuals interested in state and local history. Subject of the *Bulletin* is "What Should Our Historical Society Do?" by Edward P. Alexander, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. It deals with problems confronting state and local societies. Those interested in the publications should write David C. Duniway, secretary-treasurer of the association, Box 6101, Washington, D. C.

"American Newspaper Reporting of Science News," by Hillier Krieghbaum, is the title of a recent *Kansas State College Bulletin*. Mr. Krieghbaum is associate professor of industrial journalism at the college and a member of the National Association of Science Writers.

The article is a short history of the publication of science items in American newspapers from 1690, when two paragraphs on prevailing "fevers" and a small-pox epidemic appeared in *Publick Occurrences*, of Boston, Mass., to the accurate and concise science reporting of today. Steps in the growth of this service have been integrated by Mr. Kriegbaum to form an absorbing story.

A series of letters describing pioneer life and events in Kansas, edited by Herbert Oliver Brayer of the University of New Mexico, was published last year by the University of New Mexico Press under the title *To Form a More Perfect Union; the Lives of Charles Francis and Mary Clarke From Their Letters, 1847-1871*. Twenty-year-old Clarke ran away to America from Suffolk county, England, in 1847. After several unsuccessful business ventures he enlisted in the First U. S. dragoons, serving from 1849 to 1854. While stationed at Jefferson Barracks, Mo., in 1850, he met and married an Irish girl, Mary McGowan. Upon his release from the army he became clerk to the quartermaster at Fort Leavenworth, later being stationed at Fort Riley. In 1860 he purchased a toll bridge over the Kansas river on the Fort Riley military reservation, and when floods carried it away in the spring of 1861 he established a ferry. On October 4, 1861, Clarke became a first lieutenant in Co. I, Sixth Kansas Mounted volunteers—later Co. F, Sixth Kansas cavalry. On October 21 he was made a captain and until his death served as assistant adjutant general to Gen. J. W. Denver. He died suddenly at Memphis, Tenn., December 10, 1862, leaving his widow with five young sons to rear. Her letters from Junction City continue the story to 1872.

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The Fort Leavenworth-Fort Gibson Military Road and the Founding of Fort Scott

LOUISE BARRY

ONE hundred years ago the U. S. military post Fort Scott was founded. The site was in the Indian country a few miles beyond Missouri's border, on the Western military road. Established May 30, 1842, Fort Scott existed as a frontier post for nearly twelve years.¹ It was abandoned in 1853, the year preceding organization of Kansas territory. Some of the buildings erected in the 1840's remain today within the town of Fort Scott.

The establishment of the fort was a link in the development of a system of defense for the Western border. The route of the Western military road, approved by congress in 1836, was the principal factor in the location of Fort Scott.

The Indian removal act of 1830 established a federal policy for the removal of all Indian tribes from the Eastern states to country west of the Mississippi river. By 1835 more than 30,000 Indians, principally Creeks, Choctaws, Cherokees and Shawnees, had been settled in territory immediately west of Missouri and Arkansas.² In 1834 congress passed the Intercourse act "to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and to preserve peace on the frontiers."³ This act further defined the policy of the government towards the Indians. It provided strict regulations for relations between the white settlements and the Indian country and for the use of U. S. military forces to make the act effective. Because no natural barriers existed and because troops at the outlying army posts (Forts Leavenworth, Gibson and Towson)⁴ were insufficient to police the border country, congress was faced with the problem of enlarging the frontier defense and patrol system.

On December 23, 1835, the senate by resolution instructed its committee on military affairs to "inquire into the expediency of making an appropriation for the purpose of constructing a military

1. See Footnote 50 for note on reestablishment of Fort Scott in later periods.

2. Arkansas territory. Arkansas was granted statehood June 15, 1836.

3. *Laws of the United States of America* (Washington, 1839), v. IX, pp. 128-137.

4. The distance by land from Fort Leavenworth (on the Missouri river) to Fort Gibson (on the Arkansas river) was around 250 miles; from the latter point to Fort Towson (on Red river) was about 125 miles. A fourth post, Fort Coffee, established in 1834 some fifty miles southeast of Fort Gibson, was never a strong defensive point.

road from Cantonment 'Des Moines' to Cantonment Leavenworth, thence to Fort Gibson" ⁵ Secretary of War Lewis Cass advised the committee:

. . . I have no doubt that a road from the western bank of the Mississippi to Fort Leavenworth and thence to Fort Gibson, would be very advantageous to the United States. It need not be an expensive work. Cutting down the timber for a reasonable width, bridging the streams, and causewaying the marshy places, so as to allow the free movement of troops, would be all that would be necessary. . . . From Fort Leavenworth to Fort Gibson the route would pass west of the State of Missouri and the Territory of Arkansas, and through the lands assigned to the emigrating Indians. It will be essentially necessary that the United States should not only possess a respectable force in this quarter, but that they should have the means of transporting it freely along this line of communication. . . . ⁶

The house committee on military affairs reviewing the "exposed condition of our inland frontier" in a report March 3, 1836, declared:

The savage tribes which border upon our settlements, from the Canada line to Louisiana, are more dangerous to the lives and property of our citizens than the whole civilized world. . . . The late sufferings from the Black Hawk war in the north, and the more recent barbarities of the Florida Indians in the south admonish us of the necessity of furnishing more effectual protection to our inland borders. . . .

The policy of the government, to remove the Indians from the interior of the States beyond our western boundary, renders a regular system of defence still more necessary. ⁷

The War Department's plan for defense at this time was based upon the establishment of a cordon of army posts along the frontier, linked together by a lateral line of communication—the military road already under consideration. The quartermaster general suggested an appropriation of \$65,000 to establish four new frontier army posts. He estimated that the military highway could be built for the relatively small sum of \$35,000. This was possible because funds to repair the existing 300-mile road between Forts Jesup and Towson had been provided by the previous congress, and because the 800 miles of high and open ground between Forts Towson and Snelling would require little construction. ⁸

Congress' first step in bolstering Western defenses was an act approved May 14, 1836, appropriating \$50,000 for the removal of

5. *American State Papers (Military Affairs)*, v. VI, p. 12. Indian Agent John Dougherty had suggested a frontier military road in December, 1834.—Dougherty to Maj. J. B. Brant, December 16, 1834, in *ibid.*, pp. 14, 15. An application from citizens of Clay county, Missouri, for the erection of military posts and the opening of military roads around the state's frontier, was communicated to the senate December 24, 1835.—*Ibid.*, v. V, pp. 729-731.

6. *Ibid.*, v. VI, p. 13.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 149.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 153.

Fort Gibson to a location "on or near the western frontier line of Arkansas."⁹ Passed principally to satisfy the citizens of Arkansas who wanted military protection nearer their settlements, it was also designed to provide a more healthful site for a post with an excessively high death rate.

On July 2, 1836, President Jackson approved the enabling act for the better protection of the Western frontier. It provided: (1) for the surveying and opening of a military road from a point on the upper Mississippi (between the mouths of the St. Peters' and Des Moines rivers) to Red river in the south; (2) that the road should pass west of the states of Missouri and Arkansas, with the condition that the assent of the Indian tribes through whose territory the road would pass must be first obtained; (3) for the construction of military posts along the road (locations unspecified); (4) for the use of United States troops to perform the required labor; (5) the sum of \$100,000 to accomplish the objects of the act.¹⁰

Two weeks later the Secretary of War wrote U. S. army officers Col. Zachary Taylor, Maj. W. G. McNeil and Maj. T. F. Smith, to inform them they had been selected as commissioners to lay out the road and locate sites for military posts. In discussing the locations for the proposed forts he said:

An act of Congress requires the removal of Fort Gibson, and its reestablishment near the Arkansas boundary line. You will endeavor to select some suitable and healthful position for this purpose upon the Arkansas; and, wherever this point is designated, there the road must cross the river. I cannot state the number of posts which ought to be established; this must be left discretionary with you. . . . Four positions are distinctly marked: one at Fort Towson, or wherever the road terminates on Red river; another on the Arkansas; a third at Fort Leavenworth, or wherever the road crosses the Missouri; and a fourth at St. Peters, or at the point of intersection with the Mississippi. The intervening stations must be left to your discretion. Probably, from four to six may be found necessary. . . .¹¹

No extra pay was allowed the officers in performing these tasks. Colonel Taylor and Major McNeil found it impossible to serve on the commission. Brigadier General Atkinson appointed Col. S. W.

9. *Laws of the United States, op. cit.*, p. 337. A memorial dated October 23, 1833, from the general assembly of the territory of Arkansas, asking the removal of Fort Gibson to the old site of Fort Smith (on the Arkansas boundary), was communicated to the house January 13, 1834. In 1825, by congressional act, the boundary of Arkansas was moved forty miles west of its present location. Fort Smith, on the old boundary, was abandoned and Fort Gibson (established in 1824) protected the new frontier. In 1838 the forty-mile strip was ceded by the government to the Cherokee Indians and the Arkansas boundary fixed again at the old location. Fort Gibson remained in the Cherokee country.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 444.

11. Sec. Lewis Cass to Colonel Taylor, Major McNeil and Major Smith, July 16, 1836.—25 Cong., 2 Sess., *House Doc.* 278 (Serial 323), pp. 9-12.

Kearny and Capt. Nathan Boone to fill the vacancies. The commission was finally organized about the beginning of November. Although it was too late in the season to commence a survey the commissioners proceeded with the other duty charged to them—the selection of a site “on or near the Western frontier line of Arkansas,” for the removal of Fort Gibson. They reported from Columbus, Ark., on December 11:

. . . We have decided upon recommending to you the site upon which Fort Coffee at present stands. It is upon the right bank of the Arkansas river, in the Choctaw country, and about seven and a half miles from the western boundary line of Arkansas. . . .

Having visited Fort Gibson, and considering it, as we do, the key of the country around it, and that the Government, in removing the Indians from the east to the west side of the Mississippi, has pledged its faith to protect them from each other, and from the wild Indians of the Prairie, we recommend to you the erecting of new barracks for the quartering of troops near that point, for the above purposes. . . .

The presence of a military force, near Fort Gibson is indispensable for the preservation of peace amongst the Indians themselves.¹²

At the close of the report they wrote: “. . . In the spring, when the grass will support our horses, we will recommence, for an energetic prosecution of the duties required of us.”

On January 24, 1837, the Secretary of War transferred the entire project to the quartermaster general's department.¹³ The only developments up to the middle of the year were the purchase of a \$200 baggage wagon for the commissioners' use, and the appointment of Lt. P. R. Thompson, first U. S. dragoons, as disbursing officer. Lack of progress was due principally to Colonel Kearny's refusal to proceed until engineers were sent out to direct the road survey. A second cause of delay was the undetermined boundary between Missouri and the territory of Wisconsin which held up the survey between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. Thus matters stood at the beginning of July, a year after the passage of the act for frontier protection, with no single important step achieved.

A change of administration in March, 1837, had resulted in the appointment of Joel R. Poinsett as Secretary of War. It was at his express desire that Brig. Gen. Henry Atkinson was added to the board of commissioners late in July and authorized to supervise its work. In answer General Atkinson wrote:

. . . If it is intended that I should only organize the commission and give instructions to the other members for the performance of the duty, I will undertake to do so cheerfully. . . . The two commissioners from the

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 15.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

1st dragoons, Colonel Kearney and Captain Boon, will very shortly proceed on the southern route as far as the Arkansas river, designate a road, and fix upon a position for a military post, either on the Osage or Grand river, and then return to Leavenworth. . . . I will take leave to suggest that another commission be instituted, to act in conjunction with the present one, whose duty should be to fix on positions for permanent posts on the Arkansas river, and lay out a road from that river to Red river; and the other commission to lay out the road and fix on positions for military posts, from the Arkansas to St. Peter's, (Fort Snelling). The duties apportioned in this way could soon be executed, say during the fall and early winter months. . . . I . . . will at once assume the authority of giving instructions to the present commission, and of sending the topographical engineers, on their arrival, to report to Colonel Kearney at Fort Leavenworth.¹⁴

The plan outlined was followed in part although subsequently the military road was divided into three, rather than two, sections. These were the northern, from Fort Snelling to Fort Leavenworth; the southern, from the Arkansas river to Fort Towson; and the middle section, between Fort Leavenworth and the Arkansas river. Separate commissions surveyed the three sections.

Late in August Civil Engineer Charles Dimmock and an assistant, employed to survey the middle section, arrived at Fort Leavenworth. On September 1 they set out for the Arkansas river, accompanied by Commissioners Kearny and Boone, and a small dragoon escort, exploring as they proceeded. The survey was commenced September 27 at a point just across the Arkansas river from Fort Coffee.¹⁵ It was completed to Fort Leavenworth on October 8. The 286-mile route was marked by blazing timber in the wooded sections and erecting mounds at mile intervals in the prairie country. The commissioners explained the objective of the survey had been "to run the road . . . as close as possible to the State line of Arkansas" and that "after gradually approaching" for the first thirty miles the road "comes within three of it, and continues approaching until it passes within a few yards of it; after which it runs along the western boundary of that State and of Missouri, varying from that to a few miles, (generally from about a half to a mile,) keeping the *whole distance* in the Indian country." They recommended two locations for new military posts:

. . . The commissioners . . . recommend the establishment of one on the south side of Spring river, where the survey crosses it. That point is about four and a half miles west of the State line of Missouri, and about one hundred and twenty-eight from Fort Coffee; the position is a good one, and has every advantage—water, timber, stone, and, no doubt, is healthy. . . .

14. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

15. Probably this point for the beginning of the survey was chosen because of the expected removal of Fort Gibson, required by the law of May 14, 1836.

The commissioners would also recommend the establishment of another post near the "Marais des Cygne." Where the survey crosses that river is a beautiful spot, and about a mile west of the State line of Missouri, eighty-six miles from Spring river, and about the same distance from this post . . . Timber, stone, water, and good mill-seats, are to be had there. . . .

The establishment of military posts at the above designated points would form a connected chain between this and the Arkansas, would be an effectual protection for that part of the frontier against any incursions by the Indians, would give confidence to the white settlers along the line, and which the commissioners recommend as worthy of immediate attention.¹⁶

A special report of the survey, made by Dimmock at the request of Secretary of War J. R. Poinsett, is printed here in full:

Portsmouth, Virginia,
February 25, 1838.

Sir: In compliance with your wishes, as expressed to me a few days since, I respectfully lay before you a description of the country over which I surveyed and located a mil[i]tary road, along the western borders of the States of Arkansas and Missouri, between the rivers of the same name.

I should have done this before, at the time I presented the map through the quartermaster general, had I not been informed by the military commissioners, under whose immediate directions I acted, that no report was required of me.

The survey commenced on the left bank of the Arkansas river, directly opposite Fort Coffee, about eight miles west of the western boundary of the State of Arkansas; and gradually approaching this line, and that of the west of the State of Missouri, terminated at Fort Leavenworth, on the Missouri river; the whole length of which is two hundred and eighty-six miles. From the bank of the Arkansas river to a spur of the Ozark mountains called "Lee's Creek Mountain," a distance of seventeen miles, the route is over a broken country, thickly timbered, yet presenting no serious obstacle to the making [of] a good road, and with but small expense.

From this point ("Lee's Creek Mountain,") to the head-waters of Lee's creek, a distance of seventeen and a half miles, the route is over many rough features of the Ozark ridge, the most prominent of which is known as the "Boston Mountain." It is along this part of the line that are to be found the most difficulties on the whole route, as here is passed the main ridge of the Ozark.

These difficulties are not continuous, but rather occurring every mile or two; nor do they present themselves so formidably but that they may be readily graded down.

By reference to the maps of this portion of the western country, it will be seen that the Ozark chain extends far west of the State boundary, terminating near the mouth of the Illinois river, a tributary of the Arkansas. To avoid this, then, the place of departure must be taken higher up the Arkansas; but this is a consideration secondary to that of fixing upon the most favorable point on that stream for a fort, a question to be determined by the War Department. I am, however, certain that no further *east of the line run* can the road be located, without encountering a greater number of difficulties, in-

16. 25 Cong., 2 Sess., *House Doc. 311* (Serial 329), pp. 36, 37. The commissioners' report was dated November 16, 1837.

asmuch as the mountains become bolder and spread over a greater range of country in this direction.

Having now passed the chain, the country becomes less abrupt, although it is much broken until we reach "Spring river," a distance of ninety miles; and in descending to and rising from the various watercourses, it will be necessary to grade in many places.

The watercourses are the "Barren Fork of Illinois," "Illinois," "Flint," "Sparnis," "Cowskin," "Lost creek," and "Silver creek;" all fordable except in times of freshet, when but for a day or two their passage is prevented. This, however, is momentary, as their beds have such rapid falls the water soon runs off.

From "Spring river" to Fort Leavenworth, a distance of one hundred and fifty-eight miles, the route is over extensive rolling prairies, presenting no obstruction to a road direct from ford to ford on the intervening watercourses, except in some cases where the banks will have to be cut down.

These water courses are "Spring river," "Pomme de Terre," (the last of those contributing to the Arkansas,) "Wildcat," "Mermiton," "Little Osage," "Cotton Wood creek," "Marias des Lygne," "Blue," and the "Kansas," tributaries to the Missouri. Of these, "Spring river," "Marias de Lygne," and the "Kansas," are the largest, and will require established ferries; although the two first are fordable generally, yet, as I understood the commissioners to have determined upon recommending the location of forts at these highly advantageous points, ferries will be necessary and easily protected; at the Kansas there is one already established.

It may be found necessary to bridge over some of the watercourses named, either because it would be more advisable than to cut down both banks, or to preclude the possibility of delaying a march in times of freshets; in this event, timber is abundant, and in many places rock is at hand.

Finally, I will remark that the line run, as indicated on the map furnished, is but an experimental one; yet I extended my observation of either side sufficiently to be satisfied that the road can be made along the corrected line, marked on the map, without increase of difficulty or expense.¹⁷

Respectfully submitted.

CHARLES DIMMICK,¹⁸

United States Civil Engineer.

Another attempt was made during this period to decide the fate of Fort Gibson. Lt. Col. William Whistler and Capt. John Stuart, assigned to select a new site, toured the country along the Arkansas boundary in the late summer of 1837. It was their opinion that Fort Gibson should be retained because of its strategic location.

17. 25 Cong., 2 Sess., *House Doc. 278* (Serial 328), pp. 6, 7.

18. Charles Dimmock's name is misspelled in the government document.

The Kansas State Historical Society has blueprints of the original tracing by Charles Dimmock. According to the War Department (letter to the Society, May 12, 1920), the map was never lithographed and the original is the only one in their possession. The Society has, also, photostats of Surveyor Dimmock's field notes.

The original tracings were not drawn to scale. Even with the correlating information in the field notes, drawing a map indicating the route of the survey in relation to present-day geographical locations is an almost impossible task. One such drawing, made in the War Department in 1889, shows on a map of the 1880's the line of the 1837 survey from Fort Coffee to a point a few miles south of Fort Scott.

They suggested that the garrison at Fort Coffee could be enlarged; although they contended that the civilized Cherokees and Choctaws on the borders of Arkansas were not only peace-minded but were in themselves a protection to the frontier settlements.¹⁹ But the Arkansas delegation in congress was determined to have a military post near the state boundary. Lieutenant Colonel Whistler and Captain Stuart were requested to examine sites for this purpose. Reporting in December they suggested the old Fort Smith location and two other sites.²⁰

Meanwhile, the fact that the Western military force had not been strengthened was a matter of increasing concern to the frontier settlements. The regular army at this period numbered less than 7,000 troops. Fort Leavenworth with an aggregate of 431 officers and troops, Fort Gibson with 491 and Fort Jesup with 331, were the strongest garrisons on the frontier. Reviewing this situation in his annual report, the commander-in-chief of the army recommended enlarging the army to 15,000 to insure adequate military strength for the Western border.²¹ His recommendation was in line with the conclusions of other army men and Indian agents who during the summer of 1837 responded to inquiries of Sen. Lewis F. Linn and Rep. Albert G. Harrison of Missouri on the subject of military protection.²²

The senate by resolution on October 14, 1837, directed the Secretary of War to submit a plan of defense for the Western frontier and to report on the Indian population and the progress of the military road. The plan was introduced to the senate on January 3, 1838.²³ It provided for a number of strong posts on the frontier to protect both the settlers and the Indians. It recommended, also, the establishment of an interior line of forts to serve as places of refuge in time of danger, and from which reinforcements could be summoned. It was the Secretary of War's opinion that the importance of the projected military road along the outer line of defense had been overestimated. He stressed the vulnerability of such a line of communication in time of war.

19. Report dated September 30, 1837, in *American State Papers (Military Affairs)*, v. VII, pp. 978-980.

20. Report dated December 15, 1837, in *ibid.*, pp. 980-983.

21. Report of Alexander Macomb, commander-in-chief of the army, in 25 Cong., 2 Sess., *House Doc. 3* (Serial 321), p. 224.

22. See "Correspondence on the Subject of the Protection of the Western Frontier," in 25 Cong., 2 Sess., *House Doc. 276* (Serial 328).

23. Included were a project for defense by Chief Engineer C. Gratiot and a report by Acting Quartermaster General Cross.—25 Cong., 2 Sess., *House Doc. 59* (Serial 322). Another Western defense plan elaborately outlined, was presented by Major General Gaines.—25 Cong., 2 Sess., *House Doc. 311* (Ser. 329).

Early in April congress authorized the Secretary of War to purchase a site for a fort on the western border of Arkansas.²⁴ The acting quartermaster general in a letter to Secretary Poinsett, April 27, 1838, reported the purchase of the old Fort Smith site and the beginning of construction.²⁵

In 1838 some progress was made in completing the Western military road. In the late summer Captain Bonneville and Major Belknap were detailed to determine and mark out a road for the southern section (between Fort Smith and the Red river). After examining the country, they disagreed on the best route. A second survey by Major Belknap was approved by the War Department.²⁶ On October 15 contracts for construction of the middle section were let at Independence, Mo., by Capt. George H. Crosman.²⁷ Work was begun immediately. This was the portion between Fort Leavenworth and the Marais des Cygnes river crossing. Another development was the survey of the northern section (between Forts Snelling and Leavenworth) by Captains Boone and Canfield.²⁸

During the summer Maj. Charles Thomas and Capt. John Stuart of the Seventh U. S. infantry selected a site for a military post on the Illinois river just west of the Arkansas border about sixty miles north of Fort Smith. As a result of the reoccupation of the latter post Fort Coffee was ordered abandoned on October 19.²⁹ At the end of the month its troops, commanded by Captain Stuart, were sent to establish "Camp Illinois" (later Fort Wayne) on the Illinois river.³⁰

By the end of the year the large-scale building program which had been started at Fort Smith was almost at a standstill. Secretary of War Poinsett explained to Rep. Archibald Yell of Arkansas that Indian disturbances in Florida and the Northwest required the services of most of the quartermaster officials. This, he pointed out, made it impossible to send officers to superintend construction projects on the Western frontier.³¹ Another handicap was the withdrawal of some War Department appropriations following the finan-

24. *Laws of the United States, op. cit.*, p. 935. The act authorized the purchase with a sum not to exceed \$15,000 from the \$50,000 appropriation made in 1836 for the removal of Fort Gibson.

25. See "Sites—Military Posts—Western Frontier," in 25 Cong., 2 Sess., *House Doc. 357* (Serial 330), p. 3.

26. *Arkansas Gazette*, Little Rock, Ark., September 19, October 17, 1838.

27. 25 Cong., 3 Sess., *House Doc. 94* (Serial 346), p. 57.

28. Beers, H. P., *The Western Military Frontier, 1815-1846* (Philadelphia, 1935), p. 131.

29. *Arkansas Gazette*, October 3, 1838; 28 Cong., 1 Sess., *Senate Report 136* (Serial 433).

30. *Ibid.*

31. Poinsett to Yell, letter dated January 4, 1839, printed in *Arkansas Gazette*, January 30, 1839.

cial panic of 1837. Buildings at Fort Smith continued "in progress" for several years. Fort Gibson, always one of the strongest frontier garrisons, was also neglected during this period and for several succeeding years, despite the fact that it was in a dilapidated state.³²

Early in 1839 Major Belknap, surveyor of the southern section of the road, was assigned to superintend its construction.³³ Part of the route required little work and progress was rapid. Before the end of the year the entire 140-mile section had been finished.

At the new post on the Illinois river a dragoon camp relieved the infantry in February, 1839. In April Lieutenant Colonel Mason commanding four companies of the First U. S. dragoons was ordered to oversee construction of buildings.³⁴

During the year the northern part of the middle section of the road was completed and contracts were let for the next eighty-six miles (from the Marais des Cygnes crossing to Spring river, in the Cherokee country).³⁵

The Secretary of War commenting on the progress of the military road in his annual report for 1839 stated that the northern section required no construction further than marking out the most direct route.

In March, 1839, the senate by resolution requested that a report be presented to the next congress on the military and naval defenses of the country. A special board of War Department officers was convened in November to consider the subject. The brief section of their report, presented in March, 1840, relating to Western defense expressed agreement on all principal points with the plan of 1838. The officers urged the establishment of "an interior line of posts along the Western border of the States of Arkansas and Missouri, as auxiliaries to the advanced positions, and to restrain the intercourse between the whites and the Indians, and serve as rallying points for the neighboring militia in times of alarm."³⁶

The commissioner of Indian affairs estimated there were 61,000 warriors at this time within striking distance of the Western frontier. Of this huge force, however, only 17,500 were on the immediate frontiers of Arkansas and Missouri. The larger emigrant tribes

32. There was still talk of Fort Gibson's removal to a more healthful site, and this uncertain status of the post was also a factor in its neglect.

33. War Department general order of January 2, 1839, in *Niles' National Register*, Washington, D. C., January 12, 1839, Fifth series, v. V, No. 20, p. 314.

34. *Arkansas Gazette*, May 29, 1839.

35. Probably in what is now Cherokee county, Kansas.

36. 26 Cong., 1 Sess., *House Doc. 161* (Serial 366).

(Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws and Seminoles) west of Arkansas provided the majority of these warriors. West and northwest of Missouri were the smaller emigrant tribes of Pottawatomies, Iowas, Shawnees, Delawares, Sacs and Foxes, Kickapoos, Ottawas, and others. Added to these were the native Otoes and Missourias on the northwest (in the Platte river region) and the native Kansas and Osage Indians along the middle frontier.

A report by the Secretary of War in the spring of 1840 described what had been done in developing lines of communication and transportation from the interior to the frontier. Although movement of troops and supplies up the Red, Arkansas and Missouri rivers remained the most dependable system, the report pointed out the strategic location of the Western forts in relation to the highways crossing Missouri, Arkansas and Louisiana. Many of these roads served military as well as civil purposes.³⁷

In the fore part of 1840 the middle section of the Western military road was completed to Spring river. This left 128 miles to be constructed either to Fort Smith or Fort Gibson. Although the southern section had been built from Fort Smith the terminus of the middle section was Fort Gibson.³⁸ It was completed to that post by 1845. The highway between the Missouri and Arkansas rivers became known as the Fort Leavenworth-Fort Gibson military road. Up to January 1, 1841, a total of \$85,876.27 had been spent on the three sections comprising the Western military road.³⁹ A \$5,000 appropriation in 1841 was probably the last fund applied to the project.⁴⁰

In June, 1840, construction of Fort Wayne on the Illinois river was suspended because of the unhealthfulness of the site. Two months later Lt. Col. R. B. Mason was ordered to abandon the post and move his troops to Fort Gibson. Another site was later selected some miles north, near Spavinaw creek, where by August, 1841, quarters were in an advanced state of preparation.

A senate resolution of January 11, 1841, requested a report from the Secretary of War on the frontier military strength and the advisability of an additional fort on the Missouri border between

37. *Ibid.*

38. A survey for the military road between Fort Gibson and Fort Wayne was made in 1841. Capt. Benjamin Alvord assisted in the survey.—Cullum, G. W., *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy . . . to January 1, 1879* (New York, James Miller, 1879), v. I, p. 434. The Arkansas general assembly presented to the senate in February, 1843, a request for opening a military road on a line from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Smith.—27 Cong., 3 Sess., *Sen. Doc. 127* (Serial 415).

39. 27 Cong., 2 Sess., *Sen. Doc. 3* (Serial 395), p. 43.

40. 27 Cong., 2 Sess., *House Doc. 62* (Serial 402), p. 8.

Forts Leavenworth and Wayne. The report, presented within the month, listed the aggregate army force at the Western forts as 1,844, of which 679 were dragoons.⁴¹ The chief engineer of the army and the acting quartermaster general believed a new army post between Forts Leavenworth and Wayne was essential. They suggested the place where the military road crossed the Marais des Cygnes river, 80 miles south of Fort Leavenworth, or the crossing at Spring river, 86 miles south of the Marais des Cygnes.

On December 21 while on a mission to the Indian country Gen. E. A. Hitchcock wrote the Secretary of War advocating the abandonment of Fort Wayne. Two weeks later while inspecting that military post he wrote again to the same effect. The post was unnecessary, he declared, both because the Cherokee Indians were peaceable and because of its proximity to Fort Smith, only eighty miles away. He proposed "the establishment of a post in what has been called the neutral ground (now belonging to the Cherokees) between the Osage Indians and the State of Missouri—at some point about 100 miles south of Fort Leavenworth; perhaps near where the Military road crosses the Marmaton would be a good site."⁴² General Hitchcock's suggestion for the abandonment of Fort Wayne was approved. On February 10, 1842, an order was issued for its evacuation and the selection of another site.

In March Gen. Zachary Taylor was directed to appoint a commission to select a location for the new post between Fort Wayne and Spring river. The members of the commission, Capt. B. D. Moore and Dr. J. R. Motte, an army surgeon, accompanied by a dragoon escort, left Fort Wayne on April 1, 1842. At the Spring river site they attempted to purchase land from John Rogers, a half-breed Cherokee Indian, but his price was prohibitive. After examining other sites the commissioners arrived at the home of "Col." George Douglas who lived on the Marmaton river in Missouri. On April 9, accompanied by "Colonel" Douglas and Abram Redfield (also a Missouri settler), they reached a site near the military road crossing of the Marmaton and located "Camp" Scott,⁴³ named in honor of Gen. Winfield Scott. The commissioners

41. 26 Cong., 2 Sess., *Sen. Doc. 104* (Serial 377).

42. See letter, Hitchcock to Secretary of War J. C. Spencer, January 9, 1842, in Foreman, Grant, ed., *A Traveler in Indian Territory; the Journal of Ethan Allen Hitchcock* . . . (The Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1930), pp. 245-248.

43. Named by Secretary of War Spencer.—28 Cong., 1 Sess., *Senate Report 136* (Serial 433), p. 3. It was known for several months as Camp Scott. This site was not within the Cherokee neutral lands, as implied by General Hitchcock, but was within territory assigned by treaty of 1838, to a number of Indian tribes from New York state (who did not emigrate to the West). No military reservation was laid out, however, and the government had no title to the land upon which the fort was built. The fort was abandoned in 1853. The buildings (without land) were sold at auction in May, 1855.

returned to Fort Wayne leaving Sgt. John Hamilton and a small dragoon force to begin work on the new post.⁴⁴ On May 26 Fort Wayne was officially abandoned and its garrison consisting of Captain Moore, Lt. William Eustis, Asst. Surgeon J. Simpson, and Companies A and C (about 120 men) of the First U. S. dragoons began the journey to "Camp" Scott. They reached the new post May 30, 1842.⁴⁵ Later in the year Bvt. Maj. W. M. Graham arrived with a company of the Fourth U. S. infantry to command the post.

The first quarters were temporary log structures.⁴⁶ Permanent buildings were started before the end of 1842. Capt. Thomas Swords of the First U. S. dragoons superintended the rather elaborate works, which were under construction until 1846. Some of the labor was supplied by carpenters, mechanics and masons from the adjoining Missouri settlements, but most of the work was done by troops. The quartermaster general's report in December, 1844, stated:

At Fort Scott, the works are still in progress; they have been delayed in consequence of the troops being necessarily called off by other duty. Two blocks of officers' quarters, with three sets of soldiers' barracks, are nearly completed, and materials are ready for another set of officers' quarters. If laborers can be obtained, the whole may be completed in a few months.⁴⁷

In the same report was a description of that part of the Western military road between the Missouri and Marmaton rivers:

The military road from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Scott has been greatly injured during the past season by excessive rains. The bridges over many of the small streams have been destroyed. That over Sugar creek, twenty-eight miles north of Fort Scott, a substantial work two hundred and seventy-five feet in length, has been carried away. This road is highly important as a military communication; and, being the only direct route from the northwestern part of Missouri and Iowa to Arkansas and Texas, it has been much travelled, and those accustomed to use it will be put to great inconvenience by its present condition. I recommend that the bridges be replaced, and the road repaired by the labor of troops, so soon as a sufficient force can be spared for the purpose. If the troops perform the work, no appropriation will be required, as the tools and means of transportation at the frontier posts can be used.⁴⁸

Although Missouri had now both Fort Leavenworth and Fort Scott upon her western border the Missouri general assembly in 1843

44. Letter of Sgt. John Hamilton, April 24, 1872, in Kansas State Historical Society (Manuscripts division).

45. U. S. government records designate May 30, 1842, as the official date of the founding of Fort Scott.

46. Sgt. John Hamilton in his letter of April 24, 1872, *loc. cit.*, says that he had finished structures for the commanding officer, a hospital, a quartermaster and commissary storehouse and other buildings, and had planted a garden, before the troops arrived.

47. 28 Cong., 2 Sess., *Sen. Doc. 1* (Serial 449), pp. 144, 145.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 147.

memorialized congress for a third post.⁴⁹ The effort was unsuccessful.

Fort Scott was continued as a frontier post for nearly twelve years.⁵⁰ Intended primarily as a check upon surrounding Indian tribes, particularly the Osage, its troops also patrolled the borders in an attempt to control illegal liquor traffic from the settlements to the Indians.⁵¹ Troop movements were frequent. There were expeditions to Indian encampments to quell threatened uprisings or to settle inter-tribal disputes. In 1843 dragoons from Fort Scott were among the troops escorting a trade caravan bound for Santa Fe. The fort's largest garrison was the First U. S. infantry with an aggregate strength of 444. Stationed there in 1846, most of the regiment was sent to fight in the Mexican War in 1847.

As the frontier advanced westward the importance of Fort Scott decreased. In 1852 present Fort Riley was established as Camp Center on the Kansas river at what was thought to be the head of navigation of that stream. The following year Fort Scott was abandoned.

The military road, however, continued for several years to be an important highway. In 1854 Kansas became a territory and a law enacted by the first Kansas territorial legislature (meeting in 1855) stated: "The road as now located and opened from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Scott, known as the military road, is hereby declared a territorial road."⁵² Within this decade other highways⁵³ came to be more traveled. Only a few landmarks can be pointed out today as marking the route of the old Western military road in Kansas.⁵⁴

49. 28 Cong., 1 Sess., *House Doc. 30* (Serial 441).

50. Fort Scott was reestablished during the Civil War, serving as a military supply depot for Union forces from 1863 to 1865. During a later period (1869-1873) it was an army headquarters.

51. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1843, p. 390 (report of R. A. Calloway, Osage subagent, dated September 1, 1843).

52. *Statutes of the Territory of Kansas*, 1855, p. 955.

53. The territorial legislature of 1859 passed an act providing for the establishment of a number of roads, one of which connected Fort Leavenworth and Fort Scott, via the towns of Olathe, Paola and Mound City. This road has often been mistakenly referred to as the military road.—*See, ibid.*, 1859, p. 585.

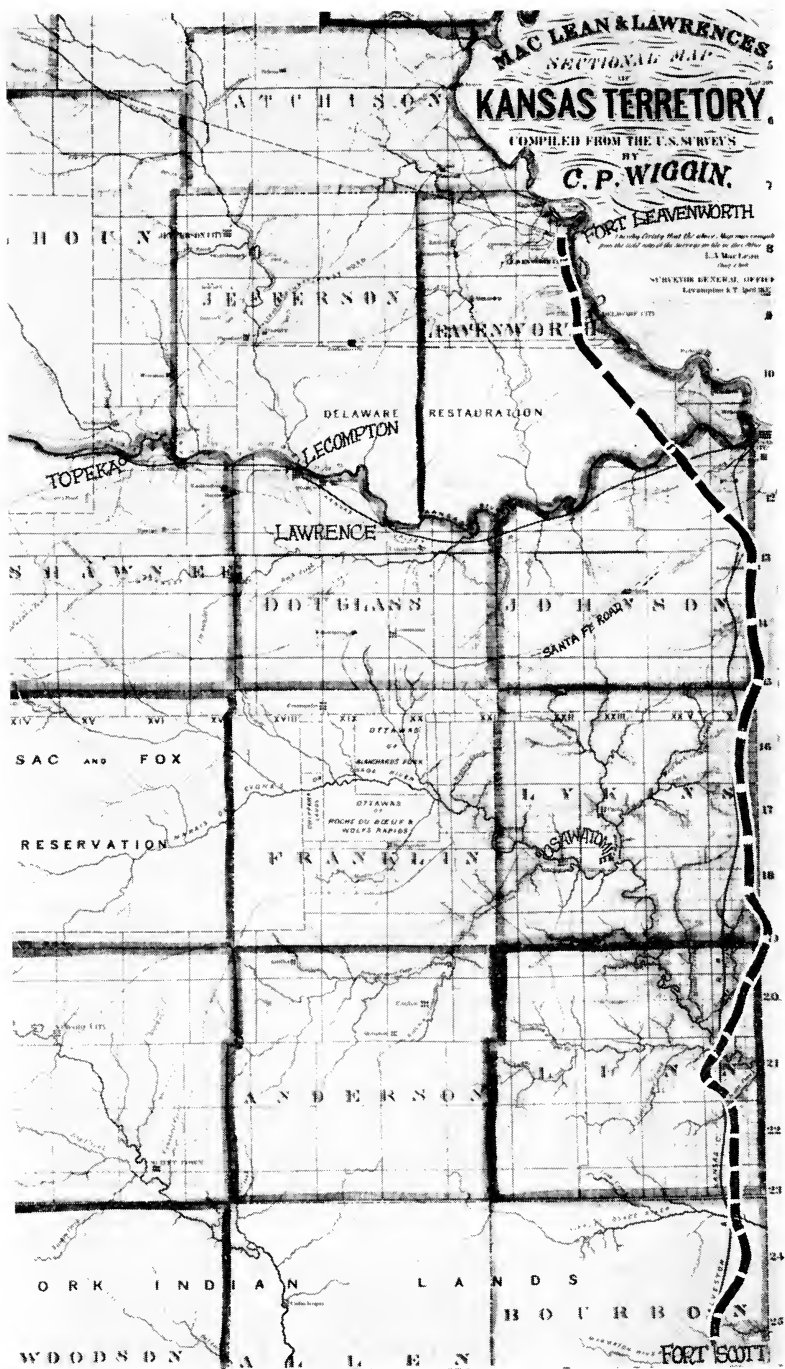
54. As originally surveyed in 1837, the entire section of the frontier military highway later known as the Fort Leavenworth-Fort Scott military road ran west of the Missouri state line. Maps of the latter 1850's show the road within R. 25 E from Fort Scott north to northern Johnson county before it turned northwest to Fort Leavenworth, but these maps vary considerably in locating certain portions of the highway. The Whitman and Searl "Map of Eastern Kansas," published in 1856 independently of the public surveys then in progress, traced the road entirely within Kansas territory. Almost all the later maps (1857 to 1860) were compiled from land office surveys but they show variations of as much as five or six miles in certain sections of the route. Some traced the road into Missouri for a very short distance at the Johnson-Lykins (Miami) county line, and nearly all ran it into Missouri for a mile or two at the Lykins-Linn boundary (see cut opposite p. 129). The available Kansas maps of the 1850's do not show the road running south from Fort Scott toward Fort Gibson and Arkansas. This was because the region south was Indian land. It was not until the latter 1860's when these Indians by treaties began to give up their lands in exchange for other res-



EARLY VIEWS OF FORT SCOTT

Fort Scott was founded 100 years ago this month and several of the buildings are still standing. Sites of other buildings, long since razed, have been marked.

The buildings shown above were built in the early 1840's. The guardhouse (upper) was later used as a city jail before it was dismantled in 1906. Today the Fort Scott Museum, the Goodlander Children's Home and apartments occupy the three officers' quarters (below).



FORT LEAVENWORTH-FORT SCOTT MILITARY ROAD

The 1837 survey of the middle section of this road ran west of the Missouri state line. By the latter 1850's the actual highway, however, avoided some of the more difficult terrain by crossing into Missouri. The broken line shows the road as it appeared on a map of 1857. Other maps of the period show some variations. (See, also, Footnote 54, pages 128, 129.)

ervations and concessions that this portion of Kansas was surveyed. The first plats for this area in the office of the state auditor are dated in 1866 and 1867. The surveyors designated the highway as the "Military Road—Fort Scott to Ark.," tracing it near the Missouri border through Crawford county, passing through the present towns of Arcadia and Mulberry. In Cherokee county the road swung a few miles to the west and left the state south of Baxter Springs. Although the military highway as shown on these plats may have little relation to the road of the 1840's, it nevertheless seems likely that some sections of the original were retained in subsequent highway changes.

Rep. F. A. Jewell, Bourbon county, introduced a bill in the 1917 legislature to provide an appropriation "to write and publish a history of, and mark with monuments, the old military road in the state of Kansas. . . ." The proposal was turned down in committee.—See *House Journal*, Kansas, 1917, pp. 286, 360.

The Fourth of July in Early Kansas

1858-1861

CORA DOLBEE

THE keeping of the Fourth of July from 1858 to 1861 continued to reflect the relation of the Kansas struggle to the approaching Civil War. Friends of freedom, both within and without the state, were still resolute as to outcome. Liberty was the only issue. Kansas was but the Bataan of the long-testing time.¹

1858

Where'er a wind is rushing,
Where'er a stream is gushing,
The swelling sounds are heard
Of man to freeman calling,

And, like the carol of a cageless bird,
The bursting shout of Freedom's rallying word.²

National remark on the Fourth of July, 1858, was platitudinous. The editor of the New York *Daily Tribune* perceived a general tendency throughout the country to slight recognition of the day.³ The reasons, he believed, were two: one was the general disposition to abolish ceremonials; the other was the diminished regard paid by the ruling party and the federal government to the original principles of the nation. Every radical proposition the Declaration of Independence enunciated was now practically denied and despised. Boston's plans for two festivals for the day drew from the same pen satire upon the "sundry good people of eminent perspicacity—[who] in view of the perils which environ the land," determined to "do the Fourth brown" by profuse consumption of powder and patriotism.⁴ In gigantic sentences of fourteen lines and more, lugubrious Rufus Choate repainted a look-out, lurid with despair; and ultra-loyal Edward Everett had "visited every portion of our blessed country, and . . . found nothing to condemn."⁵

1. This is the third of three articles entitled "The Fourth of July in Early Kansas." Part I was published in this magazine in v. VIII, pp. 115-139, and Part II in v. X, pp. 34-78.

2. Quoted by Wm. Wells Brown at Independence day celebration at Framingham Grove, Massachusetts, July 5, 1858.

3. New York *Daily Tribune*, July 5, 1858.

4. *Ibid.*, July 3, 1858.

5. *Ibid.*, July 7, 1858.

In April, New York clergymen proposed keeping the Fourth of July, 1858, as a day of humiliation and prayer.⁶ Some one suggested making it a day of thanksgiving. Neither plan developed. On the steps of the city hall in Brooklyn on Monday, July 5, Henry Ward Beecher ventured to define anew the boundaries of patriotism. One by one he named the states to be included. Impatiently someone listening called out: "New Jersey and Kansas." "Yes Kansas . . .," Beecher replied, "and all the states named or unnamed. It must be a patriotism . . . that shall take them all in, and give to every one that foundation that was given by our Revolutionary struggle—liberty! . . . This is that patriotism that shall save our land!"⁷ Out in Cincinnati, however, Sen. George E. Pugh was credited with making "a good speech, as he almost always does when not talking about Kansas."⁸ In the same city a thousand persons, representing all denominations, answered the call of the Presbyterians for a national union prayer meeting on the morning of the Fourth of July, and listened to an Episcopalian and a Baptist make most disparaging allusions to slavery, praying that "this hallowed institution . . . might absolutely be done away!"⁹ Down in Georgia, however, where a master allowed his Negroes to hold a Fourth of July carnival, Big Nathan, the orator, who knew little of politics, "took a very bold position in favor of his master and the ladies of color and the excellence of his corn crop."¹⁰ His conception of his master's plantation as the "land of Beulah" was a rebuke to Abolitionism.

Kansas herself was again politically astir in July, 1858. The right to determine her own form of government was in imminent jeopardy. Slowly but steadily her people were mustering their strength for self-assertion and repeal of the Lecompton constitution. One of the anniversary orators alluded to the duty of killing the English proposition on election day. Another spoke on the importance of activity and self-sacrifice in founding the institutions of their embryo state.¹¹ Most editors urged wide holiday preparations and liberal participation in events.¹² Such occasions were of benefit to the people, bodily and mentally. One writer felt that on this, its first Fourth, free of mercenary armies to overawe and oppress, the territory could really

6. *Ibid.*, April 15, 1858.

7. *Ibid.*, July 7, 1858.

8. *Ibid.*, July 13, 1858.

9. *Ibid.*, June 28, July 13, 1858.

10. *Ibid.*, July 31, 1858.

11. *Ibid.*, July 17, 1858.

12. *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, July 3, 1858; *Lawrence Republican*, June 24, 1858.

rejoice in Independence day festivals.¹³ His Proslavery rival, however, quoted satirically, "What can't be cured must be endured," and belittled all attempts to keep the day.¹⁴ One regretted the falling of the day on Sunday and the inability, for want of right facilities in the territory, to celebrate in Eastern style with "bonfires and illumination"; but he believed solid reflection in the minds of the people would lead to the formation of good purposes and resolutions.¹⁵ Throughout the nation, heretofore, men had risen in hours of need to lead the people; could not the citizens of Kansas territory harmoniously and patriotically now carry out their destiny so that "no pent-up Utica" would contract their powers?

If celebrations of Independence day, 1858, were the answer, even that editor must have characterized the reply as affirmative. Extant records note twenty observances of the day in the Kansas region. They extended from Wyandotte to "*Fontaine qui bouille*" beyond Bent's Fort, and from White Cloud to Lebanon, Bourbon county. If none of them maintained the traditional Eastern style, they set suitable Western standards of their own. As Wm. P. Tomlinson wrote, the settlers suited their plans "to their straightened means and circumstances."¹⁶ They displayed great variety and some ingenuity. Of all but two, full stories survive. Even the contemporary reporter could not tell whether the picnic to be given by one Mr. Palmer, north of Hickory Grove on the Branson-Lawrence road, was "private or gratuitous."¹⁷ He also merely noted a proposed holiday fishing excursion to the Osage by "several ladies and gentlemen of Prairie City."¹⁸ Authors of two books refer to the day at *Fontaine qui bouille*: one was Wm. B. Parsons, author of *The New Gold Mines of Western Kansas*, who in the summer and fall of 1858 accompanied the Lawrence company in exploration of the Rocky Mountain mining regions of western Kansas;¹⁹ the others were James Redpath and Richard J. Hinton, who collaborated upon the *Hand-Book to Kansas Territory and the Rocky Mountains' Gold Region*.²⁰

13. Leavenworth *Times*, July 10, 1858.

14. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, July 3, 1858.

15. *Kansas Weekly Press*, Elwood, July 3, 1858.

16. Tomlinson, Wm. P., *Kansas in Eighteen Fifty-Eight* (H. Dayton, New York, 1859), p. 265.

17. *Freemen's Champion*, Prairie City, June 24, 1858.

18. *Ibid.*

19. Parsons, Wm. B., letter, Lawrence, October 19, 1858, in *New York Daily Tribune*, November 1, 1858. The first edition of his book appeared in December, 1858; the second in 1859.

20. Redpath, James, and Hinton, Richard J., *Hand-Book to Kansas Territory and the Rocky Mountains' Gold Region* . . . (J. H. Colton, New York, 1859), p. 122.

Lawrence, still known to the Northern element of the population as "the heart of the Territory," had a most elaborate celebration in 1858. Believing in keeping Sunday a day of rest, the Independent Order of Good Templars which had charge of the plans, chose Saturday, July 3, for the festivities and invited the neighboring lodges at Tecumseh, Big Springs, and Topeka to participate.²¹ The program for the day consisted of a procession through the downtown streets of Lawrence and across the river by ferry to the grove on the Delaware Indian reservation on the north shore, formal exercises, and a picnic dinner, with toasts. Citizens of Lawrence had subscribed to a fund to defray expenses. They chartered the ferries so that all persons in the procession might have free rides to the grove; they also contributed the foods for the picnic dinner. Three thousand people were in attendance. The Delawares came in large numbers. The procession of Templars, school children, and citizens was a quarter of a mile long. The band led the procession and played lively music while the numerous boat loads crossed the ferry. The city painters had made tasteful banners for the ladies of Lawrence to present to the lodges. The site for the exercises and prairie dinner was ideal. "The magnificent trees sheltered the throng from the burning sun," and the prairie breeze blowing from the south across the river gave free circulation of air.²²

The orator, Champion Vaughan, editor of the *Leavenworth Times*, divided his attention between temperance²³ and the position of Kansas in the national struggle for freedom. He referred to the struggle in Kansas as the second American revolution, the point of which was to be the wresting of the national government from those who had usurped it; Kansas was the key to all Western soil and must forever stand on the side of freedom. To keep it there would be the work of youth.²⁴

Two flaws marred the day's program. While the orator was speaking, an outcry in the brush near by drew the attention of some of the audience to a fracas between a white man and an Indian. The Indian had "cut and hacked up" the head of the white man with a tomahawk, in revenge for the latter's having enticed the Indian's wife away. Assisting in care of the unconscious white man was W. C. Quantrill, who had been living with the Delawares on his way

21. *Leavenworth Times*, July 10, 1858; *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, July 3, 1858.

22. *Ibid.*, July 10, 1858.

23. *Freemen's Champion*, Prairie City, June 24, July 8, 1858. The contemporary press referred to the occasion as a temperance celebration in which every temperance order and every friend of temperance would participate. Masonic and Odd Fellow lodges were expected to aid the Good Templars, too. Also, *Herald of Freedom*, July 10, 1858.

24. *Leavenworth Times*, July 10, 1858.

east after being teamster for the government in an expedition against the Mormons.²⁵

The second flaw in the day's program was a deficiency in food, more people participating in the dinner than contributing to it. In toasts, however, and original themes for the same, there was no shortage. Five were of especial interest:

The Day We Celebrate.—May the bud which bloomed on the 4th of July, 1776, yet blossom into full and living beauty, and we, over whom Slavery's sirocco has swept, ere another anniversary rolls round, eat of its ripened fruit, in perfect peace and complete freedom.

The Memorable 21st of May.—The darkest and the brightest day in the history of Kansas. May it ever be remembered, teaching us the blessings of freedom, and strengthening the hatred of slavery that should exist in the breast of every American, and especially of those living on our fair soil. From our history, freemen may learn that "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty!"

The Ladies of Kansas.— . . . "Let us worship beauty with the knightly faith of old, Oh! chivalry of labor, toiling for the age of gold."

The Common Schools of Kansas.—Fit nurseries of a free people. . . .

The White House, and the Niece of Mr. Buchanan.—All that remains of dignity to the nation.²⁶

Following the last toast which was a substitute for "The President of the United States," the band played a funeral dirge, the people groaned, and the band brayed through its instruments.

The day as planned passed pleasantly, without liquor or the effects of it on the grounds. At night, however, "after the pale faces left," the Indians had a celebration of their own, in which "they imbibed rather too freely for their good." In South Lawrence in the evening boys of the town "turned out in quite respectable numbers in the 'fashionable' costume of the 'Antiques and Horribles,' to make merriment through the streets with their twenty-foot trumpet and mammoth sheetiron-drums.²⁷

Minneola, which promised "to do big things . . . hugely" by offering sacrifices in memory of the veterans of 1776, on July 5 invited people of Prairie City, Palmyra, Black Jack, Ottawa City, Peoria City, the Sac agency, and Willow Springs, to share in formal patriotic exercises through the day, a free dinner, and "a grand ball" at the Capitol House at night. The orator announced in advance was T. Ewing, Jr.,²⁸ but Gov. Charles Robinson had credit for the delivered oration.²⁹

25. Clarke, Henry S., "W. C. Quantrill in 1858," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. VII, p. 219.

26. *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, July 10, 1858.

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Freemen's Champion*, Prairie City, June 24, July 1, 1858.

29. *Ibid.*, July 8, 1858.

Osawatomie marked the anniversary on July 5 by a representation in the morning of the "terrible 30 of August, 1856," by a select picnic in the afternoon, and by a ball at night. To one resident, Sarah M. C. Everett, "the forenoon's exercises seemed surprisingly inappropriate," but the picnic party was the pleasantest she ever attended in Osawatomie.³⁰ The beauty of Lykins county graced the ballroom, "no less than 300 ladies [being] present."³¹

Wyandotte on July 3 also held a picnic, partly for the children of its three Sabbath schools and partly for the grown-ups. The program for the day here began and ended with a procession. The exercises were both religious and patriotic. Gov. Wm. Walker gave "a most excellent and elegant oration." After a sumptuous repast "of almost every conceivable luxury," he responded to a toast on the superior judgment and taste of the Delawares and their uncles the Wyandots in selecting this beautiful spot for their permanent home.³²

Lecompton waited until late afternoon of July 5 to begin its festivities. Then at four o'clock its people gathered around a sumptuous collation at the American Hotel, got up "in elegant style" by the proprietor, S. O. Hemenway. The board was richly laden with the good things of earth, and the local editor reported "His wines were the best we have ever drank in Kansas." A patriotic program of reading, talks, music, and toasts followed removal of the cloth. Col. Samuel Young gave an address on the march of empire westward. The last toast was to the "Prince and Princess of Hotel Keepers." In the evening "the beauty and fashion of city and country assembled to 'trip the light fantastic toe.' Joy reigned unconfined, nor did it abate until the old clock told the hour for retiring."³³

The entertainment at Brownville on July 5 featured James H. Lane whose arrival with his family at ten o'clock in front of Hale's Hotel brought forth three hearty cheers from the assembled crowd. At eleven o'clock they proceeded to a bower on "the brow of a beautiful eminence" overlooking the town, where he and others made forcible addresses recalling scenes of 1776. Then the procession repaired to the hotel for a dinner and toasts. In the "early eve" the "young and mirthful" met again in enjoyment of the dance.³⁴

30. Everett, Sarah M. C., "Diary," entry of July 12, 1858.—MS. property of a son, J. E. Everett, Brewster, N. Y.

31. *Western Journal of Commerce*, Kansas City, Mo., July 10, 1858.

32. *Western Argus*, Wyandott[e], June 24, July 8, 1858.

33. *Kansas National Democrat*, Lecompton, July 8, 1858.

34. *Lawrence Republican*, Lawrence, July 8, 1858.

Manhattan was the gathering place on July 3 for 1,000 citizens from Riley, Pottawatomie, Richardson, and Davis counties. The Waubonsa Cornet Band, in a carriage drawn by four horses, "discoursed eloquent music through the streets." At ten o'clock the ladies of Manhattan presented a beautiful national flag to the city authorities at the courthouse; in accepting, the mayor hoped "the star of free Kansas" would soon be upon it. Then the crowd formed a half-mile procession to the grove on the banks of the Kaw for a patriotic program and a picnic dinner. "The way the fixins disappeared" before sharp appetites "was truly wonderful." Toasts, regular and volunteer, followed. The first toast, wrought of evergreens, on a banner placed on the stage was "We Will Be Free."³⁵

For a second time Emporia made elaborate preparation for the Fourth of July and this time carried out its plans. It extended an invitation to "everybody and his family," in its own and in all adjoining counties, to drop all jealousies of place and politics and unite in an old-fashioned entertainment with Declaration, orations, and a free dinner. The gathering occurred on July 5. By July 3 the two bowers were nearly ready, one for the speaking and one for the eating, and the provisions had been cooked for the dinner. Early Monday morning people thronged the Emporia streets.³⁶ Estimates of the number varied from 1,000 to 1,500.³⁷ From Eagle creek came "one team with seventeen pairs of oxen attached, ornamented with flags." L. D. Bailey was president of the day; M. F. Conway was the orator. An original poem, "Words of Welcome," by "Mary Posey," was a feature of the program; saluting the guests as stout tillers of "Free Kansas' soil," the author opened wide Emporia's arms "to every rival town" and offered "high Festival for Freedom's triumph won," over "the Neb-raskality" and "Lecompton's hellish plot." At the dinner the edibles were not quite equal to the attendance, but they made up in quality what they lacked in quantity. Two of the toasts were memorable:

Kansas.—"The new Canaan of our Israel."—Tried in the furnace of persecution and affliction, she has proven as fine gold . . .

James Buchanan.—The *Ahab* of our Israel—Let his days be few, and let another take his office.³⁸

At night the young folk and part of the old went to Americus for a feast and dance at the Americus House. The local editors com-

35. *Ibid.*, July 15, 1858.

36. *The Kansas News*, Emporia, May 22, June 12, 19, July 3, 24, 1858.

37. *The News* of July 24, 1858, gave the number as 1,000. *The New York Daily Tribune*, August 6, recorded the number at 1,500.

38. *The Kansas News*, Emporia, July 24, 1858.

mended the day's events for the harmony of feeling they promoted, though one pious individual had refused to assist in the exercises because some finishing strokes had been put on one of the bowers on the Sabbath.³⁹

Southern Kansas had two celebrations of the Fourth. On July 3 Mound City, or Sugar Mound, held exercises consisting of a much-applauded oration by J. B. Danford and singing that "was nothing to boast of."⁴⁰ The party then marched to the dinner ground. On either side of the table a military company paraded to keep order. Suspended on poles, over a burning log heap, was a roasted ox. When taken down and carved he "supplied the table bountifully with beef, mutton, pork, and veal, all from *one ox*." When word was given to "pitch in," the poor ox had to suffer. In every direction "beef [was] climbing for the brush." The day generally was disorderly.

Lebanon, or Raysville, Bourbon county, observed the anniversary more conventionally on July 5. At daylight boys' firing of the national salute wakened people all along the Little Osage. Shortly after sunrise they began moving into Lebanon. The gathering finally numbered around 1,000.⁴¹ The program for the long day included a procession, exercises with another oration by Doctor Danford, the presentation by "the ladies of the Little Osage" of a new \$50 suit of clothes to Capt. James Montgomery in consideration of his kind protection during recent border troubles, a brief response, of much feeling, by the captain, a dinner bountifully supplied with Kansas dainties, toasts that pleased the intellect, supper at a town house, and a cotillion party at Ray's Hall, lasting until sunrise July 6. The feeling manifest in all events here was said to be better than at any other point as yet in southern Kansas. Judge Williams of the third judicial district and Captain Montgomery marched to dinner arm in arm. The afternoon gathering broke up with the singing of "From All That Dwell Below the Skies," to the tune of "Old Hundred."⁴²

Communities to the northeast near the Missouri river again had

39. *Ibid.*, October 30, 1858.

40. *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, July 31, 1858. Andreas, A. T., and Cutler, W. C., *History of the State of Kansas*, p. 1108, stated that W. P. Tomlinson was the orator and that the ox "proved to[o] small to feed the assembled multitude." The attendance was estimated at one thousand. Tomlinson in *Kansas in Eighteen Fifty-Eight*, pp. 265, 266, gave the attendance as "several hundred," and named Captain Montgomery as a speaker on the same spot where in 1856 he had confronted Captain Clarke and had been forced to flee for his life. Montgomery now thanked the "Great Supreme" for the blessings of peace, and noted the need of schools, churches, and a regular ministry.

41. *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, July 31, 1858; *Lawrence Republican*, July 22, 1858; Tomlinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 266-269.

42. *Ibid.*; *New York Daily Tribune*, August 2, 1858.

the most pleasurable gatherings and the longest. In 1858, too, more of them kept the Fourth. Leavenworth had three separate events during the day of July 5 for its different groups of citizens, and at night, two dances: the Methodist Sunday schools with teachers and ministers held a picnic and patriotic exercises in South Leavenworth; Shields' Guards in full dress uniform had another program and refreshments in Cincinnati at the west city limits; the Turners marched to the Flora Gardens for the day, spending the morning in gymnastic exercises with stirring music and the afternoon in listening to an oration by J. P. Hatterscheidt and addresses by J. C. Vaughan and Dr. Chas. F. Kob. In the evening the Turners held a merry dance in the Stone building, and Shields' Guards had "a grand ball." The oration for the Turners told of the purposes of the Turner Bund to promote the moral, the social, and the political condition of members, showed the similarity of its principles to those of the Declaration of Independence, and pledged its best efforts for the well-being of the land. Most Germans, the orator asserted, had emigrated to the United States to fulfill their love of liberty.⁴³

Kickapoo planned a full day for July 5. Addresses by distinguished speakers were scheduled to be followed by a free barbecue and dance at noon time. Supper at the American Hotel was to precede a "magnificent ball" at night.⁴⁴ On the same day in Sumner the Turners were to march up Washington avenue to the gymnasium grounds where they were to engage in various exercises. They were also to read the Declaration of Independence and to listen to speeches. A new flag for the occasion drew forth a formal expression of thanks to the local merchants for the materials and the workmanship. "God bless the Germans," wrote the Sumner editor, D. D. Cone. "They are true to freedom."⁴⁵

White Cloud planned an excursion to Falls City, Neb., on July 5. The trip was to be by boat up the Nemaha river as far as practicable, thence by land conveyances to the exercises and a free dinner. The ferry boat *White Cloud* was fitted up for the occasion with a roofing over the stern, a soda fountain on board, and accommodations for 150 to 200 passengers. Fare was \$1 the person. Taking on passengers at Forest City and Oregon, the boat left White Cloud at nine a. m. to return the same evening, but trouble with some of the braces on one of the wheels and later overhanging trees

43. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, June 26, July 3, 1858; *Leavenworth Times*, July 10, 1858.

44. *Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, July 3, 1858.

45. *The Sumner Gazette*, July 3, 1858.

and a drift finally stopped the boat about sundown before the party had reached Falls City and the "dinner." The captain sought the city by land and by two a. m. provisions had arrived. Passengers obtained a little sleep, despite the mosquitoes, and the party returned home the next day.⁴⁶

The towns of Hamlin and Hiawatha kept the "glorious Fourth" for Brown county. Exercises through the day occurred in the grove of Benjamin Winkles at Hamlin. The Rev. R. D. Parker was one of several speakers. Afterward, the collation, prepared by ladies of Hamlin, Padonia, and Carson, was "*comme il faut*." Singing by Peebles' quartette club made "a right happy time." At night twenty-five couples repaired to Hiawatha, the "shire" town, where they at once vowed

They'll not go home till morning,
Till daylight doth appear.

And they kept their word. All went off as "merry as a marriage bell."⁴⁷

Monrovia had the most extensive celebration of all. From the adjacent countryside settlers thronged in on horseback, on foot, in heavy ox-wagons, and on a stone drag. In rural glory they danced the day in and they danced it out. Beginning on the evening of July 2, the ball in the new hotel "went briskly on" through the night and continued with constant new additions until noon of July 3. At twelve o'clock the dancers paused for a "bounteous repast." Then in shade provided by frames covered with green boughs of trees, on the banks of "silver-watered" Stranger creek, the assembly awaited the arrival of the three orators advertised to speak: J. H. Stringfellow, John P. Wheeler, and J. W. Whitfield. When no one of these appeared, the committee on arrangements supplied the defect by calling from the audience seven speakers who were present and whose "suddenly-conceived speeches" won enthusiastic applause. Among those men were J. G. McQuade, of Pennsylvania, A. D. Richardson, of Sumner, and S. J. H. Snyder, of Monrovia, poet of the occasion. During the entire program a matronly-looking woman, a Missourian, dressed in solemn black, sat in the midst of the gathering, "listening attentively, and calmly *smoking a cigar!*" After the exercises the more sober portion of the crowd "gathered in clusters" to discuss topics of passing interest. The younger portion repaired to the ball room where the music and dance "went lively on" through the night, impressing the Eastern corre-

46. *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, July 1, 15, 1858.

47. *Ibid.*, July 15, 1858; Harrington, Grant W., *Annals of Brown County, Kansas*, p. 18.

spondent, A. D. Richardson, as "a striking example of human endurance." Referring to the episode nine years later in his book, *Beyond the Mississippi*, he wrote that the Monroviaans danced "perseveringly from Friday night until Sunday morning."⁴⁸

The most western Fourth of July record for the territory in 1858 came from *Fontaine qui Bouille* river near Pike's Peak where the Lawrence company of gold prospectors arrived on Independence day. The company consisted of 40 persons, among them Wm. B. Parsons. Having left Lawrence May 25, they camped in a grove of cottonwoods, near the present site of Fountain City, on the night of July 4. There they celebrated in "true frontier style," and Parsons, in "a spread-eagle speech," ventured to predict that some of the company would live to see "10,000 people in this region and a weekly mail."⁴⁹

Meantime, the Lecompton party, which started ahead of the Lawrence company, spent the day on the site of what is now Denver. There, on July 3, they made a survey of streets, alleys, blocks, and lots, for a town of 640 acres and gave it the temporary name of "Mountain City."⁵⁰

To the north, beyond the Medicine Bow Mountains, Company A engineers, en route from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Bridger, made a fatiguing march of fourteen and one-half miles through dust six inches deep in the unbroken sage brush country. "Not a green thing was visible," wrote Wm. P. Seville, "to cheer the aching eyes, half-blinded by the glaring light which was reflected by the heated sand." Encamping at night on the North Fork of the Platte, where bluffs of sandstone resembled the buildings of a city in outline, they had an unappetizing holiday supper of sage hen stew. A few of the men found a flat boat which upset, throwing them in the rapid current of the Platte and subjecting men and rifles to a cold bath. As partial protection from the mosquitoes the crew had worn handkerchiefs over their faces and gloves on their hands, but they suffered a considerable loss of blood, nevertheless.⁵¹

48. Richardson, A. D., *Beyond the Mississippi* . . . (American Publishing Company, Hartford, Conn., 1867), p. 131; New York *Daily Tribune*, July 17, 1858; *Freedom's Champion*, Atchison, July 10, 1858.

49. Parsons, Wm. B., "The Mines As They Really Are," letter written in Lawrence, October 19, 1858, and published in the New York *Daily Tribune*, November 1, 1858, and letter dated "Denver, October 1, 1884," from the Chicago *Tribune*, reprinted in *The Kansas Historical Collections*, v. VII, pp. 451, 452; Redpath-Hinton, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

50. Moore, Ely, "The Lecompton Party Which Located Denver," reprinted from the Denver (Colo.) *Post*, June 23, 1901, in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. VII, p. 449. *Cf.* v. XIII, p. 72.

51. Seville, William P., *Narrative of the March of Co. A, Engineers From Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, to Fort Bridger, Utah, and Return, May 6 to October 3, 1858*, rev. by Lt. John W. N. Schulz (Washington Barracks, D. C., Press of the Engineer School, 1912), pp. 21, 22.

1859

As the breeze from the mountain sweeps over the river,
So, chainless and free, shall our thoughts be for ever.

—J. G. Whittier.⁵²

People kept the Fourth of July, 1859, independently. "And why not?" asked the New York *Daily Tribune*. "It is Independence day, and the largest possible measure of independence may justly be accorded in its observance."⁵³ Northern orations were few. In Boston George Sumner ventured to present new ideas of the relation of foreign governments to the American Revolution and to denounce the Dred Scott decision, so antagonizing the Boston common council that only after "acrimonious debate" did it pass a resolution of thanks by a vote of 25 to 17.⁵⁴ For its July 4 Worcester scheduled a floral procession for its juveniles. Several other Massachusetts towns also held flower festivals to inform children of the gratitude shown Washington at Trenton at the close of the Revolution when women dressed in white to greet him and children cast roses in his path. Framingham held its usual anti-slavery celebration at which Abolitionists found it good to be; Wendell Phillips was the "eloquent and scathing" orator and T. W. Higginson presided. In New York William Cullen Bryant disposed editorially of the calumnies against George Sumner for his impartial liberty.⁵⁵ In Buffalo Senator Doolittle of Wisconsin discussed the final destiny of the colored race in the United States, advocating its ultimate colonization in Central America.⁵⁶ In the orator's home state, however, the Wautoma (Wis.) *Journal* recommended that "in silent humility we penitently mourn over the deception which induced the false belief that we were either a free, a Christian, or a heroic people."⁵⁷ The Northern colony at Ceredo, Va., founded by Eli Thayer, celebrated its first Fourth merrily with a parade of "Antiques" and regular exercises with toasts.⁵⁸ In the penitentiary at Washington, D. C., the convicts had a formal program with a murderer reading the Declaration of Independence, a forger making the address, and other evil-doers singing patriotic songs.⁵⁹

52. From "Freedom's Gathering."

53. New York *Daily Tribune*, July 2, 1859.

54. *Ibid.*, July 23, September 22, 28, 1859; *Emporia News*, August 27, 1859; Worcester (Mass.) *Daily Spy*, July 9, 1859.

55. *Ibid.*, July 4, 6, 9, 1859. An editorial cites the Bryant editorial from the New York *Evening Post*.

56. New York *Daily Tribune*, July 13, 1859.

57. Wautoma (Wis.) *Journal*, July 6, 1859.

58. Worcester (Mass.) *Daily Spy*, July 20, 1859.

59. *Ibid.*, July 9, 1859; *Atchison Union*, September 3, 1859.

The South had two spokesmen of discordant views. Alexander H. Stephens, at Augusta, Ga., spoke for two hours to an enthusiastic audience. As he saw it, "Fanaticism might be spreading at the North, but Slavery is getting stronger, and will continue to get stronger, whether in the Union or out of it." He continued: ". . . there is very little prospect of the South settling any territory outside of Texas; in fact, little or no prospect at all, unless we increase our African stock."⁶⁰ On the other hand, Robert Barnwell Rhett, of South Carolina, held the South was already so enfeebled that sooner or later the death knell of the Union must toll.⁶¹

Amid popping champagne corks enthusiastic South Carolinians at Hickory Grove toasted the African slave trade "regarded by some as a step towards dissolution. If it be that thus the Union will be dissolved, in God's name, we say, let the step be taken."⁶² At Charleston, S. C., the governor himself forwarded the sentiment for "The 4th of July, 1861.—May that anniversary find us in the full enjoyment of equality in the Union, or a noble southern republic, commanding the respect and admiration of the world."⁶³

Within Kansas territory people approached the Fourth of July, 1859, with gratitude and with hope. Were they to be worthy inheritors of the liberty established by their fathers, they must, once annually, call to mind the peculiar trials and triumphs of 1776.⁶⁴ Communities where border war had been rampant were thankful for the era of good feeling recently restored.⁶⁵ Elwood believed it "no bad occasion to quietly celebrate our own recently achieved territorial independence in conjunction with the national affair."⁶⁶ Lawrence "enlarged the Union" on its flag by the addition of two new stars representing Minnesota and Oregon. With "Kansas still knocking," G. W. Brown hoped by the next Fourth that another star would be added for her.⁶⁷ G. O. Chase believed it took "*Young America*, after all, to arouse the drooping patriotism of the country."⁶⁸ The proposed sale of three million acres of Kansas land promised, too, to revive lagging national interest in the territory.⁶⁹

Lawrence had a gay Fourth in 1859. Bells were rung; guns were

60. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 6, 11, 1859.

61. *Ibid.*, July 14, 1859.

62. *Worcester Daily Spy*, July 16, 1859.

63. *Ibid.*, July 11, 1859.

64. *Topeka Tribune*, June 9, 1859.

65. *Fort Scott Democrat*, July 14, 1859.

66. *The Free Press*, Elwood, July 2, 9, 1859; *New York Daily Tribune*, July 23, 1859.

67. *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, July 9, 1859.

68. *Atchison Union*, July 2, 1859.

69. Redpath-Hinton, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

fired; flags were displayed. At night citizens set off fireworks. Three events made the day unforgettable. Mabie's circus of "fine living specimens of wild animals" and clever clowns gave three exhibitions at a pavilion. "Our country cousins were in in immense numbers, and the elephants, the tall woman, the fat man, the serpents, and the monkeys were almost stared out of countenance. The circus had a fat day, and the men who had the gold watch and trinket raffles had a rich harvest of halves and quarters." The gallant military company, the Stubbs, held a parade, led by their own band of four drums; the men made an especially neat appearance in black frocks, white pants, blue sashes, and fatigue caps. They carried their original Sharps rifles. An unexpected explosion of fireworks in the show window of Frazer and Hughes in the Eldridge House caused a sudden display and a terrific cracking. All the combustibles in the window burned, damaging watches, clocks, jewelry, and fine instruments; the loss amounted to \$400 or \$500.⁷⁰

Topeka kept the day in new way for the territory. The booming of cannon wakened citizens long before daybreak to prepare for a balloon ascension. Business houses closed part of the day, but opened after noon to accommodate country folk who wished to trade. "The *spirit* was here on the Fourth." People had an exceedingly good time. At night the young folk "figured extensively" in an elaborate display of fireworks.⁷¹

Tecumseh held an all-day program in a grove near Copeland Spring east of town. The exercises, all markedly patriotic, included readings, an oration, several talks, and the singing of a glee to the tune of "Hail Columbia." James M. Newsom and J. S. Ridley were the most eloquent speakers. Toasts and sentiments both preceded and followed the "magnificent dinner" to which people were summoned by a bell. The toast to the memory of John Adams was "drank in silence," but to the state of Oregon, for which a new star was tacked to the banner above the speakers' rostrum, the response was tumultuous applause. Thirty-two guns were fired here in honor of the states. At sundown the assembly disbanded to prepare for the evening ball in the illuminated courthouse; for the *Tribune* correspondent this event was a failure, music not stirring so strong a feeling in him as patriotism. "*Sic transit gloria die.*" But he who wrote for the *Herald of Freedom* noted that the dance lasted until

70. *Lawrence Republican*, July 7, 1859; *Herald of Freedom*, July 9, 1859.

71. *The Topeka Tribune*, July 7, 1859.

the grey streaks of dawn, and added that only the location of the capitol at Tecumseh could make the people rejoice so much again.⁷²

Auburn had a parade of the Auburn Guards with drill and exercises to martial music supplied by Auburn and Burlingame. Patriotic exercises followed in the hall, and the band played "Yankee Doodle" creditably. The dinner, in the dining room of the hotel, "spoke well for the untiring efforts of our worthy landlord, Daniel Foltz." Toasts interspersed with music provided a pleasant afternoon in the hall. A display of fireworks and an orderly dance for the youngsters were the entertainments of the evening.⁷³

Nearly every community about Emporia kept the Fourth in some special way for the "hardy and intelligent settlers." In Emporia itself people planned to dance, sing, speak, read, and eat big dinners to "work off their 'pent up patriotik phelinks.'" The Rev. E. Evans invited the community at large to hear a religious lecture by himself and an address by the Rev. Mr. Fraker. Five prominent citizens, L. D. Bailey, P. B. Plumb, A. G. Procter, L. T. Heritage, and D. Alexander, went on a hunting and exploring expedition to the Walnut, Whitewater, and Cow creek countries, stopping at Chelsea for Mr. Bailey to deliver a Fourth of July oration. The Chelsea program of formal exercises in the grove followed by a dinner, passed off quietly. Forest Hill planned a picnic. W. H. Mickel of Waterloo gave a cotillion party on the evening of the Fourth, with supper "one of the best we have set down to in Kansas." Fremont held an all-day gathering, noteworthy for "no swearing, no whisky, and no fighting." A procession and formal exercises preceded a "feast of fat things" so abundant that not half of what was provided was eaten on the ground. Of the sixteen toasts one is now of interest: "The citizens of Kansas, . . . Too proud to beg admission into the Union—too courteous to decline it if honestly offered."⁷⁴ Although Cottonwood Falls had no formal observance of the Fourth, many of the citizens remembered the day in becoming manner. The firing of guns and the ringing of cow bells greeted the dawn. Pertinent speeches and toasts, drunk in cold water, were other holiday features.⁷⁵

On a journey to Wyandotte, July 4, 1859, S. N. Wood, editor of *The Kansas Press*, "spent 45 miles of the best Fourth" he ever saw. Sleeping on the floor, fighting bed bugs, and dining on "slap jacs" along the way, made him think of Washington and his hardships on

72. *Ibid.*; *Herald of Freedom*, July 23, 1859.

73. *Lawrence Republican*, July 28, 1859.

74. *The Kansas News*, Emporia, May 28, July 2, 9, 16, 1859.

75. *The Kansas Press*, Cottonwood Falls, July 11, 1859.

the Delaware. At Uniontown⁷⁶ at noon he found 500 prosperous-looking men, women, and children listening to an oration that concluded with the "startling announcement that 'there is a great deal of political corruption in the country,' which remark we understood applied only to Johnson county, and the populous town of Oxford."⁷⁷ J. Lockhart, of Uniontown, wrote that the celebration was two-fold: Sabbath-school and national. The Reverends Mr. Beach of Olathe and Mr. Storrs of St. Louis spoke for the school; Dr. W. A. Brown and the Hon. P. Graves of Uniontown were the orators. The collation, "of the luxuries of life," provided by the women, was abundant, the sixty-foot table being burdened at four different times.⁷⁸ The number of groceries in Uniontown surprised the visiting editor, S. N. Wood, who journeying on, had tea in Olathe and arrived at Shawnee at dark. There at the Shawnee House a large cotillion party was "trip[p]ing the light fantastic toe" to the tune of "Washington's Grand March." White folk and Indians united in the dance. "At midnight we 'set down' (or rather stood up) to one of the best suppers ever gotten up in Kansas." At one or two o'clock he retired, this time to a couch.

Another traveler in the territory in 1859, the Rev. Nathan Taylor, wrote that "on Monday morning about 5 o'clock, in company with a number of others, en route for Leroy, to celebrate the 4th, I started [from Ottumwa and] got to Bro. Earnhea[r]ts at 2 o'clock." The day being remarkably warm, the traveler was exceedingly glad to reach a place where he might rest his weary limbs and refresh his exhausted frame. So, he presumed, was Bill, his horse.⁷⁹

One-year-old Humboldt planned a celebration on a large scale, to "wind up" with a ball at the Humboldt House, kept by Barbee and Sphar. Invitation cards went out to citizens of southern Kansas.⁸⁰

Fort Scott boasted of a "vast concourse" collecting in the Plaza in the early morning of the holiday to hear roaring cannon, spirit-stirring drums, ear-piercing fife, exploding Chinese crackers, and shouting, laughing youth. At 11 o'clock the people marched to martial music to grounds set apart for formal, patriotic exercises. Next they "addressed themselves" to a dinner spread by "the fair ones" on board tables that groaned with substantials and delicacies. Then

76. Uniontown was at the head of Bull creek on the Santa Fe trail in Johnson county. It was also known as McCamish.

77. *The Kansas Press*, Cottonwood Falls, July 25, 1859.

78. *Lawrence Republican*, July 14, 1859.

79. Taylor, Nathan, "Diary," entry of July 4, 1859.—MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

80. *Western Journal of Commerce*, Kansas City, Mo., June 11, 1859.

they listened to fourteen regular toasts, each of which was followed by different patriotic music. Two toasts were singularly appropriate:

Our Own Kansas.—Emancipated from the reckless domination of unprincipled demagogues and their minions of both extremes. . . . Music, "Rural Felicity."

The Union of the States.—Forever palsied be the hand, that would seek to break the ties which bind them in a sacred brotherhood. . . . Music, "Firm United Let Us Stand."

At dusk the assembly dispersed, some to their homes, some to the ball and banquet in the Fort Scott Hotel. There the gallant and gay from every part of Bourbon county, "chased the glowing hours with flying feet, until after the 'wee short hour ayont the twal.'" So successful was the day's entertainment that visitors went away believing "that a portion at least, of the citizens of Fort Scott, were neither BORDER RUFFIANS NOR JAYHAWKERS."⁸¹

Linn county communities with the exception of Brooklin united in one celebration in a grove one and one-half miles from Moneka. The people were "well-dressed, respectable and intelligent," a large portion being "fine looking women." T. Dwight Thacher of Lawrence was the orator, using for his theme not the freedom of the American nation but the manner of acquiring that freedom. A military band furnished stirring music. Over 800 people partook of the free dinner served from long tables arranged to enclose a circle and "tastefully adorned" with bouquets of wild prairie flowers. John O. Wattles was toastmaster. The sentiments were "piquant and appropriate." One, to Capt. James Montgomery as "a model hero of modern times," elicited rapturous cheers. Montgomery, as marshal of the day, responded, reviewing the struggle of southeastern Kansas to become free of the slave power. No man stood higher in Linn county, said the visiting editor-orator, "than the brave though persecuted James Montgomery."⁸²

Leavenworth had a hot, oppressive Fourth. To the Lawrence correspondent, "Wauzee," the city only half-roused from its Van Winklish dormancy for any of the holiday events. The firing of cannon preceded "the plumed troop, the neighing steed and all the quality, pride, pomp and circumstance of glorious war," visible from the Esplanade. Then people whistled "Yankee Doodle," eulogized the flag, glorified the American eagle, and tried to drown their own discomfort in sherry cobblers and lager. At noon the city ran out of ice and the von Swartz thermometer "bust." The Hibernian Associa-

81. Fort Scott *Democrat*, July 14, 1859. Marmiton is said also to have had a celebration.

82. Lawrence *Republican*, July 14, 1859.

tion dancing upon the hills beyond South Leavenworth looked like water-nymphs. "Towards evening three small boys let off a fire-cracker, and a gentleman on Delaware street attempted to read the Declaration of Independence but relapsed into a placid slumber on arriving at the seventh line." A Dutchman tried to institute a sausage lottery but his speculation fizzled. At the National at night, in a performance of *Macbeth*, Shakespeare shared the fate of Duncan and Banquo.⁸³

At the Delaware crossing of the Kaw river a volunteer orator entertained his "feller-citizens" with the question as to who "on this prognostic anniversary" can sit supinely down and not revert "to the great epochs of the Revolution—to the blood be-spangled plains of Bunker Hill, Lexington, New Orleans, Boney Vista, and Black Jack," and not follow the heroes of those times to the enjoyment of present-day privileges that "fall like heavenly dew on every American citizen, from the forests of Maine to the everglades of Florida, and from the fisheries of the Atlantic coasts to the yellow banks of Pike's Peak." Cheers and prolonged shouts followed each local allusion. Then the crowd repaired to the corner grocery for a free treat.⁸⁴

Atchison kept the Fourth in two ways in 1859. Business men generally closed their shops. The Sunday schools had a procession under the direction of Gen. S. C. Pomeroy to a grove for exercises and "a sumptuous dinner . . . for Old and Young America." In the evening "the beauty and fashion of the city" joined in a dance at the Massasoit House.⁸⁵

Elwood had exercises of more political significance than any other Kansas community. F. P. Stanton was the orator of the day. D. W. Wilder read the Declaration of Independence. Plans for the day were elaborate. A salute of 33 guns and the ringing of bells announced the advent of the Fourth, and fireworks at night concluded the entertainment. The ferry ran free, allowing every one to cross and recross with "not a cent out." The "good old-fashioned Free Dinner" was provided by city council appropriation and citizen subscription. Although the wide reputation of the orator did not actually draw so large an attendance as Elwood had prepared for, the great mass of citizens "from our own back country" gratified the editor who wrote in approval of ex-Secretary Stanton, his ability, and most of his utterances, but not of his position on slavery. Reference to slavery as "God-ordained" and as of "temporary service"

83. *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, July 16, 1859, letter dated July 5 and signed "Wauzee."

84. *The Kansas News*, Emporia, July 30, 1859.

85. *Atchison Union*, July 2, 9, 1859.

to the nation, led the editor to conclude the oration would not meet with general approval in the North or in the South.

The orator had argued, however, that the institution would ultimately disappear; the political constitution of the people, he said, would do away with it as an obstacle to progress. He would now leave the disputed question to the territories to be settled, there as elsewhere, by the people; "even if this [privilege] be not a matter of absolute right, it is a small concession to be made for the sake of peace and harmony." He added that he did not believe that the South would ever re-open the African slave trade to "fill our country . . . with cannibal Africans." At the end he urged upon the people forbearance for the sake of the Union, in emulation of the spirit of its founders.⁸⁶

The observance farthest west in 1859 was in Denver. W. H. Goode, who spent his third Fourth of July in Kansas territory there, wrote of the occasion as "the first Rocky Mountain celebration of our national independence." The formal exercises consisted of prayer, reading of the Declaration of Independence, "a chaste and appropriate oration," enlivening band music, and a benediction. Absence of all drinking, swearing, and carousing was gratifying to the missionary who elsewhere described Denver as having 150 houses and shanties with liquor stands in abundance and gambling on large scale.⁸⁷ Near Golden City, A. F. Garrison, writing on July 4, however, did not even note the significance of the day, so impressed was he by the thrifty scene around Gregory's diggings where within six square miles there were from 400 to 600 cabins, and where at least 10,000 men were at work mining daily from \$30,000 to \$50,000.⁸⁸ Toward Jackson's diggings, Sylvester Davis noted that "the Miners burnt some Powder this Morning but worked about all day & some of them untill 12 o'clock at night." Prospecting had not paid in this neighborhood, yielding but 10 to 30 cents the pan.⁸⁹ Still in the Rockies but farther west, en route from Laramie to South Pass, on his overland journey, Horace Greeley spent an unhappy Fourth, being ill from having drunk bad creek water and from having lost his trunk and carpet bag in Sweetwater river. "I would rather have sunk a thousand dollars there," he wrote.⁹⁰

86. The *Elwood Free Press*, June 25, July 2, 9, 1859; *New York Daily Tribune*, July 11, 13, 23, 1859.

87. Goode, William H., *Outposts of Zion* . . . (Cincinnati, 1864), pp. 420-422.

88. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 21, 1859.

89. "Diary of Sylvester Davis," April 21 to October 27, 1859.—*New Mexico Historical Review*, Santa Fe, N. M., v. VI, pp. 397, 398, entries of July 4, 5, 1859.

90. Greeley, Horace, *An Overland Journey, From New York to San Francisco, in the Summer of 1859* (C. M. Saxton, Barker, & Co., New York, 1860), pp. 186, 187.

1860

A band of FREEMEN we go forth
 To battle with the foe;
 From East to West, from South to North,
 We'll lay the monster low:
 We'll lay the monster low,—hurrah!
 We'll lay the monster low;
 From East to West, from South to North,
 We'll lay the monster low.

—*R. Thayer*.⁹¹

In 1860 the approaching national campaign colored the Fourth of July celebrations throughout the country, including the territory of Kansas. The Philadelphia (Pa.) *Ledger* noted that “the penny-a-liners who write Fourth of July orations to order” found the demand limited this year.⁹² At the North, however, there was no dearth of patriotic talk, of slightly more independent origin. As ever before, it all reverted to the “Faith of the Fathers,” expressed in the Declaration of Independence, but the reversion now was avowedly political and Republican. In the campaign documents of the new party the penny-a-liners might well have found their rival in the North. At the South, though, the Fourth of July had lost its natural savor. The principles of the Declaration no longer had significance enough there for sincere remembrance. Notations of Southern holiday events were, in consequence, few and but doubtfully patriotic.

Kansas was still a bone of political contention. Two successive federal administrations had failed to make her a slave state. The house had now voted to admit the territory under her own constitution, but the senate committee on territories, under the chairmanship of Sen. James S. Green, refused to recommend the bill unless the boundaries were changed to include again the Rocky Mountain gold region. He claimed Kansas would be a weak, inefficient state without the western desert. The Republicans asserted this position was but a “low pettifogging trick” of the Sham Democratic party, the real reason for their opposition lying in Kansas’ having “turned out not only a Free-Labor but a Republican State.” “To make her stretch like a tape-worm over tens of thousands of square miles of woodless, waterless desert, . . . consecrated by eternal fitness as well as immemorial use to the lean wolf, the prairie-dog, and the rattle-snake,” was to Horace Greeley,

91. From “Freedom’s Battle Song.”

92. New York *Daily Tribune*, July 7, 1860.

"a dodge at once atrocious and contemptible." The people of would-be Kansas had by their constitutional action, rejected this naked waste; the Pike's Peakers were vehemently repugnant to the idea of being linked at all in statehood with Kansas. To the editor, the senatorial plan was but a flimsy, transparent "thimble-rig" of the Democratic party to continue the wholesale system of fraud begun in the squatter-sovereignty clause of the Kansas-Nebraska bill.⁹³ Silence on the Fourth of July, 1860, was, therefore, expedient for the Democrats; but so nearly did public sentiment through the North approach unanimity with the main doctrines of the Republican party that spokesmen generally felt it no discourtesy there to speak out. So germane to the occasion were their views that they believed they spoke the truth, not as partisans but as brothers.

Massachusetts boasted of keeping the Fourth better than any other section of the country. Edward Everett, in a right-about-face now declared the American experiment successful. George Lunt attributed all progressive social and political revolutions to the free discussion provided by the press. C. F. Adams saw an excellent opportunity to crush out squatter sovereignty and all its supporters. Henry Wilson agreed with Lincoln that we must as a nation regard slavery as wrong. Charles Sumner thought that the time had come to make "natural rights . . . legal rights."⁹⁴

Lincoln's son, Robert, read the Declaration of Independence at Stratham Hill, N. H.⁹⁵ At Montpelier, Vt., a small girl remembered that Kansas deserved a banner in the circlet of "thirty-four."⁹⁶ New York was variously mindful of the national anniversary in 1860. Celebrations ranged from tight-rope ascensions in fire over Niagara to jubilant praise of liberty. Newspaper correspondence revived Douglas' remark that the signers of the Declaration must have referred to the white race alone and not to the African in declaring all men created free and equal. G. W. Curtis, in "The Faith of the Fathers," declared that the equality of men was the eternal, essential American idea.⁹⁷ At North Elba friends of freedom from far and wide gathered over the grave of John Brown. Thaddeus Hyatt was the orator; Richard J. Hinton also spoke as an Abolitionist.⁹⁸

93. *Ibid.*, June 7, 9, 1860.

94. *Ibid.*, July 7, 9, 10, 1860. See articles quoting C. F. Adams, G. W. Curtis and Charles Sumner.

95. *Ibid.*, July 7, 1860; *Elwood Free Press*, July 21, 1860.

96. Hutchinson, Wm., letter dated July 16, 1860, in *Vermont Watchman*, Montpelier.—"Scrapbook of Wm. Hutchinson," v. II, in library, Kansas State Historical Society.

97. *New York Daily Tribune*, June 27, 29, July 9, 1860.

98. *Ibid.*, July 12, 1860; *The Neosho Valley Register*, Burlington, August 4, 1860.

In far-away California the Rev. T. Starr King believed the United States was now "in the forenoon of the glorious day."⁹⁹ In Nebraska territory, however, an inglorious Indian raid characterized this Fourth, Sioux Indians attacking and destroying the Pawnee village at Genoa when nearly all the Pawnee braves were absent.¹⁰⁰

In the South the press generally wrote extravagantly of light-hearted, care-free celebrations,¹⁰¹ but *The Tobacco Plant* of Clarks-ville, Va., hoped the case of the master who on July 4 whipped his Negro woman Jane to death, tying her to a tree at eight o'clock and flogging her at intervals until eleven o'clock, would appear less shocking and barbarous when the facts were known.¹⁰² In Wash-ington President Buchanan passed the Fourth in the executive man-sion, unintruded upon "by the people, being left to seriously con-temple the present distracted state of the country, and the dis-grace which his unfortunate Administration has brought upon it."¹⁰³

Within Kansas territory itself twenty-five communities are re-corded as having planned to keep the day appropriately. William Hutchinson wrote that the observances were wanting in enthusiasm, the citizens naturally asking, "What have we as Kansas men to celebrate on that day?"¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, editors and orators reas-serted the American principles of 1776, and they urged the incul-cation in territorial youth of the same eighty-four old doctrines. Through May and June the local press agitated suitable celebration. Topeka wanted an old-fashioned festival to kindle anew the fires of patriotism and to show her loyalty to the union; she also feared that otherwise her youth would "find a place of deposit for a couple of hundred dollars in loose change, in Auburn, Tecumseh, or some other sea-port."¹⁰⁵ The "Southerners" at Indianola who had found out for what the Fourth was remarkable had fixed for "one grand celebration" to dedicate their lives anew to the glorious cause.¹⁰⁶ Burlington tried to make every man and woman a committee of one to impress holiday visitors with its hospitality; for guidance of its youth, the editor wanted to "let the germs be inoculated with the ideas of Union, Liberty, and Progress!"¹⁰⁷ The editor of the Fort

99. *Emporia News*, March 16, 1861.

100. *The Neosho Valley Register*, Burlington, August 11, 1860.

101. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 9, 1860; *Fort Scott Democrat*, September 29, 1860.

102. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 18, 1860.

103. *Ibid.*, July 7, 1860, a reprint from *The Inquirer*, Philadelphia, Pa.

104. Hutchinson, Wm., correspondence dated July 7, 1860, over signature of "Vigil," to *Chicago Press and Tribune*, in "Scrapbook of Wm. Hutchinson," v. II.

105. *Topeka Tribune*, May 19, June 9, 16, 1860.

106. *Ibid.*, June 23, 1860.

107. *The Neosho Valley Register*, Burlington, June 9, 30, 1860.

Scott *Democrat* explained that the "lack of matter in this week's paper" was due to its being Fourth of July week.¹⁰⁸ Iola planned magnificently to entertain a "multitude," including the citizens of Fort Scott. For its "dancing men" it arranged a cotillion party, as did Mound City.¹⁰⁹ In Lawrence one editor would "upon this national Sabbath, let us 'to the law and to the testimony' to establish us immovably in the faith of our fathers."¹¹⁰ And Wyandotte would assemble its patriots to demonstrate the impossibility of dissolving the union.¹¹¹

Citizens of Bloomington kept the Fourth of July, 1860, with much spirit, but without firecrackers or drunkenness. Convening in the walnut grove of J. C. Steele at an early hour, they had a morning program, a basket picnic, volunteer toasts, an afternoon address, and an evening dance. The morning prayer of the Rev. John Copeland thanked God for liberty enjoyed and implored Him for the blessing to be extended to the millions in our own land wickedly deprived of it. The oration of T. D. Thacher¹¹² embraced a rapid survey of the progress made by our country in territorial expansion, commerce and art, useful inventions, literature, including the press, and of the progress of liberal sentiments throughout the world during the period of our national existence. In a short, spirited address to children and youth the Rev. Richard Cordley inculcated the idea that character is at the bottom of all true progress and greatness. At noon the assemblage separated into a hundred little groups more or less, to enjoy unrestrainedly the foods each had provided. The toasts were to "The Day We Celebrate," to "The Heroes of '76, and the Kansas Heroes of '56," to "The Pacific Railroad," to "The Territory of Kansas and Its Natural Beauty," and to "The Freedom of the Press." The afternoon address by Judge John A. Wakefield was of political cast, in favor of Lincoln; the speaker knew Lincoln personally, both having fought in the Black Hawk war. The large, airy upper room of the steam mill was setting for the Independence dance.¹¹³

Baldwin City also had a day and evening celebration. Students of Baker University were in high glee, tedious examinations just being over. At dawn of the morning of the Fourth "the boys with

108. Fort Scott *Democrat*, July 7, 1860.

109. *Ibid.*, June 9, 23, 1860.

110. Lawrence *Republican*, July 5, 1860.

111. *The Weekly Western Argus*, Wyandotte, June 23, 1860.

112. The Emporia *News*, June 30, 1860, said Governor Reeder would deliver the oration at Bloomington.

113. Lawrence *Republican*, June 21, 28, July 12, 1860.

their Sunday coats, bright eyes, horses, drums, and other fixings were up, out, and eager for the sport." At nine o'clock the camp ground and grove took on an academic appearance as college faculty, students, a dozen or so clergy, and Gen. J. H. Lane, orator of the day, arrived for the forenoon exercises. Students described as "in fine trim for the rostrum," delivered orations and read essays, interspersed with vocal and instrumental music, which was good but not adequate "for the open air on a windy day." In the afternoon General Lane "did his best, and he can do considerable when he tries. Some of the ladies thought his eulogy upon woman a little suspicious, because so lavishly put on." Later in the afternoon processions arrived from Prairie City and Blackjack. In the evening "Mrs. President Davis gave a party to the Philoputhean Society and visitors . . . which was a grand time."¹¹⁴

Three-year-old Blackjack gathered 800 or 900 enterprising energetic people from the surrounding thickly-dotted prairies for its all-day festival. At sunrise people began to assemble. At nine o'clock they raised a pole for the flag of the Union. The Sunday school of Blackjack, headed by the band, welcomed visiting Sunday schools with greetings and cheers. At 10:30 the Rev. Mr. Aspenwall of Palmyra made an address to the Sunday school children "replete with good moral instructions to the youth, and very appropriate to the occasion." Dr. O'Neil spoke to them on the principles of civil liberty and the Declaration of Independence. At twelve Marshal S. H. Shaw and Capt. D. Fearer escorted the audience to an arbor where a free dinner was served under the management of Colonel Jewitt of Leavenworth. After numerous toasts, read by the secretary, the people formed "a grand march" to Baldwin City to escort the speaker of the afternoon, General Lane, to Blackjack. About thirty wagons, several buggies, and other vehicles, accommodating over 500 passengers, joined in the march. On their return all sat comfortably in the shaded arbor to listen to the Declaration of Independence, read by A. W. Smith, and the hour address of General Lane, delivered "amid the plaudits of his hearers."¹¹⁵

At Gardner, Johnson county, the Hon. John Lockhart, in a Fourth of July talk, reviewed the history of American Independence, discussed the obligations and responsibilities upon citizens of all times, and challenged youth to rise to responsibility from low positions as have Henry Clay, Thomas Hart Benton, Daniel Webster, and Benjamin Franklin.¹¹⁶

114. *Ibid.*, July 12, 19, 1860.

115. *Ibid.*, June 28, July 19, 1860.

116. *Ibid.*, July 19, 1860.

The Fourth of July in Topeka, in spite of all preliminary editorial exhortations to patriotism, proved unusually quiet, most citizens going to neighboring towns for the day. A few family groups marked the occasion in their own domiciles, apparently believing that

"Mid pleasures and palaces though we may roam,
Be it ever so humble, there is no place like home."¹¹⁷

To the editor of the *Tribune* the day seemed so remarkably still that "unmistakable sensations of *ennui* were visible in all who . . . were seen in the street." Five packs of firecrackers and five rockets constituted the fireworks. "The most entertaining feature of the day was a spotted dog which we saw running down the avenue. He hadn't any tail, but we thought he had ought not to be blamed for that, and remarked the same to a friend, who said he thought as much."¹¹⁸ In the evening the women of Topeka gave a well attended festival in Museum Hall from which they realized \$60 toward the re-erection of the Congregational church.¹¹⁹

Celebrations near by that especially attracted the citizenry of Topeka were those at Tecumseh, Rochester, Indianola, and Auburn. The "camp ground" near Tecumseh creek, where a Methodist conference was in session "eclipsed" all other Fourth of July celebrations about. The place was a "gay, sprightly land of mirth and social joy," with a goodly gathering, ranging from rosy-cheeked juveniles to grey-haired, wrinkle-faced age. The Sunday school children of Topeka carried a "beautiful banner" made by the Topeka church.¹²⁰ At Rochester the people enjoyed a quiet picnic in an oak and walnut grove on the bank of Soldier creek; it was "just the place for a 'feast of reason and a flow of soul.'" Indianola held a free barbecue in which nearly one thousand people participated. Both the food and the patriotic speeches were reported as abundant.¹²¹ A "phite" supplied part of the "phun," in which Topeka folk invested heavily. Some Indianola gentlemen had engaged "W. Hisky and B. Randy."¹²² Samuel J. Reader reviewed the day's events tellingly in his diary.

. . . Up early. Fired cannon in town 10 or 12 times & played drum & fife. I blew on clarinet & flute. Shot revolver, rifle & shot gun. . . . The

117. *Kansas State Record*, Topeka, July 7, 1860.

118. *Topeka Tribune*, July 7, 1860. The *Elwood Free Press*, of July 14, 1860, quotes this story and in editorial comment says: "Now that was a celebration worth talking about. Good dog, too; but he hadn't no tail. . . . And he was a spotted dog."

119. *Kansas State Record*, Topeka, July 7, 1860.

120. *Ibid.*, June 30, July 7, 1860.

121. *Ibid.*, July 7, 1860.

122. *Topeka Tribune*, July 7, 1860.

flag rope cut. I helped carry water. . . . All formed in procession. . . . All on ground. Not seats enough. . . . Button prayed long & loud; then Jack Thompson got up and read his awfully sublime speech of 24 pages. Very tedious. Got done at last. Old Mathews got me to hold the drum while he beat. . . . A fat Rev. spoke a few minutes, then all to tables. I waited till there was room. Got bread and meat. Scarce at that. . . . A ball at Pucket's. "Sarpint" here yet. . . .¹²³

Auburn varied the usual routine of a patriotic Fourth of July celebration by unrolling for the first time to spectators the "Panorama of Kansas," a part of a 3,000 square yard canvas painting delineating Kansas villages and scenery. "Auburn was all smiles on the occasion . . . winding up with a ball in the evening."¹²⁴

Three-year-old Mission creek settlement, twenty miles west of Topeka, held formal patriotic exercises, followed by a bountiful picnic collation, "highly creditable to the originators, and still more satisfactory to the eaters." A never-to-be-forgotten dance on the flowery green concluded the entertainment. The *State Record* described the event as "a real *mass* celebration," every individual in the settlement being present to the number of nearly 300.¹²⁵

Emporia planned long for a proper celebration of July 4, 1860. Every one was invited to participate, even in the arrangements. Breckinridge (now Lyon) county was on hand *en masse*; Madison, Chase, and Morris counties sent numerous representatives. Among the officers of the day were twelve vice-presidents from twelve different towns. The festivities occupied the entire day and evening. Three bowers constructed for the occasion provided shelter for the speaking, for the dinner, and for the dancing. People came "singly, in couples, and crowds," from a 35-mile radius. From twenty-five hundred to three thousand persons were in attendance. A formal program occupied the morning. J. H. Watson was the orator. The dinner was "unexceptionable," in kind, in preparation, and in quantity with considerable bread, beef, ham, and chicken to spare. Politics had its place among the Democrats of Breckinridge county who met and moved to regard with contempt the appointment of E. Goddard, Republican, as deputy marshal of Breckinridge and Madison counties. A display of fireworks constituted general evening entertainment. Fifty couples of young folk enjoyed the dance until the "we sma' hours." High wind unexpectedly prevented the ascension of a large paper balloon, constructed for the occasion by George

123. "Samuel J. Reader's Diary," v. V, entry of July 4, 1860.—MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

124. *Kansas State Record*, Topeka, June 23, July 7, 1860.

125. *Ibid.*, July 7, 1860.

Wait. So impressive was the anniversary gathering of three-year-old Emporia that prospectors recently come from the states resolved to look no further for locations.¹²⁶

In Manhattan the various religious denominations united in a Sunday school picnic on the Fourth. In the morning the children marched to the spacious, umbrageous grove of T. J. Roosa to listen to a program that was both religious and patriotic, to enjoy refreshments supplied by each family present, to hear toasts and sentiments, and to participate in a "general sing." At night Messrs. Beebe and Briggs gave a successful ball in the Peoples' Hall. Messrs. Pipher and Newell assisted on the floor. The cool evening, the silvery moonlight, the commodious, brilliantly-illuminated hall, and the temporary restaurant dispensing ice cream and other delicate luxuries all conspired to satisfy the seventy-five happy couples present. Many of the guests came from neighboring towns.¹²⁷

Citizens of Wabaunsee listened to a Fourth of July oration, prepared on less than a week's notice, by W. C. Dunton of the Manhattan bar. After reviewing the establishment of the Union, the speaker read from the letter of John Adams of July 5, 1776, in which he predicted the celebration of the Fourth by the firing of cannon, by bonfires, and by illuminations. The speaker then praised the individual members of the Continental Congress who "still live—live in our institutions and in the hearts of our countrymen." The Manhattan editor recommended the perusal of the elegant Fourth of July oration.¹²⁸

Junction City planned an appropriate celebration for itself and vicinity. A procession through the city streets was to lead to the park where a patriotic program was to take place. Maj. W. W. Herbert was the chosen orator; he accepted but apologized, in advance, "for being, most likely, unable to entertain you on that occasion." The procession was to return from the park to the hall where J. F. Schmidt would serve the collation. The toast committee consisted of Dr. J. B. Woodward, J. R. McClure, S. B. Garrett, and Sam A. Medary. The Fort Riley band was to render appropriate music.¹²⁹

At the residence of Harry Custard on Drywood, near Fort Scott, was an enthusiastic patriotic celebration. Under an arbor of refresh-

126. *Emporia News*, May 5, June 2, 16, 23, 30, July 7, 14, 1860. Owing to business engagements Thomas Ewing, Jr., of Leavenworth had been unable to comply with an invitation to give the Fourth of July address at Emporia.—See letter of Thomas Ewing, Jr., to L. Weil, June 5, 1860, in "Letter Press Book" of Thomas Ewing, Jr., May 15, 1860, to January 3, 1861, p. 38.—MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

127. *Manhattan Express*, June 30, July 7, 1860.

128. *Ibid.*, July 28, 1860.

129. *The Kansas Statesman*, Junction City, June 30, 1860.

ing shade were tables "laden with substantials and delicacies sufficient to have fed a crowd five times as large as the one there assembled." In one corner the host dealt out ice-cold lemonade and other beverages to thirsty customers. M. A. Redfield of Vernon county, Missouri, presided over the program of several speeches, impromptu toasts, and music. Two of the toasts seem now of especial significance for the place and the year.

Our Country.—May she always be right; but right or wrong—our country.

New England.—The father and birthplace of Freedom, and Kansas the youngest child and pet.

Fireworks intended for the occasion exploded accidentally but without injury to any one. "A merry dance in the evening, and a moonlight drive home," wrote the Fort Scott reporter, "terminated our patriotic labors."¹³⁰

Iola had a model celebration with free barbecue dinner served from tables 168 feet long. Ice-cold lemonade flowed "free as water." Two thousand people were in attendance. Good feeling was manifest. The procession at 10 o'clock, composed of two- and four-horse teams, was one and one-fourth miles long. C. P. Twiss of Iola was president of the day. William Jones was marshal. C. W. Blair of Fort Scott was the orator. Music by the Carlile and Iola glee clubs interspersed a program of thirteen toasts and sentiments. "A large and interesting concourse of ladies" gave spirit to the occasion. A "hop" in the evening at the Ross House, with "elegant refection" that was *recherche*, concluded the festivities.¹³¹

Wyandotte arranged for an assembly of patriots at Castle Garden in 1860 to demonstrate the impossibility of dissolving the union of states. The neighboring towns of Leavenworth, Atchison, Kansas City, and Westport were invited to attend. Gov. Wm. Walker was to preside. Salutes of thirty-three guns were to be fired at day-break and again at sunrise. A procession to form at Garno House under the direction of Marshal J. R. Parr and four assistants was to promenade to the grove where Gov. J. P. Root would read the Declaration of Independence and Wm. Y. Roberts would deliver the oration. The Wyandotte glee club and brass band would supply the music. The grand national ball at night would be in Castle Garden Hall.¹³² At sunset on the evening of the Fourth a severe wind and hailstorm sweeping up the Missouri river, blew down a building and

130. Fort Scott *Democrat*, July 7, 1860.

131. *Ibid.*, June 9, July 7, 14, 1860.

132. *The Weekly Western Argus*, Wyandotte, June 16, 23, 1860.

tree and damaged one span of the Kaw river bridge in Wyandotte and wrought considerable destruction in Quindaro.¹³³

At Columbus, Doniphan county, the citizens on two days' notice arranged a barbecue, a procession, and a patriotic program for the Fourth. By 10 o'clock the crowd gathered in the streets "bringing their gifts to the altar of their common country." The brass band "discoursed eloquent music." Dr. S. Brown was president of the day. L. Silence read the Declaration. With "unalloyed satisfaction" the people listened to the orator, E. J. Jenkins, in patriotic vindication of the principles and purposes of the fathers of the Republic.¹³⁴

Although Elwood began early to make plans to entertain three thousand visitors on the Fourth, it abandoned its arrangement in deference to St. Joseph. At night, however, it had a pleasant party at the Great Western, though heavy showers diminished the attendance. Through the day the town had the excitement of a robbery; one Hiram Howell stole a valuable gold watch of one Absalom Grooms and an officer was in pursuit of the thief. The Elwood editor who spent the day in St. Joseph reported "the jolliest set of knock-downs we have ever witnessed. Knives and revolvers were scattered round loose, and everybody had a good time."¹³⁵

Monrovia planned a plain, unpretentious celebration. It invited the Sunday schools and some private individuals from Atchison and Grasshopper Falls. At 10 o'clock on the public square a procession of officers, children with their teachers, ladies and gentlemen on foot in double line, buggies, and wagons, moved down main street to the grove. They had ample supplies of ice-water and of food in baskets. For four hours, two before and two after dinner, "this large assembly of all ages, from the hoary head down to the nestling infant," gave "noiseless attention" to the exercises. Rope swings suspended from the trees took the place of crackers and guns. Mr. Snyder, superintendent of the Sunday school and General Pomeroy of Atchison made addresses. The occasion seemed a general neighborhood reunion, so pure and kindly was the social intercourse.¹³⁶

White Cloud also had a Sunday school gathering. Citizens, outsiders, and strangers joined in the morning exercises in the grove south of town. The Rev. Mr. Trickett of Holt county, Missouri, addressed the children. V. D. Markham delivered the oration. The choir rendered vocal music. At the dinner "there were by far more

133. *Emporia News*, July 21, 1860.

134. *Elwood Free Press*, July 14, 1860.

135. *Ibid.*, June 16, 23, July 7, 1860.

136. *Freedom's Champion*, Atchison, July 14, 1860.

consumers than producers." At night the Odd Fellows had a ball at the City Hotel, for which the ferry boat brought guests and a martial band from Forest City and Oregon. The large company danced "until broad daylight," July 5. The supper was "A, No. 1."¹³⁷

Atchison did not keep July 4, 1860, in any public way, but some of its citizens attended a pleasant picnic party in a grove on Deer creek. Others enjoyed events at Mt. Pleasant, St. Joseph, or Leavenworth.¹³⁸ One happening in Atchison, however, made the day memorable for the citizens who stayed at home. The steam wagon, built in the winter of 1859-1860 by Thomas L. Fortune of Mt. Pleasant, to expedite overland travel, made a trial trip on the city streets, July 4. The wagon was 20 feet long by eight feet wide, with wheels 12 inches wide and eight feet in diameter. Ornamented with flags and loaded with a crowd of anxious men and boys, the conveyance traveled along the street safely until it failed to turn a corner and ran into A. S. Parker's outfitting house, breaking in the side of the one-story cottonwood structure. A second engineer then backed the wagon into the street and guided it into open stretches where it made a speed of eight miles an hour. On soft ground, however, when standing still, the ponderous wheels sank so deeply into the mud that use for prairie travel was impracticable. The spectators were disappointed, and Mr. Fortune, the inventor, was disgusted after his great expenditure of time and money.¹³⁹

New settlements in the Rocky Mountain gold region kept the Fourth generally. However far from home, immigrants there had not wandered beyond the pale of "that good old national institution, the Fourth of July." "The best of spirits prevailed among the miners," wrote A. D. Richardson to the *New York Tribune*, but "I allude to the animal spirits, and not to the atrocious whisky which circulated freely." To the *Lawrence Republican* he said that the large amount of bad whisky made the hilarity somewhat boisterous. The exercises embraced orations and social festivities. Golden City decorated a spacious hall "with the aromatic boughs of the fir and pine, fresh from the mountains which overhang the town." There addresses by former residents of eastern Kansas supplied the rhetorical patriotism and the women of Golden City provided an excellent free dinner. In Denver both religious folk and desperadoes marked

137. *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, July 12, 1860.

138. *Freedom's Champion*, Atchison, July 7, 1860.

139. Root, Frank A., and Connelley, Wm. E., *The Overland Stage to California* . . . (Topeka, 1901), pp. 430, 431; Ingalls, Sheffield, *History of Atchison County* (Lawrence, 1916), pp. 183, 184. Root gave the dimensions of the wheels as 12 inches wide and eight feet in diameter, Ingalls had them 20 inches wide and eight feet in diameter.

the day. Guns fired a national salute at dawn, at noon, and at sunset. A procession of Sabbath school children, of Masons and German Turners in uniform, of ladies riding in a dozen carriages, and of band, paraded the streets to Parkinson's grove to listen to an oration by Mayor John C. Moore and to see the presentation of a flag by the ladies of Denver to the pioneer club. The president of the club, who was the oldest inhabitant, having actually dwelt in Denver "something more than twelve months," responded. At noon the children enjoyed a rich collation. On the race course in the afternoon James Ennis, a gambler from Camp Floyd, shot and wounded John Teef dangerously. By aid of his fellow gamblers who gave him a mile on which to leave the country, the desperado escaped arrest. The episode made Denver consider formation of a vigilance committee.¹⁴⁰ In the Pike's Peak region Indian depredations had led a committee to wait upon the Arapahoes and to ask the Secretary of War for a government agent. "One humane individual was in favor of celebrating 'the Fourth' by 'wiping out' all the Indians; but the original suggestion was not adopted."¹⁴¹

1861

Yet better than they think men sometimes act;
 They strike for symbols, and the world gains truth;
 If these draw back the nation to her youth,
 With half her stars and all her faith intact,
 Something is gained to Freedom which we want:
 Each boldly claims for self a sovereign throne;
 And that "a man's a man" 's a truth, alone
 Worth some grand sacrifice, we widely grant.

—A. P. C.¹⁴²

The Fourth of July, 1861, was generally conceded to be the most important anniversary of the day in the history of the nation; and it was also the most significant for Kansas, for on January 29 she had at last acquired her statehood. Facing the nation was the question of its continuance as the United States; and confronting Kansas now was the responsibility of sharing in the military defense of the Union. Everywhere people awaited the dawn of the Fourth seriously. Even the gayer features of the traditional celebrations took on deeper import. Music was martial and prolific. Powder was no longer an idle plaything; flags, drums, crackers now evoked no

140. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 13, 23, 1860; *Freedom's Champion*, Atchison, July 21, 1860; *Lawrence Republican*, July 26, 1860.

141. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 17, 1860.

142. From "War and Slavery," written July 4, 1861, for the *New York Tribune*.

sneers; reading of the Declaration of Independence was no where this day a funny old joke. Liberty and right were real, personal desires today; and the sacrifices of the Fathers entailed actual human suffering. Every feature of the 1861 anniversary stirred active sympathy.¹⁴³

The English press saw more appreciatively the full meaning of the situation than did the domestic writers. "Nothing like this Fourth of July," said the *London News*, "was indeed ever before seen." Hitherto the hot summer day had opened similarly from end to end of the Union. Although in the North young citizens had made the rejoicings and in the South slaves had draped the flags and put up the inscriptions to liberty which they could not read, both sections had too generally been content with a glorification in which some Pharisee exulted hypocritically in the free, united American nation. A few Northern Abolitionists had alone refused to countenance such deception. Today the whole North had come around to their point of view; and the Free States had risen as a man to defend the political organization of the country. The South, with its heads of families already in camp, now trembled between the alternatives of its own military despotism and submission to the national constitution; yet to its people, too, this Fourth of July, emblematic of danger, pain, and sacrifice, was "a proud and happy day."¹⁴⁴ In Washington, where military tents whitened every eminence,¹⁴⁵ William Howard Russell, correspondent of the *London Times*, saw the incongruity of grave-faced men carrying long wands with bulging, bright-colored rockets on the eve of the Fourth that was to assemble the most important congress in American history, the thirty-seventh. On the day itself unaccustomed martial pomp filled public streets as New York regiments passed in review before President Lincoln and his ministers at the White House. In the senate the President's demand for men and money received silent approbation; congress "would have swallowed twice the totals readily." The only gaiety was at night in the lamp-lighted camps of soldiers where crowds of people strolled among the lines or danced to band music.¹⁴⁶ "To us who war for our constitution and government," wrote William Hutchinson, who was one of the "Frontier Guard" chosen by President Lincoln for White House duty April 18, "this anniversary seems more

143. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 4, 1861.

144. *Ibid.*, July 19, 1861.

145. Hutchinson, Wm., correspondence to *The Kansas State Journal*, and over signature of "Quill," on July 4, in "Scrapbook of Wm. Hutchinson," v. II.

146. *New York Daily Tribune*, August 15, 1861.

dear than all former ones, while in at least thirteen states its prestige has become a mockery. . . ." 147

The basic theme of spokesmen throughout the North was allegiance to the Union. In the national house of representatives Speaker-Elect Galusha A. Grow referred to the Southern rebellion as "the most causeless in the history of the race." The Union once destroyed, he said, would be a shattered vase that no human power could reconstruct. Lincoln, in his message, reminded congressmen that the Union was older than the states, it having created them as states and having procured for them, by conquest or purchase, whatever of independence and liberty they had enjoyed. The very act, declared Alexander W. Bradford, at Mamaroneck, which brought the states into being, made the union of states perpetual. In New York, at Cooper Institute, E. H. Chapin recognized the right of revolution as "the last right of a crushed people," but closed with the more renowned sentiment of "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable," and at the Academy of Music Edward Everett found "The sympathy of the civilized world is on our side . . . for the success of our arms." 148

The border states displayed varying sentiments. In Columbus, Ohio, Samuel Medary, late governor of Kansas territory, and now editor of *The Crisis*, was writing:

"What sort of a Fourth of July is this?" Let the inquiry go round and each one answer for his own conscience—like the sentiment "Drank standing and in silence" to the departed.

But in the midst of death we look to a resurrection of greater glory. . . . 149

Later, in his extempore oration for a local celebration of the Fourth, the ex-governor asserted that the foundation of our liberties was built upon the *ballot* and not the *bullet*—that peace and not war was the basis of our human freedom. A holiday toast pronounced "Our Federal Government—very sick and consumptive. Old Doctor Democracy, her only hope for a cure." 150

Affairs in Missouri were uncertain. At Jefferson City, three weeks ago in secession but now a Union city, Col. Henry Boernstein, leader of the German population, made an Independence day speech in praise of the loyalty of German citizens to the federal government, followed by three cheers. In Kansas City, where "secession is not killed but badly scotched," citizens had an all-day conven-

147. "Scrapbook of Wm. Hutchinson," v. II.

148. New York *Daily Tribune*, July 6, 13, 1861. See, also, issues of July 9, 11, 15, 17, August 8, 1861.

149. *The Crisis*, Columbus, Ohio, July 4, 1861.

150. *Ibid.*, July 11, 1861.

tional patriotic Fourth with procession, music, program, and picnic; Wm. Quarles and E. M. McGee were among the speakers. At St. Joseph the Second regiment of Iowa volunteers startled "sleepy Secessionists" into recognition of the day by firing 34 rounds. Flags waved throughout the day from turret and dome, steamer and coach, man and horse, until the city looked like "the flag-city of Missouri." In the words of a little slave girl, "It was the Fourth of July all over town." But the display made an older contraband "feel mighty onsertain bout tings now-a-days. . . . I want dis ting settled. Las year ole mass he git offered for me jist fifteen hundred dollar, and dis year, he git, may be, four hundred. I jist want de ting doned fixed, so as I be worth noting or full price: jist one or toder." ¹⁵¹

At Yorktown, Va., Thomas A. Phelps of New Orleans, another slave, was taking the settlement into his own hands. In a letter to his mother on July 4 he wrote: "I am well and doing well. . . . We are looking out for a fight on the 5th of July. . . . I have not time to write. . . . Good by to the white folks until I kill a Yankee." ¹⁵²

Kansas, "conceived in a storm and born in a wreck," had not, according to ex-Governor Medary, been in worse condition to assume the responsibilities of state government than in January, 1861,¹⁵³ yet on July 4, the five-months-old state found war encroaching upon her southeastern border. Her western frontier was unprotected. Although her legislature had voted \$20,000 to repel invasion, nearly all her men had enlisted and gone to the front and her militia was unarmed and inefficient. Rebel spies were trying to bribe Indians into secession service. But at last the prospect for crops was good. With plenty to eat Kansas hoped she was done bleeding and done begging, and ready to begin living like her elder sister states.¹⁵⁴ Today her first senators-elect were being sworn into the United States congress, James H. Lane for the short term and Samuel C. Pomeroy for the long.¹⁵⁵ For six weeks local editors urged upon Kansans suitable celebration of the national birthday as due the Union from its youngest member. When South Carolina by legislative act erased the Fourth of July from her list of holidays, Sol. Miller of White Cloud plead for reverent celebration of the anni-

151. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 10, 23, 1861.

152. *Ibid.*, August 7, 1861.

153. *The Crisis*, Columbus, Ohio, February 7, 1861.

154. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 10, August 6, 1861.

155. *Ibid.*, July 6, 1861; *Emporia News*, July 13, 1861.

versary by "every loyal city, town and hamlet throughout the land."¹⁵⁶ Said the Fort Scott *Democrat*, of June 8, "Cottontown has ignored the Fourth of July, let us not forget it." The Emporia *News*, June 29, longed to hear of the Northern army's hanging the great traitor, Jeff Davis, in the streets of Richmond or Montgomery. In Atchison, though business was dull and prospects were not at all flattering, W. H. Adams urged a local celebration creditable to the city.¹⁵⁷ The *Kansas State Journal* at Lawrence was most persistent in its pleas, asserting that celebration in every town might smooth the troubled waters of the nation. Did not Kansas as a people owe some manifestation of joy and patriotism to the national flag, on this day receiving her glittering star, its thirty-fourth?

Most communities responded to the editorial pleas. Printers in service in the First and Second Kansas regiments themselves issued a paper, the *Clinton Journal*, from a rebel office in Clinton, Mo.¹⁵⁸ The Kansas First, arriving at Clinton that day, had raised the Stars and Stripes on a secession pole and fired salutes of thirty-four guns at noon and at three o'clock.¹⁵⁹ In southeastern Kansas Captain Jennison with a force of "thirteen picked men well armed and mounted," marched, on July 4, from Mound City to Fort Scott, en route to southwestern Missouri, professedly to form a company of Union men for the temporary protection of the Kansas border and of Northern sympathizers in Missouri.¹⁶⁰ Kansans, however, both those in the regular army and those at home, were already looking askance upon this self-assumed authority of Jennison and Montgomery. The *Clinton Journal* of July 4 called them "lawless banditti" to be treated as outlaws. A correspondent from the Kansas Third, July 15, referred to them as "Jay Hawkens," a name Montgomery and Jennison had made honorable with the friends of freedom but terrible to its enemies.¹⁶¹ Leonard Swingley on July 7 wrote that Montgomery's men called their stolen property "contraband of war" but appropriated it to their individual interest.¹⁶² Fort Scott itself had a gala military celebration. Frontier Guards Nos. 1 and 2 invited the cavalry company of Drywood and the in-

156. White Cloud *Kansas Chief*, June 13, 1861.

157. Atchison *Union*, June 22, 1861.

158. Wilder, D. W., *Annals of Kansas* (Topeka, 1875), p. 266; Clinton (Mo.) *Journal*, published by United States forces under command of Maj. S. D. Sturgis, July 4, 1861.

159. *Ibid.*; *The Kansas State Journal*, Lawrence, July 11, 1861.

160. *New York Daily Tribune*, July 22, 1861.

161. *The Kansas State Journal*, Lawrence, July 18, 1861, letter from Mound City.

162. Swingley, Leonard J., letter to "Most worthy Friend Mollie [Mary Brown, Lawrence]," dated Mansfield, Linn county, July 7, 1861, in MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society. W. A. Mitchell's "Historic Linn," in *La Cygne Journal*, April 12, 1895, reports that in the territorial days Swingley was one of the highly respected Proslavery citizens who stayed through all the trouble.

fantry company of Mill creek to join them in march and drill. The soldiers appeared neatly dressed and marched with "firm and decided steps" to excellent field music. Capt. John Hamilton drilled the cavalry; E. A. Smith, the infantry. The companies were "mutually pleased with the Fourth of July and each other." They had wasted little powder "in making useless din, it being deemed more expedient to reserve it for the enemies of our country."¹⁶³

Topeka kept the Fourth of July, 1861, for surrounding counties and towns. Officials of the day, chosen from the "ladies and gentlemen," included thirteen vice-presidents. J. G. Otis was the orator. The musicians, from Tecumseh, Manhattan, Auburn, and Topeka, rendered "vocal and instrumental music . . . the finest it has been our fortune to hear in the State." Guns at sunrise began the day's events. At ten o'clock the procession formed and moved to the grove near the river. There the formal program ended with a "dinner of baskets," "seasoned with ice cream and social chat, lemonades and *jeu d' esprit*." "The 'wood' was alive." Under every tree happy, smiling folk enjoyed the rich picnic collation. On the warm breeze rang out the clear tone of a youth—"here's where to get your hot coffee." In the afternoon a trio of plantation dancers, contrabands from Arkansas, edified "de white folks with a regular 'nigger hoe-down.'" Fireworks filled the evening. A ball at Museum Hall with supper at the Chase House, concluded the day. About 1,500 people enjoyed the events.¹⁶⁴

Over in Indianola Samuel J. Reader heard the cannon shots at Topeka, but he plowed until ten o'clock. The rest of the day he gave up to pleasure in his own community. After a good dinner he went to Pucket's where he saw "a lot of carpenters men drunk. One said; 'This is the first time I've been drunk in Kansas, and I tell you it feels good!'" Back at home Reader himself ate nuts that he found upstairs.¹⁶⁵

Emporia editors for a month plead for local celebration of the national birthday in 1861, but in vain.¹⁶⁶ Seven communities thereabouts, however, kept the occasion in variously befitting ways. Allen (better known as Charley Withington's), at the crossing of 142 creek on the Santa Fe road, had a flag salute and discharge of rifles by the Waterloo Rangers, formal exercises, and a barbecue dinner. From 350 to 600 persons gathered around the 165-foot

163. Fort Scott *Democrat*, July 6, 1861.

164. Topeka *Tribune*, June 15, 22, 29, July 6, 1861; *Kansas State Record*, Topeka, June 22, July 6, 1861.

165. Reader, Samuel J., "Diary," v. V, entry of July 4, 1861.

166. Emporia *News*, June 8, 22, 29, 1861.

table laden with meats, vegetables, and pyramids of pastries. An "entire ox, delicately roasted and brought upon the table whole," was flanked by "roasted grunter" and flocks of chickens, roasted, stuffed and trussed. People ate "without remorse of conscience or fear of nightmare." Water was the only beverage. Visiting women from Council Grove presented cakes to the Waterloo Rangers and to the Masonic fraternity of Allen. Concluding the daytime entertainment were toasts to the farmers of Kansas, who were to make the plain blossom as the rose; to the ladies of Kansas, who were "worthy daughters of the mothers of '76"; to Gen. J. H. Lane, a brave man on whom the state had conferred her richest gift; to "Kansas—Her reception by the loyal States—the baby is always the pet," and to Allen, the nucleus of a future city, and an aspiring capital of Kansas. From early eve to midnight the votaries of Terpsichore danced in a pavilion covered with boughs and enclosed with canvas. Then the host, C. H. Withington, and the Waterloo Rangers ordered the dancers to retire to tables groaning under good things to eat.¹⁶⁷

The people of Americus and Fremont held a joint celebration in the grove of Dempsey Elliott on Allen creek. "About 10 o'clock people began to pour in from all quarters, to the amount of from three to five hundred, with baskets, boxes, tubs, and trunks, filled with almost innumerable articles for the dinner." The exercises of the day were a serious consideration of the welfare of the nation. Beginning with prayer for the support of the government and the liberties of the people the assemblage voted thanks to the states for having fed and clothed needy Kansans through the drought of 1860 and resolved to uphold "the old 'flag of our Union' . . . at whatever cost and at all hazards." They went to a sumptuously laden table and devoured the eatables with a relish; afterward they again came to order to give toasts to liberty, the birthright of man; to the common schools, the safeguard of our liberties; to the United States army, which, though "the mudsills of society," would flourish long after the super-structure of Slavedom was demolished; and to President Lincoln, whose wisdom and discretion should enroll his name with that of the "Father of our Country." The day ended with a ball in a bower sixty feet long.¹⁶⁸

Waterloo celebrated with a picnic, speaking, and music near the

167. *Ibid.*, July 13, 1861; Council Grove *Press*, July 13, 1861.

168. *Emporia News*, June 29, July 13, 1861.

residence of R. W. Cloud. P. G. D. Morton, of Chelsea, and P. B. Plumb, of Emporia, were the orators.¹⁶⁹

Madison Center began the day by raising a Union flag amid enthusiastic cheers. The formal exercises included two orations. Women of the vicinity served a bounteous dinner, "in splendid style," with "knick-knacks too numerous to mention." In the evening two talented violinists, E. J. Duke and Thomas D. Kelley, made the dance enjoyable.¹⁷⁰

At Elmendaro military companies from Hartford and Florence joined the Elmendaro Light Guards to escort the procession to the grounds chosen for the program. People gathered from every direction for the event. Orations and speeches, interspersed with patriotic music and the richest of Kansas foods, filled the entire day. The speakers represented many communities — Elmendaro, Emporia, Hartford, Neosho Rapids, Ottumwa, Burlington, and Coffey county. Doctor Calloway of Burlington received enthusiastic cheers for saying that "the worst abolitionists on God's earth were in the South! There they have abolished the Fourth of July." When Doctor Hawkins of Ottumwa offered to read speeches from Jeff. Davis and Gov. Henry A. Wise of Virginia, the audience gave three groans, followed by three deafening cheers for the Union.¹⁷¹

Citizens of Greenwood county enjoyed "the glorious old Fourth" on Willow creek, thirty miles south of Emporia. Formal exercises preceded a dinner. Judge Keyes reviewed the history of Kansas and praised the North for its liberality "in feeding us" during the recent drought. The warm-hearted citizens then gave three cheers for the Northern brethren.¹⁷²

Chase county commemorated the day at Cottonwood Falls. Citizens to the number of 350 assembled at a bower on the public square where the women presented the board of county commissioners with an American flag, which was then hoisted on a sixty-foot hickory pole. The three rousing cheers for the Union were believed by one writer to be the heartiest ever given east "of the Rocky Mountains." When the orators of the day failed to appear, S. N. Wood of Council Grove substituted with a "short, pithy speech." The Chase County Skirmishers, a newly organized military company, led the procession to a grove one-fourth mile distant, where the women had provided

169. *Ibid.*

170. *Ibid.*

171. *Ibid.*, July 20, 1861.

172. *Ibid.*

a free feast. A young beef, barbecued on the spot, and a table 100 feet long, loaded with a variety of good things, provided more than enough to eat; the surplus was divided among the sick and the poor and the visitors who had brought no food with them. At night the dancers tried to out-dance one another at the home of the *Journal* correspondent, J. W. M., "until the crowing of the cock warned them that they were stealing time from the fifth to add to the fourth."¹⁷³

Council Grove arranged an anniversary ball at the Union Hotel for the evening of July 4. Friends everywhere about were expected to attend the party. Tickets were \$1.50 per couple; in addition every one had to take care of his own horse, or pay extra if he had it fed at the stable. Friends in Emporia volunteered to join in celebration of this "day of our maturity as a nation."¹⁷⁴

The Fourth of July, 1861, was the greatest day ever known at Grasshopper Falls. Around 1,100 people enjoyed the events. By eight o'clock they began arriving "on foot and on horseback, in lumber wagons, market wagons, carriages and buggies drawn by gay and festive thorough-breds, sprightly ponies, plowing teams, or oxen." The delegation from Oskaloosa and McClenny's ridge, numbering 34 wagons and headed by the Oskaloosa Guards, were met at the border of town by the Jefferson Rifles and three assistant marshals for escort. Delegations from the east came by way of the old ford, where two marshals awaited them; 74 vehicles crossed the ford; 670 persons passed on foot over the high trestle of the new bridge. The most attractive group here was the Centre Sunday School of "121 counted individuals" preceded by a banner with the motto, "God Save the Union," and followed by the Stars and Stripes. Edward Lynde presided at the dinner and gave the oration. Patriotic toasts evoked short, pithy responses. At night "sweet music and light feet made merry hearts" at two small parties.¹⁷⁵

Out of deference to the celebrations of neighboring communities, Lawrence, like Emporia, refrained from any formal observance of July 4, 1861. Returning the repeated calls of country friends would improve the town folk, the press believed. Seven communities about had patriotic programs.¹⁷⁶

Lecompton kept the anniversary at length. A flag raising, a procession, a picnic and barbecue, addresses, and toasts filled the daylight hours. The attendance numbered 800. At night Rowena Hall,

173. *Ibid.*, July 13, 1861; *The Kansas State Journal*, Lawrence, July 18, 1861.

174. *Council Grove Press*, June 1, 22, 1861.

175. *Kansas State Record*, Topeka, July 13, 1861.

176. *The Kansas State Journal*, Lawrence, July 4, 11, 1861.

under the management of "Uncle John," was scene of the pleasing evening party, where guests all had their money's worth.

The hotel at Minneola, having one of the best dancing halls in the state, held an anniversary ball in the evening, for which the pleasant drive from Lawrence promised good patronage. But one sentiment from the day's events at Baldwin City impressed the correspondent:

Jeff. Davis.—May the number of his days equal the number of his righteous deeds. May his laurels be like unto Benedict Arnold's, and may his death be surrounded by circumstances similar to those with which Virginia surrounded the death of John Brown.

Kanwaca, Bloomington, and Clinton planned a joint celebration, the weather permitting, of daytime picnic and program at Jesse's ford and an evening party in Judge Wakefield's barn. Rain, however, necessitated separate gatherings. At Kanwaca the Stars and Stripes waved from a staff 90 feet in height. Under a bower of rails, boughs, and prairie grass a large audience listened to readings and addresses by E. D. Ladd, Richard Cordley, J. S. Brown, S. O. Thacher, and Judge J. A. Wakefield. Alfred Whitman delivered a poem written for the occasion by "Mr. Sanford of Mass." At night 50 couples participated in the "rousing big hop" in Judge Wakefield's barn. About 600 persons from Clinton and Bloomington assembled together in a beautiful grove south of Bloomington. "Neatly dressed . . . for a refreshing day's pleasure," they had a morning program of heartfelt song, of clear reading of the Declaration by a woman, Miss Gardner, of speech that "took" by the pedagogue S. M. Thorp, and of original poem by H. Greene of Twin Mound. Toasts and responses followed the picnic dinner. At the mill in the evening was an impromptu hop dance.

The entire program at Blue Mound was patriotic. In formal exercises at noon the women of the vicinity presented a beautiful flag to the committee. Children of the Franklin Sunday School sang a patriotic song. Of the talks that followed, the oration by E. S. Lowman had fullest report; whereas celebrations of the Fourth had hitherto been an empty pageant, he said, the day this present year was an epoch in the history of the country, but constitutional liberty would be preserved. Following the program men, women, and children formed in line and marched from the mound to the valley where under the cool shade of an over-arching arbor a sumptuous dinner awaited them. More patriotic speeches by H. H. Moore and S. N. Simpson closed the day's events.¹⁷⁷

177. *Ibid.*

At Mansfield, Linn county, one Mrs. Mitchell gave a "social party" at her residence in the evening. Leonard J. Swingley wrote of the pressing invitation he received from the hostess in person while he was at work in his harvest field in the morning. Of the gathering itself he said, "Their was but few their. however we had a very pleasant little time."¹⁷⁸

Wyandotte displayed its patriotism in parades, processions, speeches, and toasts. The "grand feature" was an oration by Judge Gray which "had the ring of the true metal in every line of it." Two of the toasts were timely; Judge Woodworth spoke on "The People vs. Jeff. Davis"; and L. S. Blachly saw in "The Comet" a special messenger from space watching over the great American contest; "Let the stars shout for joy when the glad word goes back, 'Slavery vanquished—Freedom universal!'"¹⁷⁹

On the Delaware Indian reservation (near present Edwardsville, Wyandotte county) two missionary teachers, Clara Gowing and Elizabeth S. Morse, gave the Indian children their first picnic on July 4. Miss Gowing was in charge of the girls and Miss Morse, of the boys. The girls carried flags and the boys, drums. The boys were allowed to cross a creek for part of their excursion, but one had to be tied to a tree there for trying to hunt birds' nests. For supper the group had bread and butter, carried from the mission house in a bushel basket, a few blackberries picked in the wood, and water from a spring. Afterward they sang songs, cheered, shouted, and laughed, and then marched home single file. "If making a great noise is being patriotic and comprises a good time," wrote Miss Gowing, "surely the Delaware Indian children were both patriotic and happy. . . ." ¹⁸⁰

Leavenworth summoned "everybody and his friend" to help in the public recognition of July 4, 1861. Organizations, benevolent, social, civic, and military, assembled for the procession. The fire companies followed in the order of their seniority. The Germans marched in a body. Five groups of local guards preceded a car of pretty, laughing girls representing the states with flags, flowers, and ribbons in the national colors. Two brass bands furnished the music. The parade was "splendid." The oration by M. J. Parrott was full

178. Swingley, Leonard J., letter to "Most worthy Friend Mollie," July 7, 1861.

179. *Kansas State Record*, Topeka, July 13, 1861.

180. Gowing, Clara, "Life Among the Delaware Indians," in *The Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XII, pp. 183-193.

of "stirring eloquence and sound erudition." The dinner at Planter's Hotel ended with patriotic toasts and sentiments.¹⁸¹

Atchison had an all-day celebration beginning with the national salute at sunrise and ending with a cotillion party at night at the Massasoit House. People gathered early from all parts of the country. They came in wagons, on horseback, and on foot, with flags flying and banners streaming. Merchants had been requested to close their places of business, but they decorated the stores with evergreen wreaths. A salute of 34 guns at seven a. m. honored the states of the Union. So at nine a. m. in the parade, did the 34 young ladies representing the 34 states. The procession to the picnic grounds included the Kansas Mounted Rangers, the brass band, the Home Guards, "scholars" of the Sabbath schools, the civic societies, municipal officers, the orator, the reader of the day, and citizens. The exercises were conventional and patriotic, beginning and ending with prayer. John A. Martin read the Declaration. Albert H. Horton was the orator. The songs were "The Red, White, and Blue," and "The Star-Spangled Banner." To the Home Guards, the ladies of Atchison presented a flag. The evening entertainment at Massasoit House was highly delightful.¹⁸²

In spite of the desire of Sol. Miller to instill deep reverence throughout the loyal North for the national holiday, now discarded and scoffed at in the South, his own community had but small group gatherings and he himself celebrated by hoeing his garden. In White Cloud the Sunday school held "a very nice little pic-nic in the grove, . . . another party went on a pic-nic excursion on the Indian reservation, raised the American Flag over the Council House, and had the Indians to give three cheers for the Stars and Stripes. . . ." Many citizens of White Cloud spent the day in Hiawatha, where the military display of Captain Lacock's company evoked their praise.¹⁸³

Kansas editors generally approved the Fourth of July observance they had themselves encouraged. Celebration had been extensive and the people solemnly appreciative. *The Kansas State Journal* found all the events of the day of high order. *The State Record* believed Kansas had demonstrated far beyond every other state in the Union her realization of the issue now upon the country and her

181. *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, July 2, 6, 1861; *Kansas State Record*, Topeka, July 13, 1861.

182. *The Weekly Bulletin*, Atchison, July 4, 11, 1861; *Kansas State Record*, Topeka, July 13, 1861.

183. *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, June 13, July 11, 1861.

loyalty to the nation.¹⁸⁴ Some papers ventured criticism. *The Weekly Bulletin*, of Atchison, devoted its front page to printings of the "Declaration of Independence" and of the "President's Message to the Senate and the House of Representatives, July 4, 1861"; then, in an editorial of one and one-fifth columns, it frankly disagreed with many of the President's statements.¹⁸⁵ In "My Fourth of July Speech," submitted as a letter to the *Press*, the correspondent "Loquacity" satirized the Kansas propensity for the superlative, obvious this early.

. . . is not Kansas a great State? The biggest prairies, the most buffaloes, the richest lands, the driest dry weather, the wettest wet weather, the hottest hot weather, the coldest cold weather, the biggest crops of a good season, the meanest of a bad season; . . . the best farmers and mechanics, and the poorest; the biggest liars, and the most truthful men; the worst drunkards, and the most zealous temperance men; . . . the hardest winds, and the calmest still weather; the loudest thunder and the biggest hail; and the biggest bragging the world ever produced.¹⁸⁶

184. *The Kansas State Journal*, Lawrence, July 11, 1861; *Kansas State Record*, Topeka, July 13, 1861.

185. *The Weekly Bulletin*, Atchison, July 11, 1861.

186. *Council Grove Press*, July 20, 1861.

The Ingalls Amendment to the Sherman Anti-Trust Bill

DAVID F. MCFARLAND, JR.

I. THE MOVEMENT IN KANSAS AGAINST "OPTIONS AND FUTURES," 1887-1890

DURING the years 1887-1890 public opinion in Kansas was aroused against speculation on the board of trade. There were a number of causes, but moral indignation at manipulations of the market was certainly an important factor. Wide publicity had been given to a succession of speculative deals of the worst order. In 1887 a spectacular attempt to corner the wheat market caused the financial ruin of many innocent persons. Widespread failures and panic were reported to have seriously weakened many Chicago banks. At the head of the clique which tried to gain control of the market was one Harper, vice-president of the Cincinnati Fidelity Bank, whose vain attempt ruined that institution. The thousands who lost their savings received small consolation from Harper's sentence to ten years in the penitentiary.¹

The following year was marked by a successful corner in September wheat, engineered by Charles L. Hutchinson, who was popularly known as "Old Hutch." He began buying at 87 cents but made his final settlements with the "Shorts" for \$2.00. At this time the opposition of the consumers to speculation was illustrated by a circular, inveighing against corners in foodstuffs, which was issued by T. V. Powderly, head of the Knights of Labor.² The Hutchinson deal of 1888 has been called the only successful "big" corner ever made on the Chicago grain market.³

This success of "Old Hutch" inspired imitation and the year of 1889 was one of great speculative activity. Unfortunately it was also a year of falling prices. All over the world crops were good and wheat surpluses piled up. In Chicago the receipts of wheat exceeded by a million bushels the largest amount previously recorded. "Dollar Wheat" was no more, and by mid-summer quota-

1. Taylor, Charles Henry, ed., *History of the Board of Trade of the City of Chicago* (Chicago, 1917), v. II, pp. 749-758.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 771-774.

3. Boyle, James Ernest, *Speculation and the Chicago Board of Trade* (New York, 1920), p. 73.

tions went as low as 74 cents.⁴ Speculation did not cause this fall, but "trading in futures" unquestionably seemed more sinister and evil to the farmers, impoverished by the low prices.

Throughout this period there was always a section of the press which raised a cry against the "gamblers" and asked for the passage of laws to regulate their trading. The *Kansas Farmer* was at the front of this agitation throughout 1887 and 1888. At the time of the Harper deal, in 1887, W. A. Peffer, editor of the *Kansas Farmer* and later a Populist senator, featured an editorial titled: "Some Men That Ought To Be in the Penitentiary." In it he attacked the "grain gamblers," speaking in particular of those who had participated in the attempted corner. "They are all bad men," he wrote, "every one of them, meriting punishment under the laws of the people whom they defy." He closed in the following words:

. . . Millions have been as feloniously abstracted from the pockets of the people as if they had been stolen by the aid of the bludgeon, the revolver or the jimmy. In point of moral culpability, the speculator who robs through the agency of a board of trade or a stock exchange is a far more dangerous member of society than the other species of malefactor who compels his victim to stand and deliver on the highway. . . . The fact that the law punishes the highwayman and the burglar, while offering no molestation to the speculator in his schemes, presents a grotesque commentary on the spirit of fairness and justice which is popularly supposed to form the basis of modern civilization.⁵

The Hutchinson corner prompted him to several outbursts of indignation.⁶ One of these ended as follows:

. . . That Chicago deal made it possible for many persons in other lines of trade to be robbed. That Chicago business will surely open the eyes of legislators to the importance of providing heavy penalties for all such schemes to make money at the expense of people who are not parties to them. Such gambling is more criminal from every point of view than the petty secret room thieving of the common gambler against whom the laws are severe. Let the people demand it and these high-handed robberies will cease.⁷

Although this was emphatic and contained a positive demand for punitive legislation, it is not certain whether Peffer at this time advocated regulation by the federal government. On another occasion he expressed warm approval of the campaign for a state law which was under way in Missouri.⁸

During this period (1887-1888), however, most of the principal

4. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 793.

5. *Kansas Farmer*, Topeka, June 23, 1887.

6. *Ibid.*, August 2, 1888, "The People and the Gamblers"; September 13, 1888, "The Flour Trust"; November 1, 1888, "Farmer Smith, Again."

7. *Ibid.*, October 11, 1888.

8. *Ibid.*, August 2, 1888.

newspapers in Kansas were apathetic or actively opposed to legislation of this character. At the time of the Harper deal the Atchison *Champion* DID propose a measure. "There ought to be a law," the editor wrote, "making it a felony for any bank president, cashier, or other bank official, to speculate or use the funds in his custody for anything but legitimate banking business."⁹ The recommendation was a laudable one, but obviously its object was to enforce greater security in the banking system, not to curb speculation.

More important was the attitude taken by the newspaper which was shortly to take the place of the *Kansas Farmer* at the head of the agitation. Marsh Murdock, editor of the *Wichita Daily Eagle*, freely criticized the apostles of the new faith. After the Harper scandal the St. Louis (Mo.) *Globe-Democrat* had begun a campaign for legislation against "options and futures." Murdock expressed his opinion of the crack-pot reformers:

. . . There is now an inclination on the part of a good many people to regulate and purify the affections of mankind by legislation. This class of people have concluded that speculation in produce and railroad and other stocks is very sinful, hence there is loud demand for laws to prevent these practices. It does not appear just how these speculators are to be stopped, but it is supposed the ordinary state legislature, whose members are supposed to possess considerable knowledge of option trading, draw poker and other devices to obtain money easily, will in their wisdom provide some measure by which the whole trade of the country will scoot along in the proper grooves. Of course there may be some hitches as in the case of the interstate law, in which no mortal man can tell who is benefitted, unless it be the railroads; but there will be a general impression that it is all right. If anyone objects to a law of that sort, he may be informed that he (the objector) is in favor of gambling. This would effectually crush him, and make the law right. Under this proposed law if a miller who believes wheat will be twenty cents per bushel higher next October can legitimately contract any amount of wheat to be delivered at that time; but if he should make the purchase purely for speculation he would be a gambler and subject to a fine. The *Globe-Democrat* is interested in this matter; perhaps it could tell in a case of that sort what were the miller's intentions. We could not unless he were to tell us.¹⁰

It would be hard to find a more withering criticism of the type of editorial which Murdock, himself, was writing less than two years later.

The change in his viewpoint did not come gradually, however. As late as November of the following year Murdock was writing editorials of a very similar character. On November 27, 1888, he published an editorial called "Supply and Demand and Prices." In

9. Atchison *Daily Champion*, June 24, 1887. (John A. Martin was governor at this time, unable to oversee his paper, so that the *Champion's* editorials were without their usual authority.)

10. *Wichita Daily Eagle*, June 30, 1887.

it he argued that prices were actually determined by the economic laws of supply and demand. He wrote as follows:

. . . The question then arises as to how the complaints of those who sell at low prices and buy at higher ones, in proportion, are to be remedied? State or national legislation can avail but little, if anything, toward affecting the values of commodities, and such legislation, when enacted can be often avoided, for there are many loopholes through which escape can be had.

The cause of high and low prices, primarily, is supply and demand, which may be aggravated by manipulation, but the resources of the country are too great to permit the manipulation of prices for any length of time by any one man or any set of men. . . .¹¹

The argument follows quite closely the *laissez-faire* of the familiar orthodox economic dogma, and is remarkable chiefly when compared to Murdock's argument of a later date.

It wasn't so very much later, however, that the break came—fifty-three days later, to be exact. On January 19, 1889, the *Wichita Daily Eagle* carried as its leading editorial, "There Would Be No Mortgages." Marsh Murdock had been converted. He stated flatly that the law of supply and demand was inoperative and had no effect upon the price of wheat. A few speculators fixed this price without reference to the rest of the population. The remedy was legislation, state and national. He took as his text a statement from the *Newton Republican*, "Wheat is worth a dollar a bushel in St. Louis." Murdock exploded:

Yes, and but for the manipulation of option dealers in the trade centers and their brother thieves and gamblers in Liverpool, who work in concert with them, wheat in the United States would be bringing, today, two dollars per bushel. This selling crops while yet unsown by the bears, this manipulation of "longs" and "shorts" controls the price of wheat and other commodities without any reference to the cost of their production or to the law of supply and demand. People can say what they please about such a system making cheap bread for the poor. The truth is few communities or classes are burthened on account of the price paid for bread, and the further truth is, if the farmers, the producers of this country, understood the hellish workings of this option dealing, really understood the power and far reaching influences of the tentacles of this devil-fish which sucks into its maw the profits of their labor, they would take every legislator in the country, including Congress, by the throat and never let go until the infernal business was wiped out. If the farmers of the United States were permitted to have their products subjected only to the law of supply and demand in three years a mortgaged farm would be the exception. . . .¹²

These were strong words, due to be repeated again and again, and we can only wonder why Murdock was prompted to reverse

11. *Ibid.*, November 27, 1888.

12. *Ibid.*, January 19, 1889.

his opinions so suddenly and so drastically. With this editorial the leadership of the campaign against "options and futures" passed from Peffer and the *Kansas Farmer* to Murdock and the *Wichita Daily Eagle*.¹³

During the spring the *Wichita Daily Eagle* reported the progress through the Missouri legislature of a bill designed to prohibit option gambling in that state. The character and prospects of this measure were lauded in an editorial early in May.¹⁴ Somewhat later Murdock viewed the new law with thorough approval, and perhaps a little envy. "It would be a matter of much conjecture," he wrote, "if indeed it should now turn out that 'poor old Missouri' had taken the first step in the destruction of that most precious of all steals, option dealing."¹⁵

In June he resumed the offensive, and on June 2, 1889, he published another violent editorial on the subject, "A Great Outrage." This contained in particular one new argument (new to Murdock), one that was to be used again and again—the idea of "wind" wheat. This was based on the fact that the number of futures contracts vastly exceeded the number of bushels of grain actually exchanged through the market. "They (the 'grain gamblers') deal in 'wind' contracts," he wrote, "and load down and depress all the markets of the country with millions upon millions of bushels of grain, and millions of pork and millions of lard which never existed in fact." "Grain is not sold," he concluded, "it's wind; yet the competitive effect is the same on the price to the producer as if such 'wind' had actually turned into golden grain."¹⁶

This ingenious (or "ingenuous") argument, however fallacious, was easier to reconcile with his former statements concerning supply and demand, than was the argument in his editorial, "There Would Be No Mortgages." Another interesting development was the greater emphasis which he now placed upon national legislation: "If the producers of this country really realized the cost to them of sustaining this line of high-handed gambling they would camp around the national capitol until Congress had wiped out the evil power, and camp in such numbers as would menace the life of every individual member who should fail to act promptly and resolutely." In January he had spoken of taking "every legislator in the country,

13. *Kansas Farmer*, July 31, 1889. In an editorial, "Down With the Option Gamblers," Peffer referred to the *Wichita Daily Eagle* as leading the fight against option dealing.

14. *Wichita Daily Eagle*, May 9, 1889.

15. *Ibid.*, June 30, 1889.

16. *Ibid.*, June 2, 1889.

including Congress." Now he expressed his doubts concerning the effectiveness of state legislation. "Ohio and Missouri," he stated, "have both made efforts of late to wipe out the bucket shop business, but it is not believed these efforts will amount to anything."¹⁷

Throughout the summer Murdock kept hammering away at this subject, finally crystallizing his argument into a vehement appeal for national legislation:

This option dealing is sapping the life-blood of every Western farmer, and it is time that our farmers demand a national law to prevent a few gamblers from making a price on their products.¹⁸

He began trying to show that option dealing was responsible for other ills and asserted that the railroads were suffering from its baneful influence:

. . . It is time that the railroads take this matter up and demand a national law for this national evil, and stop the wrecking of values on farm products, which have destroyed a traffic of the railroads and is sapping the life-blood out of our Western farmers.¹⁹

At another time he wrote:

This species of gambling should be wiped out of existence. It is not benefiting the farmers, but it is injuring the railroads, and Chicago is growing rich at the expense of the whole country.²⁰

This appeal to sectional interests was one of the most effective arguments that could have been made and it was frequently repeated. Stress was placed on *Liverpool*, *Chicago*, and *Eastern boards of trade*.

Murdock kept up his campaign, on through the summer, through the fall, and on into the winter. Editorials, letters to the editor, and exchange items kept the question constantly agitated. The *Wichita Daily Eagle* was everywhere recognized as the leader of the movement. Other newspapers, when they referred to the question usually paid tribute to the *Eagle's* campaign. Frequently they reprinted Murdock's heated editorials. The *Topeka Capital*, the *Leavenworth Times*, the *Lawrence Daily Journal*, and a number of the smaller weeklies gave favorable notice in their columns to Murdock's efforts.

The editors of the *Atchison Champion* were preoccupied with their attack on the "dressed beef monopoly," and were not very favorably impressed by Murdock's editorials. They commented:

17. *Ibid.*, June 2, 1889. Murdock did not distinguish between bucket shop and exchange. "Exchanges and bucket shops are practically one and the same thing, only on different scales."

18. *Ibid.*, July 20, 1889.

19. *Ibid.*, August 4, 1889, under title "Score a Point For the Santa Fe."

20. *Ibid.*, July 20, 1889.

The Wichita *Eagle* declares that "option dealing" is sapping the life blood out of every Western farmer. . . . There are "bulls" as well as "bears" in the grain boards, and last fall the "bulls" kept the price of grain up for months, giving farmers better figures for their corn and wheat. But the dressed beef monopolists are all "bears." . . .²¹

Speaking of Hutchinson's corner during the preceding summer they had remarked tolerantly, "The old raider made heaps of money for himself and indirectly gave the wheat growers of this country a tremendous lift."²²

Either as a result of the criticism in the newspapers or as a consequence of general hostility to grain speculation many farmers refused to give information to the collectors of crop statistics. The Wichita *Daily Eagle* attempted to persuade the farmers to abandon such tactics. Murdock called the situation "An Unreasonable Scare":

The township assessors claim that they found it a very difficult matter to secure crop statistics from the farmers this year, especially of small grains, the farmers claiming that the statistics were used by speculators to bear the market. The wrong that they work their own county and therefore their own interests by such a course is much greater than any benefit that might possibly be derived from the other course. . . .²³

This admonition failed to stop the obstruction. Almost a year later the Emporia *Daily Republican* noted:

The farmers in a number of the counties of the state are refusing to give agricultural statistics to the assessors, upon the ground that it is furnishing information for the grain gamblers.²⁴

The farmers' organizations joined in the attack upon the exchanges. On the subject of crop statistics the Farmers' Alliance, the most vigorous of the farm bodies, made the charge that the federal and state reports were false, and were manipulated for the advantage of speculators. As a remedy it proposed to collect the statistics through the units of its own organization. J. Fount Tillman, secretary of the national executive board, explained this scheme when he mailed the brethren blank forms for acreage reports. Under the circumstances this effort could hardly meet with success, but it is tremendously significant that such an attempt should have been made.²⁵

In January, 1890, the Kansas State Grange and the Farmers' Alliance appointed representatives to a committee which was to seek

21. Atchison *Daily Champion*, July 23, 1889.

22. *Ibid.*, October 4, 1888.

23. Wichita *Daily Eagle*, July 17, 1889.

24. Emporia *Daily Republican*, March 15, 1890.

25. *The Farmer's Friend*, Iola, May 3, 1890. "To obtain such information as to farming statistics in reliable form," Tillman wrote, "we must depend upon such resources as are within our organization."

some basis for the union of the two organizations. This committee adopted a platform which expounded the grievances of the Kansas farmers. Its third "plank" denounced speculation:

We demand that Congress shall pass such laws as shall effectually prevent the dealing in futures in all agricultural and mechanical productions, preserving such a stringent system of procedure in trials as shall secure prompt conviction, and imposing such penalties as shall secure the most perfect compliance with the law.²⁶

This was taken as a model by many of the local alliances, and a flood of similar platforms was issued during the first half of 1890.

These resolutions were soon followed by appeals to congress. On December 12, 1889, Sen. Preston B. Plumb, of Kansas, presented:

. . . a petition numerously signed by farmers of Kansas, representing that the present prices of agricultural productions are not only very low, but largely made so by reason of the speculation in those products carried on in different places in the United States, and praying for legislation whereby that practice may be prevented.²⁷

During the next three months more than forty such petitions were submitted to congress by various groups in Kansas. Two of these were presented by Sen. John J. Ingalls on February 13, 1890, "praying for such legislation as will prevent the selling of futures in agricultural products."²⁸ Vinland Farmers' Alliance, Douglas county, and Bethel Alliance, Cowley county, were typical petitioners.²⁹ The campaign against options and futures rapidly approached a climax. The people of Kansas had placed the problem squarely before their representatives in congress.

II. THE POLITICAL PREDICAMENT OF SENATOR INGALLS

John J. Ingalls secured a third term in the United States senate without much opposition. It expired in 1891, an unfortunate time for any office-holder who sought reëlection.³⁰ The extended agricultural depression which had stimulated the farmers' interest in economic issues had also tremendously increased their political consciousness. All over the country the debtor classes were howling for financial legislation, and the mortgage-ridden farmers joined in the cry. A platform adopted by a joint committee from the Kansas State Grange and the Farmers' Alliance stated:

Whereas, the financial policy of this government has been such that the

26. *Topeka Daily Capital*, January 31, 1890.

27. *Congressional Record*, 51 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 135.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 1268.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 135, 154, 213, 296, 384, 538, 580, 727, 852, 854, 1045, 1046, 1058, 1153, 1268, 1639, 1670, 1753, 1791, 1988, 2064, 2138, 2139.

30. Connelley, William E., *Ingalls of Kansas* (Topeka, 1909), p. 192.

circulating medium has contracted until it is insufficient to meet the business demands of the country, causing a depression of agricultural industries and placing the wealth producers at the mercy of the money power; therefore . . .

The first demand was for the issuance of legal tender greenbacks, "sufficient to meet the demands of the business interests of the country," and the second was for the "free and unlimited coinage of silver."³¹

Of more immediate importance in Kansas was the question of mortgage relief. The increasing number of foreclosures stimulated the popular demand for some sort of "stay law." Sen. Leland Stanford's bill, providing for the grant of government loans on real estate, was widely approved in Kansas but was reported adversely by the committee on claims.³²

The farmers, thoroughly aroused, demanded that congress act at once in their interest and pass the desired legislation. With an election approaching they examined critically the records of their representatives in congress. Senator Ingalls, they found, had been very active in securing the passage of pension bills, but he had sponsored almost nothing that was of general significance. He was celebrated for his speeches in behalf of civil rights for the Southern negroes, which usually contained considerable "waving of the bloody shirt." He had a national reputation for being a scholar and a good speaker. He was popular among his fellow senators and more than once had been elected president *pro tem*.

In one important respect, however, his record appeared fatally deficient. The Emporia *Daily Republican* included this item among its editorial briefs:

Ingalls Speech

The other day, an opportunity presenting when there was no other business before the senate, Senator John J. Ingalls arose and delivered the following speech in behalf of the depressed agricultural interests of Kansas and the West:

A quarter of a column, completely blank, followed this introduction!³³ C. V. Eskridge, the *Republican's* editor, elaborated on his subtle gibe:

"The farmers are down on Ingalls," says an exchange, "because he has failed to secure any legislation in their behalf." This is not exactly the truth. The

31. Topeka *Daily Capital*, January 31, 1890.

32. *Congressional Record*, 51 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 5919. Ingalls was particularly vulnerable on the mortgage issue. He was president of the Kansas Loan and Trust Company, referred to by his enemies as a "mortgage fiend deluxe." The papers supporting him pointed out that his was the only loan company in Kansas that had extended overdue mortgages from year to year and had furnished seed wheat to needy farmers.—Streeter, Floyd Benjamin, *The Kaw* (New York, 1941), p. 312.

33. Emporia *Daily Republican*, March 26, 1890.

farmers are down on Ingalls because he has not attempted to secure any legislation in their behalf.³⁴

Such was the cry, repeated in almost every attack upon the senator, "Ingalls has not even tried to get anything done for the Kansas farmer." At a time when the "Kansas farmer" was interested in politics more than ever before in his life, it was a complaint that was extremely embarrassing to his candidacy.

Senator Ingalls' political misfortunes did not end here. His party was weakened by great factional dissensions that had been increased by recent political blunders made by the senator. Just before the meeting of the last Republican Presidential convention Ingalls had written a private letter which contained his caustic criticism of almost every possible Republican candidate (including the successful one, Harrison). Unluckily, the "Bonebrake letter" was made public, and many "good Republicans" were infuriated by Ingalls' nasty comments about their favorite candidates.

He was noted for the successful straddle he had hitherto maintained on the delicate question of prohibition. But in August, 1889, *The Forum* published an article, "Prohibition and License," written by Ingalls.³⁵ It failed to win the favor of either side. The extremists among the Prohibitionists were infuriated by his admission that:

. . . The sale of bitters, elixirs, and other concoctions containing alcohol, has undoubtedly increased. Malaria, indigestion, and other disorders have developed in localities previously considered salubrious, and there is probably no town of one thousand inhabitants where a bibulous but discreet inquirer, if properly vouched for, cannot find, at his hotel, or the club, or in the cellar of a friend, a bottle of beer or a flask of whiskey. . . .³⁶

These critics voiced their suspicion of the senator's sincerity, and recalled a time when Ingalls allegedly had characterized teetotalers as the "capons and epicenes of society."³⁷

The Resubmissionists, on the other hand, looked upon him as a traitor to the cause and bitterly accused him of presenting a grossly falsified picture of the status of prohibition in Kansas. The senator had written:

. . . But the habit of drinking is dying out. Temptation being removed from the young and the infirm, they have been fortified and redeemed. The liquor-seller, being proscribed, is an outlaw, and his vocation is disreputable. Drinking being stigmatized, is out of fashion, and the consumption of intoxicants has enormously decreased. Intelligent and conservative observers

34. *Ibid.*, April 1, 1890.

35. *The Forum*, New York, v. VII, pp. 673-682.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 679.

37. *Kansas Democrat*, Topeka, August 5, 1889.

estimate the reduction at ninety percent; it cannot be less than seventy-five. . . .³⁸

The opponents of prohibition challenged his facts and his figures and called his conclusions "erroneous and enigmatical."³⁹

To top this controversy there came the publication of the "Coney letter." It was another *private* letter of Ingalls which was used by his enemies in an attempt to show that *The Forum* article was entirely hypocritical, written only for the satisfactory check involved.⁴⁰ Although there was actually nothing in the letter to justify this charge, it was used with considerable effect in the campaign to discredit Ingalls. As a result of all this agitation there were many Kansans in 1890 who agreed with the stranger in Ware's "The Kansas Bandit":

I'm down on Ingalls now, for his position
I do not think real sound on prohibition.⁴¹

In the fall of 1889 Senator Ingalls made an even greater mistake. He gave to reporters from the New York *World* his famous interview on politics:

The purification of politics is an iridescent dream. Government is force. Politics is a battle for supremacy. Parties are the armies. The Decalogue and the Golden Rule have no place in a political campaign. The object is success. To defeat the antagonist and dispel the party in power is the purpose. The Republicans and Democrats are as irreconcilably opposed to each other as were Grant and Lee in the Wilderness. They use ballots instead of guns, but the struggle is as unrelenting and desperate and the result sought for the same. In war it is lawful to deceive the adversary, to hire Hessians, to purchase mercenaries, to mutilate, to kill, to destroy. The commander who lost a battle through the activity of his moral nature would be the derision and jest of history. This modern cant about the corruption of politics is fatiguing in the extreme. . . .⁴²

These were strange words from a senator who had been chosen to his first term because his predecessor had been suddenly exposed as politically corrupt. This interview was a magnificent blunder, which was capitalized both by the enemies of Ingalls in his own state and by the opponents of Republicanism throughout the nation.

These issues and these blunders, however, were insignificant in view of the furious discontent among the farmers and their overwhelming demand that the government act immediately to relieve

38. *The Forum*, v. VII, p. 679.

39. *Kansas Democrat*, Topeka, August 5, 1889.

40. *Ibid.*

41. Connelley, *Ingalls of Kansas*, p. 200.

42. "The Interview" (copyright, 1890, by the Press Publishing Company, the New York *World*), in *A Collection of the Writings of John James Ingalls*, William E. Connelley, ed. (Kansas City, Mo., 1902), pp. 496, 497.

their condition. Early in 1890 the Farmers' Alliance approached the peak of its strength. Established daily newspapers turned over columns and pages to alliance news, and alliance papers—*The Farmer's Friend*, *The Alliance Herald*, *The Alliance Gazette*, etc., etc., were founded in communities all over the state.⁴³ In the last week of March, 1890, the county presidents of the Farmers' Alliance held a meeting at Topeka, to determine the policy of the organization. Care was taken to secure secrecy for these deliberations, but an "enterprising" reporter from the *Topeka Daily Capital* penetrated the defenses, and that paper published a full account of the proceedings of each meeting. Delegates were present from sixty-two counties, representing all sections of the state. B. H. Clover, president of the State Alliance, was chairman, and Dr. S. McLallin, editor of the alliance *Advocate*, was secretary.⁴⁴

After some discussion the assembly passed, by a vote of forty-three to nineteen, a resolution declaring against the reelection of Senator Ingalls. It stated:

Resolved, Notwithstanding the fact that John J. Ingalls has represented Kansas for eighteen years in the United States senate, it is a difficult matter for his constituents to point to a single measure he has ever championed in the interests of the great agricultural and laboring element of Kansas, and that we will not support by our votes or influence any candidate for the legislature who favors his re-election to the United States senate.⁴⁵

The simple argument in this resolution had been used all over the state, with increasing emphasis, for the preceding three months. It remained as the basic issue all through the campaign.

III. LEGISLATIVE HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

The problem of the "grain gamblers" was taken to Washington at the first session of the fifty-first congress. On January 20, 1890, Rep. Benjamin Butterworth of Ohio introduced a bill defining "options" and "futures" and imposing special taxes on dealers therein.⁴⁶ It was referred to the house committee on agriculture, where it was amended slightly and returned with a favorable report.⁴⁷ Although the measure was never debated it was widely indorsed by farmers' organizations.⁴⁸

43. Kansas State Historical Society's *History of Kansas Newspapers* (Topeka, 1916).

44. *Topeka Daily Capital*, March 26, 1890.

45. *Wichita Daily Eagle*, March 28, 1890.

46. *Congressional Record*, 51 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 706.

47. *House Report No. 1321*, 51 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 3182. The chairman of the committee on agriculture was Rep. Ed. H. Funston of Iowa. The committee was holding hearings on the Butterworth bill at the time.

48. Wilson, "The Attack on 'Options' and 'Futures,' 1884-1894," pp. 51, 52. (Unpublished thesis at University of Kansas.)

When Senator Ingalls introduced an amendment to the Sherman Anti-Trust bill, covering the same subject, he seems simply to have copied the Butterworth bill. The language and grammar of the amendment were severely criticized during the course of debate. Ingalls answered:

. . . In exculpation I have to say that it was drawn and prepared by an eminent member of the House of Representatives. It seemed to me to carry out more clearly and more accurately and more thoroughly than anything I had seen the purposes I had in view, and I offered it as an amendment to the pending bill. . . .⁴⁹

The provisions of the amendment, furthermore, tally almost exactly with those of the Butterworth bill.

Ingalls offered his amendment on March 21, 1890. The Sherman Anti-Trust bill was coming up for debate.⁵⁰ The question of trusts and monopolies had been closely linked to the problem of option-dealing in much of the popular agitation. Murdock declared that any man who cornered the grain market "is doing more to injure the country than the combined forces of any power put together."⁵¹ Nevertheless, Ingalls recognized that his amendment was of the second class, and went far beyond the purposes of the Anti-Trust bill, as stated in its title. He moved, therefore, that the title of the bill be amended so as to read: "A bill to suppress and punish unlawful trusts and combinations, to prevent dealing in options and futures, and for other purposes."⁵²

Several other changes were being made in Sherman's bill at this same time, March, 1890. Amendments were added to give labor unions and farmers' organizations exemption from the measure.⁵³ Criminal punishments, as well as civil, were specified in the John H. Reagan amendment.⁵⁴

The Ingalls amendment, which proposed "to prevent dealing in options and futures," began by defining those two terms. An "option" was understood to mean any contract or agreement by which a party acquired the right, *without being thereby obligated*, to deliver to another at a future date any of the articles named in the act. A "future" was defined as any contract whereby a party agreed to sell and deliver at a future time, any of the articles men-

49. *Congressional Record*, 51 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 2648, 2649. See, also, John Sherman's statement, p. 2562, and pp. 186, 187 *infra*.

50. *Congressional Record*, 51 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 2462.

51. *Wichita Daily Eagle*, August 18, 1889.

52. *Congressional Record*, 51 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 2463.

53. *Ibid.*, pp. 2611, 2612, 2654, 2655.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 2560.

tioned in the act, *when that party was not yet the owner of the article.*

The specified articles were "wheat, corn, oats, rye, barley, cotton, and all other farm products; also beef, pork, lard, and all other hog and cattle products." Dealers in options and futures were required to pay an annual tax of \$1,000, and a further tax of five cents per pound for every pound of cotton, beef, pork, lard, or other hog and cattle products, and twenty cents per bushel for every bushel of the other products mentioned.

Dealers in options and futures were required to obtain a license for their trade from the collector of internal revenue. In addition to the annual tax of \$1,000, paid in advance, they were required to post a bond for \$50,000 with the collector. He was directed to keep a register, open for public inspection, listing every application for a license, together with the action taken upon it. The dealers were required to make a complete report of their transactions each week, paying at this time the additional tax on each pound or bushel.

The penalties provided were: (1) A fine not less than \$5,000 nor more than \$10,000 for dealing without a license; (2) A fine of this same amount, or imprisonment for not less than six months or more than two years, or both fine and imprisonment, for making a fraudulent report. The act expressly provided that compliance with its provisions would not exempt any person from obedience to a state law.⁵⁵

Senator Sherman was not pleased by the additions to his measure. He complained that they were being offered as a means of defeating the whole bill:

Mr. President, all I desire is that this bill, the object of which I believe is approved of by more than three-fourths of the Senate, should be treated like all other bills that have been carefully considered by a committee of this body and reported to the Senate. To attempt to defeat this bill by offering various other bills from other committees or from the other House on different branches of the same subject or on entirely different subjects, is not the proper way to deal with the work of a committee.

He defended his own bill, as it had been reported from committee, and then attacked the amendments offered by Reagan and by Ingalls. They dealt with matters which were not germane to the original proposition, especially the Ingalls amendment:

. . . the Senator from Kansas [Mr. Ingalls] offers a bill which was framed by one of my colleagues in the House of Representatives, and the fact that it is pending there is a matter known and shown by the record, and it is

55. *Ibid.*, pp. 2462, 2463.

still being considered by a committee of that body. It proposes to deal with a class of contracts that do not have to do with production, that are based upon the idea that there is no production at all. . . . They are gambling contracts. If the Senator from Kansas wishes to introduce a proposition to prevent gambling in property that does not exist, to prevent agreements to deliver property without any intention to deliver it, that is one question and an entirely different matter from the one covered by the bill. That is a question to be considered by itself, and it ought not to be attached or annexed to this bill.

There was, in addition, a constitutional difficulty, so serious as to be fatal:

. . . The Senate has no power to originate any form of taxation, and yet here is a proposition to tax in various ways these illegal contracts, with a view to deter them from being made, just as we imposed the tax upon the issue of State bank paper, in order to drive it out of existence, but still we levied it in the form of a tax; it was part of a tax bill, and the proper place for this proposition, so far as it attempts to levy a tax, is upon a tax bill. It would be proper upon the tariff bill when it comes to us, but it has no relation to the subject-matter of the pending bill.

He repeated that to put such an amendment on to his bill was not treating the subject fairly, "unless the Senate wants to defeat the original proposition." He announced that he would vote against all amendments which did not seem to carry out the object defined in the original bill. He protested that he was not opposed to the purpose of the Ingalls amendment, but that he felt its provisions should first be perfected and matured by the judgment of a committee. "When they are so considered," he concluded, "we shall have time enough to act upon them."⁵⁶

On the following day, March 25, 1890, Sen. J. Z. George of Mississippi suggested that the whole bill be referred to the judiciary committee. Sherman opposed this motion, stating that a majority of that committee was notoriously opposed to his measure. He asked only that the senate should vote on the bill as it stood. The amendments, he said, could be considered separately:

. . . I believe that in a half-hour we can take the vote on the proposition of the Senator from Texas [Mr. Reagan]. If that be adopted, well and good. We can vote then upon the proposition of the Senator from Kansas [Mr. Ingalls] and then adopt the amendments that are suggested on either side. Correct this bill as you will, and we can have a bill which, while it may not be perfect . . . we shall have a tangible proposition that we can send to the House of Representatives for their consideration, and in that way we can dismiss from the Senate of the United States, for this session at least, this question and controversy about trusts and combinations. . . .⁵⁷

56. *Ibid.*, pp. 2562, 2563.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 2605.

Although he remained opposed to the amendments he agreed to accept the senate's decision. "Let the judgment of the Senate," he said, "be carried out when expressed."⁵⁸

Sen. Z. B. Vance of North Carolina also objected to the motion made by Senator George. He stated:

Mr. President, I never have a bill in which I feel any interest referred to this grand mausoleum of Senatorial literature, the Judiciary Committee, without feeling that I have attended a funeral. . . .⁵⁹

The motion was defeated without a roll call.

The Reagan amendment was the first to be considered and was adopted by a vote of 34 to 12. Ingalls supported it, although his colleague, Plumb, voted with Sherman and the handful of senators who opposed it.⁶⁰

Next in order was the amendment of Senator Ingalls. He obtained permission to modify it slightly, in order, apparently, better to meet the objection to the bill as a revenue measure originating in the senate. The fourth section had opened with the simple statement: "That special taxes are imposed as follows . . ." He changed the whole emphasis by adding a short preamble to that section:

That for the purpose of preventing and suppressing, as far as may be, the dealing in options and futures as herein defined, special taxes are . . .⁶¹

Sen. George F. Hoar offered an objection to the all-inclusive nature of the measure:

Literally construed, this . . . would prohibit a man's grocer from engaging to deliver any farm product or articles in common family use. It seems to me there should be some limit in amount. . . .

He suggested an amendment to solve this difficulty:

Provided, That this act shall not apply to contracts for the delivery at any one time of articles less than \$50 in value.⁶²

This change was accepted and the amendment as amended was agreed to, without a yea and nay vote.⁶³

On the next morning, March 26, 1890, Ingalls made a few unimportant changes in the wording which had been rendered necessary by a different enumeration of the sections. (Joined to the Sherman bill, section one of the amendment became section six of the combined measure.)⁶⁴

58. *Ibid.*, p. 2604.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 2610.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 2611.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 2613.

62. *Ibid.*

63. *Ibid.*

64. *Ibid.*, pp. 2639, 2640.

The debate on the Sherman bill in the committee of the whole opened that morning.⁶⁵ Sen. George G. Vest of Missouri, denying that he was opposed to the purpose of the proposed legislation, attacked "some of the particular measures which had been included in it." The varied supporters of the bill made strange company, he said, charging that some of them were deserting the principles of their party:

. . . Mr. President, we have had a remarkable winter. The warm breezes of summer have kissed the flowers during all the winter months, and we have now in public affairs a phenomenon equally as startling: a combination in loving embrace between the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Vance] and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Sherman], while my venerable friend from Texas [Mr. Reagan], in a patriarchal and benedictory mood, stands by and blesses the alliance, and says, "Love each other, my children, and be happy." Why I remember a very few years ago, when the oleomargarine bill was before the Senate, the Columbian eloquence of every Senator on this side of the Chamber—if I mistake not, including the Senator from North Carolina—was heard denouncing the use of the revenue power of the government as a police power. . . .

But what have we here to-day? Here is a bill that upon its very face says, as it stands now before the Senate, that it proposed to use the revenue power for the undisguised purpose of effecting police purposes . . .

"That for the purpose of preventing as far as may be the dealing in options and futures as herein defined special taxes are imposed."

No pretense that it is to collect revenue, no pretense that it is anything else but the bald, naked use of the revenue power of the government for police regulation; . . .

The Ingalls amendment, Vest charged, licensed and legally recognized an illegal combination which it denounced as opposed to the laws of the United States and all the states. The true reason for the senate's support of this unconstitutional measure was fear of the Farmers' Alliance:

For myself I shall say nothing more about the Constitution. I am prepared to join the procession. I heard once of a hunting party who went into camp and made an agreement that the first man who complained of any dish set before him at the camp table should cook for a week. One happened to kill an old and very tough crow, and as he was acting as cook for the mess, he prepared it for the table, and every man swore it was the most delicious morsel that ever went into his mouth. The Farmers' Alliance are cooking now, and there is no dish that can be put on this Senatorial table which will not go down with a gusto that will astonish any gourmand from the restaurants of Paris.⁶⁶

Sen. James B. Eustis of Louisiana objected to the measure in the interests of the New Orleans Cotton Exchange:

65. The Ingalls amendment had been adopted without much discussion. Most of the criticism of it was made in the course of the general debate on the Sherman bill.

66. *Congressional Record*, 51 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 2644.

. . . I should like to know what the Congress of the United States has to do with the Cotton Exchange, for instance, in New Orleans dealing in futures. I notice that all the articles which are referred to with regard to future contracts are things that people consume: wheat, corn, oats, rye, barley; but the authors of the measure have included cotton. If we are going to include cotton why do we not include steel rails? People are as liable to eat steel rails as they are to eat cotton.

He was particularly indignant that a Northerner and Republican should have presumed to offer legislation which affected cotton and protested that the bill was a step toward centralized government:

Why do we not include lead or salt? Why do we not include everything? Why do we not include manufactured cotton goods, a subject with reference to which there are very large operations in futures in Boston and in New York, Philadelphia, and elsewhere? If the broad proposition be that Congress should declare its policy upon the question of gambling, of which I confess I know very little; if the States have become so debilitated and emasculated and if the people of the State have become so demoralized that we are to surrender the whole question of police, of policy, and of public morality to the Congress of the United States, for one it will not be done with my vote.

He coupled with the state's rights argument an outright defense of future selling, as practiced on the New Orleans Cotton Exchange:

Where are we going to stop? If the State of Louisiana, for its own interest and from its own motives, owing no apology to any other State or to the Government of the United States, chooses to legalize contracts in futures with respect to cotton, by which a large and most respectable portion of our population make a living, which many and many a time have enabled the planter to get a much higher price for his product than he would get in the absence of a cotton exchange, when the planter many and many a time has been able to protect himself against flood and unfavorable seasons by making a future contract in cotton—if the State of Louisiana chooses to consider that a perfectly proper and legitimate business . . . where is the authority of Congress to step in and tell the State of Louisiana . . . that those contracts are illegal and immoral and shall be suppressed by the power of Congressional legislation?

Eustis concluded by denouncing any interference from the federal government with the police power of the state, "which is the supremest attribute of its sovereignty."⁶⁷

Senator Ingalls took the floor to answer these critics. He denied that the amendment had been dictated by the Farmers' Alliance. He said it was not directed against sales, by farmer or broker, of any commodity to be delivered at a future time, *unless* the party making the sale was not the owner of the commodity. It was, he said, directed against:

67. *Ibid.*, p. 2646. No senator, from Illinois or elsewhere, made a similar defense of the use of futures contracts on the Chicago Board of Trade.

. . . that gigantic modern invention known as dealing in futures, conspiracies artificially to raise the prices of products, to change the value of products, to create artificial scarcity of products, to juggle with values irrespective of ownership by processes that are just as reprehensible as those of the poker-table or the faro bank, in which there is no pretense of ownership, in which there is often an agreement to sell ten or fifty times more than the annual product of what is offered in the market, the sole purpose being to enable those "who neither toil nor spin" but who are clad in purple and fare sumptuously every day, to settle up on the 1st day of October, or the 1st day of November, if it may be, the difference between the price that they had bet a certain product would bear on that date and the price at which the product is compelled to sell on that day. . . .⁶⁸

This definition was a trifle vague, especially for legal purposes, but it was good campaign oratory.

Ingalls sought to meet the constitutional objections. He argued that the amendment was not a violation of the privilege and prerogative of the house of representatives. There was a distinction, he said, between the revenue power and the taxing power. The Constitution, Article I, Section 7, provided that "all bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives." In Section 8, however, *congress* was given the power to "lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States." The oleomargarine bill, Ingalls said, had been an exercise of congressional power under this latter clause. "Everybody who voted for that bill or against it," he asserted, "knew that it was not a bill for raising revenue." He quoted from *Story On the Constitution*, and decisions of the Supreme Court,⁶⁹ to support his argument.⁷⁰

The Constitution, he insisted, was a growth and not a manufacture, and the Constitution of 1890 was vastly different from the Constitution of 1789. "The people of the United States have a reasonable degree of respect for the Constitution," he said, "but they are not afraid of it." He met the objections of the Southern defenders of state's rights with ridicule and contempt:

Mr. President, I can not conceive of anything that is more humorous, more grotesque, more qualified and competent to make the sides of the nation shake with derisive laughter, than for the Senator from Louisiana, and the Senator from Mississippi, and the Senator from Missouri, and their associates, to rise with terror upon every occasion and plead the Constitution with a simulation of terror as if the minutest abrasion of that sacred instrument would, as we are told at the death of Kosciusko, make "freedom shriek." If I recollect

68. *Ibid.*, p. 2648.

69. In particular, "8 *Wallace—Veazie Bank v. Fenno*." The court upheld a ten percent tax levied on state bank notes, even though it was intended to destroy their use.

70. *Congressional Record*, 51 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 2649, 2650.

aright, those gentlemen spent a considerable portion of time in endeavoring to destroy the Constitution. What is the secret of this new-found reverence for the Constitution? Did they bear it away in the ark of the covenant for four years and then bring it back to us as its chosen guardians, and be permitted in that same instant to taunt those who endeavor to carry out the ideas of national growth and progress with being the violators of the Constitution? There is a constant pleading of the oath that was taken to support the Constitution, as if those who differed with them in their interpretations of the Constitution were perjured and oblivious of their moral obligations.

It seems to me it will be a little more becoming for those men who are scourging us, who hold us up to public castigation, if they possess the modesty of opinion to recollect that their views of the Constitution have not been maintained by the people of this country. There has been no step in the national progress in the last thirty-five years against which the Senator from Louisiana, and the Senator from Mississippi and the Senator from Missouri have not arisen and declared that it was against the Constitution. . . . We were told that the abolition of slavery was without warrant in the Constitution, but we found it, and when it could not be found in the letter it was amended by the sword. . . .⁷¹

"The people of the United States," he continued, "do not regard the Constitution with superstition or awe." The Democrats, however, were furious. "Marse Henry" Watterson, of the Louisville (Ky.) *Courier-Journal*, wrote a long and indignant editorial, asserting that the growth of the Constitution which Senator Ingalls cited was merely a growth in the "determination to disregard it."⁷²

Eustis replied, in the senate, reiterating his opposition to the amendment:

. . . no such stride has been made in the direction of centralization, absolutism, tyranny, as has been made by this bill as amended to regulate the private contracts of individuals in the States. . . .

If the people of Kansas dislike contracts in futures, if they think they are obnoxious and odious, if they think these contracts are injurious to morals and against public policy, let them appeal to the Legislature of the State of Kansas to remove that evil, if it exists; and if this blow is aimed at Chicago . . . which is said to be the great center of gambling in wheat, and corn, and barley, and oats, and bacon, and cattle—if the Senator from Kansas seeks to correct the morals of the State of Illinois, that overlooks his border, and is ashamed of that people because they countenance that species of gambling, if he is to assume the role of *ensor mores*, instructor of the youth, guardian of public morals, the archangel that looks down and weeps for the depravity of his fellows living in the State of Illinois, I ask him, in the name of Heaven, to leave out Louisiana, and let us, if we choose, engage in future contracts.⁷³

Another slight change was made in the bill at this time. Senator Hoar proposed an addition to his amendment of the amendment,

71. *Ibid.*, p. 2649.

72. *The Courier-Journal*, Louisville, Ky., March 28, 1890.

73. *Congressional Record*, 51 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 2651, 2652.

exempting "articles to be consumed by the person to whom they are delivered or in his establishment." He said:

The Senator will observe that the bill as it is now drawn . . . will be open to the criticism that it prohibits contracts for the delivery to large establishments like hotels of beef, or lard, or milk for the daily use of their customers, and that class of contracts which have no sort of connection with those aimed at; but it is better, I suppose, to have the phraseology of the bill clearly exclude that intention. . . .

Unanimous consent was given for this revision.⁷⁴

The important question, hinted at in this discussion, of distinguishing between "legitimate" business contracts and the "gambling" contracts, now came to the front. Senator Ingalls had confidently asserted that his amendment would apply only to the *gambling* in agricultural products, but he had not substantiated the statement. The amendment as it stood, Sen. Henry W. Blair, of New Hampshire complained, would unquestionably interfere with the legitimate basis of the cotton and woolen manufacturing in his state, which generally required contracts for future delivery of the raw materials. He demanded exemption for the "legitimate business of the country in the cotton manufacture."⁷⁵

Senator Sherman, troubled by the dilemma, said:

I do not care what words are used, but it is one of those cases certainly where words ought to be found to define exactly the difference between a gambling contract and a contract made by a broker.

Blair aroused laughter by retorting that the dictionary was "right over in the corner."⁷⁶ The senators continued, nevertheless, to hunt for such a distinction.

Senator Hoar suggested, as protection for legitimate business contracts, a proviso excluding "bona fide contracts for the actual delivery of the property contracted for." Sen. John H. Mitchell of Oregon, pointed out another difficulty. Under the terms of the amendment, he argued, farmers would be unable to contract for sale of their crops until harvest, for until then they would not own the product of their labor. A remedy was offered by Sen. William B. Allison of Iowa. He proposed that the words "owner or producer" should be substituted for "owner" in all the terms of the amendment. Sen. Joseph N. Dolph of Oregon asked that "owner or producer" be changed further so as to include "any lawful agent of the pro-

74. *Ibid.*, p. 2650.

75. *Ibid.*, p. 2652.

76. *Ibid.*, p. 2653.

ducer." Ingalls offered two amendments which embodied these suggestions and they were adopted by unanimous consent.⁷⁷

While the senate was in a mood for accepting changes, the critics of the bill tacked on what became known as the "encumbering amendments." Sen. Matthew C. Butler of South Carolina proposed that the list of products taxed in the act be extended to include stocks and bonds. Senator Eustis offered an amendment to cover cotton prints, steel rails, salt, boots and shoes, lumber and lead. Senator Blair made a motion to add woolen goods, whisky, and all kinds of intoxicating liquors to the list. All of these amendments were adopted amidst laughter and joking. Ingalls inquired whether the stocks and bonds were to be taxed by the bushel or by the pound. "I think by the bushel," Butler replied, "or the ton if the Senator would prefer it."⁷⁸

Sherman was more than ever outraged by the treatment accorded his bill. He denounced the senate's horseplay:

. . . Mr. President, the amendments which have been put upon this bill in the last few minutes are such as simply bring it into contempt, and the manner in which this has been done tends to bring the whole bill into contempt. But the bill is worth preserving. . . .

. . . We ought not to allow this bill to be defeated under these circumstances. If we do, the people of the United States will feel that the Senate . . . is playing with a question which affects nearly and dearly the vital interests of our country.

He promised to try to strip the bill of anything that was objectionable to a majority of the senate and then to pass "what there is of virtual good in it." The Ingalls amendment, he thought, might well be discarded:

There is some question as to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Kansas. Although it is wise in its purpose and in the main its provisions are wise, yet, as it has not been considered by a committee, it may very well possibly be postponed and be treated of in another and separate measure.⁷⁹

Ingalls, of course, dissented:

Mr. President, so far as the suggestion of the Senator from Ohio about the abandonment of my amendment is concerned, I beg leave to say to him, with great deference and profound respect, that my amendment is the best thing there is about his bill. It is the only substantial proposition that offers definite, palpable, and tangible relief against what is acknowledged to be one of the gigantic evils of this century. . . .

In a long tirade against "grain gambling," he included many of the

77. *Ibid.*, pp. 2653, 2654.

78. *Ibid.*, p. 2655.

79. *Ibid.*

arguments that Murdock had used in his crusading editorials. In its course he took a dig at Vest and paid his respects to the Farmers' Alliance. He continued:

. . . Sir, although the farmers of this country have been sneered at to-day, although we have heard disparaging allusions to the Farmers' Alliances and associations, and suggestions that this legislation was being brought about at their dictation, they are intelligent, they know what the purpose of this amendment is, they know the cause of the evils under which they labor and of which they complain. There is no one thing which they have more imperatively and more unanimously demanded than the enactment of some law which will put a stop to the gambling in the products of their labor.

He spoke tolerantly of the "encumbering amendments":

I ask that the bill may be reported to the Senate, and I shall demand a yea-and-nay vote in the Senate upon agreeing to those amendments that have been humorously inserted while the bill has been in Committee of the Whole. I know that sometimes the Senate has to unbend itself; the bow cannot be always stretched. These amendments, I am confident, have been put on in a spirit of jocularly and refreshment. There has been a little time of recreation from labor. I feel confident that when the bill is reported to the Senate and such amendments are reserved they will, upon a yea-and-nay vote be voted down.⁸⁰

Several times that afternoon the motion was made to have the bill referred to the judiciary committee. Each time it was rejected, and at a late hour the bill was declared reported to the senate from the committee of the whole. The senate refused a motion to refer it back to the finance committee by a vote of 31 to 17, and another motion to commit it to the judiciary committee failed by a vote of 29 to 24.⁸¹

On the next day the senate proceeded to consider one by one the amendments which had been adopted in the committee of the whole. This procedure continued until the proviso offered by Senator Sherman, exempting labor and farmers' organizations, was reached. The debate which this precipitated was carried on for a short time until Sen. O. H. Platt of Connecticut arose. He criticized the whole bill and said that large parts were probably unconstitutional:

I am sorry, Mr. President, that we have not had a bill which had been carefully prepared, which had been thoughtfully prepared, which had been honestly prepared, to meet the object which we all desire to meet. The conduct of this Senate for the past three days—and I make no personal allusions—has not been in the line of the honest preparation of a bill to prohibit and punish trusts. It has been in the line of getting some bill with that title that we might go to the country with. . . .

80. *Ibid.*, pp. 2655, 2656.

81. *Ibid.*, pp. 2657, 2659-2661.

The distinguished author of the bill, the Senator in charge of it on this floor, when the Senator from Texas proposed his amendment, opposed it, and when the Senator from Kansas proposed his amendment opposed it and said that it ought to be voted down; and yet the moment they were put on the bill he seemed to be as anxious for the passage of the bill with those amendments upon it as he had been of his own. We should legislate better than that. Every effort to refer this bill to any committee that would give it careful and honest consideration has been voted down in this Senate, and it is better to vote the bill down than it is to go to the people with a measure which shall resemble the apples which grow in the region of that fated plain on which once stood the city of Sodom. . . .⁸²

When Platt had finished, Sen. Edward C. Walthall moved to refer the bill and all its amendments to the committee on the judiciary with instructions to report in twenty days. The motion carried by a vote of 31 to 28, although Sherman and Ingalls both voted against it.⁸³

It is interesting to note that Senator Ingalls was a member of the judiciary committee. Perhaps he was permitted to embalm his own proposition, for the committee lived up to its reputation as a "grand mausoleum of Senatorial literature." When the committee made its report, a week later, the amendments of Sherman and N. W. Aldrich, exempting labor unions and farmers' organizations, had disappeared. The amendment of the senator from Kansas, likewise was nowhere to be found.⁸⁴ The coroner's verdict must be: "Buried in Committee." Thus was ended the legislative career, brief but hectic, of Ingalls' belated attempt to "do something for the farmer."

IV. CONCLUSION

Did Senator Ingalls honestly desire legislation to prohibit the practices he denounced? This question of sincerity cannot be answered positively. Consideration must be given to other possible motives for his sponsorship of the measure. Political expediency had dictated some demonstration of action for the relief of the farmers. ". . . There is no one thing which they [the Farmers' Alliances] have more imperatively and more unanimously demanded," Ingalls said, "than the enactment of some law which will put a stop to the gambling in the products of their labor."⁸⁵ In a desperate effort to stave off defeat he apparently hoped to win the support either of the alliances or a sizeable faction within them.

82. *Ibid.*, p. 2731.

83. *Ibid.*

84. *Ibid.*, p. 2901.

85. *Ibid.*, p. 2656.

He tried to counter the deadly argument, "Ingalls has done nothing for the Kansas farmer."

On March 28 three newspapers which were supporting Ingalls for reelection to the United States senate, printed similar editorials. The Wichita *Daily Eagle* exulted in the nearing success of its campaign. In "Ingalls and the Gamblers" Murdock remarked that he had been urging national legislation to prohibit "pretended buying and selling of wind wheat," for more than a year. He continued:

. . . We did not dream that it was possible that within a year's time the matter discussed would become a national question. But it undoubtedly is. The question is before both Houses of Congress. The editorials of the *Eagle* were sent to Butterworth, of Ohio, whose bill is going to become a law in some shape. Senator Ingalls' speech was a forceful declaration showing an honest reflex of the conclusions reached and held by the thinkers among the farmers of the west. . . .

Murdock criticized the alliance for its resolution against Ingalls:

. . . the resolution sets out that the senator has been derelict as to the agricultural and labor interests of this state. We ask how so, and since when? . . . can any member of that alliance point to a single instance wherein, or to a man who ever made a stronger or more pointed demand, a demand bristling with earnestness, than that made by Ingalls in behalf of the producers of Kansas, and that in which he denounced the methods by which they are being robbed, on the very day that the above resolution was pulled from a side pocket and forced upon the Topeka convention?

Do not the Alliance presidents know that that effort of Mr. Ingalls in the United States Senate on Wednesday will be just as well known to the people of Kansas, and far more so to the people of the world, than their resolution, and that Mr. Ingalls' speech will go a thousand times further in restraining and finally crushing the option gamblers and labor robbers of this country than the combined voice of that convention which denounced him?⁸⁶

The Topeka *Daily Capital* said in part that Senator Ingalls is making a great attempt to further the farmers' interests by putting a stop to gambling in agricultural products, and he deserves their support.⁸⁷

Dan Anthony wrote in the Leavenworth *Times*:

While Mr. Ingalls has been bitterly criticized by some within his own state as having done nothing for the benefit of the people, he has been making a strong fight in the Senate for the passage of a law which many of our wisest farmers believe will be of the greatest benefit to them. Against the combined forces of those who are in the interest of the grain gamblers Senator Ingalls has been making a gallant effort for the passage of a law prohibiting dealing in futures. It is claimed by those who ought to know, if anybody, that the law of supply and demand does not govern the prices of wheat and corn and

86. Wichita *Daily Eagle*, March 28, 1890.

87. Topeka *Daily Capital*, March 28, 1890.

other grains and that grain gambling is responsible for the low prices of these commodities. If this be true the battle that Senator Ingalls is waging in the Senate is of vital importance to the farmers of Kansas. Whether it be true or not cannot be known until the experiment is tried but in endeavoring to secure the passage of such a law Senator Ingalls shows that he is alive to the interests of his own state. The fact is that no senator is more anxious than Mr. Ingalls to serve his state, no one has a clearer insight into the effects of a proposed measure and no one can wield a greater influence than he in procuring the passage of a desired law. Our people would make a very great mistake to put an unknown and untried man in his place. What Ingalls cannot do for Kansas cannot be done in the Senate of the United States.⁸⁸

Not all the comment was favorable. The Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* remarked:

Ingalls' fight against option dealing is satisfactorily explained by the fact that the next Kansas legislature, which will be composed of farmers, will elect a United States Senator.⁸⁹

The campaign to congratulate Ingalls for his valiant struggle in behalf of the farmer backfired. The Emporia *Daily Republican* picked up Murdock's challenge. It commented sarcastically:

The Wichita *Eagle* takes the Alliance sharply to account for its assertion that Senator Ingalls during his eighteen years in the senate had never done anything for the farmers' interest. Why, it was only last week, says the *Eagle*, that Mr. Ingalls made a pointed demand in behalf of the producers, in his amendment to the anti-trust bill. True; there is his effort last week, and—er—er—what were Mr. Ingalls' other efforts?⁹⁰

A few days later it said:

The papers that are defending Senator Ingalls have gone through his eighteen years record with a microscope and discovered two things he has done that are constructively in the interest of the farmers. One was twelve years ago when he made a speech in behalf of silver, and the other was twelve days ago when he offered Ben Butterworth's bill as an amendment to the anti-trust measure.⁹¹

If, as some charged, the Ingalls amendment was a political device, it failed, for he went down to defeat before the Populists. The people of Kansas, his opponents asserted, felt that it was "too little and too late."

88. Leavenworth *Times*, March 28, 1890.

89. Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, March 30, 1890.

90. Emporia *Daily Republican*, March 29, 1890.

91. *Ibid.*, April 5, 1890.

Some Notes on College Basketball in Kansas

HAROLD C. EVANS

BASKETBALL is celebrating its fiftieth birthday. The game was born at the Y. M. C. A. Training School in Springfield, Mass., in the winter of 1891-1892, the result of an effort to find some method of exercise less monotonous than the established types of calisthenics and gymnastic games. Dr. James A. Naismith, an instructor at the school, worked out the rules, members of his class tried the game and liked it, and when they went home for the Christmas vacation some of them introduced it in their local Y. M. C. A.'s. In January, 1892, the rules were printed in the school paper, *The Triangle*, copies of which were mailed to many parts of the United States. From the "Y's" it spread to the high schools and colleges. So began a game which now rivals football and baseball in the affections of the American sports world, and which is popular in hundreds of countries all over the globe.¹

When Doctor Naismith joined the faculty of the University of Kansas in 1898 basketball was generally regarded in Kansas college circles as a woman's sport. This could scarcely have been surprising to its inventor, for girls had begun playing it in the East when it was barely a month old. Coeds on Mount Oread experimented with it as early as 1896, the *Kansas University Weekly* reporting on November 21 that the girls had organized several teams and that the freshman and sophomore girls hoped to play a match game. There is no record of this contest, if it was played, but if the young women carried out their plan it probably was the first basketball game on a Kansas campus. In 1897 their athletic facilities were enlarged. A space was reserved to be used as an athletic field for women and facilities were provided for an open-air basketball court.² The women of Baker University first played the game in the spring of 1897, when the contest between the Delta Delta Delta team and one picked from the other girls of the university was a feature of the first spring field day, according to *The Baker Orange* of May 19. Girls pioneered in basketball at Washburn College, Ottawa University and Emporia Normal, as well as at K. U. and Baker. *The Washburn Weekly Review* announced on November 3,

1. Naismith, James A., *Basketball, Its Origin and Development* (Association Press, New York, 1941), pp. 59, 111, 118, 143-160.

2. *Kansas University Weekly*, Lawrence, November 13, 1897.

1898, that "we may expect our young ladies to issue a challenge to some of the neighboring schools for a basketball game before long," and reported a week later that they were learning the fine points of the new pastime at the Y. W. C. A. gymnasium in Topeka.

Facilities for developing the game were inadequate in Kansas colleges of this period and the university was no exception. Doctor Naismith brought the game to his physical education class.³ Bored with the monotonous routine of calisthenics, the K. U. men welcomed a competitive sport and basketball's popularity spread so rapidly that the *Weekly* reported on December 10, ". . . it appears that the basketball mania would carry all before it." Eight teams had been organized, it was said, and a series of tournaments arranged to select a representative for the university in intercollegiate competition.

The first game for the varsity was with the experienced Y. M. C. A. team of Kansas City, Mo. The game was played on the Kansas City court and K. U. was beaten, 16 to 5. A crowd of 150 persons witnessed the rout of Naismith's proteges. In the K. U. lineup were: Sutton, right forward; Owen, left forward; Hess, center; Henderson, right back; Avery, left back. Capt. Will Sutton was the K. U. star, while Henderson and Owen did some "clever rolling."⁴ Obviously the dribble was unknown at that early date. Another invasion of Missouri territory resulted in two defeats at Independence, the Company F team furnishing the opposition. In Kansas the Jayhawks fared much better, winning three games from the Topeka Y. M. C. A. and one from the Lawrence Y. M. C. A.⁵

Home games were played on the skating rink during K. U.'s first basketball season. The old building, which was used for political meetings and social affairs as well as for the cradle of K. U. basketball, was the scene of a series of interclass games after the varsity team had completed its abbreviated schedule. Fire destroyed the building after the interclass tourney and the Jayhawks were without a basketball home. It had "at any rate served the purpose of showing the merits of basketball and that our teams can play a game of which they may be proud," commented the *University Weekly*.⁶

Baker University waited until its gymnasium was completed before the men of that institution took up basketball, but Washburn

3. *Ibid.*, October 22, 1898.

4. *Ibid.*, February 4, 1899.

5. *Basketball at the University of Kansas* (a booklet compiled by the K. U. News Bureau, December, 1937), pp. 7, 8.

6. *Kansas University Weekly*, March 25, 1899.

College began to play the men's game in the spring of 1899. Robert Stewart, now a prominent Topeka physician, was the first captain of the Ichabod quintet. Topeka buzzed with basketball activity the following winter, with Washburn, the high school, the Y. M. C. A. and the Santa Fe represented by teams. Washburn failed to win a game in this competition and the Topeka collegians were stalked by evil fortune throughout the season. Stewart was injured and forced to give up the game, and Fleming, "our star player," was not allowed to play in the post-season tournament because he was a member of the first Y. M. C. A. team. Said *The Washburn Review*:

This mid-winter sport does not receive the encouragement from Washburn College students that its value entitles it to. In all of the prominent schools this game is being made a feature of athletics. . . . It is difficult, one must admit, to see the game from a good vantage point, because few gymnasiums are supplied with galleries. . . . Since a game is often judged as to its merits from the spectator's standpoint, we would have to say that it is not very entertaining, because the spectator cannot see the play, and because he cannot see he stays away. . . . It is to be regretted that this team has brought no glory to our school. . . .⁷

Topekans who have followed the game since its first feeble appearance in Kansas recall that the local Y. M. C. A. claimed the state basketball championship in 1900 and that there were several Washburn students on the victorious "Y" team. Men's basketball was abandoned at the college until 1905, and intercollegiate competition for women was banned in 1910.⁸

The K. U. team of 1900 rented the Lawrence Y. M. C. A. court for its home games and practice sessions, but played under a handicap because students found it hard to maintain interest in a game that was not played on the campus. An all-victorious football season the previous autumn had dimmed enthusiasm for the new game and many were content to pass the winter in contemplation of K. U.'s gridiron glory. The same difficulty discussed in *The Washburn Review* also proved a detriment to basketball at the university. There was no room for spectators in the box-like Y. M. C. A. gymnasium.

In its first meeting with a rival university the Jayhawk team met a crushing defeat at the hands of the Nebraska Cornhuskers, 48 to 8.⁹ Games were won from the Haskell Indians and from the Omaha Y. M. C. A. The Kansas City "Y" twice defeated the Naismith

7. *The Washburn Review*, Topeka, March 9, 1899; March 9, 1900.

8. *Ibid.*, November 9, 1910.

9. *Basketball at the University of Kansas*, p. 3.

men.¹⁰ Unsuccessful efforts were made to organize an intercollegiate league, to include K. U., Baker University, Ottawa University, Emporia Normal, Washburn College and the College of Emporia.¹¹

In 1901, however, Ottawa University put a team on the court and games were played with the Haskell Indians, the Topeka and Lawrence "Y" teams and K. U. Naismith's K. U. team won four and lost five games that season.¹²

While the college men were slow to accept basketball, the women of Baker, Washburn, Ottawa, and Emporia Normal were enthusiastic participants and played with high school and Y. W. C. A. teams for the state championship. The Indian girls at Haskell soon entered the lists.

Some of the high schools were too strong for the college girls, and in any event, the younger girls were able to provide stiff competition for their collegiate sisters. The girls soon began to take their competition seriously. Relations between Washburn and Topeka High School became strained as a result of bitter rivalry for the state title, which Washburn claimed in 1904 and 1905 after defeating the high school girls. School authorities concluded that it would be unwise to schedule other games and the 1905 meeting was the last. ". . . Feeling has arisen . . . which even continues when the high school girls enter Washburn," explained the student publication in justifying the move.¹³

The Haskell Indians claimed the national championship in 1902, according to *The Indian Leader* of March 14, which described the game between the Indians and the M. W. A. team of Independence, Mo., former claimants of the title. The Indians were awarded the game by forfeit after the Missourians left the court early in the second half with Haskell leading, 17 to 15. The M. W. A. players declared they had been unfairly treated, although the record reveals that two of the three officials were Independence men. Other Haskell victims that season were the Universities of Kansas and Nebraska, William Jewell College, the Topeka Y. M. C. A., and the Kansas City Athletic Club. The Indians established some kind of a record in their 65 to 0 massacre of the athletic club, which *The Indian Leader* of February 14, 1902, described as "interesting if . . . one-sided." Fallis, Hauser, Oliver, Shields, and Archiquette were the starting players for Haskell.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 8.

11. *Kansas University Weekly*, December 9, 1899.

12. *Ibid.*, May 25, 1901.

13. *The Washburn Review*, March 3, 1905.

Meanwhile, Baker completed its new gymnasium and organized a men's team in the fall of 1902.¹⁴ Emporia Normal and the Kansas Aggies entered competition for the first time during the winter of 1902-1903. The Normals and the Methodists divided a two-game series, Baker winning, 39 to 23, at Baldwin, and losing, 32 to 30, in a game at Emporia.¹⁵

The Aggies met a reverse that might have discouraged weaker men when Haskell massacred them 60 to 7, early in 1903. Oliver, the Indian center, scored eighteen field goals.¹⁶ The Aggies also lost to the Topeka "Y," Baker, McPherson College, and Bethany College of Lindsborg, Kansas State College records reveal. The Manhattan school did not compete again until 1905.

Wichita college men learned the game from the local Y. M. C. A. Friends University's first game was played with the "Y" team on February 10, 1904, resulting in a 22 to 10 defeat for the Quakers. "Although some of our men had not seen the game before, they did some good work," said a Friends' publication. Fairmount soon followed Friends' example and the two Wichita institutions were competing with other colleges of the state within the next few years.

Veteran basketball men say that one factor that prevented basketball from becoming a major sport during the first decade of its existence as a Kansas college game was that men students regarded the game as effeminate. By 1910, however, Baker, K. S. A. C. and Washburn had banned intercollegiate competition for women. In discussing the decision of the college authorities *The Washburn Review* of November 9 said that it had been determined that girls did not recuperate readily from the physical and nervous strain of competitive athletics and that women's athletics were being exploited for financial gain. The Universities of Missouri, Chicago and Denver were mentioned as other institutions which abolished women's basketball. At K. U. the women's game had not developed to the extent it had in smaller schools, as Doctor Naismith had never been very friendly toward feminine participation.

The quality of basketball in Kansas had improved steadily since the turn of the century, however. The Kansas Aggies won five of eight games scheduled in 1906,¹⁷ while K. U. defeated Nebraska that year for the first time in history, 38 to 17.¹⁸ Baker, victorious by

14. *The Baker Orange*, Baldwin, November 8, 1902.

15. *Ibid.*, January 17, February 7, 1903.

16. *The Students' Herald*, Manhattan, January 22, 1903.

17. "Kansas State College Athletic Records" (mimeographed).

18. *Basketball at the University of Kansas*, p. 3.

22 to 18, was the only Kansas college quintet that beat the Jayhawks, although defeats were suffered at the hands of several out-of-state teams.¹⁹

The first meeting between the Aggies and K. U. was in 1907, and the Aggies emerged on the long end of a 29 to 25 score.²⁰ A powerful Baker team twice defeated the Aggies, however, and added the university team to its list of victims. The Haskell Indians were among the leaders in the state, defeating the Aggies twice. Kansas lost a two-game series with Missouri which marked the beginning of basketball relations between the Jayhawks and the Tigers. Nebraska defeated Kansas 32 to 19.²¹

A man destined to be a dominant figure in the basketball world entered the University of Kansas as a student in 1905. He was Forrest C. (Phog.) Allen of Independence, Mo., who had learned the game as a member of the athletic club team in his home town. Doctor Naismith met young Allen early in the 1900's when he took his team to Independence to play the athletic club. In 1905 Allen was a member of the Kansas City Athletic Club's famous team that thrice defeated the touring Buffalo (N. Y.) Germans, claimants of the national basketball championship. In 1908, while still an undergraduate, the Missourian relieved Doctor Naismith of his coaching duties at K. U. The Jayhawks won the championship of the newly organized Missouri Valley Conference, in competition with Iowa State College and the Universities of Nebraska and Missouri.

While directing the Jayhawks "Phog" Allen found time to coach at Baker and Haskell. Baker, under Allen in 1907, won fifteen games and was undefeated. After coaching another championship team at K. U. in 1909, Doctor Allen left W. O. Hamilton in charge of basketball. In 1912 he accepted a position as director of athletics and coach of all sports at Missouri State Teachers College, Warrensburg. While there his teams won seven conference championships.²²

The Kansas Jayhawks continued their victorious marches to the Missouri Valley championship under their new coach, winning the conference race in 1910 and 1911. Tommy Johnson, one of K. U.'s greatest athletes, was captain of the 1910 team. In 1912 the Kansas Aggies won from K. U., 33 to 28, after the Jayhawks had defeated them in an earlier game, 37 to 24. Kansas and Nebraska shared conference honors in 1912, but the Cornhuskers were undisputed

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 7.

20. "Kansas State College Athletic Records."

21. *Basketball at the University of Kansas*, pp. 3, 6.

22. *Graduate Magazine*, University of Kansas, Lawrence, December, 1935, p. 5.

champions the following year. A Jayhawk quintet captained by Ralph "Lefty" Sproull, brought the title back to Mt. Oread in 1914 where it remained for two years. Nebraska took it back to Lincoln in 1916.²³

The Kansas State Agricultural College officially entered the Missouri Valley Conference in 1916 and took its first basketball championship in 1917, winning ten games and losing but two in conference play. Missouri won in 1918 and the Aggies again in 1919.²⁴ The Aggies were coached by Z. G. Clevenger and the squad included Hinds and Bungler, forwards; Jennings, center; Clarke and Cowell, guards; Winter, Foltz and Blair, substitutes.²⁵

Although basketball had become firmly established as an inter-collegiate sport as early as 1907, the game did not reach its peak in popularity until after the first World War. Dr. Forrest C. Allen returned to K. U. in 1919 as director of athletics and coached the basketball team in 1920, which finished third in the Missouri Valley Conference.²⁶

About this time Southwestern College of Winfield, under the tutelage of Willis S. "Bill" Bates, began to assume the dominant position it has enjoyed for the past two decades. The Southwestern Moundbuilders won the Kansas Conference championship in 1920 and they have been rated among the best college teams in the United States since that date. In 1921 the Builders dropped to fourth place in the conference, Fairmount College of Wichita winning the title in an exciting race.²⁷ It was Southwestern, however, that won national recognition for the Kansas brand of basketball when the Builders advanced to the final round of the National A. A. U. tournament at Kansas City before losing a hard-fought game to the veteran team of the Kansas City Athletic Club, 42 to 36.²⁸ Southwestern's starting lineup was George Gardner and P. Reif, forwards; Kahler, center; Keyes and Cairns, guards.

Coach Bates' proteges won the Kansas Conference championship in 1922 and fell just a trifle short of their previous year's record in the National A. A. U. tournament, losing to the Lowe and Campbell team of Kansas City in the semi-final round. In 1923 Southwestern lost but one regularly scheduled conference game, and that to the Pittsburg Teachers. This record was adequate for recognition as

23. *Basketball at the University of Kansas*, pp. 3, 10, 11.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 11. See, also, *The Kansas Industrialist*, Manhattan, March 12, 1919.

25. *Ibid.*; *Kansas State Collegian*, Manhattan, March 11, 1919.

26. *Graduate Magazine*, University of Kansas, January, April, 1920; December, 1935.

27. *Winfield Daily Courier*, March 8, 1921.

28. *Ibid.*, March 14, 1921.

the conference champion. Southwestern also boasted two victories over the University of Texas.²⁹ Both Southwestern and Fairmount advanced to the quarter-finals at Kansas City.³⁰

While Southwestern and Fairmount were directing nation-wide attention to Kansas, "Phog" Allen had the Kansas Jayhawks back in the lead of the Missouri Valley Conference. A two-year period of Missouri leadership was ended in 1922 when the Jayhawks and Tigers tied for first place, each with fifteen victories and one defeat. Missouri defeated Kansas, 35 to 25; Kansas retaliated by beating the Tigers, 26 to 16. George Rody, captain and forward, was the main cog in the K. U. machine and led the conference in scoring.³¹

Many Kansas basketball fans cherish the opinion that "Phog" Allen's team of 1923 was his greatest. The old Missouri Valley Conference was composed of nine members and played a double round-robin basketball schedule, which meant sixteen conference games. The Jayhawks were undefeated. Waldo Bowman and Tusten Ackerman were the Kansas forwards, John Wulf, the center, Paul Endacott and Charles Black were in the guard positions. Reserves included Armin Woestemeyer and Verne Wilkins, guards, and Byron Frederick, center.³² This was the first of five consecutive seasons in which Kansas had the undisputed championship of the conference, winning 72 games and losing but six in conference competition. A great Oklahoma team captured the title in 1928 to break the Kansas victory string.³³

Arthur "Dutch" Lonborg, after a successful term of coaching at McPherson College, became the Washburn Ichabod's tutor in 1924. "Dutch" was a pupil of Doctor Allen, and captained the Jayhawk squad in 1920. Under Lonborg's direction Washburn began a rapid climb in the Kansas Conference, finishing in third place at the end of his first season. The Emporia Teachers, with 14 victories and one defeat, won the conference title, losing only to their neighbors, the College of Emporia.³⁴ Bethel College of Newton was second. Washburn was eliminated in the third round of the National A. A. U. tournament,³⁵ which was won by Butler College of Indianapolis,

29. *Ibid.*, February 22, 1923.

30. *Ibid.*, March 16, 1923.

31. *Basketball at the University of Kansas*, pp. 4, 10, 11.

32. *Graduate Magazine*, University of Kansas, March, 1923.

33. *Basketball at the University of Kansas*, p. 11.

34. *Emporia Gazette*, March 7, 1924.

35. *Topeka Daily Capital*, March 14, 1924.

Ind.³⁶ The Indiana team was the first collegiate winner of the big tournament.

Kansas basketball teams reached three pinnacles of success in 1925. The Jayhawks of Doctor Allen, paced by the high scoring "Tus" Ackerman, annexed the Missouri Valley title with fifteen victories and one defeat. Washburn College, whose basketball team had "brought no glory" to the school in 1900, became the second college to win National A. A. U. honors when its team swept aside the mighty Hillyards of St. Joseph, Mo., in the final round, 42 to 30. In the Washburn lineup were: Clarence "Kid" Breithaupt and Orson "Shorty" McLaughlin, forwards; Gerald Spohn, center; Arthur Brewster and Lambert "Butch" Lowe, guards. Milton Poort, reserve guard, also saw action that night in old Convention hall.³⁷ Washburn and the Pittsburg Teachers, who were coached by John Lance, had tied for first place in the Kansas Conference, each winning thirteen games and losing two. An upset defeat at the hands of Steve O'Rourke's unpredictable and always dangerous St. Mary's College team cost Washburn an undisputed title.³⁸ Pittsburg and Washburn did not meet during the season.

While K. U. and Washburn were winning championships, Wichita High School's basketball team became the second Kansas team to win the National High School tournament at Chicago, Kansas City having won the tournament in 1923. On the champion Wichita team were several future college and university stars, including McBurney, who later played with Wichita Municipal University, and Churchill, one of the mainstays of some great University of Oklahoma teams in subsequent years.³⁹

The Kansas Conference race in 1926 resulted in another dead heat between Washburn and Lance's Pittsburg Teachers. Both teams entered the National A. A. U. tournament and the drawing placed them in the same bracket. Both survived the first round and were thus slated to meet in an impromptu Kansas Conference playoff which would settle a controversy that had raged in Kansas athletic circles for two years. Hundreds of Pittsburg and Washburn alumni and students attended. Washburn took an early lead, but was unable to maintain the pace set by the Teachers and the game ended with Pittsburg in the lead, 29 to 25. In the Pittsburg lineup were: Steele and Shaw, forwards; Short, center; Binford and Hoffman,

36. *Ibid.*, March 16, 1924.

37. *Ibid.*, March 15, 1925.

38. *The Dial*, St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Spring Number, 1925.

39. *Wichita Eagle*, April 6, 1925.

guards; Anderson, substitute forward; Cormack and Meisenhour, substitute guards. The Washburn lineup was: Breithaupt and McLaughlin, forwards; Spohn, center; Marsh and Poort, guards; Davis, substitute forward.⁴⁰

The next upset came when the favored Pittsburg five were eliminated in the next round by a hard-driving team from the Emporia Teachers College. The score was 33 to 27.⁴¹ On the Emporia team that stopped the Gorillas were Loveless and Hoover, forwards; Duke, center; Fish and Trusler, guards. The Emporians advanced to the semi-finals before they were eliminated.

In 1927 Wichita University and Washburn went to the semi-final round of the national tournament. There the Hillyards took revenge for their 1925 defeat by beating the Ichabods 34 to 29,⁴² while the Ke-Nash-A team of Kenosha, Wis., eliminated Wichita. The Shockers gained third place by beating Washburn, 31 to 28, in the consolation game.⁴³

The big schools in the old Kansas Conference withdrew in 1928 to organize the Central Conference. In the new circuit were the three state teachers colleges and Washburn, Wichita University, Southwestern, and the College of Emporia. McPherson College won the title in the abbreviated Kansas Conference. Pittsburg and Emporia Teachers were tied for first place in the Central.⁴⁴

Washburn dedicated its new Whiting field house on December 18, 1928, by defeating the K. U. Jayhawks, 25 to 24.⁴⁵ After the holiday recess the Ichabods, coached by Roy Wynne, went on to win the Central Conference title. Kansas had one of its worst seasons, finishing in a tie with Kansas State for last place in the Big Six.⁴⁶

The Allen team regained the title in 1931 and held it four consecutive seasons. In 1935 Iowa State nosed out the Kansas team to win its first conference title. The Jayhawks were second with twelve games won and four lost, while Iowa State, with a lighter schedule, won eight of its ten conference games.⁴⁷

Kansas finished the 1936 season with a perfect percentage, winning ten Big Six Conference games, and the Jayhawks entertained hopes of representing the United States in the Olympic games. The Mis-

40. *Topeka Daily Capital*, March 18, 1926.

41. *Ibid.*, March 19, 1926.

42. *Ibid.*, March 19, 1927.

43. *Ibid.*, March 20, 1927.

44. *Ibid.*, March 4, 1928.

45. *Ibid.*, December 19, 1928.

46. *Basketball at the University of Kansas*, p. 14.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

souri Valley Olympic play-offs were held at Kansas City in March, Kansas winning from a tournament field that also included Washburn, Nebraska, and Oklahoma A. & M. Next obstacle in the Jayhawks' path to international honors was the rangy Utah State College quintet, Rocky Mountain champions. A three-game series to decide the Western championship was played in Convention hall, Kansas City, Mo. Kansas won the first game, 39 to 37, and apparently was well on the way to victory in the second game, when the Utah team rallied and forged ahead to win, 42 to 37. The deciding game went to the Westerners by the one-sided score of 50 to 31.⁴⁸

In 1937 Kansas shared the Big Six lead with Nebraska, each team winning eight games and losing two. The Jayhawks were undisputed winners in 1938, but dropped to third place with six wins and four losses in 1939, while Missouri and Oklahoma were tied for first place.⁴⁹

The National Intercollegiate Basketball tournament was first held at Kansas City, Mo., in 1938. According to *The Baker Orange*, February 7, 1938, Emil S. Liston, veteran Baker University athletic director, was originator of the idea. He was appointed chairman of the board of management. The tournament is open to all standard four-year colleges and universities in the United States with the stipulation that a team seeking entrance should be either a conference champion, the winner of an elimination tournament, or "have made a good showing throughout the season's play."

Southwestern College of Winfield, a perennial leader in Kansas collegiate basketball, brought another national title back from Kansas City in 1939 when the Moundbuilders won the National Intercollegiate tournament by defeating San Diego State College of California in a thrilling contest in Convention hall, 32 to 31.⁵⁰ The Winfield school's success in national competition followed its fifth consecutive season as champion or co-champion of the Central Conference. "Over a span of almost half the life of the conference the combined genius of Bill Monypeny and George Gardner has led the purple to the heights in basketball," said the Winfield *Daily Courier* of March 4, 1939.

Winfield was the city of basketball champions that spring of 1939. Sharing the spotlight with the Builders were the St. John's College

48. *University Daily Kansan*, Lawrence, March 8, 13, 15, 26, 27, 29, 1936.

49. *Basketball at the University of Kansas*, p. 14; *University Daily Kansan*, Lawrence, March 4, 1938; *Graduate Magazine*, University of Kansas, February, 1939, p. 8.

50. *Winfield Daily Courier*, March 20, 1939.

Johnnies, who won first place in the All-Concordia tournament of Lutheran schools at St. Paul, Minn., and the Viking squad of the local high school, which won the Arkansas Valley league title,⁵¹ and subsequently the state high school championship in the annual tournament at Topeka.⁵²

Southwestern's lineup in the final game at Kansas City was: Hinshaw and L. Tucker, forwards; Briar and Smith, centers; Fugit, Dix and Bratches, guards.⁵³ Battling for St. John's in the championship game with the Concordia Teachers of Seward, Neb., were: Stelzer, Kroening, Widiger and Shappel, forwards; Janzow and Meyer, centers; Obermueller, Kaiser and Wiese, guards.⁵⁴

St. John's College had been an associate member of the old Kansas Conference and was for many years a formidable rival of Southwestern for city honors. The school had been reduced to the status of a junior college, however, and was not able to compete with Kansas Conference or Central Conference teams on an equal basis. A member of Washburn's National A. A. U. championship team of 1925 recalls a beating received from the Johnnies on the big Southwestern court, "and we beat Southwestern by a big score the next night," he added. Fortunately for the Ichabods, the Lutherans were only associate conference members, and the defeat did not count against Washburn in the standings.

For many years there had been a difference of opinion as to which state was rightfully the "hot bed" of basketball, Kansas or Indiana. The big Kansas schools, K. U. and Kansas State, compete in the Big Six, while the Indiana teams, the State University and Purdue, are members of the Big Ten Conference and never cross the paths of the Kansans. Kansas supporters used to cite the excellent showing of Kansas high school teams in the national tournaments at Chicago, and Indiana partisans countered with the fact that Indiana high schools were never permitted to compete at Chicago. The only college teams that were ever able to win the National A. A. U. tournament were Butler of Indianapolis and Washburn of Topeka.

A comparison of the Kansas and Indiana brands of Doctor Naismith's indoor sport was presented for the first time in a big way at Kansas City's Convention hall in the spring of 1940 when the Hoosiers of Indiana U. met "Phog" Allen's Jayhawks for the National Collegiate Athletic Association title. This is not to be con-

51. *Ibid.*, March 6, 1939.

52. *Ibid.*, March 20, 1939.

53. *Ibid.*

54. *Ibid.*, March 6, 1939.

fused with the National Intercollegiate, won by Southwestern in 1939, as the latter is restricted to schools of smaller enrollment.

The Big Six race was one of the closest in the history of the game and when the conference schedule for 1940 was completed, Kansas, Missouri and Oklahoma were tied, each having won eight games and lost two. Post season play-offs were previously prohibited by the Big Six Conference, but with the N. C. A. A. tournament scheduled it was necessary to determine which team should represent the conference in the Missouri Valley play-offs. A series was arranged in which the Sooners, Tigers and Jayhawks could settle the question. Wichita's forum was to be the scene of the contests. Fortune favored Coach Allen in the drawing, which allowed his team to remain idle and watch Missouri and Oklahoma play the first game and to meet the winner on the following night. The Sooners won the first game, but bowed to Kansas. Kansas next opposed the Oklahoma A. & M. Cowboys, champions of the Missouri Valley Conference, at Oklahoma City, and defeated them, 45 to 43, thus achieving the right to represent the Missouri Valley region in the Western play-offs.⁵⁵

Kansas drew Rice Institute, Southwest Conference champion, in the opening round at Kansas City, while Colorado was paired with the University of Southern California, Pacific Coast champions. The Jayhawks eliminated the Texans, 50 to 44, while the Trojans defeated the Colorado Buffaloes by a narrow margin.

Among the 10,000 persons who watched the machine-like precision of the Trojans in disposing of a great Colorado team, were few who felt that Kansas, a much smaller team, had much chance to stop the Californians. With a little more than a minute of playing time remaining the Jayhawks were leading the favored Trojans, 41 to 40, but with only fifty seconds remaining, the Trojans drove in for a basket to lead, 42 to 41.

Howard Engleman, sharp-shooting K. U. forward, had been withdrawn from the game in the final period. Allen knew that Engleman could score if he could only get his hands on the ball. He was sent in, but the difficulty with the Allen scheme was that a big Trojan had control of the spheroid at that moment and seemed intent on retaining it until the final gun. Bobby Allen, son of the coach and an ace Kansas player, caught the red-shirted Californian off balance, stole the ball, and dribbled frantically toward the Kansas goal. Engleman was there ahead of him. Bobby passed the ball to Howard and

55. *Graduate Magazine*, University of Kansas, March-April, 1940, p. 9.

the Arkansas City lad dropped it through the netting for the two points that gave the Jayhawks a 43 to 42 victory and the Western championship.⁵⁶

By winning the Eastern play-offs, the University of Indiana Hoosiers became the choice to meet the Jayhawks for the national title the following week. The Kansas team got off to an early lead, held it until mid-way of the first half, but when the Hoosiers found the range they forged ahead rapidly. The second half was a rout, the lead mounting steadily until the Hoosiers eased up in the closing minutes. The final score was 60 to 42, for Indiana.⁵⁷ Kansas could offer no excuses.

Kansas made its first appearance in Madison Square Garden, New York, during the Christmas holidays of 1940-1941, and was beaten, 53 to 42, by Fordham.⁵⁸ Two days later the Jayhawks lost to Temple University, 40 to 35, at Philadelphia.⁵⁹

With Engleman, their All-American forward, setting a scoring pace that was difficult to overcome, the Jayhawks apparently were on the road to another Bix Six title in 1941, but the team faltered in the closing weeks of the campaign and finished in a tie for first place with the Iowa State Cyclones. Because their scoring record for the season surpassed that of the Kansans, the Cyclones were accorded the right to represent the conference in the N. C. A. A. play-offs.⁶⁰

Although Doctor Naismith, who died on November 28, 1939, did not live to see his Jayhawks win the Western championship, he had the satisfaction of watching his game develop into a major sport in Kansas and one in which Kansas teams have won more national and regional honors than in any other sport.

Dr. Forrest C. Allen, a Naismith pupil, has long been recognized as one of the leading basketball strategists in the nation. Doctor Allen, in turn, has taught a number of men who have made a reputation in the coaching profession, notably Arthur Lonborg, John Bunn and Forrest Cox. Lonborg, K. U. captain in 1920,⁶¹ coached the Washburn Ichabods to their national title in 1925 and has been head basketball coach at Northwestern University for the past decade. Bunn has had a long and successful career as coach of the Stanford

56. Turtle, Howard W., "Give the Ball to Junior," *The Saturday Evening Post*, Philadelphia, Pa., December 28, 1940.

57. Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, March 31, 1940; *Graduate Magazine*, University of Kansas, March-April, 1940.

58. Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, December 29, 1940.

59. Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, December 31, 1940.

60. Topeka *Daily Capital*, March 14, 1941.

61. *Basketball at the University of Kansas*, p. 10.

University quintet; "Frosty" Cox has made the University of Colorado Buffaloes one of the leading teams of the West since he took over the coaching duties there. Cox hails from Newton, a center of high school champions, and Kansans have been watching a parade of Kansas talent toward Boulder during the Cox regime at the Rocky Mountain school.

With P. McCloud, former Newton High School star, leading the Colorado attack, Cox's Rocky Mountain Conference champions of 1942 eliminated the Jayhawks in the opening round of the Western N. C. A. A. play-offs at Kansas City, 46 to 44, on March 20. Kansas had finished in a tie for first place with Oklahoma in the Big Six Conference, but was chosen to represent the conference in the N. C. A. A. competition because of a better scoring record. The Jayhawks defeated Oklahoma A. & M., 32 to 28, on March 17, thus winning the right to represent the Missouri Valley-Big Six region.

While Kansas was losing to the Buffaloes, Stanford University defeated Rice Institute and the Pacific Coast champions took the Western title by defeating Colorado the following night. Kansas won the consolation game from Rice, 55 to 53, and was awarded third place in the tournament.

Ernest C. Quigley of St. Mary's, who also is nationally known on the baseball diamond and the football gridiron, is the dean of Kansas basketball officials. Quigley is credited by Doctor Naismith with devising a plan that resulted in one of the major improvements in the game. As an official in the early days, Quigley was continually annoyed at the difficulty of determining whether a player was in or out of bounds when he was shooting for a basket under the goal, which was directly above the end line. At St. Mary's College "Quig" experimented by drawing a circle from the free throw line, of which an arc extended past the end line and was considered inside. The innovation was adopted in 1917 and the end zone has been extended in recent years so that players have ample room for maneuvering around the goals.⁶²

Kansas coaches have experimented with every type of defense and offense from the fast break and five-man defense to the set play and zone-defense systems. "Phog" Allen calls one of his latest systems of defense the "stratified transitional man-for-man defense with the zone principle."⁶³ The astute Kansas coach has long contended that "dunking is not basketball" in arguing against the ad-

62. Naismith, *op. cit.*, pp. 97, 98.

63. Turtle, *loc. cit.*

vantages formerly held by the teams with the tallest centers. Elimination of the center jump, except at the beginning of each period, has corrected this evil and has increased the tempo of the game to a considerable degree. The Goliath of the basketball court is no longer such an asset to his team.

The first basketball players wore ordinary gymnasium suits, often consisting of light-weight shirts and long trousers. To permit more freedom of movement in the strenuous modern game, the uniform has been greatly abbreviated. Special shoes have been designed, knee pads and sometimes braces are worn as protective equipment.

Since it became a major sport basketball has been able to pay its way in many Kansas colleges. The construction of specially designed field houses in recent years has provided nearly every college with a regulation playing court and adequate seating facilities. Of the larger schools, only Kansas State is unable to accommodate the potential basketball patronage in its small Nichols gymnasium and admission generally has been restricted to students.

In intrastate competition the larger schools cannot claim the superiority that is obvious on the football field. A football victory won by a Central or Kansas Conference team over K. U. or Kansas State is a major upset, but on the basketball court the small colleges often prove that they are a match for the Big Six teams. In recent years both Southwestern and Baker have beaten K. U.,⁶⁴ and the Moundbuilders, Fort Hays State and Emporia State defeated Kansas State in 1939.⁶⁵

The Central Conference race invariably is a free-for-all scramble, and the tail-end team is quite likely to defeat the conference leaders. Southwestern and Pittsburg have been the most consistent winners, but during the past decade the two other state colleges and Wichita, before its withdrawal from conference competition, have been strong contenders. John Lance's Pittsburg Gorillas won the title in 1931 and 1932 and shared the lead with Wichita in 1933. Emporia State was the 1934 champion; Southwestern and Pittsburg were tied in 1935. The Moundbuilders won an undisputed championship in 1936, but had to share the lead with both Fort Hays and Pittsburg in 1937. Southwestern won in 1938 and 1939. In 1940 the Gorillas, Builders and Fort Hays Tigers finished in another dead heat. Pittsburg won in 1941 and 1942, and finished third in the National Intercollegiate tournament in 1942.

64. *Basketball at the University of Kansas*, pp. 6, 8.

65. "Kansas State College Athletic Records."

In the Kansas Conference, Kansas Wesleyan, Baker and Ottawa have been leading contenders. In 1934 the College of Emporia and McPherson were tied for the title. The Ottawa Baptists won in 1935 and were ousted the following year by their traditional rivals, the Baker Orangemen, who repeated in 1937. Ottawa, McPherson and Kansas Wesleyan tied for the lead in 1938. The Baptists were champions in 1939 and 1940. Kansas Wesleyan, Bethany and Baker were joint 1941 title-holders, and in 1942 Baker and Kansas Wesleyan won.

Since 1933 a coaching school has been held annually at Washburn College under the sponsorship of the Kansas State High School Activities Association. The institute is usually scheduled during the latter part of August and is attended by high school and college coaches from a large area in the Middle West. Basketball is an important part of the curriculum and has been taught by some of the leading coaches. For the past few years Doctor Allen has held an annual basketball clinic, attended by high school coaches. The clinic is conducted at the close of the football season and is usually featured by a game between the K. U. varsity and freshman teams.

Veteran basketball enthusiasts in Kansas recall that the Kansas game was once reasonably believed to be superior to that played in any section of the country and the Missouri Valley circuit was considered the fastest. Basketball, however, was not considered a major sport in many sections of the country, particularly the East, until comparatively recent years. Since the Eastern schools have been giving more attention to the game and spectators have demanded a better brand of basketball Eastern teams have improved rapidly, as is evidenced by Fordham's defeat of Kansas in 1940.

Although the rest of the nation is now catching up with the Sunflower state in the quality of its basketball, Kansas blazed the trail and took the lead in the development of the game. Basketball's grand old man, Doctor Naismith, was a member of the K. U. athletic staff for more than forty years. In this golden jubilee year he is being fittingly remembered. Thousands of basketball teams throughout the country are donating the proceeds of one game on their schedule to the James A. Naismith Memorial Fund, the money to be used in building a gymnasium and Hall of Fame in Springfield, Mass., "within dribbling distance of the Y. M. C. A. where basketball was first played."⁶⁶

66. *Time Magazine*, Chicago, Ill., December 15, 1941, p. 64.

Bypaths of Kansas History

THE RENO OF 1860

Over forty divorces were granted in acts passed by the Kansas territorial legislature of 1860. Sol. Miller, editor of the *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, took notice of this legislation in his issue of March 8, 1860:

We think it would be a judicious move to appoint a committee in each county in the territory, whose duty it shall be to use the utmost diligence to ascertain how many and what married persons in the territory were not divorced by the late legislature. Some folks may be interested in knowing just how they stand on that question.

EARLY MARRIAGES AMONG THE KAW INDIANS

From the *Topeka Tribune*, March 10, 1860.

We have lately learned of a curious custom, prevailing among the Kaw Indians.

It is usual with them to marry their children in infancy. The parents having agreed to the marriage, the children are laid beside each other, in the presence of the chief, when the parents promise for them, and going through with various ceremonies, the twain (infants) are made one flesh. It then becomes the duty of the respective parents to bring up their children in view of their union, and impress upon their minds the duties pertaining to those relations.

A friend who is well acquainted with the tribe, informs us that it is not remarkable to see a child not yet one year old, who is a widow or widower. We are also informed that when the child has lost its companions, it is usual for the parents to supply it with another, and this is sometimes done without respect to age; hence, an Indian twenty years of age, is not unfrequently married to a baby girl not yet a year old.

Whether this custom prevails in any other tribe or not, we do not know, nor can we account for this unnatural custom with this tribe, since it takes off all the romance of Indian courtship, of which we have read, and robs the Indian of half the glory which historians have ascribed to him. Still, such is the custom among the Kaws.

ADVICE TO BACHELORS

From the *Fort Scott Democrat*, March 29, 1860.

"Old man Hathaway," who lives on Drywood, near the state line, has, in order to save himself from being driven off by the Indians, been down to the [Cherokee] Nation, and married a Cherokee woman. Unmarried men living on the Neutral Land, and who wish to remain there, can do so, by following Mr. Hathaway's example.

A COMMUNITY PROJECT AT NEOSHO RAPIDS

From the *Emporia News*, April 14, 1860.

MILL RAISING.—All the settlers for several miles around were engaged on last Monday and Tuesday in raising the heavy frame of Peter Harvey's mill, at Neosho Rapids, twelve miles east of Emporia. About 125 men were employed the first day, and 150 the next. The building is 60 feet long by 40 feet wide, and four stories high. It is intended for a flouring mill, saw mill, and carding mill. The flouring mill will contain five pairs of burrs. Those who have seen the frame since it was erected, describe it as the most beautiful piece of mechanical work they have ever seen anywhere. The mill when completed will probably be the largest and finest in Kansas territory. Its cost cannot be less than \$15,000. A fine dam is being constructed, which will afford an abundance of water power to run the mill all the year. Neosho Rapids, by the aid of this mill, must spring up and become quite a place. Two new stores, we understand, are to be opened there soon.

DRILLING ON THE MISSOURI RIVER

From *The Conservative*, Leavenworth, January 28, 1861.

AN AMUSING INCIDENT.—One day last week the Union Guards, under command of Capt. Thatcher, went through their usual evolutions on the ice. The place of drilling was novel—and we doubt if the bosom of the Big Muddy was ever put to such a use before. The company went through the exercises with as much precision as the nature of the case would admit.

An amusing incident happened while the company was on drill. A couple of our Missouri neighbors, who were probably on their first visit to the city, did not see the company until they had got part way across the river. At that time the company was on the "double quick march" toward the Missouri shore. One would-be witness halted at the first sight of the company, "about faced," and climbed the ice at a "march" that soon put the "double-quick time" company far in the rear. The last seen of our Missouri friends, their coat-tails were in a horizontal position, and turned towards Leavenworth.

HAY FOR THE INFANTRY

From *The Smoky Hill and Republican Union*, Junction City, September 5, 1863.

A Manhattan correspondent of the *Leavenworth Bulletin* says that six hundred thousand tons of hay have been put up at Fort Riley. Good joke on the garrison, which was all infantry at the time of writing. Enough to supply five hundred such posts.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

"My Father Was the Most Wretchedly Unhappy Man I Ever Knew," is the title of an article by Gene A. Howe in *The Saturday Evening Post*, Philadelphia, Pa., October 25, 1941. The author relates many striking characteristics of his father, Ed Howe, "Sage of Potato Hill," and former publisher of the Atchison *Daily Globe*.

Historical subjects discussed by Victor Murdock in the Wichita (Evening) *Eagle* in recent months included the following: "Report of Destitution Which Prevailed Here Among First Community," made to the government, September 18, 1865, by Milo Gookins, U. S. Indian agent, November 5, 1941; "Fire Guard Technique Practised on Prairie in Kansas in Early Day," November 6; "Notable Closing Speech at Historic Council Made by Silver Brooch," on the banks of the Little Arkansas river seventy-six years ago, November 7; "Record of the Proceedings at a Council He [Milo Gookins] Called With the Indian Chiefs in the Fall of 1864 on the Banks of the Little Arkansas," November 10; Wichita-Presidio, Tex., railroad, in a series of articles, November 18-25; "Terrible Sufferings of the Indians Who Retreated From the Territory to Kansas at Outbreak of Civil War," November 26; "General Riley's Experiment in Employing Oxen Early in Army Transport Here," November 27; "Hectic Hour in Wichita Over a Showing of Gas Early in December, 1887," December 1; "Outline of an Incident [Confederate raid into Lyon county, May, 1863] Emerging From Memory of William Allen White," December 3; "Capture of a Herd [of cattle stolen off Indian reservations] and Its Drivers in 1865 by Captain Dyhernfurth Was Beginning of End of a Most Amazing Traffic," December 5; "Familiar Figures of Speech Which Originated in the Horse and Buggy Days Survived Them and Are Still Going Strong," December 6; "Signs City Once Used As Gentle Hint to Guests to Keep the Peace Here," December 26; "Wichita's First Attempt to Vote Fire Engine Bonds Was Badly Snowed Under," December 27; "First Mayor of Wichita Vetoed an Appropriation for July Fourth Blowout," December 29; "Two Thousand Dollars Young Wichita Paid Towards [Texas] Cattle Trade," December 31; "Erection of Pest House [in Wichita, 1873] That Followed a Fear of Small Pox Scourge," January 1, 1942; "Early Boost City Gave to Milling Industry With a Thousand Dollars," January 2; "Something About Eucheas, Friends of the

Wichitas, and Their Persistence," January 5; "Hint of Mid-Continent [oil field] in a Public Document Back in October, 1865," January 9; "Details of Trail Cattle That Late Mr. [Sam P.] Ridings Set Down for Historians," January 10; "There Was Drama A-Plenty at the Notable Drawing for Farms at El Reno [Okla.]," January 12; "Trip [to Ft. Smith] Made by Members of the [Wichita] Indian Tribe Here to Refute the Accusation That They Had Been Disloyal to the United States," January 13; "When City Considered Manufacture of Silk As Possible Industry," January 15; "Suggestion of Wichita as Good Shipping Point Was From Indians to Agent," January 20; "Message Received Here a Very Long Time Ago [1865] Brought Word of Peace [with the Indians]," January 22; "What Happened When Cattlemen Were Ordered Out of the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Reservation in 1885 by Grover Cleveland," January 23; "Feature of the Treaty with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes Made Here Seventy-Six Years Ago Last Fall," January 30. Among other historical articles in the Wichita (Evening) *Eagle* were: "St. Francis Hospital Equal to Complete Village Under Roof," November 23, 1941, and "Battery 'F' First Local Unit Organized in War—Col. Bruce Griffith Enlisted Artillery Force in May, 1917, for Conflict With Germany," December 14.

Cecil Howes, head of the Topeka bureau of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, reported on the following Kansas historical subjects in the *Star* late in 1941 and early in 1942: "How Some Kansas Counties Got Their Names," November 21, 1941; "History of Thanksgiving Day in Kansas," November 24; denied that territorial Kansas was settled by New Englanders, December 2; "How Some Kansas Towns Got Their Names," December 8; "For Whom Was Sherman County Named?" December 12; "Some of the History Relating to Kansas Journalism," December 24; "A Further Review of the History of Kansas Counties," December 26; "A Woman's Part in the Early Annals of Kansas," about the myth that in 1856 Mrs. Charles Robinson concealed 1,188 pages of evidence in her clothing when the governor was arrested, January 1, 1942; "How Towns and Post-offices Got Mixed Together," January 9; "The Cottonwood, the State Tree of Kansas," January 16; "It's Hit-and-Miss With Names of Cities and Counties in Kansas," January 20; "Developments of the Kansas Traveling Library," January 30.

On January 2, 1942, the Inman *Review* published a souvenir edition celebrating its fiftieth anniversary. Included among the feature articles was a history of the paper with brief sketches of its editors.

Kansas Historical Notes

Gov. Payne Ratner announced last fall that the program for marking the historic sites of Kansas on the highways would be continued, but the Japanese attack on Hawaii December 7 and the nation's all-out war effort forced a change in plans. Inscriptions for fifty-seven markers were written before work was stopped. Four or five markers, not placed on the highways in 1941 due to changes in road construction or because of difficulties in securing suitable right of ways, will be set up and dedicated this year. Officials of the Kansas State Highway Commission, the Kansas Chamber of Commerce, and the Historical Society, the coöperating organizations, are hopeful that the program can be resumed again when peace comes.

The Committee on Conservation of Cultural Resources and the National Archives in Washington recommend that institutions and individuals coöperate in the campaigns to collect paper for use in war industries by discarding nonessential documents and excess copies of those which may have value. However, in an effort to prevent wasteful destruction of papers which ought to be preserved, they have prepared a poster which reads in part as follows: CONSERVE paper but SAVE historical records. GIVE waste paper, wrappings, boxes and duplicate records to the waste paper collectors. SAVE family papers, journals and diaries, birth and death records, complete files of old newspapers, and records of county, city and other governmental units. Indiscriminate destruction of official records is prohibited by federal and by most state laws. IN CASE OF DOUBT consult your Historical Society or library, the history department of a university, or write the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

In response to a call from the National Resources Planning Board a Kansas committee has been appointed by Kirke Mechem, secretary of the Historical Society, acting as temporary chairman, to plan for the preservation of cultural, scientific and historical materials. Problems to be considered include protection of the state's records and treasures and storage for materials from other states should it become necessary to move them here from danger zones. The following were asked to serve on the committee: C. P. Baber, librarian, State Teachers College, Emporia; C. M. Baker, librarian, University of Kansas Library, Lawrence; Howard Church, art di-

rector, Washburn Municipal University, Topeka; Grace E. Derby, associate librarian, Kansas State College, Manhattan; Harold J. Henderson, state supervisor, Historical Records Survey, Topeka; W. M. Jardine, president, Wichita Municipal University; Louise McNeal, state librarian, Topeka; Minnie S. Moodie, curator, Thayer Museum of Art, Lawrence; Odella Nation, librarian, State Teachers College, Pittsburg; Hattie Osborne, Quayle librarian, Baker University, Baldwin; G. H. Sandy, librarian, Kansas City Public Library; Mrs. Maude G. Schollenberger, president, Wichita Art Museum; F. B. Streeter, librarian, Fort Hays Kansas State College, Hays. An investigation of storage facilities within library and museum buildings of the state is being made by the Historical Records Survey as part of the committee's program.

An address, "Let's Look Again at Kansas," by Deane Malott, chancellor of Kansas University, was the feature of the annual banquet meeting of the Native Sons and Daughters of Kansas held in Topeka, January 28, 1942. New officers are: Native Sons—Glenn Archer, Densmore and Topeka, president; Richard Allen, Topeka, vice-president; W. M. Richards, Emporia, secretary; Nyle H. Miller, Anthony and Topeka, treasurer; Native Daughters—Mrs. Charles H. Benson, Topeka, president; Mrs. George L. McClenny, Topeka, vice-president; Mrs. F. S. Hawes, Russell, secretary; Mrs. W. von der Heiden, Newton, treasurer. The retiring presidents were Bert E. Mitchner of Hutchinson and Mrs. Howard Richardson of Pratt.

Officers of the Lyon county chapter of the Kansas State Historical Society were reelected January 30, 1942. They are H. A. Wayman, president; George R. R. Pflaum, first vice-president; H. A. Osborn, second vice-president; E. C. Ryan, secretary; J. S. Langley, treasurer. Osborn was chosen to fill the vacancy left when Wayman and Pflaum were moved up in rank following the death of W. L. Huggins. Historians of the chapter, who were also reelected, are Mrs. Fanny Vickery, Mrs. Lulu Purdy Gilson and Lucina Jones. J. J. Wingfield, Margaret Lowe, Richard Langley, Anna R. Carpenter, Park Morse, R. D. Lumley, C. A. Paine, Mrs. J. C. McKinney, Ben Talbot, Tom Price, Mrs. Dolly Sheets, Dr. O. J. Corbett, Catherine H. Jones, Alice Evans Snyder and W. A. White are the board of directors. The society maintains a museum in the civic auditorium.

The Kansas History Teachers Association and the Kansas Council for the Social Studies met in Topeka, April 18, 1942. The morning

session of the History Teachers Association was held in the newspaper reading room of the Historical Society. Ernest Mahan, president of the association, was chairman. The following papers were presented: "Getting Together With Latin America," by John Rydjord, University of Wichita; "Sampling the War Literature," by Elizabeth Cochran, Pittsburg State Teachers College; "Some Implications of a World Point of View," by Fred L. Parrish, Kansas State College, Manhattan. Robena Pringle, president of the Kansas Council for the Social Studies, presided at its morning meeting in Topeka High School. Robert E. Keohane, of the University of Chicago, gave the featured address on "New Challenges to Teachers of the Social Studies." Discussion leaders were Margaret Browne of Topeka, P. E. Cowan of Kansas City and J. C. Gaeddert of Manhattan. Ruth E. Litchen, of the University of Kansas, presided at a joint session at the high school in the afternoon. Featured addresses were "Social Science Congresses for Junior Colleges," by Alvin Proctor, Pratt Junior College, and "Implications of War in Teaching the Social Studies in a Democracy," by Robert E. Keohane. Iden Reese of the Kansas City Junior College is the newly elected president of the history association. Other officers and members of the executive committee are A. B. Sageser, Kansas State College, Manhattan, vice-president; Della A. Warden, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, secretary-treasurer; Ernest Mahan, Kansas State Teachers College, Pittsburg; Jessica Smith, North High School, Wichita; C. S. Boertman, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia; William Theodore Paullin, Kansas University, Lawrence. New officers and members of the executive committee of the Kansas Council for the Social Studies include Ruth E. Litchen, University of Kansas, Lawrence, president; P. E. Cowan, Argentine High School, Kansas City, vice-president; Ethelynn Fortescue, Topeka High School, secretary-treasurer; Jessica Smith, Wichita; J. C. Gaeddert, Manhattan Junior High School, and Robena Pringle, Topeka High School.

Volume II of a historical series of booklets entitled *Notes on Early Clark County, Kansas*, has recently been issued by the Clark county chapter of the Kansas State Historical Society. The chapter since its organization in the summer of 1939 has sponsored a column of interesting notes on southwest Kansas history in *The Clark County Clipper* of Ashland. In 1940 the first year's articles were reprinted in a paper-bound booklet as Volume I of the series. Volume II,

featuring articles reprinted from the *Clipper* files of August, 1940, to September, 1941, was issued with indexes to Volumes I and II, and both volumes have been combined and reissued in a single cloth binding. Editors are Mrs. Dorothy Berryman Shrewder and Mrs. Melville Campbell Harper.

Kansas Points of Interest—Historic, Scenic, Recreational is the title of an attractive blue booklet issued early in 1942 by the Kansas State Highway and Industrial Development Commissions. Over 150 Kansas towns receive mention. Complete texts of the fifty-seven Kansas Historical Markers are printed. All the markers and 100 Kansas lakes are located on a 14" x 8" colored map of the state folded in the center of the thirty-two page booklet. The Kansas State Historical Society compiled the historical information. Copies of the booklet and of a newly-issued colored highway map of the state may be secured by writing Leslie E. Edmonds, superintendent of public relations, Kansas State Highway Commission, Topeka.

The fact that workers in vital war industries must have birth certificates has caused an unprecedented demand for documentary proof of birth and citizenship. To help make these records available the Historical Records Survey of the Work Projects Administration has issued a mimeographed *Guide to Public Vital Statistics Records in Kansas*. It includes data on state and local public records of births, marriages, deaths and divorces. Sources have been listed and the procedure for securing copies has been explained. In addition, the 262-page volume outlines the history of the requirements for recording the state's vital statistics and a description of methods employed. The compilation will prove a handy guide to all who are helping secure the documents necessary for delayed birth certificates. Two more volumes have been issued in the series of inventories of county archives in Kansas being prepared by the Historical Records Survey. The book for Phillips county was completed in September, 1941, and one for Gove county in December. Eleven other county volumes previously released were listed in the *Quarterly*, v. X, pp. 334, 335. The Kansas State Historical Society is sponsor of the project. Publications of the survey are available to governmental agencies, libraries and historical societies. All requests should be addressed to Harold J. Henderson, state supervisor, Historical Records Survey, 912 Kansas Avenue, Topeka.

The history of manufacturing in Lawrence from the establishment of the town in 1854 was reviewed by Kenneth A. Middleton in a

ninety-one page booklet published in December, 1941, by the Bureau of Business Research of the University of Kansas. The publication was titled *The Industrial History of a Midwestern Town*.

"Plotting After Harpers Ferry: The 'William Handy' Letters," was the title of an article by James C. Malin in the February, 1942, issue of *The Journal of Southern History*, of Baton Rouge, La. "The idea of abolition of slavery by revolution and the shedding of blood was by no means new when Brown tried it," Malin pointed out. "William Handy" was William Thayer. The letters show that Thayer and others organized men "willing to shoot or be shot at" should U. S. authorities attempt to arrest any because of involvement in the Brown episode. They were prepared "to precipitate a conflict between the state and federal governments, or some other kind of armed conflict."

Lamps on the Prairie—A History of Nursing in Kansas, compiled by the Writers' program of the Work Projects Administration and sponsored by the Kansas State Nurses' Association and the Kansas Department of Education, was issued from the Emporia *Gazette* Press in April, 1942. The book contains 292 pages and is well illustrated. It is "the story of the development of nursing in Kansas, prefaced by a bit of state history and enlivened by personal reminiscences of pioneer nurses." The first hospitals in the state were established by the military at the several Kansas forts. The first civilian hospital was opened at Leavenworth in 1864. Histories of these and the more recently established hospitals are featured. Cora A. Miller, of Emporia, is chairman of the historical committee of the nurses' association. Harold C. Evans is state supervisor of the Kansas Writers' program. Included among other recent publications of the Writers' program not previously mentioned here are: a 28-page guide to Kansas' recreation areas under the title *Kansas—Facts, Events, Places, Tours* (1941), printed as one of the American Recreation Series; the 24-page "Guide to Pittsburg, Kansas" (mimeographed), sponsored by the Pittsburg Chamber of Commerce, and histories of the 127th field artillery, 130th field artillery, 161st field artillery and the 137th infantry regiments (mimeographed), compiled under the sponsorship of Brig. Gen. Milton R. McLean, adjutant general of Kansas.

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Overland to the Gold Fields of California in 1852

The Journal of John Hawkins Clark, Expanded and
Revised From Notes Made During the Journey

Edited by LOUISE BARRY

I. INTRODUCTION

JOHN HAWKINS CLARK, prior to the day he set out for California, had been for many years a resident of Cincinnati, Ohio. Born near Elizabeth, N. J., on April 28, 1813, he was eleven years old when his family moved to Ohio.¹ He grew up on a farm and attended school during winter months till he was sixteen. He was then apprenticed to an uncle in Germantown to learn bricklaying and plastering. In the spring of 1830, after a disagreement with his uncle, young Clark set out to see something of frontier life. After working at St. Louis a short time he went by steamboat up the Mississippi to St. Anthony's Falls (present Minneapolis, Minn.); then to Duluth, at that time a small trading post; and from there to the pioneer town of Chicago. Returning to St. Louis he worked till fall, then took passage for New Orleans and spent the winter working on a plantation.

Once more in Cincinnati in the spring of 1831, he settled down to master his trade. On January 30, 1835, he married his cousin Margaret Allen.² Until 1848 he made a living for his family as a contractor.³ He spent several winters in the mountains of Kentucky and West Virginia securing logs which were rafted down the Big Sandy and Ohio rivers to Cincinnati for steamboat construction. In 1848 he entered the coal business but sold out in the spring of 1852.

The gold rush to California was then at its height. Clark and a neighbor, Capt. Andrew Brown, formed a partnership early in 1852 with the idea of conducting an overland expedition to Sacramento.

1. John Hawkins Clark was the eldest of the four sons of Jeremiah and Rachel (Hawkins) Clark, both natives of New Jersey. The family moved in the spring of 1824 to Ohio, settling first on a farm near Oxford.

2. Margaret Allen was born March 1, 1814, at Elizabeth, N. J., daughter of Caleb and Elizabeth (Hawkins) Allen. She died in Clay county, Kansas, on November 21, 1897.

3. Ten children were born to this couple, but only four grew to maturity. Information on the family's history was furnished by George A. Root, for over fifty years a member of the Kansas State Historical Society's staff. Mr. Root is a grandson of John H. and Margaret (Allen) Clark—son of their daughter Emma, and Frank A. Root.

They advertised for passengers and immediately booked twenty at one hundred dollars a head. Godfrey C. Ingram, a member of the expedition who wrote his "reminiscences" in 1905,⁴ lists the following as members of the company: David Allen, John Ryan, John Spilman,⁵ John Valentine,⁶ John Wilson,⁷ the Risley brothers, the Clark brothers, — — Sloan, James Knight and Ora (?) Green. These, with Clark, Brown and Ingram account for fifteen of the party.

In the journal under date of May 7, Clark states: "We are twenty persons in number, mostly young men, and all from Cincinnati except two Canadians who joined the company while coming up the river." Under June 14 he records: "One of our men left us today. . . . This man joined us at St. Joe. . . ." Only a few additional references are made to the personnel of the expedition. They had unusually good luck, for Clark in his last entry says "we brought every man and every horse and mule safely through the long and tiresome journey."

Clark's family remained in Ohio during the five years he spent in California. Prospecting, which he and his partner tried for a few weeks, did not bring the hoped-for wealth. The rush of gold-seekers, however, created a housing and business boom and Clark superintended the construction of a number of buildings in Placerville, Cal., and surrounding towns. He helped to rebuild Placerville after a destructive fire in 1856. Much of the money he earned as a contractor went into unlucky mining operations. A ranch which he and Godfrey C. Ingram had started in Bear valley in 1853 failed after a few years, and in the latter part of 1857 Clark decided to return to Ohio. The journey this time was by the ocean route and across the Isthmus of Panama.

Shortly after returning to Cincinnati Clark brought his family to Kansas. They lived for a number of years in Atchison where he was a route agent on the Central Branch Union Pacific railroad. About 1870 the family removed to a farm in Goshen township, Clay county. Here Clark served as the Fancy Creek postmaster for the last decade of his life. He died December 26, 1900, aged nearly eighty-eight years.

4. Ingram, Godfrey C., "Reminiscences of the Clark-Brown Expedition to California in 1852."—MS. in Root collection, Kansas State Historical Society. (Hereinafter referred to as: Ingram, G. C., "Reminiscences.")

5. Ingram speaks of Ryan and Spilman as Irishmen from Ohio and says they were brothers-in-law.

6. Of Valentine, Ingram comments that he was formerly employed by John H. Clark in Fulton.

7. Ingram says that John Wilson was a Virginian.

II. THE JOURNAL: APRIL 22-SEPTEMBER 4, 1852⁸

The 22d of April, 1852, the day of my departure from Cincinnati for the "golden land," found me on board a St. Louis steamer. 'Twas early in the morning when we pushed out into the stream, and I for the last time walked out upon the deck to take a last fond lingering look of home, the place of my boyhood, the scenes of my earnest endeavors in later days to accomplish the dreams of my young ambition. More than all this, I was leaving all that was near and dear to me for a "wild goose chase" overland to the shores of the great Pacific. It was not without some little regret that I parted from the shores of the Queen City and left my future fortune to fate, and this thought troubled me some: "If a man cannot make money in this new and fertile country where can he expect to woo the fickle goddess with success." Was I not after all going upon a fool's errand? Those and kindred thoughts troubled me some, but with as stout a heart as I could muster I choked them down and resolved upon doing the best that in me lay towards accomplishing the fulfillment of my long dream.

Smoothly and pleasantly did our good boat glide down the beautiful Ohio, passing fine farms and happy homes, children at play upon its green banks looking happy and contented. I had often been up and down the river, but on this trip everything looked more interesting than usual. It was my last trip for years—it might be my last; some accident by flood or field might overtake me. Four years, my expected absence, was a long time; and what changes might occur in the affairs of life during that time; and of what importance they might be to me were questions for which I had no answer. Yet hope, that bright particular star of my existence, shone brightly upon my pathway, promising to lead the way to the El Dorado where man could realize the dreams his fancy had so often painted.

Nothing of importance occurred on this, our first day's travel. Stopped at Louisville a few minutes and at sundown passed over the falls. We were now fairly on our journey. I sought my berth to sleep and perhaps to dream of my lonely wife and children I had left behind.

April 23.—The ringing of the breakfast bell awoke me from sound slumber. After breakfast while walking on the deck my attention was called to a suit of clothes without an owner. No one could solve the mystery. Hat, boots, coat, pantaloons and pipe lay there. They

8. Published here, with minor deletions, as printed in the *Topeka Mail*, North Topeka, May 25-October 12, 1888. Editorial notes have been added for clarity and for comparison with other overland journals.

told of something wrong—perhaps the end of some unfortunate. The mystery remained unsolved and the incident was soon forgotten.

April 24.—Passed down into the Mississippi. The change from the Ohio to the “father of waters” is always interesting, new scenery breaking the dull monotony of steamboat travel for awhile. But it soon gets to be on this river the same old story of snags and sand bars, a wilderness of woods and low lands. A near approach to St. Louis, however, brings the high lands and hilly country to view. The Mississippi between the mouth of the Ohio and St. Louis is a very rapid and dangerous stream.

April 25.—Our wagons are upon the hurricane deck and this morning were discovered to be on fire. The covers were thrown overboard and the fire soon extinguished. There is always a lively time on board when a fire takes place. Made the port of St. Louis today.

April 26.—A very wet and disagreeable morning, but all was hurry and confusion; horses, drays, mules, carts, merchandise, white men and negroes filled the entire space between the landing and the first row of buildings. How or in what manner a person was to make his way through such a medley was not easily explained. His only chance is to “jump in”; he will no doubt “turn up” somewhere. After a hard day’s work amid rain and mud we had transferred our goods and chattels from the good steamer *G. W. Sparhawk* to *Clipper No. 2*, bound for the Missouri river and St. Joe. We were happy in being among the first to engage our passage on this steamer, for by so doing we received good rooms which we could not have done a few hours later. Here we began to see the rush for California; a string of adventurers like ourselves came thronging on board until every hole and corner in this spacious steamer was full to overflowing.

April 27.— . . . still in port, and now have time to look at the great city. St. Louis is a marvel of activity and since my last visit a few years ago has grown beyond all expectations, and with the great west behind it will no doubt continue to grow until our own Queen City (Cincinnati) will be left far behind in the race for commercial importance.

April 28.—Still in port and the cry is, “Still they come.” What are we to do with so many passengers? We were loaded yesterday, but a steamboat, like an omnibus, is never full. Sundown and we are off, and glad of it. We travelers are generally in a hurry.

April 29.—Our boat was wallowing in the turbid waters of the Missouri long before daylight, and when I walked out upon the deck

a new scene presented itself. I had never before traveled on this river. Everything was new and strange; the low lands and dark, dismal forest had but little charm to engage the passenger's attention, and if he took the river into consideration a more unpleasant scene would be hard to contemplate. Driftwood, snags, sand bars and the muddy, troubled water made up a picture long to be remembered by those who for the first time sailed upon this great river.

April 30.—We have made tolerably good headway since leaving St. Louis. There is a sameness of travel on this river I never before experienced; once in awhile we are stuck on a sand bar; and then again we are hard on an old snag that takes a good deal of hard work and some swearing to part company with.

May 1.—Nothing of special interest on this day's travel. Snags, sand bars and the ragged shore were all that presented themselves for our consideration.

May 2.—Passed the wreck of the steamer *Saluda*, whose boilers exploded while lying at the wharf at the city of Lexington, causing the death of 100 human beings.⁹ The boat is a total wreck and marks of the terrible catastrophe are still plainly visible on the shore. The sight of the wrecked steamer caused some uneasiness amongst our own passengers. We are on an old worn out boat and the officers are foolhardy and desperate, caring for nothing but the gold they are making. This is the largest crowd that ever traveled up this river on one boat and any little excitement might produce a disaster of some kind.

May 3.—Passed the wreck of a steamer recently sunk. Many California bound passengers suffered by the accident.

May 4.—Some accident to the boat's machinery during the night; stopped for repairs but were again in motion early in the day. Passed another boat to-day which, like ours, was full of passengers for California.

May 5.—Someone threw a pet dog overboard to-day. The poor fellow swam for dear life, but like a mariner without a compass swam a good deal contrary to the right direction. The result, loss of life and limb; and as the poor little fellow disappeared beneath the Missouri's turbid waters his mistress sank upon the cabin floor in a fit of despondency and refused to be comforted until she was informed that the old boat was about to blow up. That settled it;

9. The steamboat *Saluda* exploded her boilers at Lexington, Mo., on April 9, 1852. An estimated one hundred persons, including many Mormons, lost their lives in this disaster—one of the worst ever to occur on the Missouri river.—Lloyd, J. T., . . . *Steamboat Directory, and Disasters on the Western Waters* (Cincinnati, Ohio, J. T. Lloyd & Co., 1856), pp. 277, 278.

her grief subsided and she was herself again. Seven o'clock p. m. and the lights of St. Joe visible in the distance. Happy are we to conclude our tedious journey up this miserable river. Unloaded our goods and camped in the bottoms below the city.

May 6.—This is one of the principal points immigration has chosen for leaving the Missouri for the overland journey to California and Oregon.¹⁰ Oxen, horses and mules are brought in from the surrounding country to sell; the merchant has anticipated all the wants of the emigrant and has everything needful for an "outfit." We soon availed ourselves of the opportunity to purchase all that was necessary to complete our stores and were then ready for the overland journey.

The city of St. Joe is a very lively place just now, full to overflowing with California bound immigrants.¹¹ Thousands of dollars are here spent annually by those who cross the plains. To finish our outfit we bought one yoke of oxen, a span of mules and many other "fixins" and made preparations for starting across the plains.

The Missouri river has to be crossed to-day. There are several boats and among them one steamboat to ferry over the crowd that is waiting their regular turn; to wait until all who had secured regular tickets to cross over meant the loss of two or three days, and as we were all ready and not wishing to lose any more time we cast about us to see if there was no other way to cross the big muddy. As good luck would have it we discovered a small wood flat [boat] lying at the bottom of the river two feet beneath the surface of the water which the owner was willing to let if we would raise it to the surface, calk and otherwise fit her up for the service. Many hands make light work. We soon had the boat in trim and commenced to load our animals. In this, however, our progress was very slow, for as soon as we got one mule on board and our attention directed to another the first one would jump overboard and swim ashore, to the great delight of the many who were looking on. After several turns of the kind, and finding that we gained but slowly in our endeavor to freight the boat by the single additions, we concluded to drive them all on together. In this we succeeded admirably, for on they went and we put up the railing to keep them there. A shout of victory followed the putting up of the bars; a victory was gained over the frisky mule and the order given to "cast off," but before

10. Other important points of departure at this date were Independence, Mo., Fort Leavenworth (in present Kansas), and Council Bluffs, Iowa.

11. Mrs. Frizzell, arriving at St. Joseph a few days earlier (April 28, 1852), wrote: ". . . the banks of the river & all around the town were white with waggons, & tents."—Frizzell, Mrs. Lodisa, *Across the Plains to California in 1852* (The New York Public Library, 1915), p. 9.

the order could be obeyed the fiends in mule shape took it into their heads to look over the same side of the boat and all at the same time. Result, the dipping of the boat to the water's edge on one side, which frightened the little brutes themselves and they all, as with common consent, leaped overboard again. Three times three cheers were given by the crowd on shore. So much fun could not pass unnoticed or without applause. Of course there was no swearing done, for nobody could be found that could do justice to the occasion. Finally the mules were got on board, securely tied, the lines cast off and the raffle made. This was our first trip. We had so much trouble with the mules that it was but reasonable to expect a quiet time with our oxen; in this, however, we were mistaken, for they seemed to have caught contrariness from the mules and were, if possible, more stubborn than the mules themselves. Suffice it to say, we got the horned brutes on board and landed them safely on the other shore. The balance of our property was soon crossed over and we camped for the day to "fix up" things. Here is a general camping ground, and as it is on the verge of civilization anything forgotten can be obtained by recrossing the river.

There are many musicians belonging to the different encampments surrounding us, and after supper all commenced to practice the sweet tunes that were to enliven us while sitting around the camp fire on the far off plains. In addition to the vocal and instrumental music the frogs in the surrounding district, as if animated by the festivities of the occasion, set up such a croaking as I think human ears had as yet never listened to. Those who were not present can perhaps judge of the discordant sounds with which the old woods rang. Never shall I forget the hoarse bellow of the portly frog or the sharp twang of the wee ones, mingled as they were with soft strains of instrumental music. If Babel was worse confounded than I was on this memorable night I do not wonder at their leaving off building the tower, for never before had I listened to so many different sounds. This concert lasted until near midnight, when all was hushed except the crackling of the log fires as they were every now and then replenished by the watchful sentinel as he kept watch and ward over the sleeping multitude. Many and varied were the feelings I experienced on this the first night of my pilgrimage in the wilderness I was about to encounter. Sleep at length came to rescue me from uneasy thoughts of home, wife, children and friends.

May 7.—It took [nearly] all day to put up our wagons, adjust the harness, break the oxen, store away our provisions in the different

vehicles of transportation, count out the cooks, drivers and train master.¹² We are twenty persons in number, mostly young men, and all from Cincinnati except two Canadians who joined the company while coming up the river.

About six miles from camp to the high lands through a wilderness of woods, mud and water. After a hard day's work through mud knee deep we pitched our tents upon high land near a spring of good water and wood in abundance. Near our camp is a solitary grave with but one letter upon its head board. Here was food for reflection. Could it be possible that the occupant of that grave was an immigrant like ourselves and had got no farther upon his journey? Yes, it was possible and very probable, too. The sleeper slept well, nor did he heed the hurry or anxiety of the thousands who were pressing onward, maybe to lay their bodies only a few miles further on.

May 8.—Bright was the morning and light our hearts as we rolled out of camp on this, our first day's journey of 2,000 miles. Our train consisted of one team of six yoke of oxen, one team of four horses, one of four mules, and a light span of two horses; four wagons and twenty men, horses, mules and oxen, all in good shape. "What will they be at the end of this long journey?" is a question easier asked than answered. As far as the eye can reach the road is filled with an anxious crowd, all in a hurry. Turned out at twelve o'clock to let our teams to grass, which was quite abundant all along the line of our day's travel. One o'clock we are again on the move. A charming day, beautiful country and good roads made travel interesting. Camped at six o'clock; wood and water to carry some distance, but plenty of good grass.

May 9.—An early start this morning over a good but hilly road. At two o'clock were in sight of the mission, an institution for teaching the natives the arts of civilization. Houses, barns and fences, and some land in cultivation; a cheerful sight in this wild region.¹³ Our progress was stopped to-day by a small stream spanned by a small

12. Clark wrote in his autobiography: "When fairly [sic] upon the [Missouri] river we began to fix up things; put the wagon together, mate the oxen, mules and horses; stow away provisions, appoint each man to do a certain duty, for a certain period of time. The man who cooked for two weeks, was to drive oxen for the next two weeks, and the man who had been driving oxen was to take his place. Teamsters, guards and all concerned, were to change places every two weeks. This arrangement prevailed to the end of our journey. Everything was put down in writing and the signatures of every man attached. I do not think a more orderly company ever crossed the plains. With but few exceptions there was no grumbling, no quarrels and no disobedience to the rules laid down before starting on the long and weary road."—Clark, John H., "Autobiography," MS. in Root collection, Kansas State Historical Society.

13. This was a Presbyterian mission for the Iowa, Sauk and Fox Indians, established in 1837 and discontinued about 1863. The principal building was a 32-room, three-story structure, built in 1846. The mission was located one and one-quarter miles east of present Highland, Doniphan county, Kansas.—*The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. X, p. 348.

bridge. Here was not the d—l to pay, but instead a large Indian sat at the receipt of customs demanding \$1 per wagon for the privilege of crossing over. California should be full of gold if the immigrant expects to get back all his outlay in getting there: \$5 per wagon and fifty cents for horses, mules and oxen for crossing the Missouri river at St. Joe; and here again, \$1 per wagon for passing over a bridge fifty feet in length, costing perhaps \$150. This stream is called Wolf river, and crossing in any way except by the bridge would be a hard job. We presented a \$5 gold piece but it was refused; he must have "white money with the bird on it," so eight silver half dollars were hunted up and we passed over.¹⁴ The Indian was making a "good thing," not less than 1,500 wagons passing over to-day. No "nigger in the wood pile" here; white men are at the bottom of this speculation. What a glorious time the Indian will have spending those white half dollars for rotten whiskey.

May 10—Saw the first dead ox on the road to-day, and passed two or three graves, the occupants of which, it is said, died of small-pox. Met a young man with two small children returning to the states; said he had buried his wife and one child just beyond. We felt for the poor fellow as he every now and then turned his look toward the wilderness where lay his beloved ones, over whose graves the wild wolves would make night hideous with their dreadful howls as they struggled with one another for choice seats at the feast of human flesh.

May 11.—Had some emigrant neighbors near us whom we intended to visit but for the rain, which fell in torrents. This was the beginning, but we would know more about it at the end of our journey. To stand watch on a pleasant night after a day of hard travel was hard enough, but to stand in mud and rain was still harder. However, we watched the weary hours away. About midnight our neighbor approached our campfire and told us that his only child had just died and he had come to solicit aid to bury it.

14. Lobenstine reached this crossing two days earlier, on May 7, 1852, and wrote: ". . . we arrived at Wolf Creek, across which the Indians have struck a bridge, for the crossing of which they charge the emigrants a high price. It is, however, a great convenience to the latter, the creek being about thirty feet wide and from three to four feet deep. The Indians, who built the bridge, have put up their camp there."—*Extracts from the Diary of William C. Lobenstine, December 31, 1851-1858* (Printed Privately, 1920), pp. 17, 18. T. E. Potter, May 10, 1852, wrote: "The only bridge at Wolf River was owned by a person living at the Pawnee [?] Indian Mission nearby, who charged \$5 for each wagon that he allowed to cross. Such was the crowd of people and so exorbitant the price that our party joined with some other trains and built a new bridge. . . . There were four such bridges built in two days."—Editorial note by E. Eberstadt in Sawyer, Lorenzo, *Way Sketches* (New York, Edward Eberstadt, 1926), p. 20. Mrs. Frizzell, crossing two days after the Clark party, on May 11, 1852, wrote: "We now came to Wolf creek, a small stream but very steep banks, the Indians have constructed a kind of bridge over it, & charged 50 cts per wagon, there were several of them here, quite fine looking fellows, not near so dark as those I had seen, but of the real copper color, said they were of the Sacs & Fox tribes."—Frizzell, *op. cit.*, p. 13. The crossing of Wolf creek preceded arrival at the mission which was a few miles west of this bridge.

We promised that in the morning his wants should be attended to. We had an empty cracker box which we made answer for a coffin, dug a grave in the middle of the road and deposited the dead child therein. The sun had just risen and was a spectator to that mother's grief as she turned slowly but sadly away from that little grave to pursue the long journey before her. We filled the grave with stones and dirt, and when we rolled out drove over it. Perhaps we had cheated the wolf by so doing—perhaps not.

This was a lovely morning and a beautiful country lay before us; nothing to make us sad save the occupant of that little grave we had left for the immigration to trample beneath its heel. Westward the star of empire moves, but leaves many a sad remembrance behind. As a general thing the roads are good, but the rain last night made deep and heavy wheeling. Had to unload our big wagon and carry the stuff over a soft spot in the highway.

May 12.—Met some wagons returning to the states. The people with them looked tired and jaded, and had lost some of their number by smallpox. They said this was a hard road to travel and tried to induce us to return with them. Later in the day we passed an encampment where it was said there was a case of cholera. The road is good and the country charming; the blackbirds hover in flocks along our pathway, making us glad with their presence. Camped near a small lake, grass growing to the water's edge; wood to carry some distance.

May 13.—Passed the grave of an immigrant, just buried, the wife and children still lingering over the new made grave, the company with which they were traveling having moved on. A more desolate looking group than that mother and her five children presented would be hard to find. An open, bleak prairie, the cold wind howling overhead, bearing with it the mournful tones of that deserted woman; a new made grave, a woman and three children sitting near by; a girl of fourteen summers walking round and round in a circle, wringing her hands and calling upon her dead parent; a boy of twelve sitting upon the wagon tongue, sobbing aloud; a strange man placing a rude headboard at the head of the grave; the oxen feeding near by, and the picture as I saw it was complete. We stopped to look upon the scene and asked the woman if we could be of any service. "I need nothing," she replied, "but advice—whether I shall pursue my journey or go back to my old home in Illinois." We could advise nothing; the journey onward was a long one and it was something of a journey back, with no home when

she got back. We passed on, but not without looking back many times upon a scene hard to forget.

Camped for dinner and while eating it the bereaved woman and her family passed by. It was a comfort to know that she was well supplied with means to accomplish her long journey. This afternoon passed a grave; no name or sex; a fresh grave surrounded by the green prairie.

May 14.—Camped last night on the bank of the Nemaha river,¹⁵ and this morning were called upon to bury a man who had died of cholera during the night. There have been many cases of this disease, or something very much like it; whatever it may be it has killed many persons on this road already. Yesterday we met two persons out of a company of five who left St. Joe the day before we did; two had died, one left on the road, sick, and the two we met were returning.

There are many camps on the banks of this river; many are sick, some dead and great numbers discouraged. I think a great many returned from this point; indeed, things look a little discouraging and those who are not determined may waver in their resolution to proceed. This afternoon we passed the graves of a man and woman; the former was marked for seventy-four years.

May 15.—Started early to make the Big Blue river, but rain soon commenced falling and retarded our progress so that we lay up short of the mark. Camped before sundown one mile from wood and water; good grass, however, which reconciled us to the many other little inconveniences which we experienced. No hot coffee nor warm bread; a "cold snack" and well-filled pipes our only comfort.

May 16.—The wind commenced blowing and the rain to fall just before daylight. It was a tedious journey of six miles from camp to the Big Blue river; the wind and rain from the northwest, and as we were going in that direction had to "face the music" of the elements in all their disagreeableness. Six miles in six hours and we are on the banks of the Big Blue. Here we set fire to a pile of driftwood, cooked our dinner and smoked our pipes. On the east bank of this river is located a private postoffice, a dramshop, hotel and a ferry, the business all under one roof. If we mail a letter we pay \$1; if we take a dram of good whiskey, seventy-five cents; a square meal, (?) \$1.50; if it is a wagon we want carried over the river, \$4, and no grumbling. The proprietor is doing a rush-

15. Evidently the "Big" Nemaha. The best crossing later known as Baker's Ford was located in the SE¼ sec. 23, T. 1 S., R. 12 E., present Nemaha county, Kansas. Near this crossing was an excellent camping ground, possibly the one referred to by Clark. (Location of crossing from tracings of land plats in Kansas auditor's office.)

ing business. During our stay of two and a half hours he crossed forty wagons, his clerks were busy handing out whiskey and the cooks getting out bacon, biscuits and coffee. How many letters he received for transportation during the same time I am unable to say, but our company handed in fifteen or twenty. The "boss" has a good thing just now; how long he will be able to keep it depends on the overland immigration.¹⁶

Rather than pay \$4 per wagon for being ferried we concluded to ford the river, which we did without much trouble or danger. Took in wood and water and pushed out onto the open prairie. Passed twelve graves to-day, most of them located on the banks of the Big Blue river.

May 17.—A late start and a cold one; it is very windy and cold yet. We had been advised not to carry much clothing as the weather on the plains was so mild that we did not need it. Our experience is that a good, warm overcoat is a very comfortable thing to have about. Passed Cottonwood creek¹⁷ and two newly-made graves.

May 18.—Cold and windy yet; not a man slept warm last night. Crossed Little Sandy creek.¹⁸ Four bare walls of a blacksmith shop standing on the west side. The owner, I think, had "vamosed the ranch"; the encouragement given to honest industry on the banks of the Little Sandy river was not sufficient to induce him to stay. Overtook a train in distress, several persons being sick and one dead.

May 19.—An early start in hopes of reaching the Little Blue river¹⁹ to-day, but were disappointed and had to lay up short of the mark. Saw two bears feeding on the carcass of some animal they had killed. The loose hunters on the road immediately gave chase but the "varmint" were used to the tricks of travelers and

16. Frank J. Marshall established a ferry and trading post at the crossing of the Big Blue river, a few miles below present Marysville, Kansas, in 1849. This was at the famous ford known as the Independence, Mormon or California crossing. Two years later, Marshall built another ferry at what is now Marysville, to accommodate traffic on the new military road between Forts Leavenworth and Kearny. The Clark party forded the river here. Travel was heavy and both crossings were in use in 1852.—*The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. X, p. 350; Andreas, A. T., and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, A. T. Andreas, 1883), p. 918.

17. Cottonwood creek crossing was a little northeast of present Hanover, Washington county, Kansas. G. H. Hollenberg's ranch established there in 1857 as a trading point was also known as the "Cottonwood ranch."—*The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. X, p. 357.

18. The Little Sandy creek crossing was in present Nebraska. The trail entered Nebraska at the extreme southwestern corner of Gage county.—Ghent, W. J., *The Road to Oregon* (London, New York, Toronto, Longmans, Green and Co., 1929), p. 127.

19. Ware gave the distance between the Big Blue and Little Blue rivers as twenty-eight miles.—Ware, Joseph E., *The Emigrants' Guide to California*, reprinted from the 1849 edition (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1932), p. 15. Other travelers estimated the distance variously from twenty to twenty-eight miles. Up to this point the Clark-Brown party had made slow progress. Ingram, in his "Reminiscences," wrote: "for the first two weeks we made but little head way for it rained considerable and that made the sloughs very soft and our teams being green and not being use[d] to working together when they would get into the mud they would come to the conclusion that the work was to[o] hard and stop. So the consequence was we would have to get into the mud and pack our load out. . . ."

vamosed over the hills, leading our hunters a wild chase of four or five miles contrary to the line of travel. They shot no bear and came to camp tired, cross and hungry. Bacon, dried beef, hard tack and coffee soon restored their normal condition and all were happy again.

May 20.—Out again for the Little Blue river in hopes of a more bountiful supply of the staple articles of an overland journey—wood, water and grass. From an elevation we first caught sight of the river and a beautiful sight it was, the river winding through groves of thick timber and small under growth, the branches dipping into the clear, silvery flood below, presenting a picture of quiet repose altogether in accordance with our wishes. Happy were we to rest beneath such grateful shade as was here presented for our comfort. Here, too, was wood, water and grass in abundance. Another bear was seen to-day, but made his escape. One of our men, an old bear hunter from the wilds of West Virginia, is badly disappointed in not being able to catch a bear and has promised to kill the next bear he sees or break his rifle over a wagon wheel. After supper drove our stock over the river to good grass. It was a satisfaction to see our cattle on good feed once more.

May 21.—We were surprised this morning with the bluster of wind and the discomfort of rain; the wind blew a gale and the rain fell in torrents. We are elected to remain in camp all day. Towards noon the rain slacked up a little and some of the boys went hunting, some fishing and some gathering wood. This was a day of discomfort, and could our friends at home have seen us as we sat huddled around the camp fire, smoked out, burned out, (and I was going to say rained out) they would have been greatly amused; but, as it happens, man is neither sugar nor salt, and it would take a good deal of rain to wash him out entirely. The hunters came in without game and the fishermen without fish. Should we have much such weather as we have experienced to-day we shall not call our trip a pleasant one.

May 22.—Being in the Indian territory we keep a sharp look-out for our stock. A good many cattle have been stolen lately. We are told that a number of white men are prowling about and it is an easy matter when stock is not well looked after for them to drive it a few miles off the road, where they are safe from pursuit. Our road now traces the Little Blue valley. Nothing of importance occurred to mar the happiness we enjoyed in traveling through this beautiful and fertile vale. Did not notice a newly-made grave to-day.

After camping tried to catch some fish but failed in the effort; there is plenty of fish in the river and plenty of game on its banks, but for want of skill or good luck have as yet caught nothing.

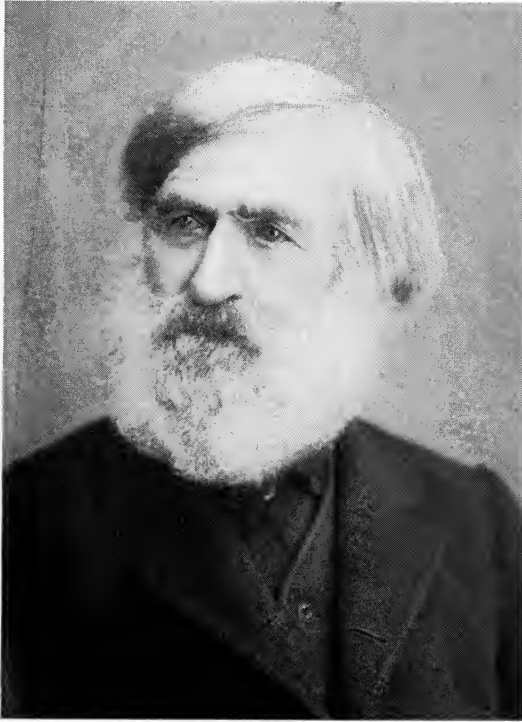
May 23.—Passed the grave of a man found murdered.²⁰ How strange that man will commit murder at all, and still stranger when he does it in a desolate country where there is so much need of aid and comfort from one to another.

At noon camped near a train of Rocky mountain traders coming into the states loaded with furs.²¹ They were the first we had seen and excited some little curiosity from their rusty looking appearance. Men, animals and wagons looked as though they had spent their existence in the bad lands of the great northwest. In our immediate vicinity lay the ruins of an immigrant train—broken wagons and scattered goods, men running here and there, women wringing their hands and children crying. I asked one of the unfortunates, "What happened?" "The devil and Tom Walker; can't you see for yourself?" he answered. "I can see Tom Walker, but the devil I can't see," I replied. "Well, look over there," he replied, pointing to the train of peltries, "if you can't see him you can smell him." That explained the matter; the Rocky mountain train had quite a number of green hides, poorly cured, and a dreadful smell was the consequence; this the immigrant oxen objected to and concluded to run away, and making a strong run of it upset wagons, ran over some of their drivers, spilled women and children, bags of flour and other articles upon the highway. It looked like going west under difficulties; some of the wagons had lost their wheels, some had broken tongues, others had covers smashed, and nearly all had some injury to repair. We passed on to good camping and turned our stock out to better pasture than we had before seen.

A word here to all who expect to cross these plains: never get into trouble with the expectation of getting help; carry nothing but what is absolutely necessary, and mind your own business. There is but little sympathy for anyone on this road, no matter what may be his condition. Everyone thinks he has trouble enough and conducts himself accordingly. However, if one is stuck in the mud and there is no way of getting around, over or under, he may get a lift

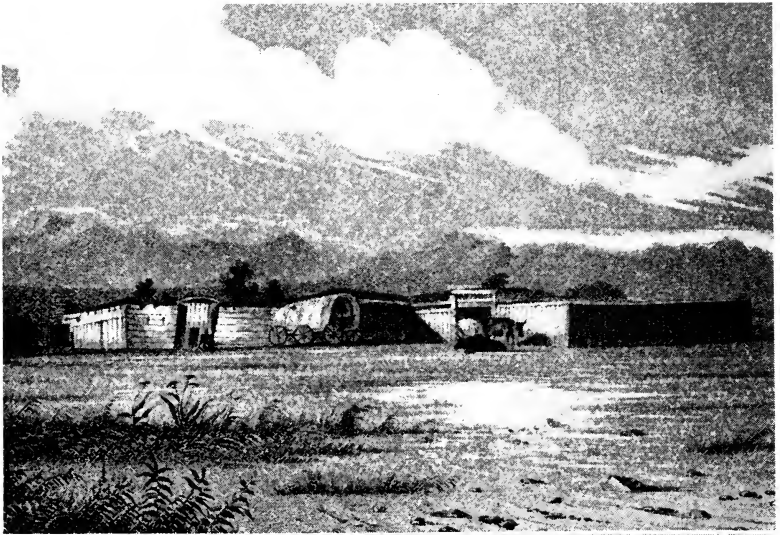
20. Mrs. Frizzell, passing this spot on the same date recorded: ". . . there was a board put up, & this information upon it, that a man was found here on the 17th, horribly murdered, with wounds of a knife, & buckshot. . . ."—Frizzell, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

21. On May 24, 1852, Mrs. Frizzell's party met "a company of fur traders with 16 wagons & loaded with buffalo robes, they were very singular in appearance looking like so many huge elephants, & the men, except 2, were half breeds; & indians, & a rougher looking set, I never saw."—*Ibid.*



JOHN HAWKINS CLARK (1813-1900)

From a photograph of the 1890's.



TWO VIEWS OF FORT BRIDGER, WYOMING

(Upper) The outfitting station and trading post of James Bridger as it appeared to the Stansbury expedition in 1849. The post was destroyed by the Mormons in 1857.

(Lower) Fort Bridger, U. S. military post, taken about 1866, some years after creation of the military reservation on the site of the old trading post. Black's fork of the Green river is in the foreground. From a rare photograph in the Root collection.

at the wheel, but then he is cursed for having a weak team or for overloading or maybe for bad driving.

May 24.—Had a very sick man last night but was able to travel this morning. Left the Little Blue river today and with some little regret. We had fared well while traversing its serpentine course; wood, water and grass in profusion. Our route today lies between this river and the big Platte—a rough, hilly and barren country; no wood, scarcely any grass, and but little water that we could use. We were anxious to make the distance from one river to the other before camping, and drove hard to accomplish it, but were destined to be disappointed. Night came when we were ten miles short of our wishes and had to go into camp without water, wood or grass. This was the first time we could not in some way, get grass for our teams; we were tired and hungry ourselves, had plenty of provisions, but how to cook it was the “rub.” Most of the boys carried canteens and each had a little water remaining which was put into the coffee pot and a fire built with the remains of a bread box. We supped on hard bread and coffee and retired to rest after a day of toil and fatigue.

May 25.—Rolled out very early this morning to make the Platte valley; we must have wood and water to make breakfast, and we must also have grass for our animals. The morning was drizzly, dark and gloomy; the country desolate and forbidding; yet we pursued our way around and over the sand hills that border the Platte river with as cheerful thought as we ever possessed, for well we knew there was comfort just ahead; we also knew that the sun would again shine and we would have bright and glorious weather, and other objects more interesting to look upon than the gray and barren sand hills that loom up so gloomily on our pathway. At ten o'clock we are in the bottoms of the Platte valley²² up which we travel a few miles and camp upon the river bank and opposite an island. The water of the Platte, like the Missouri, is thick with sand which gives to it a muddy appearance, forbidding to the look, nevertheless good and sweet water; it is thought to be more healthy than water found in springs along the line of travel. Many immigrants were camped on the shores of this river, many busied themselves fishing, hunting, running and jumping, playing cards and dancing. Boys will amuse themselves one way or another; many wrote let-

22. Travelers on the overland route usually struck the Platte river in the vicinity of Grand Island, Neb.

ters at this camp, intending to mail them at Fort Kearney. Caught some fish and took a rest for the balance of the day.

May 26.—Out early this morning, and our pathway now lies in the valley of the magnificent Platte river. What a beautiful and pleasant looking stream; for several hundred miles we are to follow its meanderings, camping opposite its banks, fishing and bathing in its cooling waters, we promise ourselves much comfort while we keep it company, for it is indeed a lovely looking picture, studded with beautiful little islands of every shape and size, some single and at times clusters of them, always covered with grass and sometimes timber. While looking and viewing this broad sheet of water as it comes rolling down from the great west one almost feels that it comes from fairy land. Picture to yourselves a broad river winding through green meadows covered with grass which grows to the water's edge, beautiful little islands setting like gems upon its bosom, on some bright morning when the sun first spreads his golden rays over the same, and tell me if you do not see an "enchanted land"; and this, too, is the far famed "hunting grounds of the west." It is upon these grounds that the wild Indian has reveled in his might, lording it over all animate beings within his reach. Here has he lived and hunted and fished, generation after generation, little dreaming that a race of "pale faces" coming from the "rising sun" was one day to despoil him of his home and his hunting grounds, and that his race would fade and become a shadow of the past or living only in history recorded by his enemies. Already has the white man taken upon himself the charge of this beautiful country. Yonder warlike establishment tells them they have masters and must submit to be ruled by a people of another race; and so it is. "Manifest destiny" is spreading the white race broadcast throughout the fair fields of the great west, shedding the light of science, of civilization, and of religion, covering the dark savage superstition of the native race in the grave of the past.

Fort Kearney²³ lies five miles from our camp, and while marching towards it this morning it presented quite an interesting appearance; but, on a near approach, the charm we felt on first seeing it gradually faded, and when we arrived on the spot, found instead of clean looking buildings, a number of rusty looking houses without paint or whitewash. A post-office, hotel and store are located here; a smith shop is free to all who have cause to use it—a great convenience to

23. Fort Kearny was located on the Platte river in 1848. It was named for Col. Stephen W. Kearny of the United States dragoons.—Willman, Lillian M., "The History of Fort Kearny," in *Publications of the Nebraska State Historical Society* (Lincoln, 1930), v. XXI, pp. 226, 228.

many. Our friends who had the stampede on the Little Blue, can here avail themselves of this shop to repair their damages. Many sick immigrants are taken to the hospital and treated by the army surgeons—and persons without money are frequently assisted. Everybody stops here long enough to satisfy their curiosity.²⁴ It was quite a lively place when we passed; an hour or two and we were satisfied; drove on some six or eight miles and went into camp near the river and opposite an island, to which we drove our teams and from which we procured wood for making supper. Here is a ford and many are crossing to the north side. We prefer to remain on this (the south) side.²⁵ Some have an idea there is more grass on the north side; I guess there will be stock enough to consume all the feed on both sides of the river. In looking about among our neighbors this evening some of the boys found a wagon where whiskey was for sale, and made a purchase of the article, brought it into camp and passed it around; when fairly under way, it kept going, going, and as the auctioneer would say, "gone." However, the liquor did but little damage as there happened to be more water than whiskey in the purchase, and but a limited quantity of both; no ill effects from its use was perceptible, but no more whiskey in camp was allowed after this. Fiddling and dancing was a recreation that most all of the immigration indulged in; we had plenty of it to-night. Two of us sleep in each wagon, the remainder in tents; we have slept quite comfortable as yet, sometimes perhaps a little too cold; the nights are always cool on the plains.

May 27.—At eight o'clock this morning we were upon the road; grass was scarce and we were traveling to find it. It must be remembered that this is a cold spring, and May comes early in the season for grass. A month later, and perhaps grass would have been more abundant; as it was, so many cattle, horses, mules, and sheep were cutting it down as fast as it grew. It was only here and there we could find a locality that had not been grazed; when we did the grass was good. Our most and greatest anxiety is to get good feed for our teams; it is upon their ability to perform the journey

24. The *St. Joseph (Mo.) Gazette*, June 9, 1852, quoted as follows from a letter dated at Fort Kearny May 19: "The number of wagons that have passed here up to Sunday the 16th, is fourteen hundred—the first train passing on the 30th April.

"The general health of the emigrants is good, although there has been some few cases of small pox. The grass is very poor, or in fact, I can hardly say it is grass at all. . . . [Signed] C. W. L."

25. The Clark-Brown party thus continued to follow the "St. Joe" road. Godfrey C. Ingram, member of the expedition, said of this crossing: "the Platt here is 1½ miles wide we did not cross the Platt here but at the old Calafornia Crossing we traveled up to South fork of Platt crossed that. . . ." The two trails were very close to each other in this area. Wrote Ingram: "Some times my friend Clark and I would stray off from the train and get on some high point so we could se[*e*] the travel on the north side of the Platt many times I have counted 300 hundred [*sic*] wagons in string."—Ingram, G. C., "Reminiscences."

that we all rely. Another train of Rocky Mountain traders passed down to-day, consisting of some ten or a dozen wagons drawn by five and six yoke of oxen each; a hard looking set. Men, oxen and wagons all partook of the same peculiarities, the color of faded tan bark. The negro had brightened to a dull yellow, the American was smoked to a dull yellow, and dull yellow was the normal cast of the Mexican. The train appeared to be heavy laden.

One of the boys and myself rode ahead to find good feed but were not fortunate enough to find much; waded the Platte river to an island, canvassed surface and concluded to drive our stock to it where by sprouting and grazing they managed to get something.

May 28.—We are now in the buffalo region and the boys anxious to capture one. An early breakfast and two or three of the men were off on the hunt. We had quite a time hunting our stock this morning. Timber, high weeds and grass grew so thick upon the island that it was hard work to push our way through and over them to where our cattle were feeding; delayed starting in order to give our hunters a chance. Eight o'clock and we are off; the roads good, level and straight as an arrow. Twelve o'clock came and went but no hunters in sight. Buffalo or no buffalo, we must make a day's work. Six o'clock and tolerably good feed so we concluded to put up; still no hunters. The train had traveled twenty miles and the hunters had to do the same, independent of the extra strides hunters usually put in when on a "wild goose chase." We were now really apprehensive as to their whereabouts; however, we had not settled in camp but a few minutes when two of them put in their appearance; the other had been left on the road, tired out. One of the boys was dispatched with a horse to bring him in, which was soon done. No buffalo meat for supper to-night.

May 29.—We were determined to hunt good camping ground for to-night and also for the morrow, as it is very necessary that we should lay by on the Sabbath day. There are many things to attend to; washing is once in awhile to be done; our firearms need brushing up and there are a variety of little things to look after; one has some little gift from someone at home and it must be seen to; another a Bible which is stowed away somewhere. The most of us have little pictures of our sweethearts and wives and they must come in to share a part of our attentions.

This was quite a warm day and we and our teams suffered much from the heat. Camped near the river; good grass and plenty of water, of course, but no wood. This was about the first time we

could get no wood. Wood or its substitute we must have; there is no getting along without coffee on these plains. We had read in "the books" that people traveling over these plains had "sometimes to use buffalo chips," and it took us but a little while to come to that conclusion ourselves. We gathered them by the basketful, by the armful and by the handful, and as they were plentiful I guess we gathered a wagon load, set the heap on fire and cooked our supper. The "chips" worked like a charm and are really a godsend for the traveler in this part of the country—a staple which would be hard to dispense with. It is now no longer wood, water and grass. The inquiry when camp is announced is whether or no there is "plenty of chips." If there is we can stay, but if not we must move a little farther on. Sometimes a man goes ahead to hunt a camping ground and if nothing is lacking when he finds one he turns his horse loose and commences piling up chips. When the train comes up it stops before the largest pile and the teams are unhitched. Men, women and children are sometimes seen gathering chips—the men in their arms, the women in their aprons, and the little boys and girls will sometimes be seen carrying them on their heads. The horses, oxen and mules get so used to camping where there is plenty of them that it is hard work to get them past a spot where they are thickly strewn; and if a heap has been left unburned at any place near the road our oxen will make for it and there is no stopping them until they are alongside. The chips are a substitute for wood, and were it not for them I hardly know how the traveler in this part of the country would get along. Where there is an abundance of chips there will also be seen thousands of skulls and bones of the buffalo, the ground in many places being white with them. The smooth, white forehead is much used by the immigrants for transmitting news. If anyone is lost from his train the company with whom he has been traveling will write on the forehead of these skull bones the name of the company, date of camping and other information pertinent to the question and set the head up on its horns in some prominent place by the roadside. They are also good targets for the marksmen; a little black spot made with powder and bullet holes set close around are often seen. During the immigration buffaloes are scarce on the line of travel; at least we have seen none as yet.

May 30.—Remained in camp all day overhauling things. Weather very warm. Some of the boys are again on the hunt in hopes of killing some game, but returned about noon without success. However, they did bring in a prairie dog, the first we had seen.

Were visited this afternoon by a number of Indians who came riding into camp on horseback. They looked somewhat imposing, being well mounted on good horses. They proved to be part of a band of Sioux who had been at war with the Pawnees and were now returning up the river. They came into camp for something to eat, which we gave them.

May 31.—Intended to do a good day's work to-day, but whether we did or not our teams and ourselves were quite worn down at night. The weather is oppressively hot and but for the wind we would suffer much. Nothing of interest occurred to-day; it was travel, travel, travel, amid the dust of a thousand teams, some before and others behind, all like ourselves hurrying onwards.

June 1.—I wrote this on the highest point in the neighborhood and the highest we have yet seen.²⁶ The view from this spot is very extensive. As far as the eye can reach the broad river can be seen stretching far away to the east and west, the wide bottom lands covered with a carpet of green which gives to the scene a color rich and beautiful to look upon. And then there is another picture. Look at the long line of immigrants, stretching as it were from the rising to the setting sun; and when one does see it, as we do at this moment, he cannot but wonder where such a mighty multitude of men, women, children and animals are marching to. Echo answers "where"; but ask of the throng and they will tell you "California and Oregon." Yes, California and Oregon have lured that crowd from many a happy home, and here they are, this beautiful morning, marching to those beautiful shores whose golden sands have set the world on fire.

Remained on this peak until time admonished us to be traveling. Neither time nor the tide of immigration waited for us, so taking another look at the panorama before us we left the mountain top and pursued our journey. A long and tiresome walk brought us to the noonday camp.

June 2.—An early start this morning. The South Fork of the Platte river is to be forded to-day,²⁷ and as it is an interesting feature in our day's work we keep ourselves and teams together. Nine o'clock and we are at the river; there are many people on the banks and in the river, which at this point is from one-half to three-fourths of a mile wide and from six to twenty-five inches in depth. The depth of the water, however, is no indication of the trouble there is in fording this stream. The bottom is quicksand; horse, mule or ox

26. Probably O'Fallon's Bluff.

27. There was no fixed crossing place. It changed frequently during the season.—Ware, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

standing still three minutes will sink so deep as to be unable to extricate itself without help. There is, perhaps, more fun, more excitement, more whipping, more swearing and more whiskey drank at this place than at any point on the Platte river. Many loose cattle were being driven over when we crossed, and the dumb brutes seemed to have an inclination to go any way but the right one. Loose cattle, teams, horses, mules, oxen, men and boys, all in a muss; the men swearing and whipping, the cattle bellowing, the horses neighing and the boys shouting, made music for the million. It was an interesting scene. It reminded one of something he had never seen nor heard of before, and if he is an actor in the play he is so much excited that a looker on could hardly tell whether he was on his way to California or going back to God's country. One would think by his actions that he had lost his individuality and had become half horse and half alligator; sometimes pushing at the wagons, at others whipping the stubborn oxen, then splurging through the water to head some curious old cow who had taken it into her own sweet will to go contrary to the right direction.

Having but few cattle, our troubles were comparatively light; we gave the teams all the water they would drink before starting and then whipped them through. When safely landed on the other shore the captain passed around the "big jug." It must be remembered that we took brandy along for the sick folks. If ever brandy does good it is perhaps when one gets into the water and stays there long enough to get chilled; the most of us had waded the river and came out chilly.

June 3.—Some rain last night and good traveling to-day. The road leaves the river, and crossing the highlands makes a cut off to the river again at Cedar Bluffs. This hilly country is a desolate looking region. There were many in camp to-day and in every camp either sick or dead people. Put up three miles from the river, to which we drove our cattle and from which we carried water for cooking. Grass is getting scarce and our stock fared badly.

June 4.—The high lands approach the river at this point so close that we are forced to leave the valley and take to the hills again. After a five mile drive we strike the headwaters of "Ash Hollow," which we follow down to the main valley of the Platte. Nothing we have yet seen can exceed the beauty of Ash Hollow.²⁸ It was a

28. Stansbury, who traveled through this region July 3, 1849, described Ash Hollow thus: "We encamped at the mouth of the valley, here called Ash Hollow. The traces of the great tide of emigration that had preceded us were plainly visible in remains of camp-fires, in blazed trees covered with innumerable names carved and written on them; but, more than all, in the

lovely morning as we entered it; birds were singing joyously amid the branches of beautiful trees; flowers were everywhere blooming, making fragrant the air we breathed; women and children were gathering wild roses and singing some sweet song which put us in mind of other times and other localities. There were many camps in this valley; the shade of the green trees was truly inviting, and a stream of clear, cold water and plenty of wood made it a desirable place for a few days' rest. From the head of the valley to where it opens out on the Platte bottoms is perhaps two miles, one side of which is an abrupt bluff 100 to 200 feet high. Thousands of birds have their nests high up in these perpendicular cliffs and clouds of them are hovering about filling the air with their chattering noise. On the opposite side the land rises with a gentle grade and is covered with a variety of timber, ash being most prominent, hence the name, "Ash Hollow."

Just before leaving the valley we visited a graveyard pleasantly situated on a rising mound. There were four newly made graves and three of older date, the occupants of which were, perhaps, strangers, coming from different parts of the world to lie down and sleep together in this quiet place. Although a most beautiful valley death had been busy; only a few days ago four of the occupants of this quiet little graveyard heard the birds sing and saw the beautiful flowers growing. Sickness and death have marred the pleasures of our journey thus far, but how long it will continue to do so Providence only knows. Wherever there is a little shady grove where we might stop and view the beautiful scenery as it presents itself in many places, our spirits are dampened by the sight of fresh earth piled up in an unmistakable form, showing that beneath it lies the inanimate form of some being who, like ourselves, delighted in viewing nature in such beautiful forms as it everywhere presents itself in the neighborhood of our travels.

June 6.—Compelled to travel today, Sunday though it is; the absence of grass makes it necessary to move. At three o'clock we struck good grass. We are always happy when we find plenty of feed. One of our hunters brought in a fine deer, and now while I am writing the cooks are doing their best to get up a big supper.

June 7.—This morning the weather was quite cool and the laid-away overcoats were again hunted up. Yesterday we met three men returning to the states. These three are all that are left out of a

total absence of all herbage. It was only by driving our animals to a ravine some distance from the camp, that a sufficiency for their subsistence could be obtained."—Stansbury, Howard, *An Expedition to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah* (Philadelphia, Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1855), p. 41.

company of seventeen men who left Ash Hollow a few days ago, bound for California. Sickness commenced soon after leaving the Hollow, and by the time Fort Laramie was reached fourteen of their number were dead. The remaining three concluded to return and from them we gleaned the above facts. A true story, no doubt. The road has been thickly strewn with graves.

June 8.—Awoke this morning just as the rising sun was flooding with its golden light that giant monument of the plains [see Footnote 29]. I had seen its beauties and its grandeur fade in the dim and darkness of night, and now I saw it again in all the beauteous splendor a rising sun could impart.

Off early; some of the boys started to visit Court House Rock, but after traveling an hour or two concluded it would not pay. The object of their visit appeared no nearer after a five mile tramp than it did at starting. People get wonderfully mistaken sometimes in distances measured by the eye. Optical delusions are frequent on the plains. Camped a few miles below Chimney Rock²⁹ and in full view of Scott's Bluffs.³⁰ Chimney Rock stands some three miles to the left of the road. I visited it to-day and should think it near 300 feet in height and perhaps thirty or forty feet square, holding its size, or nearly so, its entire height; it is a wonderful specimen of natural ruins. Much sickness on the road.

June 9.—In hopes of reaching Scott's Bluffs to-day and made an early start to accomplish it. About 9 o'clock we met an old black cow returning to the states; she appeared to have had enough of this wonderland and was returning to pastures green and more plentiful than she has had for the last hundred miles or so, traveling day by day in search of a bare subsistence. Some of the boys thought the journey too long and too lonesome for a single traveler, and after much coaxing induced the old thing to turn back. But no sooner had we camped than her alleged owner made his appearance, and recognizing her old and familiar form claimed his children's pet; a sad blow to some of the boys who hungered for milk in their coffee. Took up for the night about one and a half miles west of Scott's Bluffs. For forty miles we had caught frequent glimpses of these celebrated rocks, and their appearance when first seen impressed one with the idea that he might be approaching a great and magnificent

29. Court House and Chimney Rocks were notable landmarks on the road. The former is about five miles south of present Bridgeport, Cheyenne county, Nebraska; Chimney Rock is about two and one-half miles south of the town of Bayard, Cheyenne county, Nebraska.—Morton, J. Sterling, *Illustrated History of Nebraska* (Lincoln, J. North & Company, 1905), v. I, p. 83.

30. Scott's Bluffs were some twenty miles from Chimney Rock. Ware, *op. cit.*, p. 19, gave the distance as nineteen miles; Stansbury, *op. cit.*, p. 52, placed it at over twenty miles.

city. Court House Rock stood a temple upon the plain, Chimney Rock had the appearance of a watch tower from whose lofty height a watchman could command a view of the surrounding country; and last, though not least, in the extensive view, stood Scott's Bluffs, like fortified ramparts to guard the safety of millions. Here are castellated walls and ramparts, towers and domes, built in that grand and massive style which only nature knows so well, how to plan. The natural ruins of this neighborhood are on an extensive and grand scale, wonderful to behold, and what makes them of more interest is the strong resemblance to decaying monuments erected by the hand of man, making one believe, almost in spite of himself, that yonder ruin is the handiwork of man. It is only on a near approach that the delusion wears off, yet there still lingers a curiosity to examine, to see if, after all, there are not some chisel marks, square joints or plumb corners that man can claim; but there are none. It is all the work of nature's master builder, but when or how placed in their present form science alone can tell.

June 11.—David³¹ started out this morning on a deer hunting expedition, and David was successful; a fine buck was David's prize, but somehow or other David had got in the rear of his train and when the deer was killed had to call for help; that was done by a signal invented for the occasion. A horse was despatched to bring in the game; but the animal not being a pack horse, refused to carry it. There was a fix; but David with a little help and more energy, succeeded in bringing in the meat upon the back of "Major." Camped early to give the cooks a chance. If we did not feast this day it was not David's fault; neither was it because the game was unsuited to our taste, for the way it disappeared after being cooked, was a caution to those on duty, and had to dine at the second table; but I am happy to say there was enough for all and some to spare. David was booked as an expert and voted a glass of brandy from the "big jug."

Sickness appears to be increasing if one may judge from the number of new made graves he sees by the road side. Yesterday we passed the grave of a lady, to-day saw her husband buried and their children left to journey with strangers.

June 12.—Fort Laramie³² lies ten miles distant. To make it and

31. This was David Allen. G. C. Ingram, "Reminiscences," says: "Had a fiddler in the company by the name of Dave Allen."

32. Stansbury, *op. cit.*, p. 52, gives the distance from Scott's Bluffs to Fort Laramie as fifty-one miles. Ghent, *op. cit.*, p. 133, states that forty days was considered a good journey between Independence, Mo., and Fort Laramie. The Clark-Brown party, traveling from St. Joseph, Mo., covered the distance in thirty-six days.

find good feed was the height of our ambition to-day. The Platte river bottoms are here quite narrow and grass very scarce. The cactus grows in great abundance and in many shapes and forms; some trees very beautiful, some of the species grow to the dignity of trees and bear fruit, resembling in shape and taste a green water-melon.

Fort Laramie³³ is located at or near the junction of the Platte and Laramie rivers, near the banks of the latter and about one mile from the former. We crossed Laramie river over a bridge just above the junction of the two streams for which we paid three dollars per wagon—teams and passengers free. Camped on the Platte river as usual; here we again wrote letters for home. Fort Laramie is a great place in the immigration season; a good many wagons are left at this point, many coming to the conclusion of getting along without them. Many pack their goods from this point; a hard way to travel, I should think. A hotel, store and post office are located here. I saw about 150 officers and men belonging to the Fort; all appeared to be well behaved, and I think ready and willing to help the unfortunate. The hospital, I am told, contains many sick immigrants.

We are now at the head of the great open valley of the Platte river. If this stream was only navigable what a smoking there would be in the great valley. How sorry I felt it was not so: a great lift it would be to us poor wayfarers to steam it up this river and land beneath the shade of the great Rocky mountains. Could only console ourselves with the pleasant expectation of one day seeing the "iron horse" on his race with time go thundering up this great highway on his course to the Pacific.

If one could write a true future history of this great valley, what an interesting story he could make of it; but as only a few speculative thoughts can be allowed, I will say that the greater part of this immense valley is susceptible of cultivation. From the first of May

33. Fort Laramie was originally established by fur-traders William L. Sublette and Robert Campbell in 1834. It was first called Fort William; later, Fort John. In 1849 the government purchased the fort from the American Fur Company and it became a U. S. military post.—Hafen, L. R., and F. M. Young, *Fort Laramie and the Pageant of the West, 1834-1890* (Glendale, Cal., The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1938), pp. 24-31, 60, 140-142.

An interesting comparison is the description by Thomas Turnbull who arrived opposite Fort Laramie on the North Platte (or, Mormon) trail on June 8, 1852: "got opposite . . . Fort [Laramie] about 4 O'clock, it stands in a valley surrounded by hills covered by small cedars, the Laramie Fork runs into the Platt here the St. Joe Road crosses the Fork & we still go along on this side of the Platt about 80 Rods here apart we can cross this Ferry if we wish, to go on the St Joe route it is a wild looking River here runs very swift at the opposite side of the Ferry there is a Blacksmith & waggon makers shop the Garrison & Houses are built with Spanish Brick number about 12 Houses the Garrison is about 2 miles from the Ferry Hundreds of Ponies, Horses, Oxen, Mules & Waggon's around here. . . ."—*"T. Turnbull's Travels From the United States Across the Plains to California," in Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at Its Sixty-First Annual Meeting* (Madison, 1914), p. 170.

until the first of July, the native grass will sustain 100,000 head of horses, mules and oxen; to say nothing of the great herds of buffalo that may at the same time graze upon its pastures.

These wide bottom lands will soon be filled with an enterprising population. Cities and towns will flourish and a great railroad will run along its entire length bringing in and carrying out the product of her own and distant localities. I can now, in the year 1852, with just a little stretch of the imagination, see the distant smoke of the "iron horse" as he comes stretching up the valley on his mission of peace, of civilization and of convenience.

A friend who has been looking over my shoulder while the above was being written says: "Your head will be cold long before one-half of such stuff you are writing will be realized." . . . I am more sanguine of the future of this great country west of the Missouri river. . . .

June 13.—Left camp and traveled up the river to good grass. Feed is getting scarcer all the time. A great many cattle have gone over the road and of course have had the benefit of fresh pastures, but our stock has done well as yet.

June 14.—Remained in camp to-day to shoe our horses and fix up things generally. One of our men left us to-day, having found an old acquaintance on the road; was anxious to join his friend and finish his travels in other company, so with mutual benefit we parted. This man joined us at St. Joe and has been a trouble to us and to himself ever since. He shouldered his pack and walked off, and as he had but few friends in camp he "cast no lingering look of fond remembrance behind." For one I felt for the poor fellow as I watched him on his winding way, receding in the far distance among the black and rugged hills. Although a wicked and a sinful man, the tear of sympathy would start at the glimpse of distress and a kind and cheerful word he always had for the unfortunate; and now as I see him, perhaps for the last time, may peace be with him.

At dinner we were visited by a party of native Americans, and as they were on a mission of peace added greatly to the pleasures of camp life. It was a change in our dull routine, and but for the slight difference in our looks one would have sworn we were brothers of the same mould. We immigrants had been so long on the plains and lived so much like Indians that now, while sitting round the camp fire, passing the pipe from mouth to mouth, from white man to Indian, a stranger would have sworn we were all of the same tribe as we smoked together. So we dined and a good time was had. But

I must say that a little envious feeling was manifested towards that happy brother who had the extreme pleasure of sitting by and now and then helping to dainty bits (pork and fried bread) a "dusky daughter" of the far west who happened to be one of our visitors. It was rather hard to let one man monopolize so much pleasure, but we were getting used to "hard things." The lucky fellow was left alone in his attentions to the fair one, who seemed very grateful for the devotions of the gallant immigrant. Whether the fellow will remember this as the happiest hour of his life I cannot say, but from the efforts he made to please and his polite farewell I am half inclined to believe she made a lasting impression.

When dinner was over and the pipe again went round we exhibited the pictures of our sweethearts and wives; these appeared to be greatly admired by the "stalwarts," but the lady Indian passed them by with supreme indifference.

June 15.—The Black Hills³⁴ were to be encountered to-day. Having heard a good deal about the travel through this country we were anxious to realize the difficulties to be met with. We are to follow the Platte river 150 miles over this rugged, hilly country. The river cannot be followed only on its general course; it is now quite a narrow stream, rapid and very crooked. For days we see nothing of it, then again we are upon its banks where it goes rushing, foaming and thundering over great rocks or between high and nearly perpendicular walls of stone, almost a terror to contemplate. This region is very interesting; we pass many curious shaped mounds and ruin-like looking places that would in the states attract a great deal of attention.

June 16.—Left one of the most beautiful camp grounds we have as yet occupied. The trail lay down a beautiful valley and opened out on the banks of the Platte river; nothing more wild in all of nature's wild scenes that we have as yet visited can exceed this spot—a rushing torrent, foaming, whirling, leaping over great boulders, jarring the earth upon which we stand and making such a noise as would make thunder itself ashamed of its puny efforts.

This afternoon our road lay across an elbow of the river and over a grassy plain, at the end of which we saw a little white tent, and at a near approach found that it contained within its canvas walls a sick man in the last stages of cholera. We called at the tent door

34. The Laramie mountains west of Fort Laramie. "The limitation of the term Black Hills to the particular chain now thus named in South Dakota, is of recent use."—Thwaites, R. G., ed., *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846* (Cleveland, Ohio, The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1906), v. XXVIII, p. 244.

and asked if we could be of any service. He replied, "No; my time is nearly out and I feel beyond any power of help, but am willing and ready." We passed on, but memory will linger long upon the scene of the white tent and its sick occupant. I had almost forgotten to say that the sick man had two attendants who had, as they told us, "attended to his every want," and at the same time dug his grave alongside his dying couch, "to have it handy," they said.

We have been eating fried bread ever since leaving the Missouri river and some of the boys are very tired of it. How to bake bread is a question that has often been discussed. Some say on a board before the fire; others tell us a hole in the ground and a fire over it is the way to do it, and still others tell us the way to bake "white man's bread and to be decent about it is to bake it in a cast iron Dutch oven, and then you have it." This afternoon one of the boys came into camp with one turned bottom side upward over his head. All hands shouted "Hurrah for the bake oven! Hurrah for the man who found and brought the bake oven into camp; we will now have good bread." The poor fellow who found the oven said, as he threw it from his head, that he had "toted it five miles and would not do it again if he had to eat slapjacks and hard bread all the way to California." "Why, d—n the thing, there is a hole in the bottom," said one who had turned it over. "Yes, I'll swear there is two of them." Sure enough, there were two bullet holes as near the center of the unfortunate oven as the marksman's skill enabled him to place, and through those two bullet holes vanished all our present hopes of good bread. It is but fair to say that the holes had been plastered over with mud, and the finder, not scrutinizing it closely, had been deceived as to its soundness.

June 17.—We were within eight miles of La Butte river³⁵ this morning and some of us hurried ahead to catch trout, but ill luck as usual attended our efforts. No fish for dinner to-day. However, we had a good bath in the mountain stream and that was something of a luxury this hot weather.

Took our last look at Laramie Peak this morning, having seen it for 150 miles. When first discovered its top was covered with clouds, but as we were in sight of it for several days we saw it in all its varied aspects, situated in the midst of the Black Hills but towering high above them all. It is a mountain patriarch whose hoary head, white with everlasting snow, gives one a good idea of

35. Probably La Bonte creek.—See Ware, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

mountain grandeur. We left it as we saw it, capped with clouds, and snow in many places far down its rugged sides.

Our teams came up as we were fishing and it being twelve o'clock, took dinner. One o'clock we are again on the move. One mile from the ford we passed the grave of a man just hung; it appeared that the culprit committed an unprovoked murder yesterday, was caught in the act, confined until this morning when he was tried, found guilty of murder in the first degree, and "hung upon the spot." The fellow kicked against the proceedings with much argument and wanted to be taken back to a civilized country before being tried; but as he had committed murder on the plains, he should be tried on the plains, and if found guilty, should be hung upon the plains. The murder was proven fair and square, the jury prompt in its verdict, sentence pronounced immediately and the hangman's rope finished the job. We felt like giving three cheers that justice, quick and sure, was so promptly administered. Conservatives and law loving people may take exception to such proceedings; but let such come out into a wild country like this and expose themselves to any whim the ruffian may take to shoot or otherwise dispose of him and he will, I think, be as ready to take the law into his own hands as the most of men do on these plains.³⁶

June 18.—The sublime, the pathetic, the outrageous and the ridiculous follow each other in quick succession on this road. This morning while in advance of our train caught up with an old lady trudging along after her two wagons. "Well, how are you getting along?" I asked. "O, terrible bad," she replied; "one of my grandchildren fell out of the wagon yesterday and both wheels ran plum over his head; oh dear! I shall never forget yesterday!" Thinking the accident a painful one for the old lady I changed the subject; in the

36. Godfrey C. Ingram, member of the Brown-Clark party, described the circumstances of this hanging in detail: "there was a large train two days ahead of our train that was owned by a man by the name of Brown. Browns wife was with this train. Brown was behind with a drove of cattle there was a young man by the name of Miller in charge. There was two young men Brothers by the name of Tate that drove team in the train that did not like Miller. Mrs. Brown told Miller the boss that he had better lay over until her husband came up with the catel he [Miller] told the drivers to stop and unhitch one of the Tates told Miller that he was putting on stile Miller told Tate that it was Mrs. Browns wish, that he would stop the train until Brown came up one word lead to another Tate called Miller a son of B. Miller grabed up one of the whip[s] and said he would not take that from no man and struck Tate with [the] whip Tates brother Layfaett [?] run up behind Miller and stuck a knife in his back as he fell nearly cut his head off. as soon as he done this he went to Millers wagon took Millers pistol and knife and took the road to California as fast as the trains came up they were stoped until there was a crowd to pick from to send after Tate in [a] short time 15 men started in pursuit and overtook Tate at a creek called Labont, and arrested him he told them there was no law on the plains as fast as trains came up they stoped[d] until they had a big crowd as soon as browns train came up with the witness there was a jury pick[ed] out of the crowd and a judg and a man on each side as a lawyer he was given a fair trial found guilty and hung on a tree at 12 Oc at night and burried close to road, with a large head board describing the crime and hanging. his brother said he would be the death of every one of the jury he was tied up to one of the trees and whiped. our train came up the next day I larned this from a man that was at the trial."—G. C. Ingram, "Reminiscences."

meanwhile several little fellows that were in the wagon were making a fuss, climbing up on the side boards, swinging to the roof of the cover, and otherwise disporting themselves. The old lady ever on the watch called out to "Johnny" to behave himself. "Do you want to fall out again and be killed, Johnny?" "Is that the boy who got run over yesterday? I thought he surely must have been killed." "No, it did not quite kill him, but it made the little rascal holler awfully." I thought that boy's head must have been a very hard one; or, possibly there might have been a very soft spot on the road somewhere. I asked the old lady if the children fell out of the wagon often. "They fall out behind sometimes when the wagons are going up steep places, but that don't matter much you know, for then there are no wheels to run over them," she replied. As this old lady is something of a character I am inclined to give something of her history; as a washwoman I became acquainted with her in St. Joe, Missouri. She told me that herself and husband joined the Mormon church in England, moved to America and Salt Lake, where her husband died, and she, becoming disgusted with Mormonism stole away and returned to St. Joe where she had resided ever since, making a living at the wash tub. When the California fever broke out she determined to go to the Pacific coast, and saved money sufficient to equip two wagons with teams and provisions. She crossed the Missouri river the same day that we did and here she was, safe and sound, without a broken head in the "outfit," which consisted of three women besides herself and five boys, big and little, including a son-in-law and a grandson. . . .

Passed many new made graves today; they line either side of the road and in number, fearful to contemplate. Hunters more fortunate than ourselves killed a buffalo and made a free market of the meat. I care but little for wild meat of any kind and consequently a poor judge of its merits. Went into camp and good grass in plenty, we are all right.

June 19.—Nothing of importance occurred on the march to-day. The features of the country have a good deal of sameness; up hill and down, sometimes a short narrow valley, with level roads, are met with.

June 20.—Laid by to-day. Some of the boys are fishing, some hunting and some washing. Mosquitoes have been very troublesome today; have been bothered but very little with these pests so far. We are camped on the low land near the river and the timber which accounts for our being troubled with them. Saw many teams pass-

ing upon the other side of the river, and all hunting for grass. They informed us that feed had been very scarce for the last hundred miles and they were bound to travel until they found it. It seems almost incredible how long ox teams will travel without food; day after day they move along on rations that would make the heart sick to contemplate were it not for the everlasting hope of finding something better further on the road.

June 21.—Rained some as we went into camp this evening and continued until after supper. We have had but little rain on the road—almost continual sunshine.

June 22.—Eight miles to upper ferry of Platte river; started early to make sure of getting over in time to build our campfire for the last time on the banks of this stream. "More haste less speed" is an old saying that we realized to our hearts' content this morning, for in crossing a deep and muddy ditch our ox team went contrary to good conduct and broke the wagon tongue, leaving the wagon half upset in the worst mud hole on Platte river. We were now in a fix, and if the wagon was not a "fixture" it appeared to be, for with all our ingenuity we could not move it. The most of our men and all the other teams were ahead and out of call. As we had done once before, so we had to do now—unload all our freight before we could extract the wagon. After an hour's labor in mud and water we had made things all right except the broken tongue, which we expect to get mended at the ferry. All set for the ferry, which we soon made and bargained for the transit of the whole outfit by paying the sum of \$32; these plainsmen do not forget to charge. All have to ferry their wagons, but most of the immigrants swim their stock.³⁷ Many cattle have been lost at this point and the ferryman has a record of fifteen men drowned within the last month. The boatman had, I think, located this ferry on a difficult place in the river in order to force custom over it.

There is a big crowd of people here and a great deal of stock is being driven into the river. They are driven in promiscuously and allowed to find their way over as best they can. I saw many of them drown in the swift, whirling and turbulent stream. Some men in their anxiety to get their stock over wade in after them, and as the records show, many are drowned. I saw one man go down and

37. According to Chittenden the location was a little above the present Casper, Wyo.—Chittenden, H. M., *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (New York, Francis P. Harper, 1902), p. 470. Ingrim of the Clark-Brown party wrote of this crossing: "there was some Mormens that had a ferry here they charged five dollars a wagon and men had to swim their teams or stock."—Ingrim, G. C., "Reminiscences."

another would soon have followed had he not been rescued by a negro who, as he heard the cry of "another man drowning," jumped upon a big mule, and then, mule and man, over a steep bank four feet high into the foaming current. Then came the struggle for life—now on top and then beneath the surface. The drowning man was making desperate efforts to save himself, the whirling and shifting current often preventing the negro from making a sure grip at the unfortunate man's head. Now he has him, now he has "lost his grip," and now he is again reaching for a sure hold, and fortunately, he has it. The mule and his rider and the half drowned man land on a sand bar half a mile below, and the excitement of the hour is over.

The negro, when the alarm was given, was busily strapping his pack upon his mule. Now again he is busy getting off on his journey, and as he is about to start he is detained by an old gentleman who tells him that this crowd of people cannot afford to let him proceed on his journey without showing their appreciation of his heroic conduct. Then calling the crowd together he dwelt upon the heroic deeds recorded in ancient and modern history and declared none of them more heroic or more deserving of praise than the one they had just witnessed, and ended with the proposition of giving the dusky hero "three cheers and a tiger." It is needless to say that three cheers and the loudest "tiger" that ever was heard upon the banks of the upper Platte river were given, and with a low bow of his woolly head the negro turned and resumed his journey toward the setting sun. "Honor and fame from no condition rise." He had acted well his part and is now as "happy as a clam at high tide." God bless him.

We crossed the river at 12 o'clock, went into camp and fixed up our lame wagon. An old Canadian plainsman had located at this place, improvised a blacksmith shop, hired a smith and was ready to do anything in his line on "reasonable terms." We gave him a job of welding a piece of iron one and a half inches wide by one-fourth of an inch in thickness, for which he charged the reasonable (?) sum of \$8, or about \$1 a minute. We took the iron, and in driving it into position it broke again in the same place. As it happened we had a smith with us he said he would fix it, so giving \$5 more for use of tools and a handful of coal we were fortunate in getting a good job. "Reasonable terms" have some significance, even out here.

June 23.—We leave the Platte river for good to-day, but before leaving must take a long, last look down this magnificent valley. We may never again have the pleasure of traveling over thy green

meadows or viewing thy monuments that every now and then stand as giant landmarks to the weary traveler. Although it has been a long and toilsome march beside thy turbid waters, we have spent many a delightful hour in viewing the grand and extensive scenery that borders thy coasts for so many hundred miles. There has been but one drawback to pleasures we have experienced within thy borders—sickness and death. The turf of thy green pastures covers thousands of weary pilgrims; the little dots of fresh earth that are to be seen here and there and all along our pathway show that thousands have perished within thy borders upon either shore. Death has been busy. There are graves at the crossing of every stream, graves at every good spring and under almost every green tree; there are graves on thy open and widespread plain and in the mountains that overlook thy swift rolling flood; in the quiet and secluded dell where the birds sing and make such beautiful music there are graves; young and old, innocent and wicked, all have found a resting place in thy lap; indeed, thou has been the “valley and the shadow of death” to many.

It is estimated at this camp that from 2,000 to 4,000 people have found graves since leaving the Missouri river. Of course the number is merely guess work and so will it ever remain. One person could not find one-half of the graves were he to look for them, but he would find enough to satisfy his curiosity.

From this point to the topmost heights of the Rocky mountains is our next stage of travel; the road takes immediately to the high lands. We go up, up, up; for seven long miles, a dreary, desolate region, innocent of any kind of vegetation that can in any way be made available for food for our hungry teams; this is called “rattle-snake hill,” but why so called I am unable to say; we saw none; it would be very hard on the snake if he was obliged to make this hill a home. After traveling eight or ten miles the road becomes crooked, rough and flinty; the face of the country a broken mass of natural ruins; colonnades of stone from four to twenty feet in height, and six to ten feet square, dot the earth in a straight and continuous line for miles. What freaks in nature, or what time in the world’s past history these rocks had been so placed, would be hard for the average California pilgrim to determine. “Avenue Rocks” is another curiosity; a range of rock describing a half circle with a gateway through which the immigration has to pass on its way to what it hopes to be, a better land beyond.

This is the land of the mirage, of “delusions,” of the sage brush,

and the alkali waters; a land of wonders and of hardships; a land to be avoided or left behind as soon as possible. Saw many dead cattle on the road; the poisonous water and the great scarcity of feed begins to tell on the poor brutes. Passed many graves on our journey of thirty miles, the biggest day's work we have as yet accomplished. Eleven o'clock p. m. and we are in camp at "Willow Springs"³⁸ a name suggestive of a more cheerful outlook than any other place we have seen to-day. This is the first good camping ground since leaving the Platte river; there are a great many here and still they come, for come they must, as no good water can be had for thirty long miles over the road traveled; at least we could find none. We have a sick man on our hands to-night.

June 24.—Our sick man is so much better that we are traveling again to-day; he says "this is too bad a country to die in and he will try to postpone that (to him) important event for other days and a more cheerful locality."

While traveling over a heavy sandy road to-day saw immediately in front of us, a beautiful tree fringed lake whose tiny waves broke upon a shore of clean white sand, a strip of green verdure in front and on either side of this beautiful vision, stretching far and wide, were "greener fields and pastures new" in beautiful contrast to the dreary plain over which we are now toiling. No pilgrim to the shrine of the Prophet. No crusader to the Holy Land. No prodigal son returning to the comforts of a distant home, were more eager than ourselves to enjoy the comforts, the luxuries and the pleasures so soon to be ours. But alas, the beautiful scenery before us vanished in a moment and "Like the fleeting spirit of a dream" was gone forever. A treeless, waterless waste, and a weary road, was now all that greeted our saddened eyes. "That weary road" we followed to a cheerless camp, where water, wood and grass were conspicuously absent; we carry a water barrel and sometimes as we did to-day, carry water; no grass here.

June 25.—Rock Independence and the Sweetwater river are eight miles in the advance; some of us started on ahead to get a view of this celebrated rock. Saleratus lake lies on our way; it is merely a mud hole of some four or five acres across in extent. The water had fallen by evaporation and left a crust of four or five inches of crude saleratus of a yellowish color, and, like the desert around it, had a forbidding appearance. This substance is used on the plains in making bread; we gathered some of it. The great rock lies

38. "Willow Spring is a noble spring of cool, pure water; it is a good camping place. . . ."—Ware, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

just before us and we were eager to get upon its back. This great boulder is all in one piece, about one-eighth of a mile in length, one-fourth of its length in breadth and is, I think, about 150 feet in height. It is oval on top and is of easy access; we were soon upon its back.³⁹ The view from this elevation is a very extensive one; if we look toward the east we can trace our line of travel for thirty miles over an unbroken wilderness waste, a desert plain abounding in alkali lakes, poisonous unto death to whatever living thing that may partake of their waters. The bones of hundreds of cattle lie strewn here and there over this pestilential district. Like Lot's wife, we have looked back over the plain; she with regret at leaving a beautiful home, we with high hearts, glad to escape destruction. As there are generally two sides to the same story, so there are two different views from the top of this great rock, we will now look forward and as it is the direction we have to travel, may see something more cheerful to contemplate.

Do you see yon huge range of mountains some four or five miles to the west? Well, do you see that it is split asunder from the bottom to the top, a narrow and perpendicular opening of some 400 feet through solid granite rock? that little opening is called the "Devil's Gate." By looking very closely at the bottom of that opening you can discern a little silvery thread of water issuing from it. Now follow it down as it winds from side to side through green meadows; as it approaches the great rock upon which you stand; it is now almost beneath your feet, but still follow it; is it not beautiful as it pursues its "winding way" through the strip of green verdure which line its banks until it is lost to view behind that bare and rugged mountain which borders the head waters of the Platte. This river is truly a "diamond in the desert." Look which way we will, it is a desert country, with high, lofty mountains rising abruptly from the level and sterile plains whose boundaries lie far beyond your vision. I hardly know of a more interesting spot than that on the top of Rock Independence. It is upon this elevation that one gets such a view of mountain, plain and river; such mountains, such plains and such a river are not frequently to be seen.

There were many persons upon this rock when we visited it; some musician had brought a violin and discoursed sweet music to those who participated in a dance upon this mountain stone. Our teams

39. G. C. Ingram of the Clark-Brown party wrote in his "Reminiscences": "rock independence is a large granite rock that is very hard so much so that a cold chisel had no effect on it hundreds of names was painted on the sides of it with tar by the emigrants this was a great practice on the plains every buffalo scull along the road side was covered with the names of the emigrants. when you came across a tree (and that was not often) you could see the names written and cut in the bark."

were among the multitude that were passing, admonishing us that we, too, must be traveling, so taking a last look at the interesting panorama before us, hastened onward, leaving this great rock under whose broad shadow so many weary pilgrims had found relief from the scorching rays of a desert sun, but before leaving dropped a silent tear at the side of a little grave whose occupant, a little girl, now lies sleeping beside. This "great rock in a weary land" a more permanent tombstone could not have been erected; neither could human hands have built a more durable one; there it will stand until the "angel's trumpet" shall call that little sleeper to gather flowers upon greener fields.

Forded the river at this point, passed round the shoulder of the great mountain and joined the little Sweetwater, and camped upon its left bank, one mile above the "Devil's Gate" and I am happy to say, on tolerably good feed.

June 26.—After supper last evening myself and a companion concluded to go down and get a closer view of the Devil's Gate.⁴⁰ After walking a mile, fording the river and floundering over great rocks and small ones, came to the great gap, which is in the neighborhood of fifty yards wide, 400 feet in height and one-third of a mile through. The low tide in the river at this time enabled us, by leaping from rock to rock, to reach the center of the passage. Weird, grand and gloomy rose the huge walls on either side, while the little river, mad and furious, went tearing, hissing and foaming between the great angular rocks that had from time to time fallen from above and which now laid partly submerged beneath the angry waters, produced a noise, confused and tumultuous, that would have rivaled pandemonium itself. While contemplating this wild scene of disorder, we had forgotten the outside world and wist not that night, with its sable curtain, was enveloping us in darkness. It was only by the light of the friendly moon that we found our way out of this misnamed wonder—the Devil's Gate.

Why this great opening should be so called I cannot comprehend; the very name suggests something very uncomfortable, and an uneasiness that many do not care to contemplate. While we were within those walls no odor of sulphur was perceptible; no grumbling of suffering humanity was heard; the master of the house, if there was any, was conspicuously absent; no inscription over the door warning all who would enter to "leave hope behind." On the con-

40. "Devils Gate, five miles above the Rock, is a singular fissure through which the Sweet Water forces its way. The walls are vertical, four hundred feet high, and composed of granite."—Ware, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 24.

trary, the air is cool and refreshing; the establishment well ventilated; a full supply of water; with a healthy drainage of all the surplus. No power, but the power of the rod with which Moses smote the rock in the wilderness, could have sundered this great mountain and made it one of the wonders of the great American desert.

For 100 miles or more our road follows the meanderings of this river of the desert. A high and lofty range of mountains border the north side of this stream; to the left of the road lies the outstretched desert as bare of vegetation as the mountain rock to our right. I should have said "as innocent of grass as the mountain rock." The whole country is covered with the everlasting sage except the narrow strip of verdure bordering the Sweetwater. The road is dusty and we every now and then pass pools of alkali which make it very interesting to those who have loose cattle to drive. Camped at five o'clock near the river; poor grass, indifferent water, and no wood; but plenty of hungry teams. Many graves line the road we have traveled to-day.

June 27.—Onward, amid the sands of a seemingly interminable desert, the little strips of verdure along the river affords but a scanty sustenance to our hungry teams. Ten o'clock and we ford the river for the second time; at eleven we again ford it; the stream was so contracted at this place that we had to raise our wagon beds to keep the water from spoiling our stores. Twelve o'clock and the little river is again forded and now as we find better grass, go into camp. The river has been very crooked on the line of this day's travel which explains the fording of it so often. Passed many a huge boulder to-day covered with names, some of which dated many years back, which looked as fresh as the work of only yesterday. The hangman has again been at work; two graves near our camp; one contains the body of a man murdered, the other the body of the man murderer. An early camp gave me an opportunity to climb to an elevation overlooking the surrounding country. To my right is a wilderness of mountain scenery, wild, weird and forbidding; to the left and south a desert with here and there an isolated butte rising abruptly from the level plains whose boundaries lie far beyond our vision. From the west comes the little river with a fringe of green grass, a "diamond in the desert."

While preparing to leave this spot my vision was all at once greeted with the sight of a city resting upon the crest of the mountains to my right. Forgetting all else, home, wife and children, my

companions on the road, and forgetful of self, this vision of beauty, of grandeur and magnificence, pervaded my whole being. "Imperial Rome," (as I had been accustomed to think of it) sitting upon its seven hills, never outshone the grand picture before me. Palaces and dome-roofed churches, castles and towers, lofty walls and far reaching streets, standing clear cut against the blue sky, a phantom city, above a desert waste, heedless of all my surroundings. I cannot say how long I was detained by this wonderful apparition; ten minutes perhaps, maybe twenty, I cannot tell; I only know I had lived almost a lifetime entranced with this manifestation of an almost unknown phenomena. Like the lake of clear waters, surrounded by trees and green meadows, I had seen a few days since, this capital city of delusion passed away and the rugged world, with its stern realities, I had again to contemplate.

June 28.—A company in our neighborhood lost forty head of cattle last night. The animals had been placed upon good grass but in the vicinity of alkali ponds, hence this great loss; the water in the river (as may be supposed running through an alkali district) is hardly drinkable. That found in the small lakes poisonous unto death to whatever living being that may partake of it. After leaving camp and traveling some two or three miles and rising a gentle slope descended the Wind river range ⁴¹ of the great Rocky mountains, covered with snow. How grand they looked as pile above pile, their white peaks pierced the clouds and rose grandly above into the clear, blue sky, shutting out, as it were, the world itself beyond. There were dark masses of clouds resting upon the broad face of the great mountain but none so high as the everlasting peaks that rose so proudly above.

We were now in sight of the great ridge that divides the Atlantic from the Pacific. Nearly half of our long journey was accomplished and we could now see the great halfway mile stone and would soon be resting within its shadow. A woman whose husband had died a few days ago was deserted by her friends and left to travel among strangers; she was seen on the road to-day. Bravely the little woman and her three children pursued their way unmindful of the heartless crew who had left her behind; however, she soon found friends.

Forded the river again to-day; put up near its banks and drove our teams into the mountains to feed. A company from Ohio visited us this evening; they were invited to a dance and accepted the invi-

41. The Wind River or Snowy mountains in Fremont county, Wyoming.

tation. A social time was had but I am sorry to say our long and wearisome journey prevents much agility with the "light fantastic toe."

June 29.—Over a hilly and broken country, the snow covered mountains the great feature in the landscape, if we may except the fresh made grave. I would that I could omit this latter feature in our every day's wanderings, but silence on this subject, it seems to me, would be a neglect of sympathy for those who have "fallen by the way" and if, with a rude passing by I neglected to make a note of it, I should not be doing my duty to those friends who will wait and wait, until the heart grows sick for news of absent ones who are scattered along this great highway, sleeping in unknown graves.

June 30.—Poor grass, poor teams, and consequently poor travelers. Rolled out this morning early in order to make the Pacific Springs, where good grass was said to be in abundance. At two o'clock entered the South Pass of the Rocky mountains;⁴² snow on every hand; the wind blew a winter's gale, drifting the loose sand in clouds through the air. The Pass is quite level; so much so that it is hard for the traveler to locate the exact spot he can call the summit. After traveling a few miles, dodging great piles of snow that lie here and there, we began to descend and soon reached Pacific Springs; from them the water flowed westward. We were now upon the Pacific slope and felt rather lonesome. Took a walk upon a rising mound and from there bid farewell to the Atlantic. We have thus far traversed the water's course from the Missouri to the Rocky mountains; we now bid it adieu to follow the water's course from the same great mountain as it speeds its way to the great ocean of the west. It has been a hard task to climb to the elevation we now occupy. We were elevated on more ways than one. To say the great mountain is beneath one's feet, and to have it there, is something; we felt a kind of proud satisfaction in walking to and fro, gazing at what we had toiled so hard to overcome. The atmosphere on the summit of so high a mountain is very cold; our camp fire has to be a large one, and to keep warm heavy coats are worn.

Dead cattle lie thick upon the road to-day; poisonous water and a scarcity of feed is killing them off by hundreds. It looks very hard to see the dumb animals go staggering along until strength forsakes their feeble bodies and they fall; five chances to one they never rise again. With a look of resignation they give up. If they are poisoned their misery is soon over; but if only starved and worn

42. From Stansbury's calculations, the distance from Fort Laramie to South Pass was 285 miles.—Stansbury, *op. cit.*, pp. 273-275. The altitude at the highest point was about 7,400 feet.—Horn, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

out, they linger until the dead hours at night when the ferocious wolf finishes the work man has neglected to do.

Saw a man and wife lying dangerously ill this afternoon; they had partaken of too much poison. Little children lingered around the tent door while anxious men and women were doing their best to restore the almost dead unto life. Anywhere else, such scenes would call the tear of sympathy, but here upon this road, I am sorry to say, very little regard is manifested for any trouble that may happen to man or beast. One day while traveling alone and in advance of our train I overtook a little girl who had lingered far behind her company. She was crying and as I took her into my arms discovered her little feet bleeding by coming in contact with the sharp, flint stones upon the road. I asked "why do you cry, do your feet hurt you? see how they bleed." "No," said she, "nothing hurts me now; I lost my father and mother yesterday and I don't want to live any longer." Then again a burst of anguish escaped the sensitive child. I remembered my own little girls at home and wished this little one was with them that they might comfort and be to her as sisters and that she might also have another mother who would deal kind and gently with the little orphan. I had placed her in a wagon and while having heard the coarse, rough voice of a woman chiding the little thing for giving people so much trouble in looking after her, I turned and said: "My good woman, deal kindly with that little girl; she needs sympathy, no scolding;" but the only satisfaction I received, was, that people on this road ought to have business enough of their own to attend to and let her's alone. Some days later, while passing a camp of emigrants, I was surprised by a little girl running up and catching me by the hand, saying "how do you do, don't you know me?" I looked down and saw it was my little friend of a few days ago. "Oh," she said, "I have got another good mother; come, come and see her." Sure enough she had found a sympathizing friend in the person of a young mother who had lost an only child upon the road. The woman with the willing consent of her young and manly looking husband had promised the little orphan to be her mother. Ruth to Naomi, never looked more beautiful than that kind woman when she pressed that little orphan to her breast and called her her own. Death loses much of its sting when angels soothe our sorrow. I went on my way rejoicing that I had met humanity in its most lovely phase and that the good angels are not always absent, even on this road.

July 1.—The absence of grass was a very interesting feature in the

landscape to-day. Our teams travel slowly; made but a few miles and put up without feed.

July 2.—Off early this morning as we must have feed or abandon our wagons. Have traveled seventy-five miles without seeing enough grass to stay the hunger of a lame mule. Those who pretend to know say it is forty miles yet to where an ox could get a living if he had nothing else to do. Wild sage covers the whole country, and for what purpose I cannot imagine. Some say it is more for ornament than use, but where the ornament comes in is a question with the most of us. A crooked gray stick about four to five feet high, with some branches and a diameter of one to two inches; in the absence of wood we manage to cook with it. It is about ten days' travel to Salt Lake, where it is said grass grows plentifully.

Passed the forks of the road to-day.⁴³ The right hand road is called the "cut off," but why I cannot say. It is a continuation of the same road and on the same parallel with the road we have been traveling, passing to the north of Salt Lake and so on to California and Oregon; the left hand road leads to Fort Bridger, Salt Lake City and the great Salt Lake valley. A man stationed at the forks of the road is trying to persuade the emigrants to take the right hand trail. "Gentlemen," says he, "men, women and teams are starving on the Salt Lake road. There is no grass for a hundred miles, the water is poor and poisonous, and if by any chance any of you should live to see Salt Lake the Mormons will rob and steal everything you have got, take your women and send you out of the country as bare as you came into the world." The grand secret of this man's persuasive eloquence was that he was the proprietor of a ferry and wanted as much travel over it as he could get. As we were not of the number he could persuade we proceeded on to Little Sandy river, where we went into camp.

July 3.—Twenty miles to Green river, which we made by three o'clock.⁴⁴ Ferried the teams and traveled down the west bank to good feed. We intend to stop in this camp until after the 4th. Good feed, plenty of wood and excellent fishing, and as we are two or three miles from the main road we will not be bothered with neighbors.

July 4.—The mosquitoes are so bad that we are obliged to leave our last night's encampment—leave the good grass, the tall timber

43. The trail to the right was Sublette's or Greenwood's cut-off. It was much used in the 1850's, according to Ware, being a direct route to Bear river, in Utah, there joining the trail again for the journey northwest to Fort Hall.—Ware, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 26. Ghent, *op. cit.*, p. 140, says this route "saved some fifty-three miles to the Bear River, but as the fifty miles from the Big Sandy to the Green was without water the route was generally avoided."

44. Dewolf described this ford in 1849 thus: "Green river ford is about 16 rods wide & when we crossed it it was three feet deep, it is as handsome a stream as I ever saw, the water is of a greenish color but very clear."—"Diary of the Overland Trail 1849 and Letters 1849-50 of Captain David Dewolf," in *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1925* (Publication No. 32), p. 203.

and the grateful shade.⁴⁵ It is the 4th of July and we expected to remain in camp and "celebrate." Our college friend had promised an oration, but that enemy of the human family was too much for us. The mosquito holds the fort and we are obliged to retire. Traveled twenty miles to Black's Fork of the Green river. The high elevation and the snow covered mountains with which we are surrounded make the weather very cold and a big fire is a necessity to-night.

July 5.—This is a day of rest to ourselves and to our hungry teams. Grass is plenty and the quality good. The boys are fishing, hunting and otherwise amusing themselves as best they can.

July 6.—With a good rest and well fed teams we traveled twenty miles. While preparing supper were visited by a storm of wind and hail lasting perhaps fifteen or twenty minutes—long enough to extinguish the fire, fill the cooking utensils with ice and demoralize the cook. The road to-day has been desolation itself; barren lands and lonely looking mountains meet the eye at every step, but aside from its desolate look and cheerless aspect it is a very interesting part of the world. Great mounds of earth rise up before us in all the various forms of architectural monuments. Here stands a magnificent church, there a castle, and yonder a monument as massive as the pyramids; it is only on a near approach that the dome of St. Peter's vanishes into thin air and Washington's capitol, with its lofty dome, becomes a ragged ridge of massive rock.

July 7.—Fifteen miles to Fort Bridger,⁴⁶ which we made by 3 o'clock. This place is situated on a plain surrounded by high mountains; a goodly stream of pure, cold water meanders through the valley, affording plenty of good fish as well as nourishment to the plain whose surface is covered with green grass of a luxuriant growth which affords plenty of good pasturage to hundreds of horses and cattle of whom Col. Bridger is said to be the owner. The residence of the colonel is of logs and forms a hollow square, the doors and windows opening into the court, to which we were admitted by a massive gate.⁴⁷ The cause for thus building a fort or fortified resi-

45. Lobenstine traveling in this same vicinity, on July 1, 1852, made this entry: "Left this encampment after having put in a horrible night with mosquitoes, bound for Fort Bridger, twenty miles from this spot."—Lobenstine, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

46. Fort Bridger was established by James Bridger in 1843 as a "trading fort."—Alter, J. Cecil, *James Bridger, Trapper, Frontiersman, Scout and Guide* (Salt Lake City, Utah, Shepard Book Company, c1925), pp. 179, 182.

47. Ingrim, in his "Reminiscences," wrote: "Col Bridger had two large log houses in one he kept a store such things as the trappers needed which he exchanged for furs and skins Bridger had two squaws and several half breeds I saw him there. . . . he was realy and [sic] odd old genius he called the trappers the free men of the mount[ain]s. he said that they came in twice a year for supply. after they bought their supply they would have a good time gett[ing] drunk and gambling they would stay until they were dead broke. some times they would gamble off their suplys and have to get trusted for supplys when they got trusted for supplys that they always came back and paid up. their was quite a number of them their when I was there."

dence was, I suppose, for defense against Mormons and Indians; the former appear to be always at variance, and the latter may become enemies at any time. Clothing, powder, lead, tobacco, whiskey and many other articles of merchandise are kept for sale within its walls. Horses, mules and cattle run at large and come and go as they choose, but make the fort their headquarters. The colonel is situated for making a large fortune independent of the trade with trappers and Indians. He is generally prepared to accommodate the pilgrim with a fresh horse, a yoke of oxen or a drink of whiskey. Our stay was short, but while there had the curiosity to examine his premises close enough to learn that the colonel was lord and master of two yellow skinned ladies and the acknowledged father of any number of boys and girls whose tawny complexion and intelligent look forbade the idea that they belonged exclusively to either the race of white or Indian. The family rooms of these ladies differ but little from the regular wigwam of the wild Indian. Dried meat, the horns of an antelope and a tomahawk garnished the walls; buffalo robes, bear skins, dirt, ashes, dogs and children were scattered promiscuously over the dirt floor.

The free men of the mountains are very numerous in this part of the country, many of whom never visit the states. Many have been driven from civilization for crimes which would make it dangerous for them to return, and many remain in the mountains from choice. The numerous privations and hair-breadth escapes which they experience appear to wed them to a country where they can, without let or hindrance, roam at pleasure. Many are met with whose heads are as white as the snow on Fremont's Peak, yet they feel like prolonging the romance of their lives until their feeble bodies are no longer fit for the chase and they lay themselves down to that sleep which on earth knows no awaking. We saw many of these men; they have a bold, fearless, dare-devil look; appear to be always on the alert. The habit of watching has become second nature and it is hard to surprise an old one with either words or movements; the rifle or revolver is always at hand and with them they are ever ready to defend themselves from any attack however sudden it may be.

July 8.—Our path to-day was over a very mountainous country.⁴⁸

48. "From Fort Bridger there are now two routes as far as the Humboldt or Mary's River, where they again unite. The old road strikes Bear River, follows down its valley by the Soda Springs to Fort Hall, whence it pursues a south-westerly course to the Humboldt. By this route a northing of nearly two degrees is made, and the road, consequently, is much lengthened.

Now and then green valleys and pure, cold water made us cheerful and contented; good grass here and there, but still scarce.

July 9.—Before leaving camp this morning we were visited by a lone pilgrim, a jolly, rollicking, pleasant faced young man of about twenty-five years; a good talker and, according to his story, a fast traveler, born and brought up somewhere in York state. He had taken a notion to visit California and Oregon, and having no money and being impatient of delay had started without it and beaten his way over steamboat and railway lines; reached St. Joe, Mo., about the middle of May; there he borrowed a small boat, worked his way over the river as a deck hand and landed on the high road leading to the great west and the Pacific ocean. From camp to camp, from train to train, he borrowed, begged or appropriated a sufficient supply of daily grub to keep him in running trim. His hat had fallen by the way; his coat, too warm to wear and too heavy to carry, was laid aside; shoes ground to dust and scattered to the four winds, and here he was, active as a cat and as fresh as an Amboy oyster, hatless, shoeless and without a coat, sunburned, travel stained, his long black hair wrestling with the morning breeze, he was a fit subject for the painter's pencil or the wild strains of the spring poet.

July 10.—Frost lay quite heavy on the ground this morning. We are now traveling over a mountainous country. Some of the ranges, it is said, are the highest on the road and covered with snow all the year, yet there are many little sunny valleys and springs of cold water, producing food for our teams and cheerfulness for ourselves. We camped near the Red Forks of Weber river. There are many mosquitoes here but the cold air of night will soon stop their humming.

July 11.—Bears are said to abound in this locality, but we have seen none. Our road is up and down and over great ridges; grass scarce and hard to find. Camped in a beautiful valley at the end of our day's run.

July 12.—Twenty miles from Salt Lake City, but the hardest road, we are told, on the whole route, a part of which lay up a small creek with seventeen crossings.⁴⁹ I had never before seen such

The other route was laid out by the Mormon community in 1847, and conducts the emigrant to their city, in the southern part of the Salt Lake valley, causing him to vary from the line of his direction rather more than a degree southwardly: this he has to recover by a direct north course to the crossing of Bear River near the north end of the lake, whence he proceeds in a northwest direction, until he intersects the old road from Fort Hall."—Stansbury, *op. cit.*, pp. 75, 76. The Clark-Brown party followed the latter route described by Stansbury.

49. "From [Fort Bridger] . . . some difficult climbing to Bear River to the north was necessary; then the route led through Echo Cañon. The Weber river was ascended and Salt Lake City was reached by way of Emigration Cañon."—Hulbert, A. B., *Forty-Niners; the Chronicle of the California Trail* (Boston, Little, Brown, and Company, 1931), p. 190.

a road; rocks to the right and left of us; rocks big and little, but by careful management we got over the road without an accident. Another mountain between us and Salt Lake City. It is not four miles long, yet long enough to take our teams nearly all the afternoon in reaching the summit; then locking the wheels of our wagons we began to descend the steepest, roughest and most unchristian-like road that man ever traveled. Good luck attended us and we alighted in safety and camped at the foot of the hill, where we had a full view of the tide of immigration as it came tumbling down the steep incline. Sometimes the wagons would take the lead and drag the teams after them until brought up by some great boulder, when wagon, oxen, women and children would tumble together in one confused mass, amid the wreck of which would soon be heard the cries of women, the screams of children and the swearing of men.

July 13.—Seven miles yet to the city of the Mormons, five of which we are to travel through a deep, dark canon whose walls are hundreds of feet in nearly perpendicular height, snow capped and wintry looking. Eight o'clock and we are on the borders of the great valley. Quarantine ground lies at the gate of this canon and here is a hospital, or what pretends to be one, established by Governor Young,⁵⁰ where all, both great and small, Jew or Gentile, are obliged to report. Those who are well are privileged to continue their journey, but what they do with the sick or disabled I am unable to say. I saw none, and as the hospital building is barely large enough to hold the doctor, a barrel of whiskey and a few decanters, I can safely say there were no sick or disabled emigrants within its walls. The doctor was busily employed in dealing out whiskey and appeared to have a good run of custom in that way, but how many sick emigrants he attended to I did not stop to inquire.

Salt Lake City lies a few miles to the right and immediately on the verge of the valley, and thither we pursued our way over a good and beautiful road. It was a lovely morning and the busy hum and sight of civilization was charming, especially to those who, like us, had traveled so many hundreds of miles where the marks of civilized life were so few and far between. At twelve o'clock we made our way into the city of the great Salt Lake. The first thing I noticed was the little canals of water traversing every square, or nearly every square, in the city. The water is clear and cool and of sufficient volume to supply all the wants for which it was introduced. Every family has a good, large lot, and this water is mostly used for

50. Brigham Young, the Mormon leader.

irrigation. There being little or no rain in the summer season, people are obliged to water the earth to make it productive.

Salt Lake City has about 5,000 inhabitants, I should judge, and is beautifully situated on an inclined plane facing the broad valley and the west and immediately at the foot of the great range of mountains that borders the east line of Salt Lake valley, running north and south some 250 miles. Salt Lake lies in the northern portion of the valley and is about fifty or sixty miles long by thirty or forty miles in width. We made no stop in the city but pushed on to good grass and good water six or eight miles north of town, where we camped, intending to stop a few days and rest ourselves and recruit our teams. There are thousands of pilgrims in camp around and about us, who, like ourselves, are stopping for awhile to fix up things, swap horses, mules or oxen, see the city, get acquainted with these strange people, their manners, customs, etc.

July 15.—This should be a pleasant and desirable country to live in and in time will be densely populated. The Mormons are, I am told, extending their settlements through the country and in time will make it a flourishing part of the world. Coal, iron and perhaps gold are to be found in the mountains. Salt Lake valley is the great feature in this part of the world; the tired traveler as he emerges from the dark mountain gorges into the open valley is ready to hold up both hands and exclaim, "How beautiful!" How many thousands have rejoiced and cried for joy on first beholding this, (to them,) the land of Canaan; the poor, weary and disheartened have here found friends and comfort. The Mormons are ridiculed and disliked by many, yet they are good to their kind. When it has been known that companies of Mormons were in destitute circumstances, their stock giving out or that the snow was filling the pathway and they required help, their brethren were ever ready to send out men and teams to bring them in when all hope by their own exertions had failed.

It is admitted by all that the Mormons are a brave people; indeed, any people who can leave a civilized country and comfortable homes and journey hundreds of miles over an almost unknown country, overcome savages, cross deep and rapid rivers and climb the highest mountains on the continent to have a peaceful home can honestly claim to be a brave people. If these people should continue to prosper as they have in the past they will soon become great. Salt Lake valley and the neighboring country will sustain an immense population. Many of these people are now comparatively wealthy—fine



AN EMIGRANT TRAIN OF THE 1860'S

"Emigrant's Echo, 1867," was the notation on the original photograph in the Root collection. Echo Canyon was a picturesque but hazardous section of the emigrant's route between Fort Bridger and Salt Lake City. Members of the Clark-Brown party passed this way fifteen years earlier. Note that this is principally an ox-train. Two "period" chairs are visible in the first wagon.



PLACERVILLE, CAL., ABOUT 1856

The ambrotype from which this picture was reproduced is one of two in the Root collection showing Placerville scenes. Both were probably made the same year. John H. Clark helped rebuild the town in 1856 after a destructive fire (see p. 228). A sluice is in the foreground.

farms, well stocked with horses, cattle and pretty women. What more they want to make them happy would be hard to tell. Salt Lake City is the great half-way mile stone and resting place for the California pilgrim. We enjoyed ourselves greatly; our teams were on good grass and we were luxuriating on all the good things we could get hold of. These were plentiful with the good people and they were ever ready to exchange of the fat of the land for such things as the emigrant could spare.

As we intend to remain in the valley a few days the boys are determined to make the city their home for the time being, consequently myself and one or two others are all that are in camp. Our teams are to look after or perhaps the balance of us would be there too. Salt Lake is a curiosity at all times, and especially during a heavy emigration to California and Oregon. It is one fourth of July holiday; nobody appears to be at work and all are anxious for a trade. The Mormons are ever ready to make something off the traveler, and the traveler is very anxious to exchange his lean and worn out stock for fresh ones. However, the trading is mostly done by the Mormons, who give what they please for the emigrants' teams and demand as much for their fresh stock as their consciences will allow.

July 17.—The neighbors came into camp anxious to purchase candles, soap, tea, sugar and matches, all of which we can spare a little and get a good price. We buy of the neighbors all kinds of vegetables and get some of the smartest looking women among them to make our bread. Vegetables were quite cheap when we first came in, but have raised fifty percent since. In looking around among the neighbors to-day I found an old acquaintance in the person of an old lady, who, with her husband and one daughter, joined the Mormons in Cincinnati and came out to Salt Lake; in a year or two the husband became disgusted with the church and with the president in particular; he concluded to leave, the old lady and daughter remaining behind, both of whom are now the property of an old chap who boasts of being able to support two women and have something left at the end of the term. As the women do most of the work on the farm I guess the old man is about right; they appear to be comfortable, but it looks like a rather mixed concern to see mother and daughter both wives of the same person. Matrimony is a big thing in this country, and would astonish the outside world if it knew all.

As I was on a visiting tour among the neighbors, I called at a house where three women belonged to one man. These women were

all young and all had children. The father of this young brood is a yankee from the state of Maine, a sailor by profession; he was in the west at the time of the departure of the Mormons for Salt Lake and concluded to join his fortunes with their's and come too. Before they had arrived at their destination he had married two wives and soon after getting here was sealed to a third. Being a shrewd kind of a fellow he had located a farm in this neighborhood and, as he told me, was trying the experiment of building up a farm and raising a family. He has now a good farm well improved, and well stocked with cattle; three wives and nine children and not a soul on the place over twenty-seven years of age. If his "experiment" is not a success, I do not think it is his fault. I asked him how he managed so many women and how he kept track of so many children. "Oh that is easy enough; I give them plenty of work to do and if they have any difficulty among themselves that is their business, not mine; I don't bother with it. As to the children, I keep a record of the number, date of ages, etc., and the women do the rest. Every child is supposed to know its own mother and that makes it easy on the women." "Are there many in the neighborhood that have more than one wife?" I asked. "Yes there are a good many; but then there are a good many who are green enough to get along with only one. Poor fellows, they have to do all their own work and have a hard time of it." "Does the church encourage plurality of wives?" I asked. "Oh yes, they tell us to marry early and often; 'multiply and replenish the earth' is a Bible command, you know, and we are trying to live up to it." "I suppose you know it is not lawful to have more than one wife," I said to him. "No," said he; "I don't know any such thing. The Bible and the church is law enough for me and I don't care for any other."

July 19.—Went this morning to mail my letter and to see the city and Brigham Young. The city is quite an ordinary looking place; may compare with the country towns of Illinois and Indiana or Missouri. The buildings are mostly frames with now and then an adobe, or sun-dried brick. The court house and one or two other buildings are of burnt brick. The city is clean, snug and cosy; the people plain and very common kind of folks. My desire was to see the great man, Brigham Young, and to compare him with the Brigham I had often heard preach twenty-five years ago when he was but a common man and an ordinary preacher. I had not long to wait; he came out of a business house and stopped on the sidewalk with some friends long enough for me to see that with age, he had

grown stouter and broader and his hair more gray, otherwise he appeared to be but little changed.

Brigham Young is a king among men; smart as the smartest; ambitious as a politician, bold, daring and aggressive; unscrupulous and tyrannical; born to command and he has made the most of his abilities and his opportunities. His word is law to these people and they obey without a murmur. No other man perhaps could have led them so far from civilization and planted them so happily in this far-off, beautiful and fertile valley. They owe everything to his guidance and his wisdom; they plow, sow and reap. Under his watchful care their heroism and industry are inspired by his master mind. Without him they would be lost, but with him they defy the laws of their country, trample under foot all decency and all the virtues of an honest life. For him they would steal, rob and murder. They have an organization they call the Danites or "destroying angels," ready at any moment to fight Indians and all the outside world. They strictly believe that Brigham is a prophet of the most high, and his teachings will, if followed, insure them a good time in this life and a glorious one in the life to come.

Like Moses, Brigham has led his people into a glorious land; a land desirable in almost every point of view; a land for flocks and herds, for grain, vegetables and fruit, a half-way house between the Atlantic and Pacific; a store house for all the mountain region north, south, east and west; a Palmyra in the wilderness. For beauty and comfort it has no rival and no equal in all this broad land.

I have learned that the government intends to regulate the matrimonial affairs of this people. If the attempt is made, heroic measures will have to be resorted to. These people will fight like Turks rather than give up the religious privilege of keeping many wives. The church has encouraged the institution and almost made it a sacred duty for man to take as many wives as he can possibly accommodate.

Remained in the city all day, mailed my letters, got a good dinner, and returned to camp.

July 21.—Fixing up for another tramp. I guess we shall be off to-morrow.

July 22.—Having bought fresh teams and sold some worn out stock we are now about ready for the road again, and as we have all horse and mule teams expect to make faster time.⁵¹ Our road

51. "The day after we arrived [at Salt Lake City] we traded four yoke of cattle for two mules—even up as our Oxen was foot sore and wore out. . . . We named one Jo Smith and the other Brigham Young and they were a daisy pair."—Ingrin, G. C., "Reminiscences."

for the next fifty or seventy-five miles lies within Salt Lake valley;⁵² made twenty miles to camp and good water.

July 23.—Weber river five miles distant. Some of us left camp early to fish in that stream, but, like many a former effort to catch fish in these rapid running streams our enterprise was a failure. Weber river is quite a stream as it issues from the mountain gorge, but loses itself beneath the soil before reaching Salt Lake. Good farms and many improvements line the way of our journey; camp fifty miles north of Salt Lake city.

July 24.—Still traveling up the valley, the mountains to our right and Salt Lake to the left; camped this evening upon the banks of Bear river. This is quite a stream, fordable in low water. We could have passed over quite comfortably had not the Mormons dug great holes at the crossing to keep us from doing so. These Mormons are a thrifty set. To ruin a public ford on a great highway and establish a ferry where they could charge three dollars per wagon for crossing a stream fifty yards wide, was a stroke of financial policy not to be ignored by this enterprising people.

Three rivers empty their waters into the great Salt Lake; the Jordan, Weber and Bear rivers. The former rises in or at the south end of the great valley which it waters its entire length to its termination at the great Salt Lake. Weber river enters the valley from the mountains east of Salt Lake and fifty miles north of the city. Bear river rises in the mountains of the same name east and south of Fort Bridger, winds around and through the great mountains and enters Salt Lake valley at its extreme northeast corner. There may be other streams that flow into the great Lake, but those three must be the principal ones.

On our travels yesterday and to-day met many people going to Salt Lake city; the 25th of July is the anniversary of the settlement of Salt Lake; a great day with the Mormons, when all who can, gather to the city where a kind of jubilee is held and everybody eats, drinks and makes merry; preaching, singing and giving praise to the Lord for his great mercy in delivering them from the Gentile world and establishing the only true church in this (to them) the land of Canaan. The Mormons have used us well enough and therefore can have (for ourselves) no fault to find; but I am sorry to say,

52. "It was sixty miles through the Mormon settlement all through this settlement they could irrigate their land from the little streams that came down from the mountain the land laid just sloping enough so it was just right for the water to cover it nicely. the settlers raised grain corn and vegetables and as long as we were in the settlements we could buy all the milch butter and vegetables we wanted at reasonable rates."—*Ibid.*

there are many hard stories related of these strange people that would in any other civilized community be hard to believe.

July 25.—Crossed Bear river this morning on boats provided by the Mormons;⁵³ three dollars per wagon, the usual rates for such service in Salt Lake valley. But we had the privilege of swimming our horses and mules thrown into the bargain, a privilege we were not very thankful for, but glad to make our departure from this part of the world with as little delay as possible; did not stand upon trifles. Visiting Salt Lake valley and city was something like taking in the Irishman's show; it cost nothing to get in, but a good deal to get out. Passed out to camp at the north end of the valley and on the side of the great mountain that overlooks the great Salt Lake and the valley beyond. From this point we take our farewell view of the great basin. A more magnificent scene can hardly be imagined than is now before us, the broad and extended valley surrounded by lofty mountains. The great Lake glistening beneath the broad rays of a July sun presents a scene hardly to be forgotten.

July 26.—Traveled all night and are laying by to-day. The scarcity of water for the first twenty miles out of Salt Lake valley was the cause of our doing so. This night travel is a bad business; breaks in upon our system of work and is hurtful to ourselves and teams; night is the time for sleep and rest. Had a full moon during the night but the dark and sombre shadows of the great mountains made gloomy traveling. Rough, stony roads, up and down hill, winding round great rocks, threading the steep mountain sides, is not an interesting way of traveling in an unknown country; however, we made about twenty miles but went into camp tired, hungry and sleepy. A stream of sluggish water six feet wide and five feet deep, lined with green willow, stretching its serpentine course through a narrow valley covered with sage brush. Lofty mountains loom up in all directions. Snow here and there upon their rugged sides look down upon a hard looking set of travelers.

July 27.—Soon after leaving camp we passed the sink of the stream above noted. All the streams in this neighborhood sink into the sands of the desert. Twenty miles to a stream of pure cold water; it came, leaping and tumbling down the steep side of a great mountain whose far-off summit was covered with snow. This stream was alive with mountain trout. It looked rather odd to see men go up hill to fish. We made our camp near the shore of this creek, turned

53. "From the crossing, the emigrant road pursues a W. N. W. course, until it intersects that from Fort Hall."—Stansbury, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

our teams out to poor feed and poor prospects of getting any better soon. This is a rough, barren country, very mountainous, ill-shaped and desolate. Passed an old acquaintance on the road to-day; we had helped to bury his only child at the beginning of this journey; he was now again the father of a "bouncing boy" a few days old, and was, as may be supposed, a happy man. The nights are quite cool in this high region of country; wood scarce and a long way to carry.

July 28.—Twelve miles to Decatur creek⁵⁴ which we made by 11 o'clock in the forenoon; passed up some six miles and went into camp. Our great trouble is how to get feed for our hungry teams; we drive from one to three miles from camp to find it, but it is always a little better "farther on."

The stream like the one we left this morning is filled with fish, the only redeeming feature about the whole country. The streams of water in this neighborhood have but a brief existence; they rise in some mountain summit, flow down into a valley, run a short distance over the desert sand and sink from sight.

July 29.—Five miles to the junction of the Salt Lake and cut-off roads.⁵⁵ It will be remembered that we left the cut-off one hundred miles east of Salt Lake valley. The emigration is now all on one road; this continues to be a hilly and rough country. Our pathway down to Goose creek valley was so steep that many persons attached small trees to their wagons as a help to let them down easy. We were in too big a hurry so let our wagons slide with the two hind wheels rough-locked; we gained the bottom as soon as the best of them, but our drivers and teams got mixed up somewhat and a great deal demoralized. One driver started down hill on the wagon box but landed at the bottom on top of the lead mule; another slid off his box sideways but kept going down, down, until the bottom was reached.

Goose creek rises somewhere to the southwest of our present camp and running northeast mingles its waters with the Snake river of Oregon.

54. Clark probably meant Decassure creek, which was another name given to Raft river. See editorial note of E. M. Ledyard in Loomis, L. V., *A Journal of the Birmingham Emigrating Company* (Salt Lake City, Utah, 1928), p. 72.

55. Probably the junction of the Salt Lake trail with the California or Fort Hall road, rather than with the cut-off. Hudspeth's (Hedgepath's, etc.) or Myres' cut-off branched from the main trail on the other side of Fort Hall in the vicinity of Soda Springs, passed south of the fort and joined the California road near the last crossing of Raft river. The usual junction with the Salt Lake trail was some twenty or thirty miles farther along the road. Dutton, traveling on Hudspeth's cut-off, mentioned joining the California road shortly after crossing the Raft river, then, after a journey of twenty to twenty-five miles coming to the Salt Lake trail junction.—Dutton, Jerome, "Across the Plains in 1850," in *The Annals of Iowa*, Third Series, v. IX, p. 470. George W. Read gave the latter distance as thirty-one miles.—Read, Georgia W., ed., *A Pioneer of 1850: George Willis Read, 1819-1880* (Boston, Little, Brown, and Company, 1927), p. 77.

July 30.—The main road of this valley is with but few exceptions very good; the exceptions, however, are the most miserable we have as yet encountered; especially at the crossing of tributary streams. At some of them had to leave the main road and travel miles to avoid getting stuck in the mire and slush of the valley. A mule we purchased in Salt Lake has a habit of lying down on every damp spot he travels over. In passing through a mud hole this afternoon he took it into his head to lie down and rest; a wagon standing in the middle of a great mud hole with one mule before it standing up and another with his head just above the surface was a scene not often witnessed in Goose creek valley. What good feeling the mud and water gives the brute is a mystery known only to himself.

July 31.—Left Goose creek valley this morning and over a mountainous country to camp in a dry valley, destitute of water, a scarcity of wood and some good grass; by digging from four to six feet we found plenty of water.

Aug. 1.—Passed Dana's train from Cincinnati this morning. This train had the start of us two weeks; was now laying up and the men discouraged and disorganized; they will now be more so than ever seeing that we are getting along so much faster. Camped at the end of a six-mile journey; better grass, plenty of wood and excellent water. Wood, water and grass are all staple articles on this road.

Aug. 2.—Passed over mountains to the head waters of Humboldt river. This river, I believe, was discovered by the German explorer Humboldt.⁵⁶ The old philosopher left his name in a wild country, but to him it may have been an interesting one; good grass, plenty of water and the wild sage for fuel. We camp at the spring from which issues this river of the desert; the spring is six feet in diameter and six feet deep.⁵⁷ At the bottom lies a big sheet iron stove thrown there by someone who had got tired of hauling it, I suppose. We are now encamped at the headwaters of the dreadful Humboldt of which such hard stories have been circulated on the road. The Indians it is said have committed many outrages upon this river, are very wild and treacherous, killing pilgrims and stealing stock.⁵⁸ We hear a good deal more than we can believe. If there are not men enough on this road to defend themselves from Indians, it is time

56. Fremont gave the river this name in 1845. It was earlier known as Ogden's river (for Peter Skene Ogden), also as Mary's river. The latter name appears in many early overland journals.

57. Humboldt wells.

58. "From the forks of the [Humboldt] river to the 'sink,' the mountains are peopled by a race of Indians of the most thievish propensities, requiring, on the part of the emigrant, untiring vigilance, to prevent their stealing and killing their teams, &c. Their practice is to disable cattle, so as to make it necessary for the emigrant to leave them on the road.—Be always prepared to resist their attacks."—Ware, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 33.

we all knew it. There is more danger of bad water and a scarcity of grass, than anything else, I think. Our present camp is a very pleasant one; a broad valley stretching westward with low-lying hills on either side is more suggestive of peace and quietude than the wild yell of the savage or the midnight howl of the prowling wolf.

Aug. 3.—A dark, cloudy morning, but good roads to the north fork of the Humboldt, twelve miles from camp. Camped for noon and while eating dinner an old cow passed with an arrow hanging to her side; this looks something like Indians. The owner told us the Indians had stampeded his stock last night, some of which they had got away with. We shall be obliged to keep our stock more careful after this.

Aug. 4.—Heavy rains to-day; a very unusual thing it is said at this time of year in this valley. Saw many newly-made graves on the road to-day; we were in hopes that the immigration was getting better, but sickness and death still lingers on our pathway. The wheeling has been heavy, and our teams when night came, were very tired. Our camp to-night is a comfortable one; grass quite good, water not the best, our wood the green willow that skirts the river's edge. This is a country of sage brush and alkali water; the little river winds from side to side of this broad valley, a sluggish and lazy stream. Our road runs from point to point, touching its elbows once or twice during a day's travel. Snow here and there on the summits of some of the higher mountains, but generally a great way off from the line of travel.

Aug. 5.—The terminus of the first valley of the Humboldt river is reached to-day. This, the eastern section of the valley is said to be seventy-five miles in length and here, too, is the junction of a southern road from Salt Lake city.⁵⁹ No wagons, I believe, are hauled over this road; the road is too sandy and the water too scarce to make it comfortable to travel by wheel. Our road this afternoon is up a steep mountain side seven miles long; the steepest, roughest, and most desolate road that can be imagined. The mountains that border this valley are looking very old. I think they must have been the first created, bald and hoary headed, ragged and torn to pieces, have a decrepit and worn-out look, suggestive of old times and old associations. It makes a man lonesome and homesick to contemplate their forlorn, deserted and uncanny appearance. Stunted and scattered cedar trees, broken down by the snows and wild winds of the winter season, gives them a sort of ghost-like appearance that

59. Probably the end of the Hastings cut-off from Salt Lake City.

makes one shudder to behold. The mountain we are crossing to-day stands at right angles with our road and cuts the valley of the Humboldt into two separate divisions, making an upper and lower Humboldt valley. We camp to-night on the summit of this great mountain; tired, hungry and disappointed, we pitch our tents beside a spring of good water, but of so scant a volume that we can give no drink to our thirsty and half famished animals. This has been a hard afternoon to ourselves and teams; seven miles of a continuous rise and many places so abrupt that it took all the strength of men and teams to overcome the difficulties of the way. We were more fortunate than many of our neighbors; we lost no stock in making the summit of this difficult road; we counted eight or ten horses and two or three mules that failed to make the journey. The scenery at this place is wild, desolate and forbidding, without a spark of romance to enliven our spirits. Everything about us has a look of stubborn fact that is as easy to realize as to count one's fingers. No wood, no grass and but a scanty supply of water; all is rock, rock, rock, as bare of vegetation as a sterile rock can be; some little sage brush grew near the spring; these we gathered and warmed our coffee.

Aug. 6.—Left our mountain camp quite early; it was now all down hill for some eight or ten miles and over a terrible rough and stony road to the Humboldt river which had left its usual course to avoid the great mountain. The weather is getting very warm in this valley; our teams and ourselves have suffered by the heat and dust; camped on good grass, water warm and poor, and our wood the green willow.

Aug. 7.—Stony Point is a spur of a ragged-edged mountain that loses itself in the valley of the Humboldt over this spur and down again to a twenty mile desert to the great meadows of the Humboldt;⁶⁰ here we camp to give our teams feed and rest.

Aug. 8.—Remained in camp to-day; the grass too good to leave until our weary and hungry teams are satisfied; a warm and uncomfortable day.

Aug. 9.—Out early, good roads and recruited animals. It is in this neighborhood that this valley—the Humboldt—assumes to its fullest extent that destitute, desolate and barren appearance for which it is so notorious. The valley is from five to fifteen miles in width, the little river like a serpent, winding its slow length from side to side, skirted by a narrow strip of grass, and a mere fringe of green willow that shades its waters. Were it not for the grass and

60. Lassen's meadows named for Peter Lassen, early California rancher.

green willow, the river would for most of the time be lost to view. We travel for days and days nearly up to our boot tops in fine sand and dust and when the wind blows with any degree of force, the air as well as the road is full of it. The sun at such times sends but a faint and sickly ray to cheer the weary pilgrim upon this, the most uncomfortable looking road we have as yet traversed. As this river is so crooked we camp only at its elbows; our road for the most part, runs from point to point; we traverse its southern shore for most of the way, and have as yet crossed no tributary stream. There are springs and streams of good water that have their source high up in the mountains, but the thirsty desert swallows every drop before reaching the road or the river.

Aug. 10.—Another desert of twenty miles without wood, water or grass, the road knee-deep with sand and dust and were it not for the high mountains on our left, with snow here and there upon their sides and summits the scene would have been desolation itself. There was just sufficient air stirring to raise the light dust which filled the air we breathed, and darkening the sun, made gloomy traveling; but looking upwards to the snow-capped hills as they seemed to preside over this scene of desolation we hurried on with more cheerful steps and at last reached the river's brink with thirsty stomachs and wearied limbs, but only to drink of the warm, sluggish and half-poisonous water. A little below they were burying a person who had died while the passage of this dreary stretch was being made. A hot and darkened atmosphere, a desert plain, a small and sluggish stream of water with a burial upon its banks, gave no one a very favorable impression of the cheerfulness of the scene around him; yet, there was not wanting a lively one, for the famished teams as they came in, one after another, plunged into the middle of the stream to slake their thirst and cool their wearied frames, made quite a lively time.

Aug. 11.—Our journey begins to tell on the strength of our animals; hot, sultry and disagreeable; made a few miles to a little spot of green grass.

Aug. 12.—Traveled twenty miles to-day and put up on poor grass, poor water and green willow; it is hard telling which make the best fire—green willow or green sage-brush.

Aug. 13.—A desert of twenty-five miles has been traveled over to-day and under a hot, broiling sun. Its scorching rays appeared to penetrate through our hats. Our feet coming in contact with the hot sand felt like burning up. Our great want, now is: water!

water!! water!!! good spring water, good well water, good snow water, good river water. Our dreams are of water, clear and cold, spouting from the earth like a geyser; the mountain streams that come tumbling over the great boulders, making a noise like the rush of "many waters," are a part of our midnight visions. Our ears are sometimes greeted with the groans and grumbles of the old ancient well sweep as it lifts the "moss-covered bucket" full to overflowing with the sparkling water. We remember every good spring we ever visited, whether away back in the old home in the Jersey's or in more recent years, while wandering among the lakes and dells of the far off Minnesota's. It must not be inferred by reading the above, that we are now destitute of water—far from it. We are somewhat like the cast away sailor when he had "water, water, everywhere, but not a drop to drink." We have a river to draw from, but such water—warm as fresh milk, and impregnated with alkali and a taste of salt to such a degree that we cannot use it until after the poison is killed by heating. We boil all the water we drink, and then it is barely fit for use. Sometimes we find a spring near the river's edge and among the tall wild grass, and if it is full of snakes, frogs and other reptiles, it is all right. We drive them out, and take a drink ourselves; but if the water looks black, and we can find no water varmint, not even a snake, we let it alone. It would be like the Disciple's pot, "there would be death in it." Bad water and hard grub, makes one or two of the boys grumble some; they cannot see why we cannot have "fresh steak once in awhile," and for variety, spring chickens once or twice a week. Soup and fresh vegetables would prevent scurvy; there are many things they could name that are "conspicuously absent from our daily fare." However, I must say that the boys, as a general thing, have stood up to the inevitable bravely. We continue to have as good coffee as the water will make; our hard bread keeps good and the domestic manufacture is very fair, considering our inability to make it to suit all hands. We have good bacon, sugar, rice, dried fruit, etc. If we had as good feed for our animals as we have for ourselves, we should be content.

Aug. 14.—Another stretch of eight miles over a sandy waste. This deep sand and heavy traveling is killing our beasts. Hard indeed must be the feelings of humanity that has no sympathy for the poor, patient animals as they toil on, day after day, through sand knee-deep, suffering for the want of good water, and when the toil of the day is over are often turned out to feed on nothing but green willow

or perhaps tear from the dry earth roots from which the grass has been nipped by some more fortunate horse or mule.

In passing through a long, deep mudhole to-day our Salt Lake mule, as usual, laid down to take a rest, and as it happened the wagon to which he was attached was a long way behind, and consequently no help at hand. How to get the mule out of the mud and water and proceed on our journey was a question with the driver and myself hard to solve. However, we had but little time before a young and sturdy-looking chap rode up on a big strong mule and made inquiry as to what we were doing in that kind of a fix. Our driver gave him all the necessary information as to the habits and antecedents of our delinquent mule and wound up by telling him that the captain had purchased the brute at Salt Lake and that he had been a trouble to us ever since, and for his part he wished the d—d thing was dead. The young stranger laughed at the young man's calamity but promised for a drink of good brandy not only to help [him] out of his present difficulty, but to cure our tricky mule of the bad habit of laying down on every soft spot he met with on the road. It is needless to say that a bargain was soon struck; our festive mule was stripped naked, one end of a lariat belonging to the stranger was passed around his neck, the other end to the horn of its owner's saddle and away he went, dragging the unfortunate mule through the slush and water almost at a 2:40 gait. However, that kind of locomotion did not suit our delinquent friend; he soon began to hunt for his feet and in spite of the rate of speed he was traveling was soon up and on all fours, alongside his tormentor. The fun was now up and our friend had the mule back, hitched him up and drove through a stretch of a half mile mudhole without any further difficulty. A good swig of brandy from the big jug and our bargain concluded; the stranger went on his way rejoicing and our driver drove into camp a happy man.

A mule is a mule, the world over I guess; their peculiarities are many and so different from all other animals that man is often at a loss to comprehend them. At what period in the world's history he made his advent upon earth it would take a better historian than myself to say; "no pride of ancestry and no hope of parentage," a living phenomena of man's inventive genius; good to do the bidding of his master, hardy in the performance of his task, easy to manage and not expensive to keep. As a rustler I have not seen his equal; he can strip a cottonwood in less time than a truant school boy can shed his trousers at the edge of a swim pond; very particular about

water, would rather go dry all day than touch water that a horse or an ox would delight in, but when hungry will eat anything within reach; tear the roots of grass from the astonished earth after the blades have long since disappeared; have known him to attack a half worn-out boot belonging and attached to a weary and sleeping pilgrim. Except the grease wood and sage brush there is nothing edible that I know of that he will not eat; in some respects he is an ungainly and rough brute, his ears out of all proportion to his heels; head rough and ungainly but with an eye as mild as a lamb and twice as innocent, except when he is out of humor, when they are dangerous even to look at. It is said that a "mule never dies"; I do not know how that is as I never saw a dead one, but have seen his heels very lively when I thought their owner half dead with hunger and hard work. Take him all in all, the mule is a peculiar animal, good and bad, according to his whims; "but, with all thy faults we have thee still."

A cloud-burst occurred in the mountains yesterday, the only guess work of the amount of water fall is in the amount of debris brought down by the rushing flood; great boulders ten feet in diameter rolled out of some of the ravines on to the level valley lands, a distance of hundreds of yards from their starting point, while gravel, mud and slime covered the plain from one to two feet in depth; it was in that mud and slime that our Mormon mule refused to travel.

Aug. 15.—Traveled all night over a desert to make the great meadows of the Humboldt. Dust and sand as deep and as disagreeable as ever. Were it not for the wild sage and grease wood those who travel on foot could escape a great part of the dust, but as the sage and grease wood stand so close and are so tall that it is impossible to pass through or over them, are compelled to keep the beaten path, traveling or rather wading through the deep dust like oxen pushing through the deep snow. Our night's journey kept us until 8 o'clock this morning when we went into camp, turned out our teams and ourselves to breakfast. No grass yet; hitched up again and moved down to good grass and better water; both water and grass are only good by comparison. The spring from which we draw our water is located at the river's edge and consequently is not much better than river water; but it is a spring and therefore some help to the imagination. Thousands of persons are filling their water barrels at this spring to enable them to cross the forty miles of desert yet to overcome before reaching Carson river. Some of our animals have fallen to the ground since we have turned them out; poisoned

by alkali maybe; if not by alkali, have been by hard traveling and short feed which amounts to the same thing. To see our animals stumbling and falling to the ground is not very agreeable to contemplate; we shall give them a day's rest and if possible, get better water for them to drink.

Aug. 16.—We are now at the end of our journey of the Humboldt river. Here she sinks⁶¹ beneath the sands of the great desert, but before she is lost sight of forever, her waters spread out into a lake some six or eight miles in length by one and a half in breadth and were it not for its surroundings, would be a respectable sheet of water.⁶² We are now encamped on the north side of this lake on a meadow as extensive as the lake itself. The grass is coarse, tall and heavy; what it lacks in nourishment is made up in abundance. We cut this grass and load our nearly empty wagons to furnish feed for our teams while crossing a forty mile desert stretching from the sink of the Humboldt to Carson river. As will be seen, by looking on a rude map of this country, the Humboldt and Carson rivers run in nearly opposite directions; the Humboldt from the east, the Carson from the west. The former rises on the elevated lands west of Salt Lake while the Carson has its source high up among the summit of the Sierra Nevada range of mountains that lay to the west.

Aug. 17.—We are now done with the Humboldt river. To-morrow morning we leave it (and, I had almost said) we hope forever; but there still lingers a desire to again traverse its meandering course through the great desert, but I need hardly say under more favorable circumstances. Were the Indians not troublesome the journey of the Humboldt could be easily made when there are but few people on the road. What grass there is, is very good and would sustain a moderate amount of travel. The water of the river and the springs near it is bad, but a party that had plenty of time could supply themselves from the neighboring mountains with the pure article. From the mountains east of Salt Lake to the Sierra Nevada on the west; from Oregon and the country east of it, to near Arizona on the south, this whole country is one vast basin. No rivers find their way to the sea, being walled in as it were, from the outside world. There are not wanting many beautiful scenes and cheerful locations, but as a whole, it is a cheerless and uncomfortable country, fit only for savage men and wild beasts.

Our camp to-day is in the full glare of an August sun; hot, sultry and wearisome; the range of broken and semi-round mountains that

61. Humboldt sink. Evaporation played a large part in the "disappearance" of the river.

62. Humboldt lake.

line the southern shore of the lake, adds to the desolate look that prevails everywhere within the reach of our visions. A prominent formation left by the storms of centuries on those ruined cliffs is called "the old man of the mountains." There he sits through the summer's heat, the winter's frost and snow, watching the centuries come, watching the centuries go; bald headed and eyes as bright as when the morning stars sang together. His appearance so venerable that if he had been found in the mountains of "Ararat" would no doubt have been taken for either Shem, Ham or Japheth. Long before the builders of the pyramids settled upon the banks of the luxuriant Nile this old man of the mountains began his weary and silent watch of the ages, waiting for this day and generation to see pass in review before his wondering gaze such a multitude of animated beings that his old eyes had never as yet seen or dreamed of. Still more astonished will the old man be when in a few more short years he sees the column of smoke by day, and the eyes of fire by night, come thundering down the sandy wastes of the Humboldt river and go swiftly by in a whirlwind of smoke, dust and cinders. Wait a little longer and the developments that are sure to come in the near future will so craze the ancient patriarch that he will fall from his high estate and his dust mingle with the crumbling ruins of the ancient land mark he now so proudly dominates.

Aug. 18.—To-day we make the last grand effort of this wearisome trip; this is considered the hardest bit of travel on the route, and consequently more preparation is made for the journey. We have grass and water on board for our teams which is now universally carried, the distance about forty miles. Very few animals that have made the travel of the Humboldt could endure the journey without some nourishment. Started about four o'clock in the morning, weather unusually cool and the roads good. About ten miles out the dead teams of '49 and '50, were seen scattered here and there upon the road. Very soon, however, they became more frequent and in a little while filled the entire roadside; mostly oxen, with here and there a horse and once in a while a mule. Wagons, wagon irons, ox chains, harness, rifles and indeed all the paraphernalia of an emigrant's "outfit" lay scattered along this notorious route, reminding one of the defeat of some great army. In many places the teams lay as they had fallen; poor beasts—they had struggled on over mountains, plains and through the sands of the barren deserts for days and weeks with but little or no food, but still with strength sufficient to make this their last effort to gain a haven of rest. Good

water and plenty of food lies just beyond; but alas, strength failed and here they lie, and sad memorials of a grand crusade to "the land of gold." Although dumb brutes and created for the use of man, I could not help but deplore their sad fate as there they laid in mute silence, marking our course through the great desert they had not the strength to cross.

Camped at ten o'clock in the forenoon, made coffee and gave our teams a little water and hay; while eating our dinner one of our stragglers came up and declared he had made one of the greatest discoveries of the age. He being a candid kind of a fellow, all hands were eager to hear of so great an event. "What was it?" was asked. "A dead mule." "Impossible" we all exclaimed; "a mule was never known to die." "Did you see the dead animal yourself?" we asked. "Yes I did, and I also saw a fellow tickle his heels with a long pole and he never budged and that is the surest sign on earth." We gave it up; a mule that could stand to have his heels trifled with and not resent it must surely be a dead one. After an hour's rest we were again on the road and traveled until near sundown. Camped and boiled our coffee with broken wagons that had been left on the road, gave our teams the remaining hay and water and pushed on again. So far our road has been good but from this out, ten miles, it is deep and heavy sand and consequently heavy traveling; as much as our fatigued teams can do to make any show of progress. But patience worketh many hard questions, and as we have a respectable supply as yet, I think it will last us through. Nine o'clock and as dark as hades; our teams just crawling and for fear they would stop of their own accord we called a halt, gave each animal a pound of hard bread and moved on. Ten o'clock, a bright, blazing fire that shot heavenward through the gloom in our rear, arrests our attention; it is a company of ten wagons which their owners despair of getting through, have concluded to desert; so hauling them up, side by side, set fire to the concern. A huge blaze of ten or fifteen minutes' duration, startled the astonished wilderness, revealing a long line of pilgrims, progressing slowly, but surely, toward the end of a hard day's work. The great fire has gone down and darkness again reigns triumphant. Could we but catch a view of the river with its volume of pure, cold water, 'twould be of some comfort. We are now within two miles of our destination and our teams have caught the fresh scent of pure, cold water, and it is as much as the tired pilgrim, who is on foot, can do to keep up. Eleven o'clock

and we are on the banks of the long-sought-for river⁶³ and more than all, at the end of a long and toilsome march. I never saw a dumb brute so eager for water as ours are to-night; they thrust their heads in water nearly up to their eyes, so eager are they to slake their thirst.

The passage of this desert would be no hard matter to old and experienced travelers well fixed, but to the untutored pilgrim, with worn-out teams, poor feed and bad water, it is a matter of some importance; the men who burnt their wagons for fear of not getting through were very foolish. In the morning they could have returned and brought them through with leisure. The men of '49 and '50 had some excuse for losing their teams and other property; the trail was new and the hardships unknown. They got into the difficulty and got out of it the best they could. To say that a train of wagons ten miles long and dead animals in sufficient numbers to pave a road the same distance, looks like a hard story, yet the pilgrim of '49, '50 or '52 can easily comprehend its truth. Most of the dead animals now lying on the desert have laid there since '49 and '50; the pure air of the desert has almost preserved them in their natural forms.

Aug. 19.—Moved over to an island and camped beneath the shade of tall timber. If ever man can appreciate large, tall timber, it is after traveling over a long and wearisome road in the absence of any kind of shelter, and where to hide one's self from the scorching heat of the midday sun he has to stoop and stick his head beneath stunted or slender willow or crawl beneath a wagon to lay amid the dust and sand to cool his heated and tired frame. Our camp is now in the green woods and beside a beautiful river. We can here drink and drink to our heart's content without fear that the poisonous waters will do us any harm. While traveling down the Humboldt, weary with fatigue and thirst we could take no satisfaction even at the river's brink, knowing that the more we drank of its poisonous waters the greater risk we ran of getting sick. It is a satisfaction to see our animals plunge into this stream and drink; for we know that the cooling and healthy beverage comes from the snow-capped peaks of the Sierra Nevada. Though so clear, so pure and so refreshing, it is destined to sink beneath the sands of the great desert. It seems a great pity that such a fine and noble river should lose itself in a country so barren and where good and pure water is so

63. Carson river, named for "Kit" Carson by Fremont in 1845.

valuable. It is said that the Humboldt and Carson rivers sink within sixty miles of each other.

Remained in camp all day resting our teams and getting ready to move on the morrow; hunted and fished with some success; there is plenty of mountain trout in the streams and a variety of game on its banks.

It has been more healthy since leaving Salt Lake valley, yet there are graves here and there all along our route. A little grave yard containing half a dozen graves lies near our present camping ground. The occupants must have died while crossing the desert or immediately after; poor fellows; after all the toil of the long journey, here they lie in silent graves beside the beautiful river they toiled so hard to reach. Yet they have lived their life, and fulfilled their fate.

My greatest anxiety has been for the welfare of those who have been intrusted to my care. Several anxious mothers and sisters are now waiting to hear the result of this journey. If I should lose any of their boys, I am afraid I should be blamed for neglect of duty. Yet it is a hard matter to control the wild, wayward and the unthoughtful youth.

Aug. 20.—We are on the road again this morning.⁶⁴ It is now up stream instead of down; road good and good grass and plenty of tall timber skirting the banks of the river. Camped in a beautiful location; everything appears to wear a more cheerful aspect. We are now almost within the shades of the great mountain that divides us from the land of gold.

Aug. 21.—Made twelve miles of a desert road and put up on good grass. There is some desert country on this river, but only here and there a spot, and when they are once crossed good grass and good water are always found; and then the grateful shade beneath the tall timber is so inviting. Plenty of game of both birds and animals and good fish in the sparkling river. Our hunters and fishermen are busy all the way up.

Aug. 22.—Made twenty-four miles to-day and camped in a beautiful grove of tall timber. The road to-day has been full of footmen who have left their teams in order to make better time in getting over the mountains. The boys are getting in a hurry and anxious to be at work in the gold mines; in rather too much of a hurry I am afraid.

64. Another route from the "sink" followed the Truckee river to California. It was somewhat more popular.—See Ware, *op. cit.*, footnote on p. 36.

Aug. 23.—Crossed the river⁶⁵ for the second time and put up for noon in a shady grove and beside the swift running stream. The boys having killed a large rabbit and some wild fowl, determined to have a pot pie; it was something of a job to make it, but made it was, after a fashion. But if anybody could tell what it was, or how it was made, he would be much wiser than those who ate it; for never before did anyone see such a conglomeration of fresh meat, fish, bacon and hard bread; but it was a change in the dull routine of our every day fare, and that was something. Chinamen were mining for gold at this place; they told us they were making from four to six dollars per day to the man. We did not believe the story. Here is also a trading post where vegetables, canned fruits, bacon, flour, mining implements and bad whiskey are kept for sale.⁶⁶ It is but a small affair and established for the accommodation of the few miners who are at work in the neighborhood and any transient custom that may happen by.

Left the river at this point and crossed over the high lands and over what is called Lime hill, composed of a white chalky substance but as far as I could see resembled lime in nothing but its looks. Met the river again at sundown and camped upon its banks.

Aug. 24.—We are now traveling through a beautiful country; land good and plenty of timber, and grass in abundance. This neighborhood will soon contain a large population; people are just beginning to settle its fertile lands. It is said that cattle can be kept in this valley all the year round upon grass alone. Passed some warm springs this afternoon.

Aug. 25.—We are now traveling beneath the shadow of the great Sierra Nevada; camped at noon near the mouth of Humboldt canon and on a tributary of Carson river.⁶⁷ It is up through this canon we are to climb the great mountains; a dark lane-like passage, walled on either side for hundreds of feet perpendicularly, is not an inviting road to travel; but as there is only this one trail in the neighborhood to make the ascent we bid adieu to the open country and follow a small winding stream (a branch of the Carson river) that leads us upwards and onwards over great boulders, crossing the little stream every now and then and sometimes following its bed to avoid the

65. Carson river.

66. Possibly Genoa, Nev.

67. "Through this cañon is the roughest road, I am persuaded to think, that ever a wagon traveled over. The west branch of Carson river . . . runs through this cañon, which you cross six times in passing up. At places there is just barely room for a wagon to pass through between vertical rock, perpendicular 300 to 400 feet high. Other places you will have to ascend and descend a solid smooth stone for several yards, almost perpendicular; and again you must make your way for miles over rocks of an intolerable size for a wagon to pass over. . . ."—Horn, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

great rocks that have from time to time, fallen from the heights above and nearly filled the entire passage. The afternoon's work was a hard one, but by industry and perseverance managed to make five or six miles. It was now nearly dark and a little wider space in the valley offering us room enough to spread our blankets and put up for the night. Huge rocks that had fallen from above lie around and about us. The little river is bounding from rock to rock, making a terrible noise as it vibrates high up on the rocky walls above us. It is here that the Indians have done some mischief, and might have stopped the entire travel by unbalancing the great rocks above and filling the narrow passage. Weird, wild, dark and noisy is our camping place to-night. The little valley about fifty yards in width is almost choked with big pine trees and boulder stone, some of the latter as large as a good sized house and gloomy enough to frighten a mule. The moon is shining on the outside world, but it never has, or ever can, penetrate this dark recess.

Aug. 26.—Eight o'clock and we are on our winding way over great boulders, fallen timber, and here and there a few rods of smooth roadway. The higher we ascend the more noisy the little stream becomes, leaping from rock to rock, mad with haste and foaming with impatience; clear as crystal, cold as ice, "a thing of beauty and a joy forever." Nine o'clock; a break in the mountain wall on our left; we cross over a bridge and bid goodby to the dark canon and the mountain stream. We are now in the sunshine and the outlook is more pleasant; but the road—if it can be called a road—is the worst on the continent I guess. Rocks four feet high and so close together [they] fill the entire roadway. We unhitch our teams, lead them through and over them to a place of smooth earth, then go back, pull [off] our coats and lift our wagons from rock to rock, a distance of several hundred yards. Again we are on a smooth surface, hitch up and drive on to "mountain camp." Here is a meadow; a meadow in the mountain.⁶⁸ We drive our stock into this meadow and build our camp fire for the balance of the day and night.

Aug. 27.—Teams well fed and to make a good day's work started early; the way tolerable for two or three miles. Passed near a beautiful lake fringed with green grass; wild ducks and other fowls were flying about or disporting themselves on the little islands that set like gems upon its bosom. Soft, pleasant and tranquil, lay this beautiful sheet of clear, cold water. Immediately after passing the

68. Hope valley—so called by emigrants.

lake above described we came to the foot of an immense elevation. We first looked at the high, steep and rough mountain road, then at our teams, and lastly we looked at one another. However, it was no use looking; the work had to be done. To throw off our coats was the first move, to unhitch part of our teams and attach them to others was the next move, and when all was ready we began the steepest journey we had ever before attempted. The starting point was quite smooth and gradual, but the way soon became very steep and rocky; indeed, the rocks monopolized the entire surface of the great mountain, first one way, and then another, zigzag fashion. We slowly made our way towards the summit; every rock we lifted our wagons over made one the less before us. After two hours' hard work lifting at the wheels, whipping our tired teams, and using language not becoming church members, we gained a resting place and well did we need one. If ever we had worked it was in the past two hours.

After a short rest we are again on the move; the way is now more smooth but very steep and crooked; a man to every wheel, and one to every horse and mule; a few steps and then a rest. As may be imagined, our progress was very slow, but as it was a sure one our teams and ourselves keep up a steady courage. Eleven o'clock came to a dead halt at the foot of a large, flat rock, smooth and so very steep that it is impossible for our teams to even stand upon it, much less to climb and haul a wagon over. Unhitched, led our animals around and above the steep incline, then attached a long rope to the end of our wagon tongue and hauled them up. The big end of our day's work was now done; the worst for the day was over; made a few more hundred yards and stopped for dinner. At one o'clock rolled out again; the road is now passable, but here and there a steep grade to worry our worn-out teams. Camped for the night near the shores of Mountain Lake where the mules and horses fared well upon good mountain grass. This is a beautiful location; high, towering peaks surrounding a beautiful lake upon whose shores the green grass grows so beautifully and where the tall pine trees give such a welcome shade. There are many pilgrims lying around and about us feeding their teams and making preparations for climbing the second and last steep grade over these great mountains. The American river has its source in this neighborhood and winding round, through and over the great rocks of the Sierra Nevada, discharges its waters in the Sacramento river, near the city of the same name.

Aug. 28.—We soon got ready for our mountain excursion and started upward amid the tall pines and large rocks; the latter impeded our progress at first but the higher we ascend the scarcer they became until the way was quite smooth; yet it was a steep way to riches and “a hard road to travel.” We left camp at 8 o'clock in the morning and at 10 o'clock passed on and above the snow line, great banks of which lay here and there along the roadway. At 12 o'clock we reached the summit of the road through a gap in the high ridge; three miles in four hours is not fast driving, but fast enough to kill our nearly worn-out animals. Thank fortune, we are now safe on the summit of the great mountain that has heretofore been a subject of so much anxiety.

Here is mountain scenery to our heart's content. Great banks of snow, large and sterile rocks encumber the ground, making crooked and winding roads for the tired pilgrim as he has ever and anon to turn this and that way in the pursuit of his journey. We have been three days climbing this mountain and have averaged perhaps eight or ten miles a day, making the distance from the Carson valley to the summit of these mountains from twenty-four to thirty miles. From the summit west to the Sacramento valley, it is said to be an hundred miles. Our road after leaving the summit inclined slightly to the west for some four or five miles; at the end of this journey went into camp near sundown at Tragedy Springs and drove our teams down into a great recess of the mountain to feed.

Aug. 29.—Our mules and horses managed to hide themselves this morning and were nowhere to be found until too late to move. We have all the way rested on the Sabbath when we could do so with comfort to ourselves and in justice to our animals. This camp was too cold for comfort, and could we have found our teams would have continued the journey. Here we began to notice the big timber; trees from six inches diameter to eight and nine feet through; tall, straight and comely; mostly pine, but here and there a cedar. Of the latter, I measured a hollow trunk eight feet inside.

Aug. 30.—Left camp early; road more down than up hill; stopped for dinner near a new-made grave, its occupant having been murdered and robbed a few days since. Put up at Camp creek; plenty of good wood and good water, but no grass for our teams.

Aug. 31.—Our teams fared badly last night and were poor travelers to-day. Our road up and down hill—more down than up, however. Made fifteen or twenty miles and went into camp. Here we found hay for sale at twenty-five cents per pound. Bought some for

our exhausted teams, but I am free to say, not enough to satisfy the hungry animals. Good horses, good mules and good oxen are everything on a journey like this. Job in his day, immortalized the horse and clothed his neck with thunder; but he was silent on the mule, and for what reason I am unable to say. If he had made this journey and had used the mule as a motive power, he would no doubt have done him justice and left to succeeding generations his testimony of the mule's virtues. For our part we love the patient and hardy animal; their ears do not seem half so long as they did at the commencement of this journey. In every way they appear more enduring; if one gets stubborn and kicks our hats off once in a while we let him kick, but are very careful to stop in his way no longer than we can get out of it. Oxen are very reliable, patient and enduring. Thousands of them have made the entire trip and stood it nobly; but they are more liable to get lame than either the horse or mule. They will drink the poisonous water at every opportunity, and many of them are lost in that way; but with good watching they will make the trip. One would think a dog would make the journey very easily, but of the thousands who made the attempt very few succeeded in getting through. Those who had valuable ones let them ride. I know of no dog that has made the entire trip on foot.

Sept. 1.—Left camp early; road good but very dusty. At four o'clock we caught sight of the city of Placerville; at five we put up at the Ohio House. Our teams are well fed and ourselves are eating a square meal. We are now in the center of the mining district. The change from the mountain wilderness to a city of five or six thousand inhabitants took us somewhat by surprise, but by careful conduct met with no disaster. Placerville is essentially a mining town, full of life, full of people and full of business. Our contract with the boys is to land them in Sacramento City or we should make this the terminus of our journey.

Sept. 2.—Again on the road but a rough, mountainous country to travel over. Three miles out we pass Diamond Springs, another mining town, but a very small one. Three miles farther upon the road we meet with "Mud Springs," still another mining camp and full of activity.

Sept. 3.—At ten o'clock from our mountain road we caught our first view of the great Sacramento valley. The scene was magnificent. There it laid, spread out as it were, beneath our feet as far as the eye could reach, north, south and west, a land of beauty and a

joy forever; a land of sunshine, of plenty, and of comfort. Stopped at the 10 Mile House.

Sept. 4.—Only twelve miles to the end of our destination. Our road now is side by side with the American river, a somewhat different stream than when we crossed it in the mountains. To our left stands Sutter's Fort, an ancient and dilapidated-looking concern, all gone, or going to decay. To our left is a grave yard where monuments and tombstones stand like out-door sentinels to the entrance of a great city. Soon the spires of churches and the masts of shipping become visible. The breeze now brings the busy hum of the city together with the voice of the steamboat bell, all old but familiar sounds. How earnestly did we gaze at the sight and signs of civilization; from the first of May to the first of September we had been wanderers in the wilderness; everything we heard or saw appeared new. It was indeed a new world and we were, in reality, in the midst of it. We had, as our looks indicated, crossed a continent, but in crossing had nearly lost our nationality, for to the unpracticed eye we looked more like Hungarians than American citizens. It was only by the voice that the universal Yankee nation would have recognized us as brethern of the same race. At 12 o'clock we entered the city of Sacramento, dirty, dusty and hungry, our teams and ourselves worn down with fatigue and looking for all the world like the remnant of a disorganized army that had just escaped destruction.

In closing up I am happy to say that we brought every man and every horse and mule safely through the long and tiresome journey. We are now in California. No more traveling day after day; no more standing watch by night. It is here that we separate from our companions. The bond that held us together on the long and toilsome road is canceled. Each individual has his own way to choose and travel, whether for good or evil, time only will disclose. A shake of the hand and a good-by and the company of C. and B. are separated.

Atchison, a Great Frontier Depot

WALKER D. WYMAN

IN THE settlement of the Trans-Missouri West the towns on the Missouri river occupied the unique position of serving as jumping-off points for emigrants western bound and as termini for steamboat and ox-team freighters. Founded by speculators, each of these cities, villages and ghost towns between Independence, Mo., and Omaha, Neb., hoped to become the greatest metropolis on the river.

Atchison is no exception to the host of aspiring Missouri river towns. Its dramatic rise was due more to the patronage of overland freighters than to outfitting emigrants, but the latter nevertheless furnished a significant segment in its economic history. Like its sister towns on the west side of the river its beginnings as a town date from the opening of Kansas territory to settlement.

The French *voyageurs* called this region in northeastern Kansas territory the "Grand Detour" of the Missouri.¹ The Missouri founders of Atchison located their town on the westernmost point of that "Grand Detour." Lying between St. Joseph to the northeast and Fort Leavenworth to the southeast, this appeared to be the proper point from which to tap the resources of the West.

"Somewhere between 1841 and 1849 [George M.] Million [who had earlier settled across the river at a place later to be called Rushville, Mo.] built a flat boat ferry, and . . . in 1849, . . . did a thriving business. . . ." In 1854 he became a squatter on the original townsite of Atchison.² Fifty-seven days after the Kansas-Nebraska bill became law, eighteen men had organized the town company.³ Million's squatter rights were soon purchased, the town named in honor of one of the founders, David R. Atchison, and lots sold at public auction for an average price of sixty-three dollars.⁴ Shareholders were assessed \$25 for the construction of a hotel and the sum of \$400 was donated to two enterprising editors to establish the *Squatter Sovereign*.⁵ If there were emigrants through here in the fall of 1854 George T. Challis' store was the only merchandising

1. Andreas, A. T., and Cutler, Wm. G., *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 376.

2. "Fiftieth Anniversary Edition" of the *Atchison Daily Globe*, December 8, 1927, sec. 6, p. 3, article by E. W. Howe written in 1894.

3. *Ibid.*, sec. 1, p. 4.

4. *Ibid.*, sec. 2, p. 6, another Howe article written in 1894. The president of the town company, Peter T. Abell, bore the title of "Father of Atchison."

5. *Ibid.*

establishment open for business. Travelers frequently paid two dollars to sleep on blankets taken from the meager supply on his shelves. The owner sometimes cooked a can of cove oysters in "an old chafing dish, and charged them another dollar. Whiskey that cost him 40 cents a gallon he sold for 25 cents a drink. . . ." ⁶ Atchison was "yet a town in embryo. . . ."

Apparently few emigrants other than those destined for the nearby farm land crossed the river at this thriving town in the first three years of its existence.⁷ The grim fight over slavery in the territory cast a shadow over the two or three hundred inhabitants. But in 1858, while many paper towns were collapsing, Atchison grew.⁸ The town company nursing those railroad desires so common to other speculators of the period began action which it was hoped would place their chosen location at the hub of a transportation system. The "city" (incorporated as such in 1858) agreed to purchase \$100,000 worth of stock, and individuals pledged themselves to buy the same amount to build a railroad north to connect with the Hannibal and St. Joseph.⁹ When work was begun in June, 1858, "the largest concourse of people ever assembled in Kansas were gathered together in Atchison" to celebrate the event.¹⁰

When the gold fever struck the Missouri river in September, 1858, this town was in the mood for doing a great business. A few emigrants had used Atchison as a starting point during the spring, but they had served only to encourage a town already busy selling its lots.¹¹ Most of the outfitting pilgrims to Pike's Peak were residents of the vicinity who could depart immediately for the mines.¹²

According to the loyal editors there was but one desirable route to the Cherry Creek mines in 1859, and that was the "First Standard Parallel Route" west from Atchison. It was alleged to be more direct and one-third less in distance—a *good* road along "high, level divides" with ferries and bridges available at every needed point.¹³ This was the great point in Atchison's advertising, the acceptance of which was to achieve for it popularity as an emigrant depot. But it was supported only through a total disregard for truth. When the first claims were made for the new route, very few people had gone

6. *Ibid.*, sec. 6, p. 3.

7. Based on issues of the *Atchison Squatter Sovereign*, March 11, 1856, to February 17, 1857.

8. *Leavenworth Journal*, February 6, 1858, quoted in *Freedom's Champion*, Atchison, February 20, 1858; also *St. Joseph (Mo.) Weekly West* quoted in *ibid.*, November 13, 1858.

9. *Andreas-Cutler, op. cit.*, p. 376.

10. *Freedom's Champion*, June 26, 1858.

11. Letter from "An Iowan" in *ibid.*, April 3, 1858.

12. *Ibid.*, September 18, 1858.

13. *Ibid.*, February 19, 26, 1859.

over it, and no attempt had yet been made to build bridges or ferries. The company organized to do the work did not depart for the West until a month later.¹⁴ One of the local news sheets planned to print an extra edition of 3,000 copies on the new route, outfits, and gold discoveries, so as to "reach every section of the country, . . . complete in everything—no information which emigrants should have will be omitted. . . ." ¹⁵ Thus did Atchison strive to catch the Eastern innocents.

Steamboats from points on the river above and below brought "Peaker's" to this mushroom town which claimed a population of 4,000.¹⁶ A tri-weekly stage from St. Joseph transferred many from the end of the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad. The much advertised stage west through Fort Riley to the mines did not come into reality in time to serve as a means of transportation for the whole season.¹⁷ It is doubtful, however, if Atchison was a major outfitting place this year, although the gold-seekers' camps ("one of them in charge of a gray-head who is surely old enough to know better")¹⁸ were noticeable most of the spring months. Returning "Pike's Peakers" began to throng the streets before those outward bound were under way. Outfits were sold at auction before taking the first boat home. One pilgrim explained that "back-trailers" were of a class "constitutionally predisposed to homesickness."¹⁹ That fall, however, a different class of miners—the successful ones—surged through town "at a wonderful rate," all eager to dispose of their gold and to get home for the winter. Stages rattled in from the West, loaded with passengers and the precious metal.²⁰ But realization of dreams still lay ahead.

Early in 1860 Atchison merchants went east to purchase new stocks for emigrants and freighters. Advertisements appealed to the prospective miner with an assurance that "We can furnish you with everything . . . from a good Wagon and Team, down to a Camp Kettle, and at less prices than can be bought at any other points on the river. . . ." ²¹ The *Freedom's Champion* unhesitatingly told its readers that the "Smoky Hill" route, advertised by Leavenworth, was taken only by "the fool-hardy and insane," while the Platte (not the "First Standard Parallel Route") was favored

14. *Ibid.*, March 26, 1859.

15. *Ibid.*, February 12, 1859.

16. *Ibid.*, June 4, 11, 1859; *Weekly West*, St. Joseph, June 26, 1859.

17. *Freedom's Champion*, April 2, 1859, quoting a letter of February 25, 1859, in the *Junction City Sentinel*.

18. Horace Greeley in letter of May 15, quoted in *Freedom's Champion*, June 4, 1859.

19. *Ibid.*, July 23, 1859.

20. One stage brought in \$8,992.07 in gold.—*Ibid.*, September 17, 1859.

21. *Ibid.*, April 21, 1860.

"by the great mass" of population as the "shortest, safest and best road in all respects."²² The city had expended "over \$3,500 for bridges, culverts, and grading" on the four miles of trail leading to the "Great Military Road" from Fort Leavenworth.²³ If coming by train the emigrant should buy a ticket through to Atchison, and "save much vexation and delay"; if by river, get a ticket to Atchison, thereby saving nearly two days, for the road west from Leavenworth was but three or four miles from there; if by wagon, come to Atchison before purchasing supplies and save twenty-five miles freighting, for it was farther west than all competitors.²⁴

More "Peakers" outfitted in Atchison in 1860 than in the previous year. Covered wagons were everywhere, giving the town the appearance of a great military camp. Stores were crowded with outfitters. "Ho! For Pike's Peak" was heard on every hand.²⁵ It was believed that "a more reliable and better equipped class of emigrants" were leaving. "Instead of hand carts and starving, squalid travelers, we see well provided ox, mule and horse trains, with cheerful, well to do attendants. . . ." ²⁶ Many of those who poured into St. Joseph by way of the railroad took the boat, stage, or train to Atchison. Nevertheless, Leavenworth must have been more successful if editorial comment is an indication.

After the middle 1860's Atchison was definitely on the decline as a factor in the westward movement of emigrants. "Times are dull. . . . Hundreds of young men are tramping the streets, idle, starving and shelterless," wrote an observer,²⁷ even if many were still outfitting there. The overland stage, prized so highly because it would ultimately mean a railroad to the West, ceased operations in the winter of 1866. It was a sorrowful scene when the "long train of Concord stages, express coaches, hacks and other rolling stock started from their stables and yards on Second street to leave Atchison forever. . . ." ²⁸ One old Atchison resident wrote later:

It was a magnificent sight to look upon, and yet there appeared to be something solemn or sad about it, when it was remembered that a similar scene would never be witnessed again. . . . The company was bidding a final adieu to the city and section of country [which] its vast enterprise had so many years been such an important factor in helping to build up.²⁹

22. Issue of February 11, 1860.

23. *Ibid.*, March 10, 1860.

24. *Atchison Union*, January 21, 1860.

25. *Ibid.*, March 24, April 14, May 12, 1860; *Freedom's Champion*, April 14, 28, 1860.

26. *Atchison Union*, April 28, 1860.

27. *Atchison Patriot* quoted in the Council Bluffs (Iowa) *Bugle*, May 7, 1868.

28. Ingalls, Sheffield, *History of Atchison County, Kansas* (Lawrence, 1916), p. 169.

29. Root, F. A., and Connelley, W. E., *The Overland Stage to California* (Topeka, 1901), pp. 437, 438.

Familiar scenes in Atchison became the wagons of Missouri and Iowa farmers en route to Kansas, or of local farmers in town to market their produce. Some emigrants stopped long enough to replenish supplies before leaving for the Rocky Mountain area or the Far West. The city no longer functioned as a Missouri river town. Hopes for being the hub of the universe faded from the minds of these imaginative people. To sell to and buy from the hinterland became the ideal, rather than to outfit the pilgrim. Advertisements paraded such instruments of civilization as reapers, mowers, pianos, bedsteads, and bureaus. Even some of the prostitutes were driven from town. Indeed, civilization had come!

However, before that day came Atchison had a great period as a terminal for ox-team freighters. It had a favorable location in reference to the rising West. Being westernmost by twelve miles of the Kansas and Missouri cities, it also enjoyed a good steamboat landing, had a railroad connection with St. Joseph and the East after 1860, and had the best wagon road to the West. It is doubtful if its freighting history was excelled by any other place on the river excepting Kansas City.

Before Atchison's second birthday, several Utah freighters, including Livingston and Kinkead, the most important in Utah, had shipped goods from it. Tutt and Dougherty, freighters to Fort Laramie, also helped crowd the levee with their freight.³⁰ Residents believed they were witnessing the childhood of a future St. Louis or Cincinnati, and declared that there "are one-horse towns in Kansas, but Atchison is not on that list."³¹

In February, 1858, a local editor stated as almost a certainty that "the larger portion of the Salt Lake and California trade" and "the chief portion of the supplies for the Utah army" would start from Atchison. Warehouses, forwarding, and commission houses should be established at once.³² Everything must be made ready for these gentlemen of the Plains, the freighters. The wharf was extended, and the hill at the levee graded back several feet. Then as the steamers puffed up with goods from St. Louis and Eastern marts, pipe dreams were woven around the Atchison of the future. Located on the western point of the "Grand Detour" of the Missouri, why was this not the town to become the Giant of the West, the doorway through which the "gigantic commerce of those plains will pour . . . [?]" Santa Fe would be the principal city of the South-

30. *Atchison Squatter Sovereign*, May 6, 27, July 1, 8, 1856.

31. *Ibid.*, May 6, 1856.

32. *Freedom's Champion*, February 20, 1858.

west, hence the inevitable conclusion that railroads from Chicago would reach to Navajo land by way of Fort Riley and Atchison, the "only points on an air line between those two places. . . ." ³³

That spring the two commission houses were "completely filled with boxes, bales, barrels. . . ." Each boat lay at the levee nearly a day unloading. Everything bustled with activity, for a new day seemed at hand. ³⁴ Most of this freight was for Utah. Every army sutler, it was reported, outfitted at Atchison while the government supplies for the Utah army went forth from Leavenworth. A Kansas City contemporary, who did not have the greatest of respect for Leavenworth either, quoted an article in *Freedom's Champion* which said that such could be explained only "because government is swindled and cheated by men who have large interests in Leavenworth, and pays exorbitant [*sic*] prices for shipping goods from disadvantageous points. . . ." ³⁵ Besides the Salt Lake and army sutler trains, a few traders brought in furs and took out goods, and stage supplies for the California-Salt Lake mail were shipped from Atchison. A summary of the activities of the year shows that seven wagons outfitted for Green River, nine for Marysville, thirteen for Labonto, twenty for Palmetto, fifty-one for Fort Kearny, nine for Fort Laramie, eighty-nine for the mail stations, and 577 for Salt Lake, or a total of 775 wagons. ³⁶ This does not in-

33. *Ibid.*, March 20, 1858.

34. *Ibid.*, April 10, 1858.

35. *Western Journal of Commerce*, Kansas City, Mo., August 28, 1858.

36. This compilation of overland freighters and freighting leaving Atchison in 1858 was taken from *Freedom's Champion*, October 30, 1858. Some corrections have been made. Train destinations are shown first; names of owners, their residences, names of freighters, their residences, and number of wagons in the caravan, follow.

Salt Lake City—Radford, Cabot & Co., St. Louis; P. M. Chouteau & Co., Kansas City, 32 wagons.

S. L. M. stations—John M. Hockaday & Co., mail contractors; First Supply Train, Independence, 10 wagons.

Salt Lake City—Dyer, Mason & Co., Independence; W. H. Dyer & Co., Independence, 60 wagons.

Salt Lake City—S. G. Mason & Co., Independence; E. C. Chiles, Independence, 27 wagons.

Salt Lake City—Radford, Cabot & Co., St. Louis; J. B. Doyle, New Mexico, 38 wagons.

S. L. M. stations—John M. Hockaday & Co., mail contractors; Second Supply Train, Independence, 10 wagons.

Salt Lake City—C. C. Branham, Weston; C. C. Branham, Weston, 28 wagons.

Salt Lake City—C. A. Perry & Co., Weston; C. A. Perry & Co., Weston, 91 wagons.

Fort Kearny—R. H. Dyer & Co., Fort Kearny; R. H. Dyer & Co., Fort Kearny, 38 wagons.

Palmetto—F. J. Marshall, Marysville; F. J. Marshall, Marysville, 20 wagons.

Salt Lake City—Irvin & Young, Independence; Irvin & Young, Independence, 32 wagons.

Salt Lake City—Livingston, Kinkead & Co., New York; Irvin & Young, Independence, 52 wagons.

Salt Lake City—J. M. Guthrie & Co., Weston; S. M. Guthrie & Co., Weston, 50 wagons.

Salt Lake City—Curtas Clayton, Leavenworth; C. C. Branham, Weston, 12 wagons.

Fort Laramie—Reynald & McDonald, Fort Laramie; Reynald & McDonald, Fort Laramie, 9 wagons.

Green River—C. Martin, Green River; C. Martin, Green River, 7 wagons.

Salt Lake City—Livingston, Kinkead & Co., New York; Hord & Smith, Independence, 40 wagons.

Salt Lake City and Way Points—Hord & Smith, Independence; Hord & Smith, Independence, 10 wagons.

Labonto—Bisonette & Lazinette, Deer Creek; Bisonette & Lazinette, Deer Creek, 13 wagons.

Marysville—Ballord & Moralle, Marysville; J. S. Watson, Marysville, 9 wagons.

Fort Kearny—R. H. Dyer & Co., Fort Kearny; R. H. Dyer & Co., 13 wagons.

clude any that may have loaded for Pike's Peak late that fall. There was good reason for the mayor to say that "small as she is . . . Atchison excels. . . ." ³⁷

Thus at the time when other river towns above Kansas City were just getting the freighting fever, Atchison had a lion's share of it, and apparently had the Utah trade monopolized. At that time the Mormon trade was rightly regarded as the greatest of all Western markets. The population of the whole Salt Lake valley was estimated at twenty to thirty thousand and was constantly increasing. The Missouri river town which could keep it, even if most of it was commission business rather than direct sale, was certain of recognition when railroads should be built west.

Although Atchison profited somewhat by the Denver and Indian trade, the greatest increase came from the Mormon valley. The number of wagons sent out the next year increased nearly twenty percent, or to 954.³⁸ A. S. Parker & Co. and D. W. Adams seem to have become overnight the great commission houses.³⁹ The city council, grasping fully the potential future of Atchison, ordered property owners on Commercial street at the levee to lay a brick or stone pavement.⁴⁰ The channel of the river and the landing appeared to be permanent. The back country was filling up with sturdy farmers eager to produce a surplus. The prairies to the west afforded good grass and camp sites for freighters. As Atchison entered 1860 success seemed certain, even if a federal government could not see the advantages of sending forth from it all of its contractors. A keen-minded contemporary wrote:

No one could question the commercial importance of Atchison during the spring of 1860, because no other city in the great Missouri valley enjoyed such advantages in the way of overland transportation. It was nothing unusual to see two or three steamboats lying at the levee discharging freight, and as many more on the river in sight, either above or below the city. . . . It was no uncommon thing, during the spring of 1860, to see great quantities of freight, in the shape of thousands of wagons and ox-yokes, mining machinery, boilers, and other material, and the provisions necessary to supply the thousands of people then flocking to the great West. Tons of stuff were piled on

S. L. M. stations—John M. Hockaday & Co., Independence; Third Supply Train, 57 wagons. Cal. & S. L. Stat's—Geo. Chorpoening, California; A. J. Schell, Pennsylvania, 12 wagons. Salt Lake City—Hockaday, Burr & Co., Salt Lake City; Hockaday, Burr & Co., Utah, 105 wagons.

A total of 3,730,905 pounds was shipped, using 1,114 men, 7,963 oxen, 1,286 mules, 142 horses. Wagons valued at \$200 each, mules \$100, horses \$150, and oxen \$35. These statistics were also given in *ibid.*, March 10, 1860.

37. Speech given at opening of Massasoit House.—*Ibid.*, September 11, 1858.

38. The summary given in *ibid.*, March 10, 1860, for the year 1859 was 954 wagons, 1,168 men, 9,235 oxen, 627 mules, 141 horses, and 4,020,000 pounds. Also see summaries for 1858, 1859 and 1860 in *ibid.*, November 3, 1860.

39. See detailed account of their business that spring in *ibid.*, April 16, 1859.

40. *Ibid.*, June 18, 1859.

the levee and in the warehouses. It was common to see immense quantities of heavy freight stacked up for several blocks along the levee, and every warehouse was packed with groceries, provisions, clothing, boots and shoes, etc., awaiting transportation. . . .⁴¹

Apparently the Denver market proved to be attractive to a growing number of enterprises. Only four firms were engaged in the Salt Lake traffic, while about forty turned toward the mines, including J. B. Doyle, famous freighter on the Santa Fe trail.⁴² Irwin, Jackman & Co., rising government contractors of the sixties, dispatched nearly twenty trains from Atchison for Forts Laramie and Kearny and the posts in Utah. The total commerce of the year of over 1,600 wagons showed that the city now ranked second as an army depot, third or fourth in private freighting, and second or third in the Denver traffic. About 320 wagons for the army and 700 for Denver and Salt Lake were sent out. St. Joseph apparently captured some of the Utah business.⁴³ The reason for the general increase was due

41. Root and Connelley, *op. cit.*, p. 305.

42. *Freedom's Champion*, March 3, 10, 17, April 28, May 12, September 1, 22, 1860; "Commerce on the Prairies," *Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review*, New York, v. XLIV, pp. 42, 43; Root and Connelley, *op. cit.*, footnote on pages 419, 420; Albert Watkins (ed.), *History of Nebraska* (Lincoln, 1913), v. III, p. 377, quoting Capt. H. E. Palmer.

43. *Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review*, v. XLIV, pp. 43-45, gives the total as 1,220 wagons, but Root and Connelley, *op. cit.*, and Captain Palmer, quoted by Watkins, *op. cit.*, give this total: 1,328 wagons, 1,549 men, 401 mules, 15,263 oxen, 6,590,875 pounds of freight.

Freedom's Champion, of November 3, 1860, gave 1,717 wagons, 2,014 men, 16,188 oxen, 2,460 mules, and 8,088,911 pounds of merchandise. The following is the *Champion's* statistical data for 1860, as corrected by the writer:

By A. S. Parker & Co.

<i>Freighters, and Destination</i>	<i>Wagons</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Mules</i>	<i>Oxen</i>	<i>Lbs. Md'se.</i>
Livingston, Bell & Co., Salt Lake city.....	60	64	8	600	187,000
S. Kneidson, Salt Lake city.....	16	20	66	...	48,000
Clayton & Lowe, Denver city.....	10	12	40	...	30,000
Jas. B. Doyle, Denver city.....	45	48	8	450	173,875
John Dold & Bro., Denver city.....	35	38	4	420	71,000
Arnold & Marten, Denver city.....	3	4	2	24	9,806
Cligham & Bro., Colorado city.....	8	8	3	96	15,500
Wm. McClarkle, Denver city.....	...	...	...	...	5,358
S. Knipe, Denver city.....	...	...	...	...	5,554
A. Hanuere, Denver city.....	...	...	...	...	51,104
Seth E. Ward, Fort Laramie.....	8	12	4	96	45,522
Bogy, McKnight & Bingham, Denver city.....	...	...	...	...	20,924
Wm. A. Carter, Fort Bridger.....	...	...	...	...	29,184
Jas. Rogers, Denver city.....	2	4	2	24	5,184
J. B. Doyle & Co., Denver city.....	43	46	3	516	233,867
J. Dold & Co., Denver city.....	24	26	2	288	112,174
Hugh Murdock, Denver city.....	23	25	2	276	109,081
T. M. Fisher, Denver city.....	17	19	2	204	87,824
M. C. Fisher, Denver city.....	...	...	...	...	10,800
C. J. Couard, Denver city.....	...	...	...	...	10,063
R. C. Ewing, Denver city.....	26	22	2	240	102,106
S. E. Ward, Fort Laramie.....	20	24	4	240	121,978
S. Kneidson, Denver city.....	14	18	88	...	26,500
J. Rallston, Mountain city.....	14	17	3	168	67,997
Wallingford & Murphy, Denver city.....	11	13	2	132	49,500
Total	373	420	245	3,774	1,629,901

By Home & Chouteau

<i>Freighters, and Destination</i>	<i>Wagons</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Mules</i>	<i>Oxen</i>	<i>Lbs. Md'ce.</i>
M. Elsback & Co., Denver city.....	53	59	250	72	165,340
Jones & Cartwright, Denver city.....	56	63	672	8	313,600
J. B. Doyle & Co., Santa Fe.....	15	20	90	4	68,904
W. S. Williams, Pike's Peak.....	6	8	...	36	18,000
N. P. Perry, Denver city.....	5	11	...	30	20,800
J. Samuels, Denver city.....	10	12	120	3	48,000
C. H. Graliot, Salt Lake city.....	20	30	240	6	51,980
Freport Mining Co., Denver city.....	10	11	122	3	41,000
Myers & Lockhart, Denver city.....	3	10	18	...	8,000
Almy & Fisher, Denver city.....	10	13	120	3	40,000
L. B. Gaylord, Denver city.....	2	3	...	12	6,463
Baker & Reed, Denver city.....	3	4	24	2	10,493
J. M. Brodwell, Denver city.....	2	4	...	12	4,860
D. D. White & Co., Pike's Peak.....	7	14	100	2	29,784
Maxwell & Walker, Denver city.....	2	2	12	...	4,026
Roberts & Landerdale, Denver city.....	20	24	54	200	84,690
B. F. Coons, Denver city.....	18	22	180	4	31,500
R. S. Watson, Denver city.....	3	4	18	1	12,000
Jones & Cartwright, Denver city.....	2	3	...	12	4,026
Gilbert & Gerrish, Salt Lake city.....	10	12	3	120	59,428
A. Hays & Bro., Denver city.....	7	8	2	84	42,119
Roberts & Landerdale, Denver city.....	12	14	4	144	70,340
T. M. Digby, Salt Lake city.....	8	10	2	96	48,213
T. Davis, Denver city.....	10	12	3	120	59,559
Jones & Cartwright, Denver city.....	85	110	12	1,020	512,860
Total	379	483	2,046	1,994	1,755,985

By D. W. Adams

Tim Goodale, Green River.....	8	16	4	80	32,000
F. Boisvesh, Denver city.....	6	10	2	40	24,010
M. Marten, Green River.....	10	15	5	86	36,457
J. Ferrier, Denver city.....	7	10	2	60	20,000
Wallingford & Murphy, Denver city.....	20	25	6	160	70,000
J. C. Davis & Co., Denver city.....	6	10	4	24	24,000
Fenten & Purcell, Denver city.....	12	15	4	100	60,000
W. E. Brown & Co., Denver city.....	7	10	3	70	30,000
W. Kinkead, Denver city.....	5	10	2	30	20,000
Hugh Murdock, Denver city.....	20	25	5	160	67,000
J. E. Walker, Salt Lake city.....	25	30	6	200	100,000
D. D. White & Co., Denver city.....	75	90	10	600	300,000
D. D. White & Co., Denver city.....	25	30	6	250	100,000
C. Antoine, Scotts Bluff.....	5	7	2	50	20,000
J. Turgeon, Scotts Bluff.....	7	10	1	70	28,000
D. D. White & Co., Denver city.....	69	49	2	690	310,000
Total	307	362	64	2,670	1,241,467

By Irwin, Jackman & Co., U. S. Government Freighters

Six trains to Fort Kearny.....	106	120	12	1,320	598,000
Two trains to Utah territory.....	26	30	4	330	126,482
Ten trains to Fort Laramie.....	312	360	50	3,960	1,800,000
Total	444	510	66	5,610	2,524,482

By Sundry Private Traders

D. Bivins & Co., Denver city.....	22	25	3	220	90,000
Spottswood & Jacobs, Mountain city.....	35	40	5	350	154,576
D. Bivins & Co., Denver city.....	25	30	4	250	110,000
Eli C. Mason, Pike's Peak.....	25	29	4	250	110,000
D. Bivins & Co., Denver city.....	22	25	3	220	90,000
Sundry freighters, Denver & Utah.....	85	90	20	850	382,500
Total	214	239	39	2,140	937,076

Grand Total of Freighting

By Home & Chouteau.....	379	483	2,046	1,994	1,755,985
By A. S. Parker & Co.....	373	420	245	3,774	1,629,901
By Government Freighters.....	444	510	66	5,610	2,524,482
By D. W. Adams.....	307	362	64	2,670	1,241,467
By Sundry Freighters.....	214	239	39	2,140	937,076
Grand Total	1,717	2,014	2,460	16,188	8,088,911

largely to government patronage; the growth of the commerce to the Denver area was attributable to local merchants establishing stores and to a transfer to that field of the Salt Lake freighters. Perhaps the \$3,500 spent in improving the trail west of town to where it joined the Fort Leavenworth-Fort Kearny military trail had some effect.⁴⁴ It is probable that the extension of the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad to Atchison was more important than that. That railway, completed in February, 1860, was to be the greatest factor in removing the military depot from Leavenworth, even though most of the goods were still brought in 1860 by steamboats.⁴⁵ To residents came advice from an enthusiastic editor:

Rejoice! Citizens of Atchison, for . . . this Rail Road marks a new epoch in the history of this thriving city. . . . Rejoice! everybody, east, west, north and south, for this Rail Road has opened a new avenue to the fertile prairies of Kansas, and a new field of trade, commerce, and social intercourse. Atchison must inevitably be the mart—the great entre-pot for the freight from the East and the exhaustless commerce of Kansas, New Mexico and Utah for all time. . . .⁴⁶

Regardless of cause Atchison in 1860 occupied a position that was envied by most of the upper river towns. In the next few years this town with a favorable geographic location held its own. One government contractor shipped from there in 1862, but the circumstances of war had driven others elsewhere. The ordinary assumption is that Atchison declined during the years of the Civil War, but a local paper listing incomplete figures on the commerce of 1862, showed over 4,000,000 pounds of freight shipped west, and claimed the total was twice that amount.⁴⁷ The levee was extended as if great business were being done. It claimed a greater share of the Denver trade than Leavenworth had, and there seems to be little reason to doubt it.

The year 1865 will go down in Atchison's history as one of the greatest in the overland freighting business. That towering capitalist of the frontier, D. A. Butterfield of the Overland Despatch, the largest taxpayer in Atchison county,⁴⁸ ran trains not only to Colo-

44. *Ibid.*, March 10, 1860.

45. Root and Connelley, *op. cit.*, pp. 416-420.

46. *Atchison Union*, February 25, 1860.

47. *Freedom's Champion*, January 10, 1863. In 1860, according to Root and Connelley, *op. cit.*, pp. 430-433, and in 1861, as given by *The Weekly Bulletin*, Atchison, July 11, 1861, an experiment was made with a "steam wagon." The *Bulletin's* story reported that the contraption ran into a commission house and broke a boy's leg before it was abandoned as impracticable.

48. *The Weekly Free Press*, Atchison, August 10, 1865, reports Butterfield as paying U. S. income tax for 1864 upon an assessment of \$74,400, more than four times as much as the next wealthiest taxpayer.

rado, but also to Santa Fe, Utah, and Bannock City, Idaho.⁴⁹ Freighters and merchants as numerous as cattle had been a decade before milled about the wharf. Neither the Indian troubles on the Platte, nor the reported improvements in mining machinery which made necessary a return of much that was already there on the wharf affected the business.⁵⁰ A Colorado editor gave Atchison credit for being the greatest depot for the trade of that area,⁵¹ and Samuel Bowles, an Easterner with a Western complex, wrote that this town was "one of the chief points on the border for the transshipment, from cars and steamboats to wagons, of goods of all sorts bound to the mines of Colorado, Idaho, Montana, &c., and the saints of Utah."⁵² About 5,000 wagons manned by swearing drivers with cracking whips pulled the 21,541,830 pounds of freight from the levee that year—a record probably not equalled by another town on the river at any time, and never again by Atchison.⁵³ The streets of the city may have been almost impassable and the road west to the military trail in the same condition, but even that could not overcome the advantages which freighters believed the town possessed.

The rumble of the express wagons and coaches leaving Atchison in 1866 was merely the prelude to a new day. Wagons still loaded for Salt Lake, Colorado, and Indian trading posts that year, and perhaps for a few years afterward.⁵⁴ One or more trains of dry hides came through, but even the Indian merchants seemed to have deserted the town. The city was getting more interested in the "country trade than she ever has before."⁵⁵ Even the upper Missouri trade area was sought by "sleepless, vigilant, enterprising and powerful competitors. . . ." ⁵⁶ The reputation abroad, that given to all towns harboring bullwhackers, began to cast a "gloomy feeling" over some. One of the predecessors of the crusaders for a purer Kansas wrote:

It is thrown in our teeth that we are governed by whisky; that we have no

49. *Ibid.*, May 13, August 10, September 21, 28, October 5, 21, 1865.

50. *The Daily Free Press*, Atchison, May 13, 1865.

51. *Miners' Register* quoted in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Daily Journal of Commerce*, January 7, 1866.

52. Samuel Bowles, *Across the Continent* (Springfield, Mass., 1865), p. 4; also quoted in *The Weekly Free Press*, February 10, 1866.

53. Root and Connelley, *op. cit.*, p. 419, state that 27,685 oxen, 6,164 mules, and 1,256 men were employed. The total tonnage is also given by W. L. Visscher, *The Pony Express* (Chicago, 1908), p. 18.

54. Eighty tons of ore from Colorado were shipped overland to Atchison en route to Swansea, Wales, for testing before the owners would invest more in the mines. The cost of freighting as far east as Atchison was \$55 per ton.—*The Weekly Free Press*, September 29, 1866.

55. *Ibid.*, November 10, 1866.

56. *Ibid.*, February 24, 1866.

Sunday law; that in Atchison the Sabbath day is devoted in making drunkards; that our authorities have not the power to close the saloons on Sundays, even if they were so disposed. . . .⁵⁷

The town was only reaping the wild oats it had sown. "Famous as a depot, notorious as a town of grog shops and bawdy houses," might well have been a proverb. The town had "made good." Unfortunately located as to the vast commerce of the Southwest, most favorably located of the Kansas towns as to distance and trails west to Denver and Salt Lake, too low on the river to get a great proportion of the Montana trade, its record was consistently good. It had a monopoly on none, but a part of all, including a few wagons to New Mexico.

Today Atchison lies in a cup, surrounded by lazy hills on all sides but the east. The languid Missouri writhes by the business section as in days of old. From the hilltops one can see a winding pavement leading southeast to Leavenworth, the famous rival of other years. Today, however, St. Joseph and Kansas City cast the dark shadow, not Leavenworth. The population of 13,000 engaged in processing and wholesaling still speak reverently of their pioneers and value the memory of stage and steamboat days. It is a river town that succeeded in a minor way, failing to achieve greatness, not because of lack of efforts between 1855 and 1870, but because geography decreed otherwise. Growth of these frontier towns depended upon being in line with major cities like Chicago or St. Louis. Atchison was not so favored.

57. *Ibid.*, December 9, 1865.—Letter from "Pro Bono."

Recent Additions to the Library

Compiled by HELEN M. MCFARLAND, Librarian

IN ORDER that members of the Kansas State Historical Society and others interested in historical study may know the class of books we are receiving, a list is printed annually of the books accessioned in our specialized fields.

These books come to us from three sources, purchase, gift and exchange, and fall into the following classes: Books by Kansans and about Kansas; books on the West, including explorations, overland journeys and personal narratives; genealogy and local history; 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, 1940, to September 30, 1941. 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

PEP TALK AT COUNCIL GROVE

From the Council Grove *Press*, June 1, 1861.

The Santa Fe road, where it ascends the West bank of the Neosho, is a "hard road to travel," at this time. It is slippery as the tongue of a politician. It is amusing to watch the Mexican trains climb this little hill in a wet time. The tongues of the greasers wag in double quick time, as they vociferate to their cattle. All kinds of noises from the squeak of a rat to the roar of a buffalo bull, are employed to urge the teams up the ascent. We never before appreciated the amount of momentum embodied in the tongue of a Mexican ox driver.

SAILING UP THE SMOKY HILL

From the Junction City *Union*, October 7, 1865.

NAVIGABLE.—On Tuesday two men passed up the Smoky Hill in a sail boat. Their starting point was Lawrence, and their destination is the forks of the Solomon. The object of their mission is furs. They made the trip from Lawrence to this place in ten days. When the wind was favorable they hoisted a wagon cover, and when not they plied the oar. It requires an extraordinary amount of pluck to travel up that stream in a skiff.

INDIAN MEDICINE

From the White Cloud *Kansas Chief*, May 7, 1868.

The Indians have rather an original system of administering medicine, which we would recommend to the attention of medical societies. When one of them is taken ill, and there is any medicine in the tribe, it is procured and administered, before any other is sent for—no matter what the disease, or what the medicine. One red cuss was relating an exploit of his own the other day. He said his mother-in-law was seized with severe fits, and he started around to hunt up some medicine for her; but the only thing in the shape of medicine that could be raked up in the whole tribe, was half a bottle of some sort of horse liniment. He took that to his wigwam, and poured the whole of it down his venerable relative's throat; and, as he related it, "It gave the old woman h—ll, but it brought her out all right at last!"

It seems, also, that the Indians do not spend much time in "wakes," or in efforts to revive their dead. Some time since, a person having a keg of whisky on his wagon, passing through their lands, met with a break-down, and the keg was damaged. Being compelled to abandon his cargo temporarily, a squad of Indians came along and helped themselves to the liquor, and one of them became so dead drunk that he could neither move nor grunt. The balance, not seeing any further use that could be made of him, dug a hole and buried him on the spot. Probably he became sober in due time, but he has not yet sprouted out of the ground!

Kansas History as Published in the Press

The following historical articles relating to Kansas have appeared in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*: "Old Directory Reviews Eventful Time in Stage Coach Center Here [Kansas City, Mo.]," by J. P. G., November 6, 1941; "They Wanted to Fly for America, Now They Make History for R. A. F. [a story of Kansas and Missouri boys in the R. A. F.]," by Marcel Wallenstein, December 19; "First Emigrant Train to Pacific Left Westport 100 Years Ago," by Charles Kelley, December 26; "Kansas, Jekyll or Hyde?—William Allen White Is Alarmed at Changing Population of State," January 23, 1942; "Lawrence Raid of 1856 Regarded as a Lark by Some Missourians," by Paul I. Wellman, February 19; "Fort Scott, a Century Old, Cherishes Relics of Short-Lived Army Outpost," May 7; "A Tornado Sleuth Proves Kansas Is Not the Twister's Home Ground," by James McQueeney, June 18.

The Hutchinson *News* and *Herald*, January 28 and 29, 1942, report the seventieth birthday anniversary of Reno county celebrated January 28 with a party at Convention Hall, Hutchinson.

"Death Ends Long Career Pawnee Bill Began in Sodhouse Outside Wichita," is the title of a short biographical sketch of Gordon W. Lillie which appeared in the Wichita (Evening) *Eagle*, February 4, 1942. The *Morning Eagle* of the same date carried the article, "'Pawnee Bill' Lillie, Famous Oklahoma Frontiersman, Dies."

Oak Grove cemetery at Lawrence "contains more notable men than any other of God's acres in this state," wrote William Allen White in "The Kansas Arlington" in the Emporia *Gazette*, February 12, 1942. The article was reprinted in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, February 16.

The history of School District No. 28, Osborne county, was published in the *Osborne County Farmer*, Osborne, February 12, 1942. The district was formed November 2, 1872.

An article entitled "The Oak Mills Post Office [midway between Leavenworth and Atchison] Is Seventy-Four Years Old," by George J. Remsburg, appeared in the Leavenworth *Times*, February 19, 1942. Postmasters who have served the postoffice since its founding were named.

The Jewell County Republican, of Jewell, February 26, 1942, featured an article by Lillian Forrest on the history of the Treffer family. Gustavus E. Treffer, one of the pioneers, settled in Jewell county in 1871.

"Today Is 96th Anniversary of the Birth of Bill Cody—Came to Salt Creek Valley [Leavenworth county] in 1854" is the title of an article in the *Leavenworth Times*, February 26, 1942. It relates incidents in the life of "Buffalo Bill" as recalled by the octogenarian, John Hand, one of the few men living in Leavenworth county who remembers Cody.

Preston B. Plumb and his activities in Emporia were recalled in an article entitled "The Boy Who Founded Emporia" in the *Emporia Gazette*, February 27, 1942. An early picture of Plumb was reproduced. Under the title "Emporia Is Reminded of the Boy Who Founded Town 85 Years Ago," the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times*, March 7, reprinted much of the article.

Early history of the Dodge City area was briefly reviewed by the *Dodge City Daily Globe*, March 19, 1942, in the article, "Sam Stubbs, Dodge City's No. 1 Booster, Dead." Stubbs first came to western Kansas and Fort Dodge as a mounted infantryman after the Dull Knife raid of 1878.

Henry L. Carey of Dodge City wrote of the attempts of religion to establish a foothold in early wild and woolly Dodge in the *Hutchinson News-Herald*, March 22, 1942, under the title, "Heaven Comes to Front Street With Aid of Six-Shooter."

The *St. Paul Journal* issued a special historical edition May 7, 1942, in observance of the ninety-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Osage Catholic Mission and St. Francis School at what is now St. Paul. Many pictures of the early missionaries, mission and school buildings were reproduced. Included among the memorable accounts is Chapter XI of an unpublished work by Father Paul Mary Ponziglione, S. J., entitled, "An Adventure of Lucille St. Pierre Among the Osage." For thirty years Father Ponziglione was a missionary at the Catholic Osage Mission. The *Pittsburg Headlight* and *Sun* also honored St. Paul's birthday with an article in their issues of March 25 entitled: "One of Early Settlements in Southwest—Town of 1,000 Grew From Mission Opened in 1847 by Sister Loretta."

Kansas Historical Notes

A Chisholm trail marker of red granite has been placed in the new Jesse Chisholm park about seven miles west of Wellington on US-160. Sen. Ed T. Hackney was the principal speaker at the dedication ceremonies held June 14, 1942. The marker, a gift from the Wellington chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Wellington Business and Professional Women's Club, was unveiled by Mrs. H. W. Andrews of Wellington who came up the trail when a child in 1868. The inscription by Kirke Mechem, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, reads as follows:

THE CHISHOLM TRAIL

BETWEEN 1867 AND 1876 MORE THAN TWO MILLION TEXAS LONGHORNS WERE DRIVEN NORTH PAST HERE TO KANSAS RAILROAD TOWNS FOR SHIPMENT EAST. AT SLATE CREEK CROSSING 5 MILES NORTHEAST A TRADING POST, 1869, WAS THE FIRST BUILDING IN SUMNER COUNTY. OVER THIS TRAIL AFTER IT WAS CLOSED TO CATTLE CAME MANY OF THE PIONEERS WHO SETTLED THE WESTERN PART OF THE COUNTY. THIS SITE WAS GIVEN TO THE CITY OF WELLINGTON BY FRED ROSE, WHO TRAVELED THE TRAIL AS A CHILD.

Officers of the recently reorganized Franklin County Historical Society are: J. E. Shinn, Ottawa, president; B. M. Ottaway, Pomona, vice-president; Mrs. Florence King, Ottawa, recording secretary, and Florence Robinson, Ottawa, corresponding secretary-treasurer. The board of directors includes Ottaway, Dana Needham, Lane, and A. P. Elder, Ottawa, serving until 1945; Asa F. Converse, Wellsville, Mrs. Ada B. McCracken, Ottawa, and Hiram Allen, Williamsburg, until 1944; Shinn, Mrs. W. A. Penny, Ottawa, and W. S. Jenks, Ottawa, until 1943.

A Historical Outline of the Territorial Common Schools in the State of Kansas, by Lloyd C. Smith, was issued early in 1942 as the twenty-fourth of the series of Studies in Education published by the Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia. First schools in the following counties were mentioned in the 60-page survey: Allen, Anderson, Atchison, Bourbon, Brown, Coffey, Doniphan, Douglas, Franklin, Jackson, Jefferson, Johnson, Leavenworth, Linn, Lyon, Marshall, Miami, Morris, Nemaha, Osage, Riley, Shawnee, Wabaunsee and Wyandotte.

Westward America (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons) is the title of a new book by Howard R. Driggs, professor of English education at New York University and president of the Oregon Trail Memorial Association. The volume contains "forty chapters of humanized history" of the West, including stories of the Santa Fe, Oregon, Mormon and other trails. Full-page color reproductions of forty water-color paintings by William Henry Jackson are featured. Among them is one of Alcove Springs, a famous campground near Independence crossing on the Big Blue river in Marshall county.

Edward Everett Dale, professor of history at Oklahoma University at Norman, and an authority on the history of the cattle industry, is the author of a new book, *Cow Country*, published by the University of Oklahoma Press April 27, 1942. The volume is a compilation of Dale's essays on the cattle industry, revised and arranged to make "a fairly consecutive story of ranching in the Great Plains area." Another recent book of note from the same press is *The Man Who Sold Louisiana*, by E. Wilson Lyon, president of Pomona College, Claremont, Cal. It is the life of François Barbé-Marbois, minister of the treasury under Napoleon who negotiated and handled the details of the sale of Louisiana to the American emissaries.

Seventy Years in Norton County, Kansas, 1872-1942, is the title of a 238-page book by D. N. Bowers printed early this summer by *The Norton County Champion* of Norton. It was compiled from official records, newspaper files and personal interviews and is well documented and illustrated. Special articles were contributed by Charles L. Rose, Ernest M. Wheeler, Byron F. Salisbury, Dewain Delp, R. E. Getty, A. E. Schafer and E. E. Nelson. County office holders, 1872-1942, are listed in the appendix.

An inventory of the archives of Morris county was issued in July, 1942, the fourteenth of the *Inventory of the County Archives of Kansas* series published by the Kansas Historical Records Survey of the Work Projects Administration. Like preceding volumes, the publication lists the archives of the county and presents a sketch of its history and governmental organization. Because of the war, this volume is the last of the series. Unpublished material gathered by the organization from most of the counties of Kansas has been deposited by Iowa Jones, state supervisor of the project at the time of its closing, with the Kansas State Historical Society.

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Restoration of the North Building at Shawnee Methodist Mission

THE Kansas legislature of 1939 appropriated \$15,000 for the restoration of the North building of Shawnee Methodist Mission and Indian Manual Labor School. The work was completed last spring and the fifteen rooms, furnished as of 1845-1850, were formally opened to the public June 14, 1942.

The Rev. Jerome C. Berryman was in charge of the mission and school when the building was erected in 1845. It was used as a dormitory and school where Indian girls were taught spinning, weaving and other domestic arts, and as the residence of Thomas Johnson, the founder and long-time superintendent, and other teachers. Andrew H. Reeder, first territorial governor of Kansas, later had his executive offices there.

Little care was given the building after the school was closed in 1862. By 1927, when the state acquired the property, rooms at the east end of the building, which originally corresponded with those at the west, had been razed and the remainder was in a dilapidated condition. Under the direction of Roy Stookey, state architect, and Charles Marshall, his assistant, the building was rebuilt. The west end was torn out and replaced brick by brick after a concrete footing had been placed under the foundation. The two-story porch on the south was almost entirely rebuilt. Throughout, all original floors, mantels and laths, hand-made of native timber, were retained as far as possible. Walnut doors, pegged, not nailed, came to light when thick coatings of paint and varnish were removed.

George Dovel, a graduate of the Kansas City Art Institute, supervised the interior decorating and furnishing. In a search that carried him over much of eastern Kansas and western Missouri he secured the furnishings needed to make the restoration authentic. The furniture is genuinely antique, except a few desks and beds for Indian students which were built by the museum project of the WPA from 1845 models. All the wallpapers also are reproductions of designs of the period.

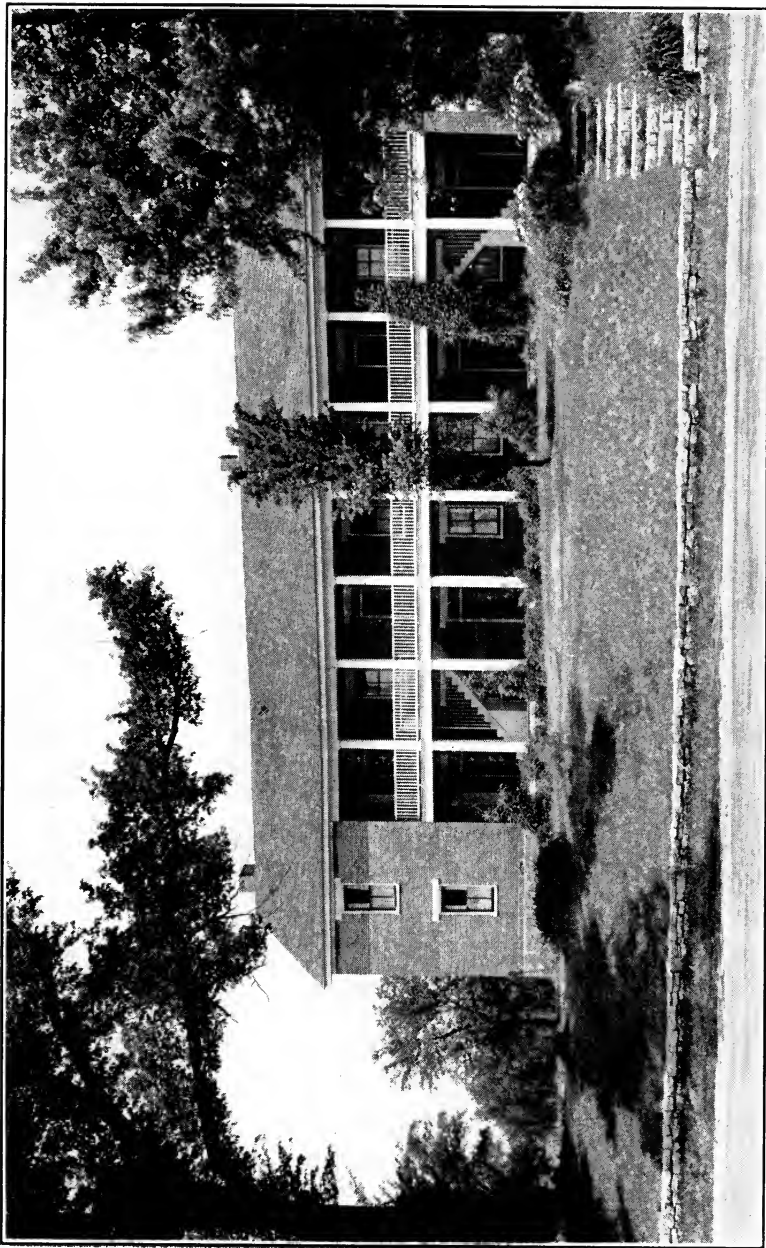
The North building was erected after the other two were in operation. The West building, now used by the caretaker, was started in 1839. The East building, now a museum, was begun in 1841. All have been partly or fully restored since the state acquired the property.

Shawnee mission was first established by the Rev. Thomas Johnson in 1830 near Chouteau's old trading post, not far from present Turner, Wyandotte county. In 1839, Johnson began building on the present site in northeast Johnson county, and the school became an establishment of two thousand acres, containing the three large buildings and thirteen smaller ones, with an enrollment of nearly two hundred Indian boys and girls.

For years the school was an outpost of civilization on the Western frontier. The Santa Fe and Oregon trails passed near its doors. Many of the great figures of the old West were entertained there. The first governor of the territory of Kansas established his office in the North building in 1854. The legislature of 1855 convened in the East building to pass the first territorial laws. For a time the institution was headquarters for the Proslavery party and was the scene of many conflicts. During the Civil War the buildings were barracks for Union troops and in 1864 a battle was fought across the mission fields.

Old Shawnee Mission is managed by the Kansas State Historical Society. Coöperating with the society are the Colonial Dames, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Daughters of 1812, the Daughters of the American Colonists and the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society.

Pictures of the North building and a number of the restored rooms appear on the following pages.



THE NORTH BUILDING AT OLD SHAWNEE METHODIST MISSION

Built in 1845 and restored in 1942



THOMAS JOHNSON LIVING ROOM

The wallpaper is a reproduction of an American Empire pattern. The rosewood armchair and walnut settee are early Victorian. The armchair was used aboard a Boston clipper ship by the original owner who later brought it west in a covered wagon. The settee is walnut Victorian. The clock is a Seth Thomas.



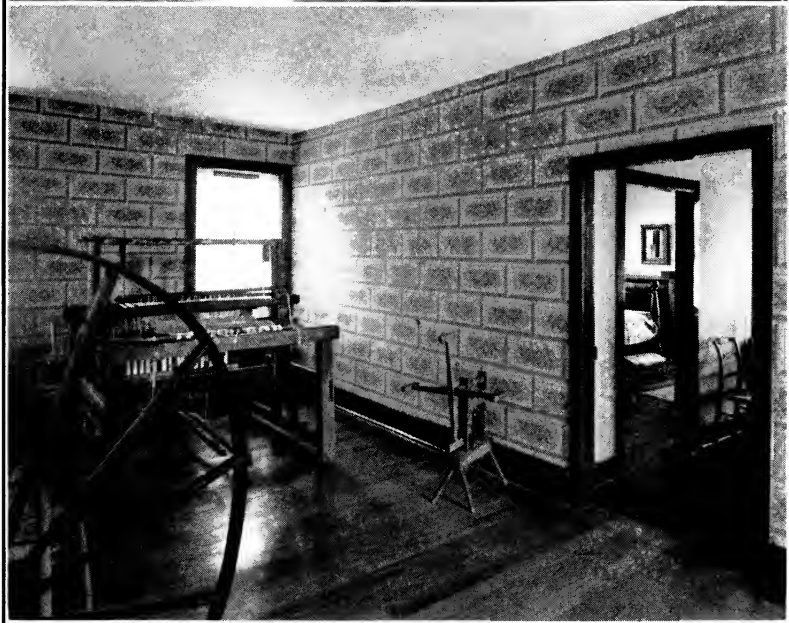
PRIVATE DINING ROOM OF THE JOHNSON FAMILY—The chair is a good example of the Hitchcock type, with original stenciling. There is a candle mould in the window.

TEACHER'S BEDROOM—The walnut bed is covered with a hand-woven spread of the period. The center design is Washington on horseback. The chair in the corner is a Shaker rocker.



BEDROOM FOR JOHNSON CHILDREN—The bed, table and washstand are walnut. Rugs are reproductions.

BEDROOMS FOR TEACHERS AND TEACHER'S CHILDREN (Below)—Rugs are reproductions. The bureau is late American Empire.



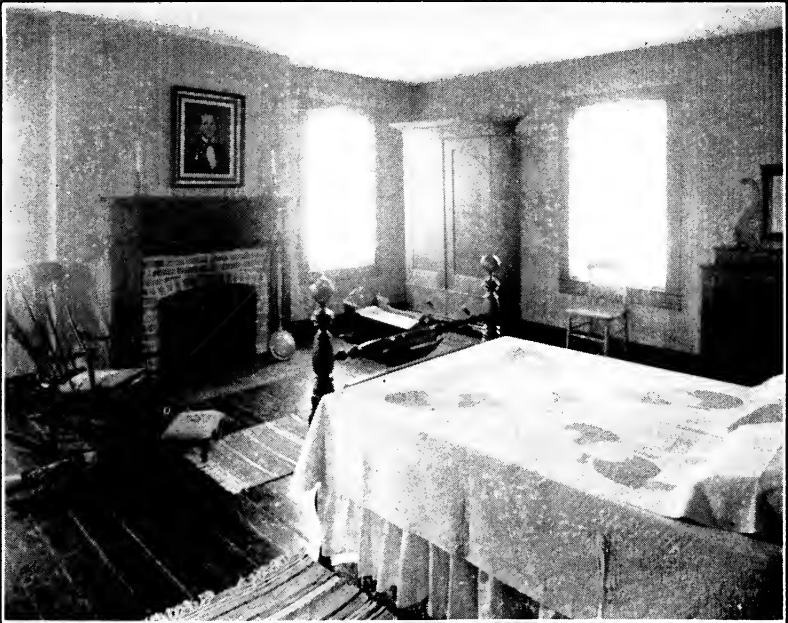
DORMITORY FOR INDIAN GIRLS—The beds are reproductions. The two quilts are old; the coverlets are reproductions.

LOOM ROOM—The rug loom was made by an early settler and has never left Johnson county. A yarn reel stands at the right of the loom. The large spinning wheel is for wool.



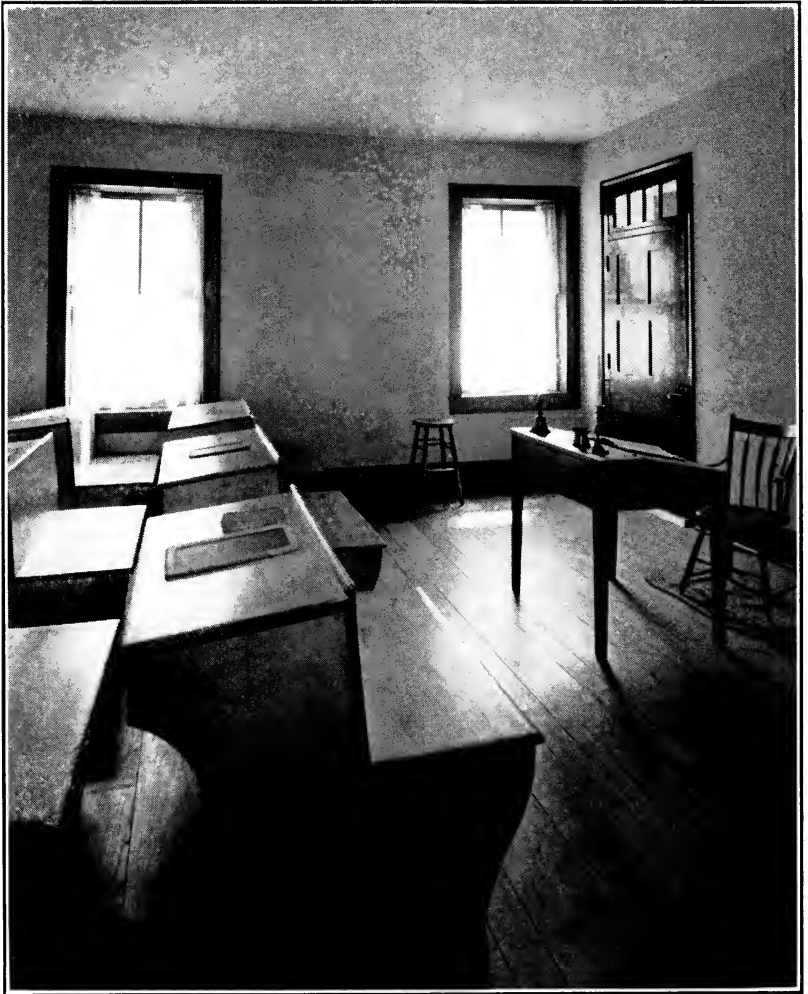
TEACHER'S BEDROOM—The rope bed came from Pennsylvania. The trunk belonged to the Rev. Jesse Greene, one of the founders of the school.

JOHNSON BEDROOM—The bed is maple, cherry and walnut, about 1835-1850, and the chest is walnut. The rugs are reproductions.



BEDROOM FOR TEACHER WITH FAMILY—The bed is cherry and was made between 1835 and 1850. The walnut dresser, about 1840, has the top drawer fitted as a writing desk. The pan at right of fireplace held live coals and was used for warming beds. The walnut wardrobe is a good example.

ANOTHER VIEW OF THE JOHNSON BEDROOM—The door is of walnut held together by wooden pegs. The maple bureau and the mirror over the cherry washstand are American Empire. The washbowl and pitcher are Bristol glass.



CLASS ROOM FOR INDIAN GIRLS—The desks are reproductions. The teacher's desk is an original, of hickory and pine, with wooden pegs instead of nails.

The Story of a Kansas Freedman

Edited by ALBERTA PANTLE

I. INTRODUCTION

THIS remarkable story of Larry Lapsley, a Negro slave who escaped from the South during the Civil War and became a pioneer settler of Saline county, came to the Historical Society through George Robb, state auditor. As a boy Mr. Robb lived near Lapsley's farm in a section settled largely by Swedish immigrants.

"I remember him well," Mr. Robb says. "He was a well set up and muscular man, six feet or better in height but slightly stooped, and he always walked with something of a shuffle. Because of the condition of his feet I never knew him to wear anything but over-shoes or gum-boots and he rode horseback a great deal. He was a genial, kindly man who by the force of his character had won the esteem and respect of all his neighbors."

Lapsley lived the life of an ordinary early-day Kansas farmer and had little to say about his youthful experiences. He was over thirty years of age before he learned to read and write. According to Mr. Robb he was taught by Mrs. B. F. Robinson, the wife of his nearest neighbor, in the kitchen of her home.¹ She held there what is considered the first school in Liberty township. Larry's favorite paper was the *Police Gazette*, to which he was a subscriber for many years. Mrs. Robinson protested that it was too vulgar for him to read but he always argued that it didn't hurt him and couldn't possibly hurt anyone else because it came in a wrapper and no one else could see the pictures.

Lapsley was a member of the neighborhood's first Sunday school which was held in a school building near the Robinson home. After it was moved to another location, however, he never went again. To those who chided him he always said that he didn't have the time to go but would start again "as soon as the busy season was over." That time never came. It is Mr. Robb's opinion that he attended

1. B. F. Robinson was born in Mt. Vernon, Maine, April 27, 1832. He came to Kansas in 1858, settling first in Junction City, a year later in Saline county. On October 7, 1861, he enlisted in the Sixth regiment Kansas Volunteer cavalry and served until November 19, 1864. After being mustered out Mr. Robinson returned to Mt. Vernon and was married there, March 23, 1865, to S. Adelaide Smith. The couple lived near Salina for five years and then moved to a farm two miles east and two miles south of present Assaria, Saline county. He died in Salina, August 5, 1909, at the home of his daughter, Mrs. C. H. Harné.—*Salina Evening Journal*, August 6, 1909; *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, 1861-'65* (Topeka, 1896), p. 183.

the first Sunday school only out of respect for the Robinson family, to whom he was deeply attached.

It was in the Robinson home that Lapsley died December 13, 1897, at the age of 57.² He had never married and he left all his property to the Robinsons. It consisted of an "unincumbered farm of 119 acres, worth about \$3,600, some stock and other possessions." Two provisions of the will were characteristic. Lapsley asked to be buried "decently and respectably, but with no display or ostentation," and he asked that his tombstone be "not an expensive one, the same being intended merely to mark my last resting place." The requests were followed out in the Robinson family cemetery.³

About twenty years after Lapsley settled in Kansas he told the story of his Civil War experiences to Lily Learned, a young relative of the Robinsons.⁴ She wrote it down verbatim without interrupting him to ask questions about dates, the spelling of proper names and without attempting to alter his diction or grammar. So far as it has been possible to check dates and locations, his memory appears to have been remarkably accurate. Except for the addition of some punctuation and other minor changes for the sake of clarity, the story follows as originally told.

II. LARRY LAPSLEY'S STORY

I was born in Danville, Kentucky, March 7, 1840. I was raised by Samuel Lapsley.⁵ He owned my mother and sister. My father died before I can remember. When I was a little baby I remember mother taking me and spreading a cloth for me to sit on out of doors under the cool shade of the locust trees with my boy cousins, older than I, to watch me. One day as I was playing my sister and cousins wandered off and left me alone at which not finding anything to do, I took to creeping around. There was a very large well in the yard that used to most always be covered up, but as it was not covered and I for the want of having better to do crept to the edge of this well, and laying down, was looking into the water in which I saw my face and thought it was fine. My mother was in

2. *Salina Daily Republican-Journal*, December 14, 1897; *Salina Herald*, December 17, 1897; *Salina Weekly Union*, December 24, 1897, quoting the *Topeka Daily Capital*, December 22; *Salina Sun*, December 18, 1897.

3. Letter and transcript of will from Fred D. Joy, probate judge of Saline county (June, 1942); *Salina Weekly Union*, December 31, 1897.

4. Lily Learned was the daughter of James Learned, a brother-in-law of B. F. Robinson.

5. A branch of the Lapsley family migrated from Virginia to Kentucky in 1795. Samuel was the son of a Presbyterian minister, Joseph B. and Sallie (Lapsley) Lapsley, his second wife. There were two children: Margaret, who married a Taylor and moved to Texas, and Samuel who married Mary Bronough. His widow resided in Pleasant Hill, Mo., in 1904.—Neander M. Woods, *The Woods-McAfee Memorial* . . . (Louisville, 1905), pp. 129, 130.

the house doing her work and she happened to come to the door to see where I was. Seeing me at the well it scared her very much, but having presence of mind enough not to hollow, she slipped up and caught me and then hollowed. I can just remember how she scared me by catching hold of me so quick.

Samuel Lapsley's mother was a widow. She owned eight slaves. She was the mother of two children, a boy and a girl. The old lady always called me her boy as her two children were married and she kept me in her room from the time that I was born until her death, then willed me to her son Samuel. When she was dying she called me to her bedside and gave me to her son Samuel. Taking my hand in hers she told me to be a good boy and stay with Samuel. To Samuel she said, "Keep my boy as long as you live to remember me by." Then to her daughter she gave my sister. My old mother went to Samuel along with me. She gave half of her slaves to one and half to the other with a lot of money, for she was very rich. Judging from my size, I think I was about eight years of age at the time of her death. My sister died when she was about eighteen years old.

In a few years Samuel went through with the most of this property, all but me and my mother. He was a very fast young man and drove fast horses and by this he lost nearly all of his property. He moved to Missouri taking with him his all, myself and my mother and three of my cousins. When he landed at Independence he had only five dollars in cash. He was a Free Mason and he went to live with a man by the name of Horace Asbery, taking his slaves with him. Now this Horace Asbery was a Free Mason and was a rich farmer. Samuel lived with him one year, in which time he bought eighty acres of land in Jackson county near the Little Blue river ten miles from Independence. He took all his slaves and lived on his land three years, then sold his farm and moved down to Pleasant Hill, Cass county, and bought an interest in a livery stable in which I was always at work. While [I was] working in the livery stable my master run behind and one of my cousins was taken from him for a debt of \$1,200. I went to live with his brother-in-law whose name was William Bunor,⁶ in the year 1859. In the meantime I knew what his mother had said about his keeping me as long as he lived. One day he said to me, "Larry, I want you to go over to my brother Will's for a few weeks and do some work for him as he wants you." Not thinking anything strange by this command, I

6. The name evidently should be William Bronough. Samuel Lapsley married Mary Bronough and William *Bunor* is described as his brother-in-law. See Footnote 5.

readily obeyed but after four weeks had passed I came home, as I thought to my home, but found it was no more to be my home. I met some of the boys in the yard and they asked me how I liked my new home. I did not know what to say and at this they told me that I had been sold to his brother Will. I of course would not believe them. I went into the house and was shown into the room where my master and his wife were. He was reading the newspaper and she was sewing or something of the sort. I shook hands with them and then in a few minutes, I asked him if he had sold me and he looked up and said, "No, Larry, I don't want to sell you," and that was all the satisfaction I could get. I then told him that the boys had told me that I had been sold. At this he got up and put his hands in his pockets, took his hat and left the house, and then I knew too well that I had been sold. I worked on the farm for Will Bunor until the fall of 'sixty-one. At this time the Union army was coming into Missouri. The old slave holders got scared and run into Texas with their slaves, my master with the rest.⁷

My master started with us all on the 15th of December, 1861. I drove a four-horse team loaded with women and children, all of them were slaves. The women cried because they had to leave their old home. We were the balance of the winter getting to Texas. We had to travel slow and camp around for fear that the Union troops would capture us. We got to Bonum[Bonham], Texas,⁸ in February. We camped a mile south of Bonum while my master went around the country hunting a place to hire his slaves. He hired me to a man by the name of Stancel who owned a whiskey distillery. This man lived seven miles north of east of Bonum and fifteen miles south of the Red river. I worked there the greater part of two years. When I went to work in the still house, there was an old man that worked there, seventy-three years of age. He was head distiller. His name was Uncle Jerry. He, also, was a Negro and a slave. I worked under him for three months. He then died and at his death I became head distiller for Mr. Stancel. After I had worked for Mr. Stancel for two years there was a great excitement about Gen. Blunt's army coming into Texas, at which Mr. Stancel and lots of others got scared and sold their plantations and run back into

7. Another reason for the removal of slaves from Missouri was the fear that they would escape or be stolen and taken into Kansas which had been admitted into the Union as a free state on January 29, 1861. In Cass county, which adjoined Kansas on the west, this danger would be especially great.—Hildegard Rose Herklotz discusses this problem in her article, "Jayhawkers in Missouri, 1858-1863," in *The Missouri Historical Review*, Columbia, v. XVII, No. 4 (July, 1923), pp. 505-513, and v. XVIII, No. 1 (October, 1923), pp. 64-101.

8. Bonham, Fannin county, Tex., is about eleven miles south of the Red river which forms the boundary between Texas and Oklahoma, then the Indian territory.

Texas.⁹ Mr. Stancel sold his distillery to a man by the name of Merit Brisko¹⁰ and also his plantation and hired me to this Brisko to run the distillery as he had no one that could run it. I stilled for Brisko one year. By this time old man Stancel came back and took possession of his plantation again. Brisko then moved and had the distillery moved away down into Red river bottom. I went with him and helped him put up the distillery and then came back to Mr. Stancel's. I left Brisko two weeks before my year was up. I stayed with Mr. Stancel the balance of this two weeks. Old man Stancel came to me one day and asked me if I was willing to stay with him another year. I told him I was. He said, "You will have to go see Kalas Kook because he has charge of all you boys." I asked him, "Where do Kalas Kook live?" "He lives southeast of here seven miles. You may have my horse and see him and tell him that you are willing to stay with me and that I am willing to pay him as much a year for you as anyone else would pay."

In the meantime I will go back. Kalas Kook was a neighbor of this Bunor that owned me in Missouri. He started the year before us for Texas. He left part of his stock for Bunor to take care of. When Bunor came to Texas he hunted up Kalas Kook and gave him charge of all his slaves which he had hired out. Then Bunor went back to Missouri and enlisted in the Rebel army and got killed at Pea Ridge.¹¹

I thanked Mr. Stancel and took his horse and went to do my errand. Kalas Kook was at this time sick in bed. He said to me, "You have been at Old Stancel's long enough, by ———. You can't stay there any longer. I have hired you to Jones." "My boss said that I could stay with Mr. Stancel as long as I stayed in Texas." "It don't make a ——— bit of difference what your boss said. I'm your boss now. I have hired you to Jones and when your time is up at Stancel's I want you to go to Jones." "Look a here, Mr. Stancel says that he will give you as much a year as any man." "It don't make any difference what Stancel says. You have got to go to Jones. You recollect that I am your boss now. You have got to do as I want you to. Jones don't want you to do hard work. He wants

9. According to Lapsley's calculation, this would have been during the latter part of 1863. On August 22, 1863, Maj. Gen. James G. Blunt, with orders to "obtain possession of all the Indian territory to the Red river," set out from Fort Gibson. He penetrated the Indian territory as far as Perryville in the Choctaw nation and then turned and went east into Arkansas.—*The War of the Rebellion: a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 1880-1901 (hereafter referred to as *Official Records*), Series I, v. XXII, Pt. I, pp. 597, 598.

10. The name probably should be spelled Briscoe. There was a man by that name living near Bonham in 1865.—T. M. Scott to Stand Watie, February 1, 1865, in Edward Everett Dale and Gaston Litton, *Cherokee Cavaliers* . . . (Norman, Okla., 1939), p. 211.

11. The battle of Pea Ridge or Elkhorn, as it was known in the South, occurred in March, 1862.

you to be a wagon boss to make them keep things up right." "Well, that is just what I don't want to do." "It don't make any difference what you want to do. I have hired you to Jones and you must go there. He is going to start to Galveston in three weeks and he wants you to be there to be boss over the other Negroes to make them keep things up." "Well, I must be getting back." "Goodby, don't forget to go to Jones when you time is up." As I went to go his wife got up and followed me down to the gate and said, "Now, Larry, don't pay any attention to what Mr. Kook says. He is cross to us all now. He talks worse to me than he has to you this morning." At this we shook hands and parted. "Don't forget to come and see us before you go to Jones." I told her that I would not and that was the last time I ever saw her.

When I got home Mr. Stancel came out and said, "Well, Larry, how did you make it?" "Well, I did not make it at all. Kalas Kook is a fool, I believe." "What did he say?" "I told him what you said and he said I had been at Old Stancel's long enough and that he had hired me to Jones and that I was to go there when my time was up here." "Did you tell him that I would give him as much as anyone else?" "Yes, I did." "Well, I can't help you then, Larry, if he won't let you stay, because he has charge of all you boys, and I am sorry of that." At this he walked into the house and I went on to the stable. There I met Tom, a cousin of mine. Tom before this, had been at me to start north and I had refused to go because it was very dangerous to go through the Indian Territory at that time because old Gen. McCulloch [McCulloch]¹² the rebel general that was tenting at Bonum had made a treaty with the Indians that they should not let anyone through the Indian Territory, white or black, without a pass from him. He gave the Indians \$100 a head for everyone they caught going north and the Indians were watching day and night to catch the Negroes and whites that dared venture.¹³ I had told Tom of all this but he answered, "Well, now, Larry, I did not think you would be such a coward for there is some get through once in a while and we would stand as good a show as some of them that do get through." "Why, Tom, you don't know nothing about

12. Brig. Gen. Henry E. McCulloch was in command of the Northern Sub-district of Texas with headquarters at Bonham.—*Official Records*, Series I, v. XXVI, Pt. II, p. 188.

13. Considerable research has failed to verify this statement. Annie Heloise Abel makes no mention of it in her carefully documented volumes, "Slaveholding Indians," although she does say that the Choctaws and Chickasaws, allies of the South, were extremely hostile towards the blacks during the latter part of the war. General McCulloch experienced much difficulty with deserters so it is possible that he made some sort of agreement with the Choctaws for the return of his men captured in their territory. It is not likely that he offered them \$100 a head. The North, which was considerably more affluent than the South, paid bounties ranging from \$5 to \$30 for the return of deserters.—Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian Under Reconstruction* (Cleveland, 1925), p. 272; Ella Lonn, *Desertion During the Civil War* (New York, 1928), pp. 221, 222.

this. There were eighty-odd white men started through all of them well armed and got way down to Boggy Depot¹⁴ on their road to Fort Smith and then the Indians run onto them one morning and killed a whole lot of them and even captured the captain of the band, and out of all the eighty only twenty-eight got through to Fort Smith. The Indians brought all the rest back that they did not kill, and turned them over to Gen. Muculler and the home guards there and received their \$100 a head." "Well, I don't know anything about that, Larry. I would rather die than stay here in Texas. We would stand as much chance as some that do get through."

As I rode up to the stable, I says to Tom, says I, "Tom, I am all ready now to go north, if you want to." "What got you in the notion all at once?" "I have been over to see Kalas Kook. When Bunor left here he left us in care of Kalas Kook. He never said anything about that to me. He told me when he left me at Old man Stancel's that I could stay with him until the war was over, or as long as I stayed in Texas. He then went and put us in the hands of Kalas Kook, one of the meanest men there ever was in Missouri. He has hired you and me to Jones and says when our time is out here we must go over to Jones because Jones is going to start south in about three weeks and I tell you, Tom, I am going to die before I go."

"Hurrah for you, Larry. I am glad to hear you talk that way. I'm with you. When will we start?" "Our time is out in two weeks and if we are going to go then will be our chance." "Well, I tell you, Larry, I'm glad that Kalas Kook has stirred you up and whenever you say start, I'm ready." "Now, Tom, I tell you what we have got to do. We have got to try to lay up some provisions to travel on. We have got two weeks now to gather it up in. So when our time is out, instead of going south we will go north. But, Tom, we want to talk about this a little. There is no use for us to start unless we are determined to go through or die. Now the first thing that we have got to make up our minds to is this: That we will travel only in the night and not in any roads because you know that the Indians are as thick as bees over there and Old Price's army—what's left of it—are all along Red river¹⁵ and maybe we

14. Boggy Depot, Chickasaw nation, was used during the Civil War as a supply station for the Confederate army in that region. Site of the town is in present Atoka county, Oklahoma.

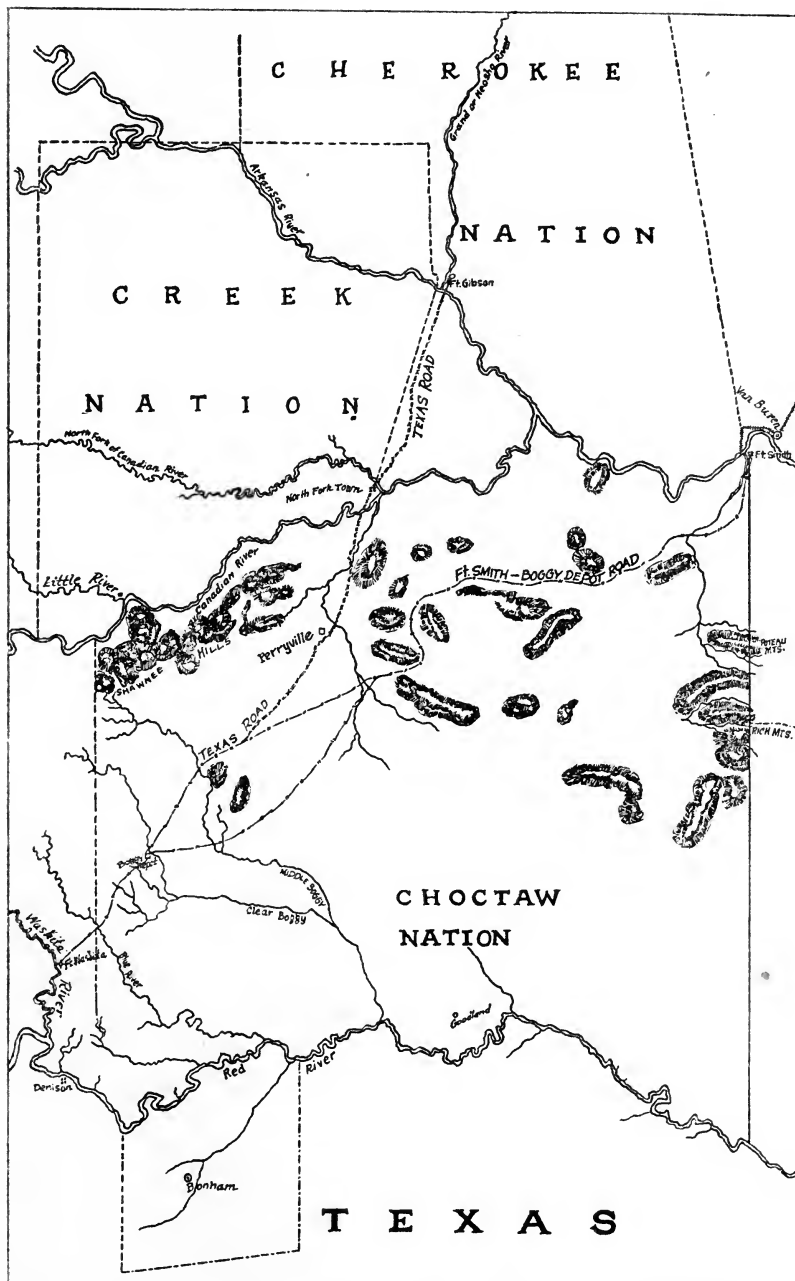
15. Gen. Sterling Price, following his raid in Kansas and Missouri in 1864, retreated south through Arkansas and the Indian territory into northern Texas. According to the diary of one of his men, Lt. Col. Lauchlan A. Maclean, Gen. Price's army was in the vicinity of the Red river in November, crossing it November 22 on the way to Bonham.—*Official Records*, Series I, v. XLI, Pt. I, p. 642.

can't get through anyway." "Yes, Larry, that would be the best thing for us to do and I am going to work saving up something for us to eat as fast as ever I can." "Tom, I am going to show Kalas Kook that I am not going to do as he says. I would a great deal rather die in the Indian Territory than do what he wants me to do." "Hurrah for you, Larry. I feel just that way myself and if you had listened to me we would have been in the Union army long ago." "We had better stop talking because someone might hear us."

Our two weeks passed off and Old man Stancel came out and said, "Now, your time is out and just as soon as you get ready you go over to Jones just as Kalas Kook said. Larry, I hate awful bad to give you up but if Mr. Kook won't let you stay we can't help it." "Yes, sir, Mr. Stancel, I am sorry that Kalas Kook is a fool myself. I always knew that he was the meanest man in Missouri anyhow, and I don't know what my master left us in his hands for. He never told me that he was going to do that when he left here. If he had I would have talked against that you bet." "Yes, it is a bad thing but we can't help it." "Well, it is about time that we were starting." "Here," Mrs. Stancel said, "Larry, I am sorry that you can't stay with us, and if you ever get back from the south I want you to come and see us." "Yes, mam, I will do it." Then we said goodbye and started out, not south as they think, but north. We traveled and got to the Red river that night but not in time to cross before day and so we had to lay in Red river bottom all day. We could hear the Indians and Price's men yelling up and down the river but we kept very quiet until night. Then we built us a raft and rafted across the river into the Indian Territory.¹⁶

We traveled on that night into the Territory. Tom was very brave before we left Old man Stancel's. After we got into the Indian Territory his courage failed him. He had always been a great talker. After we got into danger he kept lagging behind, sometimes as much as a hundred yards, and he being way behind me I would say, "Here, Tom, what are you doing way back there? Come with me." "Oh yes, I am coming," he would say and run up beside me, but in a

16. The territory at this point was part of the Choctaw country. The Choctaws had concluded a treaty with the Confederate States on July 12, 1861. Slaveholders themselves, they were more in sympathy and remained more loyal to the South than any tribes of the territory who had made similar treaties. In the latter years of the war the Choctaw nation became the home of thousands of Secessionist refugees from the more northerly tribes who had largely reverted to the Union cause. With the exception of occasional raids by the Union troops, the nation was controlled throughout the war by the Confederate army who were dependent, for the most part, upon this region for supplies of grain and beef for the Trans-Mississippi Department.—*Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America* (Richmond, 1864), pp. 311-331; Abel, *op. cit.*, p. 11; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* . . . 1865 (Washington, 1865), pp. 252-260; *Official Records*, Series I, v. XXXIV, Pt. II, p. 858.



SOME OF THE PLACES MENTIONED BY LARRY LAPSLEY IN THE STORY OF HIS ESCAPE FROM TEXAS TO FORT GIBSON

few minutes he would be way behind again. We traveled on until daybreak then concealed ourselves. We found that we were only about a hundred yards from some old Indian shanties, and there we laid the rest of the day. We could hear dogs barking all around us and making a great noise. The next night we started out again and I suppose that we had gone about two miles that night when a terrible big cloud came over in the west and darkened everything so we had to stop traveling. It commenced raining and rained all night. It was so very dark that all Tom and I could do was to stand up beside trees. It was so dark that we could not see each other two feet apart. As it began to get light we commenced to hunt for a place to hide that day. We found what we thought would be a good place but, when it cleared off, we found ourselves right in the heart of a big Indian village. The dogs were barking and the chickens were crowing, and we were very uneasy all day and was very glad when night came that time. As soon as it got dark enough for us to make a move we struck out again but it commenced clouding up again before sunset. Just as we got to traveling nicely this heavy cloud had got over again and made it so dark in that big timber that we could not see and it went to raining again and continued raining all night. We found ourselves surrounded by Indians again the next morning. We hid ourselves the best that we could and so we laid up that day in misery, longing to see another night. As soon as it got dark enough we tried to travel again but fate followed us and it clouded up again, and went to raining. Tom began getting very much out of patience.

Now, of course, the next morning we were not very far from the place we had stayed the day before. We were both wringing wet and had been for three days. It seemed that during those three days that it would clear up every day and cloud up and rain every night. Tom said, "Look here, Larry, we shall never get through this way. Why, just think, we have been here three days and we are not more than three miles from the river and everything that we have got to eat is soaking wet." "Well, well, Tom, we can't help that. It ain't going to do for us to travel in the day time." "Well, as long as it keeps clouding up this way we can't travel in the night either and if we keep laying around this way we will get caught anyhow." "Tom, you know what our agreement was before we left Texas, that we would do no traveling in the day time and travel in no roads but keep in all the woods that we could." "Yes, I know that was our agreement but don't you see that it keeps raining every

night and that we can't travel." "Well, what are we going to do about it?" "We can try and travel a little every morning when it is early."

"Tom, I don't think that will do at all. Whenever we attempt that I think we will be captured." "If we keep staying here we shall be captured anyhow. I think it would be a good plan to travel a little in the morning but it is just as you say about it." "But I don't like it at all." And so we started off.

It was daylight and we traveled about half a mile through the big heavy timber. It was very foggy but after awhile it cleared off, and in passing along there was a great big fellow stepped out from behind an old oak tree. He said, "Good morning, gentlemen. Are you traveling?" Tom, said, "Yes, sir." Tom stopped and talked with him. I got about two hundred yards ahead of Tom while he was talking with that fellow. By this time it had cleared off and the sun was shining bright. I looked to my right and I was within a hundred yards of an old Indian shanty. Tom then stopped talking and run and caught me. I said, "Tom, what do you think of that fellow?" "Oh, he is all right." "What! Do you think that he is all right?" "Yes, he is all right. There is a lot of them going to start out next Saturday night and besides that he says that we are on the right road." "Well, I tell you, Tom, that I don't like the looks of that fellow at all."

And so we traveled on until we got down to a creek where there was a little brush and a few scattering trees. I sat down on an old stump and Tom got down on his knees beside me and commenced telling me what this fellow had said to him. While we were talking there were two Newfoundland dogs came running right in between us and stopped right in front of us. I turned around and saw to my sorrow that we were surrounded by Indians.

The Indian captain rode up in front of us and cried, "Whope there, boys. We've got you." Tom hollowed out, "Yes, sir." "You boys going to give up? If you are, lay down your arms and march out this way." And he waved his hand to signal the way we should go. Tom unbuttoned his belt and threw down his pistol, knife and all and started off. By the way, we both had on U. S. belts. After he had got ahead five or six steps I started after him. I had my pistol and knife on me. I did not throw them down and by this they thought I had none. I had on a very long frock-tailed coat which covered them up. They marched us up to the house that we had just passed and while we were marching along I got it into my head that

I might in some way save my pistol. Tom and I were marching side by side and the Indians following us and talking as fast as they could in their own tongue. I thought that I might have a chance to get away from them yet and I had a very fine revolver. In case that I did get away, I wanted to save it so I thought that I would try to slip it out of my belt and drop it in the grass there, so if I got away I could come right there and find it. I took hold of it and had just got it out of my belt and there was an old Chaktauh [Choctaw] right behind me. I heard him say in a gruff voice, "Take your hands out of your bosom." I looked behind me and he had his old rifle leveled at my head. I dropped my pistol and walked on but they saw it fall and one of them got down from his horse and picked it up and it created a terrible jabbering among them. They marched us up to the house and gave us something to eat, such as they had: a little corn bread, sour milk and beef. After we had eaten they commenced searching us and put chains on us. They got some old Mexican silver dollars from me and from Tom they got some Confederate scrip. After searching us they marched us into the house and guarded us day and night. For about a week they kept us chained together and kept our hands chained so we could scarcely use them to eat. They would take turns watching us. They kept us in a room with a little turning and the door locked. One would set half of the night and then the other would come. If there ever was a time that I wanted to die, then was the time. The Indians would pour in to see us and have their big dances. For about two weeks I was sullen and saucy to the Indians.

One night when they were having a big dance and lots of stray Indians were there, it seemed as if half of them were drunk. They had got whiskey somewhere. There was one of them got to jumping around and run to Tom and said, "You, d—— you, trying to get to the Yankees." Tom just looked at him and smiled and did not say anything and so the Indian came over to me and said, "You tried to get to the Yankees, too." I jumped up from my seat and said, "You are a liar, sir." At which the Indian jumped back from me and the guard jumped and grabbed his gun and said, "Hold on, hold on!" and raised his gun on me. I looked at him and hollowed out to him to shoot and not stand there and talk about what he was going to do. "Shoot." He put his gun down and said, "Oh! I know how you feel but the easier you can be the better it will be for you. Yes, I know how you feel because I have been there myself."

He then came and sat down beside me and commenced telling

what a time he had when he was captured by the Yankees. I was in hopes when he raised his gun that he would shoot me but he surprised me. I had become crazy mad and death would have been acceptable. They kept us chained together for nearly two weeks and after that they took the chains off of our hands and let us have separate chains on our legs in the day time but at night they would chain us together again with a big log chain, one end of it chained to one of Tom's legs and the other chained to one of my legs. This would be done every night at bed time and then we would carry our separate chains in the day time. They would guard us around all day. One day about a week after I had been taken prisoner this black fellow that had betrayed us came into the room where we were sitting and said, "Good morning, gentlemen. I expect that you men think that I told on you, but I didn't. The children told on you. They saw you passing by and went and told. I didn't do it." And so he went on talking with Tom. I never spoke to him. I felt more like killing him than talking with him. He talked and laughed with Tom for awhile then he went out and then the Indians came in. There were no Indians in the room while he was there. They were using him for a spy. After his visit we could see him running around but he did not come in to see us very often. I have seen the Indians running around outside striking this spy over the head with their revolvers and he telling them in the Indian language to quit striking him, and I used to wish that they would shoot him.

One day they sent this spy whose name was Moses into the forest to get a load of rails and they sent me with him. I was willing to go with him because I was tired sitting around in the house. When we got down into the woods he commenced a great conversation about the Indians. He kept telling their nature or rather he claimed to be. He said to me, "Look a here, man, if you all want to get away from here why if you just start out east over here, why there is a terrible big forest and there is no man that can ride through it. And if ever you could get in there you would be safe. The Indians would never follow you in there." I said that I had run off enough. I wished that I hadn't started away from home, that my object was to get back to Missouri. I left Texas because I did not like it and I wanted to get back home. He said, "If you boys want to get away you just want to go out that way." I said, "No, I like this country and I believe that I will stay here. It puts me in mind of Missouri." He said, "This is a pretty country, sure." And of course I agreed with him and he talked on, but I said no more. We went back to

the house with the rails and I was satisfied that he had not got any information from me about anything.

The Indians mostly lived on corn bread. They had little steel mills fastened up to trees where they ground their corn for each meal. After we were given separate chains we were put to work grinding their corn in these little mills. One day Tom and I were grinding there. I said, "Look a here, Tom, we have started and I haven't given up yet. If we can get the least chance let us start off again." Tom said, "Larry, don't you know that we can't get away from these Indians?" "I tell you, Tom, if I ever get the least chance, I am going." Tom said, "If you ever make a move from here I believe that they will bring you back. Don't you see that they have those Newfoundland dogs here yet and that old dog looks as if he knew about as much as a man." "Yes, I know that, but if I ever get a chance, I'm going." "Well, if you think that you can, get away and go, but I believe that those Indians will bring you back." So Tom and I stopped talking.

I was satisfied that Tom was whipped and that he would never try to get away, and so I made no more talk with him on that subject. I was determined that the first chance, however small, I would try to get away and as I have said, I was very stubborn and mulish with those Indians. Tom got so he would laugh and talk with them and by being so he got more privileges than I did. He could remove the chains from his legs and run foot races with the Indians and slip them on again. On the other hand, mine were so tight that they made my legs sore. I saw that Tom had so much more liberty than I did that I commenced getting uneasy, thinking that he might get away before I did and I knew that if he did get away that I never could. I resolved to change my action and act friendly with the Indians. I commenced talking and laughing with them although it was nothing but a forced laugh. I saw that it was having considerable effect and that gave me courage and so I pitched into talking in earnest. The Indians commenced getting very much attached to me. Before this they would watch and follow me every time that I stepped out of doors, with their guns ready. After I got to talking they would let me go out of doors without following me and that was a great relief to me.

I commenced to study how I could get my chains loose. There was a lot of Indian hatchets laying around in the yard. The Indians got so that they would allow me to go down into the woods a hundred yards from the house without following me with their guns. They

might come to the gate, but after a little they got so that they did not come out of the house so I took advantage of this and got one of those old hatchets. When I went out into the woods one time I took it with me and laid it by a big oak tree and hurried back and went into the house and commenced laughing and talking to the Indians. Tom nor the Indians had no idea what I had done. I felt more like laughing at the moment than I had since I had been in prison. Although I had my chains on I felt as though I was free and from that hour I commenced watching my chance to get away.

Time went on and I kept talking and gaining the confidence of the Indians as much as possible. There was a great deal of rain at that time. After I had been there nearly four weeks the Indians were having a big dance and that night there came up a terrible big rain storm. The thunder and lightning is terrific in those mountain countries. The Indians were having a big time in the house. Tom seemed to be enjoying it very much with his chains on but they did not any of them know what was in my head. The Indian that was guarding that night was a Cherokee. His name was Niel Bean. He was setting back clapping his hands and laughing and the Indians were talking in their own tongue when I jumped right up in the excitement and I ran over to this guard and said, "Look a here, I want to step out awhile. It is raining awful, but I want to go." He said, "Well, go ahead but hurry back."

He went on with his talking and I stepped out into the rain and hurried off down to my tree where I had left my hatchet. It was very dark but I found my tree and hatchet where I had laid it. There was a lapring inside of the lock where it went around my leg. I caught up my hatchet and opened that lapring and took the chain off from me and threw it, lock and all, as far as I could. When I started this time it was pouring down and the lightning was cracking around through the mountains and it looked like the whole mountain was covered with water. I ran as fast as I could through the brush and I had got about four miles east the way this black fellow had told me to go and instead of striking that great timber that he had told me about I struck a big prairie and before I got there the clouds had broke away and the moon shone bright. When I stepped out of the timber I could look all east of me and I could see nothing but prairie as far as I could see and that was that great forest that black fellow told me about. When I came out I could see no timber ahead of me. I started out into the prairie in a southeasterly direction. When I had gone about two hundred yards

from the timber I heard horses' feet striking the stones a little south of me. I supposed there was a road over there and somebody traveling along the road and so I laid down and tried to catch a glimpse of who it was but I could not see anyone. I got up and changed my course and started in a northeast direction. I was on a big hill. I went down this hill to the head of a little creek. After I had got about half of a mile from the place where I had laid down I looked back on the big hill and I saw the Indians coming over the hill on horseback and I made up my mind that I was a goner. Here I was out on this great prairie and there wasn't a tree standing here, and not enough timber to amount to anything. I knew that it was no use to run because I had nowhere to run to. There was a little patch of hazel brush a little ahead of me. I suppose that there was about an acre of it. I went into this. I went to the south side of it. By this time the Indian and his dogs were about two hundred yards behind me and so I just laid down in the edge of this patch of brush. When the dogs got in about a hundred yards of me they left my tracks and went down into the center of this patch of brush but the Indian kept a straight course and stopped his horse right by my side. By this time the dogs were making the brush crack just behind me and this Indian was setting on his horse so close to me that I was afraid he would step on me. He was looking over into the brush with his gun across his knee. All at once he hollowed, "Oh yes, Larry, come out." The dogs were working to the east side of the patch so the Indian struck out expecting to see me run out on that side and the dogs came out and took a long circle southeast of me, the Indian following them. When they got about two hundred yards from me I crept down the bank of the creek and waded down the creek until I got to the mouth where it emptied into a little river. I crossed that river that night and traveled on down the north side the balance of that night. Day caught me way down the river, I don't know how far, but at not a very good place to conceal myself. I got to a patch of sumac brush and thought I would hide myself there that day but my mind bothered me so that I could not stay there so I jumped up and went back up the river about a quarter of a mile where the banks were very high and steep and got under the bank. I was setting there about the time the sun rose. I remember that it was a bright, clear morning and I was thinking what a close call I had had the night before. I was wringing wet and had been so all night and while I was thinking about it I heard a stick break up on the bank behind me and so I turned my head

and there that Indian was on his horse, the same that I had seen the night before. The dogs had passed and I did not hear them. He was looking ahead at the dogs which had gone down to the sumac patch. As soon as he had got far enough away so that I dared to move I got down into the water and traveled up the river about a hundred yards.

When I got up the river apiece I come to some willow bushes that grew over the water and I got down under those bushes in the water. In a few minutes I was surrounded by Indians on both sides of the river. I could see them walking and riding up the river, looking into the drifts. The bank of the river, where I was, was nearly straight up and down and about twenty feet high. I could hear the horses' feet on the high bank and the Indians driving on their dogs. On the other side I could see them running around bareheaded with their guns, looking in the brush piles after me and once in awhile looking across the river at the Indians in front of me. I happened to look up the river and there was the same old Indian that I had seen the night before standing about a hundred feet from me looking, as I thought, straight at me. I felt sure that he saw me. He was so close that I could tell that he had my revolver in his belt. I fell back with my head against the bank up to my neck in water expecting to hear him hollow, but, as good luck would have it, he undoubtedly did not see me as he made no noise. I was very careful not to raise my head from under those bushes that day. All day I could see the squaws riding with the rest, hunting for me, and so I laid there all that night and next morning I saw that the Indians were around there, if anything, a little thicker than the day before. I saw them riding and driving their dogs until about three o'clock. I stuck to my hiding place until about twelve o'clock the second night when I heard a lot of big gray wolves howling around and I took it for granted that there were not any Indians close so I ventured to come out on the opposite side of the river.

I traveled down the river about a mile then crossed the river and struck out for the mountains north. I got to the mountains just as day was breaking and went to hunting me a hiding place. I found a place that I thought would do for I had made up my mind that I would not try to travel in day time again. I was about as uneasy in the mountains as I had been the day before in the water because I was right close to a lot more Indians. The dogs were a barking about a hundred yards from me and I was afraid they would get onto my track and run onto me again. I made out to stay there

that day but I was very glad when night came once more and as soon as it got dark enough for me to travel I struck out again and got to Pine mountains about midnight and traveled a little ways into the mountains. This made four days that I had not had anything to eat. When I went into the water the first day I had about two hands-full of corn in my pocket and I laid in the water until the corn sprouted. I put my hand into my pocket to get some of it and there was sprouts on it half an inch long.

The night that I got to Pine mountains the moon was shining bright and the mountains did look very pretty. I stopped and sat on an old log to rest a little. While I was sitting there I heard a terrible noise ahead of me and in a minute out came a big deer and after it came a big black wolf. When the deer got to me it changed its course and went to the north but the wolf kept coming right toward me. I sat there and looked at him until he had got within a few yards of me and then I raised up and threw a stone at him and hollowed. When I threw the stone at him he just raised up and stood on his hind feet. The moon was shining bright and he just glistened and looked like a black pony. I went to laughing and he got down and went running back as fast as he could. I sat there a little while and then I started on again.

I reached the highest part of Pine mountains that night. I found out that I had got away from the Indian settlement from the sound of the chickens crowing, which seemed a good ways off. I made up my mind that when I saw so many wild animals running around so thick that there could not be many Indians near. So I struck out to travel in the day time again. Before this I had not traveled any in the day time but had laid by until night. My object was to keep in all the heavy timber that I could and to keep out of all roads. I went down into the bottom that day between the Pine and Oak mountains. I had got into some heavy timber and struck a due north course. Before I had been traveling northeast. This timber was very thick and the first thing that I knew I came to a road. I heard Indians talking and when I peeked out I saw some Indian soldiers. This was on the Fort Smith and Boggy Depot road.¹⁷ If I had been two or three minutes sooner I would have been caught again for I would have run right into their arms. I dived my head in until I thought that they were far enough past for me to come out then I run across the road and struck out as fast as I could for the Oak mountains north, which was about a mile from there.

17. The Fort Smith and Boggy Depot road was used extensively by the Confederate army in carrying supplies to Boggy Depot where they maintained reserves for the troops in the Indian territory.

The Oak mountains were higher than the Pine mountains and it was hard work for me to climb on account of the stone which was very large. As I was going up the mountain I heard something rattle the leaves and when I looked I saw that it was a centipede. It was about sixteen or eighteen inches long. It was brown and had a hard shell. It had two rows of legs with sharp claws. I had my stick on him and it coiled up onto it and the way it made the splinters fly was a sight. I held it with my stick until I mashed its head with a stone. I went on up the mountain until I reached the top. I got upon a large stone and could look back the way I had come. I saw a lot of cattle between the two mountains with the Indians herding them. While I was there I thought that I would take off my coat and dry it, and try and get rested as I thought that I was safe. I examined my corn that was in my pocket. By this time I commenced to be very hungry. I took the corn out of my pocket and it had all grown together and the sprouts were about three inches long. I thought that I would lie down and rest but I could not do it. While I was sitting there, there was a big drove of wild turkeys came up and I looked at them pretty wistfully, but I could not ketch one for my strength was almost gone not having anything to eat for five days except a little of this sprouted corn, and besides I had not had any sleep since I started out, but I jumped up and put on my coat and started out north over the mountain. I traveled on, the most of that day, in the mountains. I thought that I would travel day and night now.

That day I got out of that tier of mountains and crossed to another tier. That night following I got very sleepy. As I was going over the mountain there was a large ledge of stone and a little after sundown there was a very large catamount jumped out from behind a pile of stone. The mountain was very steep where he jumped out. As he came out he jumped on a large round stone and set it to rolling down the hill after him, and though I was very hungry and faint I just laid down and rolled and laughed to see that catamount and stone rolling down the hill. The catamount probably thought it was I coming after him. But it was fun, I can tell you. I went on. In about three hours after that there came up a very dark cloud. It got so dark up in the mountains that I could not see to travel. I came to a place where the leaves were piled up very thick and I thought that I would lie down there and rest. When I lay down on the leaves I felt something moving under me and I got up quick too, I can tell you. I have an idea that it was either

young wolves or young bears. I started on again but had not gone a great ways until it commenced thundering and lightning and raining, and heavy thunder it was too, I tell you, and the water just poured down in a sheet, and the lightning struck all around there. I stood up by a tree. It rained for about two hours. After it ceased I started down the mountain. Of course I was wringing wet and had been since I had left prison.

I got out of the mountains into a valley a little before day, and I got so terrible sleepy that I thought I could not go any farther without sleeping. The mosquitoes were very thick there. I concluded that I would lay down and cover my head with bushes so that I could sleep a while. So I went to work and broke a lot of bushes and covered my head. I laid down by a tree. My object was to keep the mosquitoes off while I was sleeping. I got my head covered up and got to dozing off a little when I heard some leaves rattling not far from me. It sounded like someone walking. This noise kept getting closer to me all the time so I threw the bushes off my head and behold it was a big wolf. He had got within a few rods of me and was looking at me. If I had raised up probably he would have jumped on me, but I hollowed at him. He just trotted around me but did not appear to be any ways excited. I got up and went to traveling again because I saw that it would not do for me to lay there. Not long after this day commenced to break.

That day about three o'clock when I was traveling through the woods I run on to another Indian shanty. I came within a hundred yards and looked and I saw an old Indian sitting on the fence with his back to me. He seemed to be looking into the house so I struck out north because I was afraid that he would turn around and see me. I traveled on the balance of the day and the next day I crossed the Canadian river. I was walking with a stick when I crossed the river. It was near waist deep and stony bottom. While I was crossing a terrible fish came tumbling over the stones, nearly as big as I was. After I got across the river I could not travel more than a quarter of a mile without sitting down and resting. I kept on that way until I got to Norfork [North Fork Town].¹⁸ The day that I got to Norfork I found a lot of wild hogs and cattle.¹⁹ There was not anyone there or anyone within fifty miles. It was at that

18. North Fork, commonly called North Fork Town, was in the Creek nation. It was located on the North Fork of the Canadian river near its juncture with the Canadian. The present town of Eufaula, Okla., is near the site of the old Indian village.

19. During the latter years of the war the Canadian river bottoms became a refuge for wild animals. This was due to the abandonment of livestock by the Indians who had been forced to leave their homes and to the absence of hunters in this section.—John N. Edwards, *Shelby and His Men* . . . (Cincinnati, 1867), pp. 463, 464.

time a deserted Indian village.²⁰ There were even wild dogs there. I hunted up my quarters. The winter before the Union soldiers had their quarters there so I was lost. I did not know where I was. There was a large building there and I took that for my quarters. This building was the largest house that was in the town. The floor was covered with paper. I expected to die there because I did not know where I was. I laid around on the paper and would sometimes walk out a little piece. I was getting very weak then. I could not walk more than ten steps without resting.

Every night the large wolves would come into town and run all the other creatures out. When they would come they would sound just like a brass band. I was completely lost for my aim had been, when I left Texas, to go to Fort Smith. I had been at Fort Smith before but being captured by the Indians had got me lost.

After I had been there two days I commenced thinking that I might ketch one of those wild hogs for they had got to coming into the houses to sleep to protect themselves from the wolves. I picked out a house to ketch one in. This house had been a smoke house. I went there and fixed a door so that I could fasten in my hog, if I got it. I went there morning after morning but there was nothing there. I was very near starved. Had not had anything to eat yet. One morning when I had nearly given up I thought that I would go and look anyhow, and when I got there, there was a big hog in the house. I fastened him up as quick as I could. I did not know how I was going to kill him and that was the next thing to study over. There was some large cannon balls laying around there. When I got that hog fastened up he was very courageous and so I was in a study how to kill him. I looked like a poor object to try to kill him because I was almost a skeleton. I got a couple of those ten pound cannon balls and thought that maybe I could knock him down standing outside of the door. I threw one of them and hit his nose and made it bleed and also made him mad. So I threw again and it was like the first. It made him still [more] furious. I saw that I could not do anything with him that way so I thought of some other way to kill him. I got inside of the house where the hog was.

There was a box bed where some of the soldiers had slept and this house had also been used for a smoke house. When I got in, I got up on this box bed, and up over head there was a lot of sticks that had

20. There are records of Union soldiers having passed through North Fork Town but it is doubtful whether they maintained headquarters there for any appreciable length of time. There was never, at any time during the war, a sufficient force stationed at Fort Gibson, held by the Union army, to sustain prolonged advances into the territory south of the Arkansas river.

been used to hang the meat on. I thought that I would take one of these and knock him down. While I stood on the bed the hog got back as far as he could so I made up my mind that I must kill him and not let him get away. I took my stick and got down off the bed. I went walking up toward the hog with the stick in my hand. I struck him across the nose and he threw up his head and went for me. There was a center post in the room and I backed behind that. When the hog came, instead of hitting me, he hit the post. When he struck the post he wheeled around and run under the bed and I followed him up and fastened him in with a board. When he got under the bed it was so narrow that he could not turn around. I thought, at this, that I had done a big thing. I then sat down to rest before I could kill him. While I was there I found an old axe that had been used for a meat axe and also the half of a case knife. I took this old axe and knocked off a couple of boards from the top of the bed so I could get at the hog. He was wedged in there so close that all I had to do was to hammer him in the head until he was dead. After I killed him the next thing was how I could get him out of there. Before I attempted to get him out, of course, I must have a fire.

In this house where I was staying General Blunt had had his headquarters.²¹ As I have said there was lots of paper there. I went to hunting for some matches and I found three so I went to strike up a fire. I tried two matches and neither of them would burn but the last match struck fire and so I built up a fire. With the case knife I stripped off a piece of the hog's skin from his ham and cut off a piece of meat about as large as the palm of my hand. I drove up a couple of sticks and hung up a little piece of meat over the fire. I took one bite, for you may be sure I was too near starved to wait until it was done. Taking one bite nearly killed me for it felt like a rock in my stomach. It was three hours before I could take another bite. I worked until I got my hog skinned and cut up and out from under the bed and barbecued, as the Indians call it. I cut it up, the hams and shoulders, and barbecued or cooked it by means of hanging it up over the fire on my two poles. I then took it to the house I was staying in and left the rest for the wolves to eat.

The house that I had took for my quarters was a very large well-finished house with cupboards and pantries. It was a story and a half high and had been a very fine house. I expected to die there.

21. General Blunt, in his report to Maj. Gen. John M. Schofield from Perryville, Choctaw nation, August 27, 1863, speaks of capturing and destroying "quite a large amount of clothing" at the Confederate depot at North Fork Town.—*Official Records*, Series I, v. XXII, Pt. I, pp. 597, 598.

I made a bed of paper and every night I had plenty of music because the wolves were so very thick. I expected to live on the hog that I had killed as long as I could. I was so weak and low that I could only eat a little at a time and it would be two or three hours before I could eat any more. Every day I could eat a little more and the third day after I had killed the hog, early in the morning, I heard a hog squealing out south of the house. I jumped up as fast as I could and went to see what was the matter. When I got where I could see, I saw that it was a lot of wolves killing a hog. By the time I got there they had him dead and all his innards out. I drove the wolves away. The young ones run as fast as they could but the old ones were very stubborn about giving up their hog. They backed off very slow and sat within a few yards while I was taking some of the meat. I cut off one ham and carried it back to the house. As I left the hog the wolves came up to get what was left.

After I commenced to eat I became weaker. I got so weak the third day after I got something to eat that if I was lying down I could scarcely get up. I continued getting weaker for four days and then I commenced to gain a little. After I had gained strength I commenced trying to walk out a little. In the beginning I could not walk more than twenty yards until I had to set down and rest a good deal longer than it took me to get there and then I would get up and go back to the house.

While I was in Norfork there was a very fine greyhound that got very gentle to me and would lay at the door of the house where I stayed. There were a lot of dogs there but they were all very wild but this one. I used to feed him some of my meat once in awhile. I was in Norfork twelve days before I got strong enough to leave. There was a very nice spring in town. I used to take my stick and walk out there and get a nice cool drink of water. After I got strong enough to think of moving on I walked out a quarter of a mile and turned and came back without resting. I concluded to start the next day. I took off a pair of drawers and took them down to the spring and washed and dried them. I tied the legs of the drawers together and put in each leg some of the meat I had barbecued. The next day when I started I saw a dim old road leading north. It was where the army had been traveling.²² I did

22. This was probably the Texas road. It extended south from Fort Gibson, crossed the Canadian river near North Fork Town, then proceeded south and west to Perryville and Boggy Depot. It was a busy thoroughfare during the 1840's when emigration to Texas was at its height and was used for the transportation of troops during the Civil War.—Grant Foreman, "Early Trails Through Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Oklahoma City, v. III, No. 2 (June, 1925), p. 117.

not know where I was but I wanted to go north so I started. With the meat flung over my shoulder and my stick in my hand I started out on this road. I tried to get that dog to follow me but he would not leave town. I traveled about twenty-five miles that day. About dark I happened to get to an old log house on the prairie and I stayed there all night. Next morning I got up and struck out on this old road. I traveled all the next day and about sundown I looked ahead of me and saw some heavy timber so I hurried up as fast as I could, very curious to see what it was. I got there about dark and right in the edge of this timber was a large house. It looked like there had been a battle there because the house was all shot to pieces. I stayed in that house all night. Way in the night I heard bells ringing and chickens crowing and I was wondering all night where I could be. Next morning I made up my mind that I would find out. I did not know whether I was out of danger or not but I knew if I wasn't I never would be, so started out down the timber.

When I got about a quarter of a mile I came to a big river. All up and down the river were Indians, fishing, hunting and running around. When I got within about two hundred yards of the river I saw an Indian woman running a skiff across the river to the side I was on. She got to the bank long before I did and got out. I made right for the boat. She saw that I was going for the boat and turned and jumped into it again. I got there just as she got into the boat. I asked her to let me ride with her but I soon saw that she could not understand. She was a Creek Indian woman. I made motions to her and she beckoned for me to get in. She rowed across right at the mouth of the Grand river where it emptied into the Arkansas. On the other side there was a lot of Indians with guns and pistols. She rowed right up among them. I got out of the boat and shook hands with the Indians. I told one of them that I wanted some breakfast and I found out that he could not talk English either. I then made signs to him and he motioned to me to follow him and so I went with him up into the woods a piece and I got into a big Indian town. I found out that I was in the Union lines. The Indian took me to a little shanty and he told them that I wanted some breakfast. The old lady and two girls went to getting my breakfast. They wanted to talk with me but they could not talk English. I was anxious to talk too, but I could not so they hurried around and got breakfast. They were at this time drawing rations

from the government and they got up a good breakfast.²³ The old man motioned to me to sit up to the table and we sat and ate all together. The old lady sat at the left-hand side of me and the old man at the right of me. I noticed that there were two cups of coffee by my plate, one on each side. The old lady was very anxious to keep my plate well filled. They had biscuits and coffee and meat. I ate some bread and meat and drank nearly a cup of coffee. I stopped and sat back in my chair. The old lady got up and shook me and pointed to the other cup of coffee. I shook my head because I was full then. They all looked very much surprised to see how bad I looked and how little I ate. I sat at the table until all the rest were done. What I had eaten was hurting me. After we had got up from the table the old man motioned to me to go up town. We were within about half a mile of Fort Gibson.²⁴ Before we got to town there was about a thousand Indians with me, it looked like. They wanted to talk to me.

When we got to town I found that Col. Phillips' headquarters were there.²⁵ Of course there was a large crowd gathered around me. At headquarters there was a tall slim light-complected young man that talked with me principally. He questioned me about the South. At last he asked me if I wanted to work. I was standing there leaning on my stick and I said, "I am not able to work." He said, "Oh, I know that you are not able to work but all I have got for you to do is to take care of two horses, to rub and curry and feed

23. The Creeks living near Fort Gibson had been refugees in southern Kansas from 1862 until they were returned to the Indian territory in the spring of 1864. They had arrived at the fort in June, 1864, in a very destitute condition. Since it was too late to plant spring crops and their farms had been so thoroughly plundered by raiders from both armies, bushwhackers and guerrillas, they were forced to camp near Fort Gibson and to depend upon the government for every necessity.—Abel, *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War* (Cleveland, 1919), pp. 79-89; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs . . . 1864* (Washington, 1865), pp. 303, 304.

24. Fort Gibson, founded in April, 1824, was situated on the Grand river near its confluence with the Verdigris and Arkansas rivers. During early days it was a point of departure for exploration parties and after the Eastern Indian tribes had been moved into the Indian territory, it had become the usual place for negotiations with them. The fort was abandoned as a military post in 1857 but was reoccupied in April, 1863, by Union troops under the command of Col. William A. Phillips. Fort Gibson remained the center of military operations in the territory during the remainder of the war and the country immediately around it became a refuge for loyalist Indians and Negroes from the South. It was finally abandoned in 1890.—William B. Morrison, *Military Posts and Camps in Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1936), pp. 28-47; Grant Foreman, "The Centennial of Fort Gibson," in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Oklahoma City, v. II, No. 2 (June, 1924), pp. 119-128.

25. William Addison Phillips, a native of Paisley, Scotland, gained prominence in territorial Kansas as an Anti-slavery journalist and politician. He was one of the founders of the town of Salina in 1858. He enlisted in the Union army in 1861 and when the Third Indian regiment was organized at Carthage, Mo., September 16, 1862, he was commissioned colonel of the regiment. He was stationed at Fort Gibson from April, 1863, until the regiment was mustered out of service May 31, 1865. He was in the congress of the United States from 1873 to 1878. After his retirement he became special attorney for the Cherokee Indians, having become interested in their welfare while he was in command of Fort Gibson.—*Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1934), v. XIV, p. 548; *Official Army Register of the Volunteer Force of the United States Army for the Years 1861, '62, '63, '64, '65*, Pt. VII, "Kansas" (Washington, 1867), p. 334.

them. I suppose that you can do that, can't you?" "Yes, sir, I can do that." "Well, do you see that little house up yonder?" "Yes, sir." "You go up there and you will find a woman there. Stay there until I come. I will be there at noon." So I went to the house and stayed until noon. He came in and sat down beside me and asked me about my trip. I told him, to which he replied, "Well, you had a —— hard time. As I said, I have got two horses that I want you to take care of, and if you will stay here as long as I do I will give you ten dollars a month and your board." I told him that I would do it. "Yes, and if you will stay with me until I get my men all mustered out and I get paid off I am going up to Kansas. I have a claim up there and if you will go with me and work for me, when you get able to work, I will raise your wages." "Yes, sir, I will do it." So Luke Parsons,²⁶ for that was his name, jumped up and said, "Well, I guess you want some clothes, don't you?" "Yes, sir, but I haven't got any money." "Oh, I know that you haven't got any money but you come down town with me and I will get you some clothes." And so we went off down town and into a store and he walked up to the storekeeper and said, "Let this man have what he wants." And he turned to me and told me to call for what I wanted. I picked me out an \$18.00 suit. He said, "Is that all you want?" "Yes, sir, that will do for the present, I guess." He then said, "Go back and take care of the horses." And so I took the horses and attended to them. About this time I commenced to have a very bad cough, so bad that I could not sleep at night. Luke Parsons asked me if I did not want some medicine. I told him that I did and he gave me some money and told me to go to the hospital doctor and get what I needed. He also told me to ask for money whenever I wanted it. I thanked him and told him that I would, but that I was afraid that I could never pay it back to him again. "That don't make any odds, just ask and you may have it." I stayed at Fort Gibson over three weeks and took care of the horses. When they got through mustering out the men Luke Parsons and I started to Kansas. We stopped one day and rested at Fort Scott.

26. Luke Fisher Parsons was born in Worcester county, Massachusetts, June 28, 1833. He came to Kansas territory in May, 1856, resolved to stay until it had been admitted to the Union as a free state. He became actively engaged in the struggle, fighting under John Brown at Osawatimie. He was one of ten men chosen by John Brown to accompany him on a venture which later proved to be the raid on Harper's Ferry. The plan was long delayed and, when it materialized, several of the men, including Luke Parsons, had decided not to take part in it. He came to Salina in 1860 and took a claim near the townsite. During the early part of the war he served in the Sixth Kansas Volunteer cavalry but later was commissioned as first lieutenant in the Third Indian regiment. After the war he returned to Salina where he died April 23, 1926.—Luke Parsons, "Address at the Celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Battle of Osawatimie," MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society; Luke F. Parsons, biographical sketch in the Kansas State Historical Society's *Twenty-fifth Biennial Report* (Topeka, 1927), pp. 135, 136.

About this time my cough got so very bad I had to let another Negro that had come from Fort Gibson drive the horses while I laid back in the wagon. The next day I was a little better and I took the team myself. We came through Council Grove. We came on up to Salina and stopped on the east side of the river. We got to Salina the 15th day of July, 1865. When we got there the river was so high that we could not cross so we camped on the east side of the river until it was low enough for us to cross.²⁷ There were two hundred soldiers stationed there to keep the Indians out.²⁸ When I saw the smoke coming out of the ground I did not know what it meant. I asked Mr. Parsons what that meant and he told me that they were dugouts. Says I, "What is a dugout?" and he told me that there was where people lived. I was very anxious to get across the river to see one of these dugouts. The river kept up about three weeks. At last we got the soldiers to take our baggage across and we swam the team. One of the horses wouldn't swim and she came very near drowning. We got her to the bank at last but she was sick for two or three months.

We went up into Salina and Luke Parson had a little house there. Luke walked ahead up to the house and told us boys to come on and here was some Missouri rebels using his house for a laundry. There was a girl washing in there by the name of Delphine Lythe. Luke said, "Why, how do you do, Delphine. I have got a couple of boys here and I want them to stop in this house." "Yes, Mr. Parsons, what did you bring them niggers here for? We don't want to mix with niggers." "Nobody wants you to mix with Negroes. If you will let them alone they won't hurt you." "Well, we don't want to mix with niggers." "Well, you needn't mix with them unless you want to," and then he walked off.

I drove up and unharnessed and waited for Delphine to get out of the house. It was getting along toward night and my horses were straying away. There was a lot of soldiers playing and fooling with her while she was washing and the sun was going down and we wanted to get our baggage into the house. We were sitting out there on the wagon when Simon says, "She is not as afraid of Negroes as she makes out to be." "No, she is not half so afraid as she makes out or she would have been out of there hours ago." The sun was

27. The Junction City *Union* reported the Smoky Hill river in flood on several different occasions during the month of July, 1865.

28. A blockhouse was ordered to be built at Salina in June, 1864. Troops were stationed there to protect the settlers from the Indians and to act as escorts for the emigrant trains. The Junction City *Union* for September 2, 1865, mentioned the issuance of an order abandoning all the military posts between Forts Riley and Larned. It is probable that the post at Smoky Hill crossing was included in that order.

going down and she was still fooling with the soldiers while we were waiting for her to get out of the house. I said, "I am going up to the house and ask her to let us bring our baggage in. It looks as though she was going to stay there all night." So I walked up to the house and said, "Look a here, we would like to bring our baggage in here if you could make room for us." She turned around and said, "All right, all right, I will get out." I walked back to the wagon and she was in there half of an hour longer. I believe that she went and lied on me and told the folks that that big nigger had drove her out of the house. She would have got me into trouble but there happened to be another family that disputed this. The next morning there was one of the soldiers came down to the wagon where we were. He was drunk. He said, "You are my friends. I like you." While he was there down came a red-headed Irishman and said, "Come out from among . . . niggers. Come out from . . . niggers anyway," and he ran up and took the soldier by the shoulder and went on swearing at a terrible rate so Simon said to me, "Larry, I be doggoned if I am going to stay here," and I said, "I am going to die right here because I have run enough."

After the Irishman had gone, Luke came. He said, "What! Boys, are they going to run you away from here?" "Yes, sir, it looks as if that is what they want to do." He said, "Larry, I should think that you had run far enough anyhow." "Yes, so I thought too, Mr. Parsons." Luke said that I was right in standing my ground. "Don't you let them do it. You have got as much right as they have." Mr. Parsons went to town and we boys went down the river to make some rails. We got some out and put up a dugout east of Salina and went there to live. Luke raised my wages after we went on the claim, from \$10 to \$30 a month. After I had stayed with him for two months he wanted to hire me for the year. I hired to him for \$20 a month with board and clothes. I stayed with him for thirteen months and then I left him and came to live with Mr. Robinson.²⁹ Simon stayed with Mr. Parsons six months after I left, then he went over on the Saline and hired out, and the last I heard of him he went down to the Indian Territory. I worked for Mr. Robinson for three years, off and on, and then I got into the notion of taking me a claim and making a home for myself.³⁰ When I came to Salina

29. B. F. Robinson. See Footnote 1.

30. Lapsley made homestead entry January 12, 1869. It was necessary for him to contest "the right to enter of an adverse claimant to the land, one Henry C. Cutting . . . who alleged settlement on the land September 27, 1865, under the preemption laws. A hearing was ordered held in the matter on January 12, 1869, before the register of the former District Land Office at Junction City, Kansas, at which time one Samuel Brown offered testimony to the effect that he lived within one mile of the land described for 2½ years, that he did not

I was twenty-five years old and was without schooling. I had never gone to school a day in my life and I haven't any education yet but there is one thing I have, a good home and plenty of friends.

know Henry C. Cutting and that no such person ever lived or improved the land which at that time was in an abandoned condition."

Since Cutting did not appear for the hearing Lapsley was allowed to proceed with the entry. He received a patent for the land February 20, 1875.—Letter from R. S. Clinton, chief, Patents Division, Washington, D. C., July 14, 1942.

The Soft Winter Wheat Boom and the Agricultural Development of the Upper Kansas River Valley¹

PART I

JAMES C. MALIN

THE period of beginnings of wheat production in the upper Kansas valley prepared the way locally for the boom and testing period of about a decade, 1872-1882.² Favorable crop seasons were interspersed through the period but the opening and closing years especially brought climatic and economic adversity. This was true, not only in Kansas, but over the world rather generally, and most important of all, in spite of such circumstances or possibly in part because of them, the decade was one of phenomenal technological change which affected profoundly the economic, social and political structure of the world. A communications revolution based upon mechanical power had given a new reality to world markets and price-making for agricultural commodities. The impact of these facts upon Kansas was as great as upon any area of the globe.

The winter wheat boom was based upon already known varieties of soft wheat and methods of tillage, harvesting and milling, as well as upon traditional crop combinations of corn, wheat and oats. Before the end of the period all these factors were in a state of flux and for some the changes that were to usher in the new era were well along toward their culmination, while for some the transition was only well begun. A new hard wheat had been introduced from Eastern Europe, new varieties of sorghums had been imported from Asia and Africa, alfalfa had made its appearance, and new tillage, harvesting and milling machinery was gaining widespread acceptance. With respect to innovations in Prairie-Plains agriculture, probably no decade until the 1920's with its mechanical power-machinery revolution, and possibly not even that, inaugurated such far-reaching changes as the decade under review.

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. The article will appear in three installments.

2. Further information is now at hand with respect to the first winter wheat raised in Geary (Davis) county. The Junction City *Union*, August 16, 1873, stated that Jesse Spencer planted the first wheat on Humboldt creek, two acres in 1856, but no distinction was made whether it was a winter or spring variety. This is the source of the statement in the article on beginnings, *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. X (August, 1941), pp. 231, 232. The same paper for October 20, 1883, denied the story relating to Spencer and stated that in August, 1855, Joseph Beavers (Illinois) bought twenty bushels of wheat from the Delaware Indians which he sowed that fall. He harvested it with a cradle in 1856, according to this version, sowed part of the crop in the fall of 1856 and took part to Manhattan to be chopped for use.

CROPS AND WEATHER, 1872-1883

1872

Good crops and prosperity did not necessarily go hand in hand and the year 1872 was one of widespread discontent in Kansas. The winter wheat crop was small in acreage but had been mostly winter-killed, the spring wheat was fair, but corn, the principal staple crop, produced a big yield at ruinously low prices.³

1873

In 1873 occurred the great panic which inaugurated a prolonged economic depression of world-wide proportions. The wheat yield was good but acreage was not large in Geary [Davis] county and the agricultural society recommended that grain be held at St. Louis prices plus freight, as the demands of newly arrived settlers and of the army were thought sufficient to take all of it. The corn and late potatoes were damaged by dry weather, but were estimated at three-fourths of normal. Apples and blackberries were about one-fourth of a crop, peaches were a failure, but grapes were good.⁴ A recovery from panic prices did not occur until mid-winter.⁵

1874

The winter wheat made about two-thirds of a crop in 1874 and one commentator said better than 1873, the spring wheat was about one-third of a crop and corn was a failure.⁶ This was the notorious grasshopper year, the plague arrived in the late summer after the wheat was saved, but finishing off most of the crops that had survived the drought. On account of scarcity of feed, farmers were urged to ship their hogs at once. Corn was shipped in to supply necessary feed for remaining livestock. The wheat prices advanced from about 75 cents to 90 cents during the fall months, but local economic conditions were so discouraging that some stores of Junction City restricted sales to cash transactions, and big fires, so frequent in frontier towns during depressions, were reported.⁷ Work

3. Abilene *Chronicle*, July 11, 1872; Junction City *Union*, March 29, 1873.

4. *Ibid.*, July 12, August 16, 23, 1873.

5. Prices at Junction City were quoted in *ibid.*:

	November 22	December 27, 1873
Spring wheat	55-65 cents	85-95 cents
Winter wheat	80-100	110-125
Oats	20	25
Corn	25-30	30-35

6. *Ibid.*, July 4, 1874.

7. Grasshoppers, many settlers on their way East, *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, August 7, 14, 1874; Junction City *Union*, August 15, 1874; prices, *ibid.*, September 12, November 7, 1874; cash and fires, *ibid.*, August 1, 8, 1874.

relief was advocated as a means of alleviating destitution, but in view of the condition of the city treasury, the editor ridiculed the proposal.⁸ The necessity of importing corn from St. Louis drew the comment that "four years ago this was not uncommon, but it seems queer now."⁹ The wry humor that has become almost proverbial on the Plains cropped out in the newspaper locals:

The grasshoppers reappeared here in swarms on Wednesday. The object of their visit is not known, as there is nothing here to eat.

John K. Wright said the other day (when things looked more hopeful than they do now) that he would have had 150 bushels of corn where he expected 2,000.¹⁰

But before the year was out, and despite the fact that neither man nor beast could eat them and they could not be used for fuel, Mother Nature made slight amends by contributing a second spring in 1874, and Robert McBratney's lilacs were in bloom in October.¹¹

1875

With the encouragement of rains in September, 1874, an increased acreage of winter wheat was sown for the 1875 crop, and in spite of some grasshopper damage in the spring there was a big wheat and corn crop. The enforced shipments of hogs in 1874 resulted in a hog shortage in 1875 and corn was shipped as grain. Substantial shipments were made also of wheat and flour.¹² The harvest price of wheat was reported at \$1.10, but there was complaint about corn prices. By mid-winter little corn had moved to market because of the 25-cent price, and called out the estimate, probably not fully warranted by facts, that if sufficient hogs had been available the corn farmer could have realized 60 cents.¹³

1876

During the spring of 1876 the wheat crop promised to be the largest ever grown in the state and central Kansas claimed to be "the wheat garden of the world," but the yield was reduced in June only a few days before harvest by worm damage so that threshing reports were disappointing.¹⁴ The price for wheat in Abilene during the fall was 30 to 60 cents, but in October No. 3 wheat was re-

8. *Ibid.*, August 22, 1874.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*, August 15, 1874.

11. *Ibid.*, October 3, 1874.

12. *Ibid.*, September 12, 19, October 3, 1874; April 10, 1875; January 8, February 26, April 1, May 6, 20, July 1, 1876.

13. *Ibid.*, August 7, 1875; January 8, 1876.

14. Abilene *Chronicle*, April 28, June 16, July 21, 1876; Salina *Herald*, April 15, June 10, 17, July 8, 29, August 19, 1876; Junction City *Union*, June 17, July 1, 1876.

ported at \$1.10 per bushel.¹⁵ The corn crop was good. A year-end summary of the season concluded that "the year 1876 will be remembered in most places as a year of hard times."¹⁶ This was an unfortunate outcome for the prophets of the spring of 1876 who, after reviewing the days of Kansas Troubles, the Civil War, the panic, drought and grasshoppers, had predicted that Kansas was then opening an era of solid prosperity—Kansas had arrived.¹⁷ For those who had not sold their wheat early there was good cheer to be derived from the fact that the European war ran up the price of wheat to \$1.90 at Junction City in May, 1877, and much old wheat was sold at prices above \$1.50, but the artificial price structure broke to about \$1.00 by the time the new crop was ready.¹⁸

1877

On account of grasshoppers the outlook for winter wheat was discouraging during the fall of 1876 and much was resown, but in Saline county the acreage was reported as fifteen times the previous year. Drought, wind and dust prevailed in early winter, a snow covering not coming until late December, and despite contradictory reports from optimistic boomers, the wheat went into the winter in bad condition.¹⁹ Serious grasshopper damage occurred again during the early spring of 1877 in addition to dry weather. May was wet and the wheat that had survived made a surprising recovery in spite of rust, the third-successive crop hazard. Corn was retarded but the disaster to winter wheat had resulted in a record corn acreage. The final summary for the year credited the region with a poor wheat crop, much not even being cut, and the corn which promised so well until late summer was so poor in Saline county that farmers had to buy corn before the next crop was grown.²⁰ It was within this background that a newspaper reader must interpret such a paragraph as this: "Owners of corn-shell-ers in Kansas, this year, complain that their machines are compara-

15. *Salina Herald*, September 16, 1876; *Junction City Union*, October 28, 1876; *Abilene Chronicle*, January 19, 1877.

16. *Ibid.*, January 12, 1877.

17. *Atchison Champion* reprinted with approval in *The Industrialist*, Manhattan, April 29, 1876. *The Industrialist* was the paper conducted and published by the faculty of the Kansas State Agricultural College.

18. *Junction City Union*, May 5, 1877; *Abilene Chronicle*, May 4, June 8, 15, 22, 29, July 13, 20, 1877.

19. *Junction City Union*, September 2, 23, October 21, 1876; *Salina Herald*, September 16, October 28, 1876; *Abilene Chronicle*, October 27, November 10, December 8, 29, 1876. A rural meeting in northern Dickinson county debated and voted their convictions that the grasshoppers were a visitation of God as punishment.—*Ibid.*, December 1, 1876.

20. *Ibid.*, April 27, May 4, 11, 18, June 8, July 27, August 3, 1877; *Salina Herald*, May, 26, 1877; *Enterprise Kansas Gazette*, July 13, 1877, reported less than half a crop.

tively useless, as the ears of corn are so big they cannot get them into the machines." ²¹

1878

The season of 1878 was almost ideal and a record crop was grown despite rust damage.²² The early part of harvest was wet, but a dry period gave an opportunity to save the immense wheat crop although it damaged the corn.²³ New wheat sold in Junction City in July at 60 to 65 cents for No. 2 and declined during August at Abilene to 55 to 58 cents, with still lower prices for the inferior grades.²⁴ The emphasis on low grades implied that much of the crop had been damaged. The newspapers reported that there was some corn to sell.²⁵

1879

The season of 1879 was most unfavorable, drought and wind producing dust storms.²⁶ A large part of the winter wheat was plowed up and planted to corn, which optimists insisted promised a seventy-bushel crop. A wet summer prolonged the wheat harvest, and further damaged grain and reduced the yield to an admitted half crop or less.²⁷ In September the claim was made that early corn had made good, but it was admitted that late corn was almost a total failure.²⁸ Whatever may have been the truth about the yield of merchantable grain, the yield of tall stories was fully normal:

During the blowing of the gentle zephyrs, on Monday evening, a corn stalk blew down on John Lamb's farm, striking a Mr. Banning who was passing by, and injuring him so badly that he will have to crutch it for a few weeks. Merely the tassel touched him, else the consequences might have been more severe. People should keep away from corn fields this growing weather.²⁹

The prices of grain fluctuated widely. In mid-July the spread was 50 to 75 cents between different grades. In the fall prices rose only to collapse 20 cents in one week to 80 cents, while at the same time corn sold for 18 cents.³⁰

21. *Salina Herald*, December 8, 1877.

22. *Ibid.*, September 1, 8, 15, 22, October 6, 1877; *Abilene Chronicle*, January 4, February 1, April 5, June 7, 28, 1878; *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, March 22, 1878; *Junction City Union*, May 25, 1878.

23. *Abilene Chronicle*, July 5, August 9, 1878; May 16, 1879; *Salina Herald*, May 24, 1879.

24. *Abilene Chronicle*, June 28, 1878; *Junction City Union*, July 20, August 3, 10, 1878.

25. *Salina Herald*, May 24, 1879.

26. *Ibid.*, March 1, 8, 15, 29, April 12, 19, 1879.

27. *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, April 25, 1879; *Abilene Chronicle*, May 9, 30, July 25, August 1, 1879; *Salina Herald*, August 30, 1879; *Junction City Union*, June 21, 1879.

28. *Ibid.*, September 6, 1879.

29. *Abilene Gazette*, August 1, 1879.

30. *Ibid.*, July 18, 1879; *Abilene Chronicle*, October 31, 1879.

1880

The drought continued through the wheat season of 1880, wind and dust storms ruining a large part of the crop.³¹ One local correspondent wrote, "We are getting so dry that it is almost impossible for us to tell the truth."³² Late in May rains came and the hope was expressed that some wheat might be saved. As usual under adversity the local papers were contradictory in their reports on conditions, boasting of every good field and putting the most hopeful appearance on a bad situation.³³ Much corn was planted on wheat ground, but drought and chinch bugs took their toll and in August corn was being cut for fodder. Not even the oldest settler could recall such a year.³⁴

1881

To read only the current crop reports of the late winter and spring of 1880-1881 would be misleading when they ran "Wheat crops chuckling all over with laughter and buoyant with hope."³⁵ In the main the season of 1881 was a repetition of 1880, with drought, winter-killing, wind, chinch bugs and heat. Some corn was re-planted a third time on account of excess rain at planting time and then it was burned up by the scorching heat of summer.³⁶

1882

The turn of the series of bad years came in 1882 with the most extravagant reports of wheat yields—47 bushels and 61 bushels on individual fields.³⁷ The corn crop was good, but not unusual.

1883

The season of 1883 was most favorable for both wheat and corn and they sold at fair prices, the most prosperous season up to then in the history of Dickinson county.³⁸

31. *Salina Herald*, September 6, 13, 1879; January 24, 31, March 6, 27, April 24, 1880; *Abilene Chronicle*, March 5, 12, 19, April 9, 23, 30, 1880; *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, April 16, 1880.

32. *Salina Herald*, May 1, 1880, Poheta items.

33. *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, May 27, June 3, July 1, 1880; *Abilene Chronicle*, May 28, July 2, 16, 30, 1880.

34. *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, April 30, June 24, August 5, September 30, 1880; *Abilene Chronicle*, May 7, August 6, December 24, 1880; *Salina Herald*, August 7, 14, 28, 1880.

35. *Junction City Union*, January 22, 1881, and other optimistic reports November 27, 1880, May 7, 1881; *Salina Herald*, October 30, 1880.

36. *Abilene Chronicle*, August 26, 1881, "Our Prospects," an article reviewing the whole season.

37. *Ibid.*, July 28, August 25, 1882. The latter figure was challenged by the *Salina Herald*, August 24, 1882. The *Herald*, July 27, boasted, however, that the crop was the largest and best since 1878.

38. *Abilene Chronicle*, September 21, 1883; January 4, 1884.

STATISTICAL SUMMARIES AND PROBLEMS

The wheat picture cannot be visualized clearly even with the aid of available statistical tables of acreages and yields, because the statistical methods of the time were inadequate and the data are unreliable. This applies to the figures of both the state and federal governments. It is necessary, nevertheless, to use such materials as a base, and supplement them with an analysis of samples that will provide some appreciation of the nature of their inadequacies and of the limits to their use. The first table gives the figures for wheat and corn in Kansas that have come to be accepted as standard and are labeled "harvested acres" in the case of wheat. This table does not distinguish winter from spring sorts, but in general it may be said that spring wheat was in the majority in early years, they were about evenly divided during the early 1870's, and by the 1880's spring wheat had largely disappeared, except in the north-west counties. Probably very little confidence can be placed in the data for the 1860's. There is much uncertainty regarding the methods of determining the data used in either the county or state figures after 1872 when the state board of agriculture began to function.

*Wheat and Corn, Kansas, 1862-1890*³⁹

Year	WHEAT		CORN	
	Acres	Yield	Acres	Yield
1862.....	9,630	21.00	170,365	40.00
1863.....	16,434	16.00	193,597	44.00
1864.....	13,439	15.00	186,923	25.00
1865.....	12,768	15.00	163,463	41.00
1866.....	12,171	21.40	190,858	34.20
1867.....	89,285	14.00	211,373	38.60
1868.....	98,525	15.60	360,388	18.00
1869.....	151,351	18.50	506,198	48.40
1870.....	156,200	15.00	505,892	33.00
1871.....	169,433	15.90	617,325	40.00
1872.....	185,775	11.60	769,636	38.50
1873.....	309,286	14.00	1,202,046	39.10
1874.....	716,205	13.79	1,525,421	10.25
1875.....	743,206	17.77	1,932,861	48.80
1876.....	1,023,183	14.28	1,844,454	43.68
1877.....	1,063,993	13.45	2,563,112	40.38
1878.....	1,730,812	18.67	2,405,482	37.13
1879.....	1,932,798	10.63	2,995,070	36.29
1880.....	2,444,434	10.34	3,554,396	28.53
1881.....	2,182,372	9.38	4,171,554	19.33
1882.....	1,602,997	22.29	4,441,836	35.36
1883.....	1,559,302	19.25	4,653,170	39.14
1884.....	2,237,128	21.47	4,545,908	41.99
1885.....	1,290,549	8.34	5,266,034	33.67
	[2,090,549]	[5.15] ⁴⁰		
1886.....	1,758,393	8.29	5,802,018	24.05
1887.....	1,373,915	6.75	6,530,392	11.60
1888.....	1,120,119	14.93	6,993,207	24.13
1889.....	1,594,285	22.15	6,820,693	40.15
1890.....	2,321,113	12.40	5,755,691	8.84

39. *Eleventh Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture* . . . 1897 and 1898 (Topeka, 1899), pp. 752, 753.

40. The bracketed figures for wheat acres and yield in 1885 are from "Wheat in Kansas," p. 7, in *Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture for the Quarter Ending September, 1920* (Topeka, 1921). See Footnote 41 for explanation. These figures are probably more nearly correct.

The report for 1873 stated clearly that the statistics were taken by the county assessors beginning March, 1873, that they represented acreages, yields, and values of the crops planted and harvested in 1872, except winter wheat statistics which were for acreages on the ground in the spring of 1873, but the yields and values were estimates compiled from county reports and market prices obtained from millers and wholesale dealers. This would seem to mean that the statistics in the report for 1873 were for the crops of 1872 except for winter wheat, which is for the crop harvested in 1873. If that is the meaning intended, then the data for the winter-wheat crop in the report for 1873 should be bracketed with the data for the spring crops to be found in the report for 1874 in order to put together what was actually harvested during the calendar year 1873. That is certainly not the practice in the use customarily made of Kansas agricultural data.

With respect to the interpretation that the statistics represent harvested acres something needs be said. The explanation just referred to stated that the acres of winter wheat were those on the ground in the spring. The assessor's instructions specified March 1 as the base date for his work as assessor, but he might visit the farmer any time during the following three months and the acres of winter wheat reported might be as of March 1 or of any time thereafter until the assessment rounds were completed. Even if the assumption is made that the acres reported were those on the ground at such indeterminate spring date, there were many hazards yet for the wheat crop to surmount before it was harvested; drought, hot winds of June, rust, chinch bugs and worm damage. The extent of winter-kill and other damage resulting in abandonment of wheat acreage was a matter of such contradiction and controversy that no informed person can argue seriously in favor of the accuracy of any set of figures.⁴¹ One conclusion is inescapable, however, that al-

41. In 1877 the Kansas City (Mo.) *Journal* reported heavy winter-kill and grasshopper damage in Dickinson county, estimating the condition as of early May at probably half a crop. The Abilene *Chronicle*, May 18, 1877, replied vehemently that winter-kill did not exceed 6% and hopper damage 1%, and that the yield would be 25% more than ever before. By July 13, the Enterprise *Gazette* reported from Chapman creek that possibly as much as a thousand acres in Noble township was not worth cutting, and not less than two thousand in Sherman township would be abandoned. In January, 1878, T. C. Henry indicated in his farmers' institute address that he disapproved spring wheat except to replace winter wheat but admitted he would plant 1,000 acres in 1878. Probably this meant over 25% winter-kill. (Abilene *Chronicle*, February 1, 1878.) In the "Golden Belt" article of 1877 he was credited with 300 acres of spring wheat as well as 700 acres of other spring crops and 3,000 acres of winter wheat. This might mean a 10% winter-kill or more. (*Ibid.*, July 6, 1877.) Wheat abandoned in Jefferson and Ridge townships was reported at one-half to three-fourths, which was being planted to corn. (*Ibid.*, May 28, 1880.) In 1880 the Leavenworth *Times* and the Kansas City (Mo.) *Journal* both reported the wheat crop in Dickinson county very poor as the result of winter-kill and drought. The *Gazette* admitted that some farmers of the county criticized the editor for not telling the people frankly that the wheat crop was a failure. The method of defense used was to list leading farms by name and describe the condition of the crop, admitting that at an earlier date some of the fields seemed to be a failure, but that they

though the annual abandonment varied from year to year, the average was high and was higher than the formal printed records were willing to admit.

It was not often that the newspapers gave realistic figures for crop yields. The spirit of boom optimism did not permit such candor and anyone making a low estimate or a pessimistic prediction was almost certain to be branded a croaker. In good years specific figures were printed frequently claiming yields that sometimes seem fantastic. In bad years little was said usually of crops unless attention was called to some exceptional field. The reports of the state board of agriculture seem to have been based mostly upon harvested acres and there is reason to conclude that they were optimistic estimates. If they were reduced to an average on planted acres they would make different reading. Reports of realistic appearance were printed occasionally as in a case in 1880 where a country community reporter

had recovered, the yields estimated on the samples under review ranged from 8 to 20 bushels. By way of summary and conclusion, the editor declared that a crop of 8 to 10 bushels was not a failure. In 1881 the abandoned acreage was given by the *Ablene Chronicle*, June 24, as 5.6% based on the county clerk's figures—assessors' data. The planted acres were given as 108,997 and the abandoned acres at 6,083 leaving the remaining acres at 102,914. Comparison with the report of the state board for 1881, shows the last figure is the one given there. Even here it is not clear whether the *Chronicle* figures were for the winter wheat acres actually harvested or the acres on the ground in the spring. In Marion county the state board figures were stated to be planted acres. (*Marion Record*, July 13, 1877.) There seems to be no method of determining the practice.

Other difficulties are met in later years, however, showing that there was no consistency of practice. Thus, the *Fifth* and *Sixth Biennial Reports* of the state board of agriculture give the following set of figures for the state wheat acreage for the years 1885-1888, inclusive: 1,140,284; 1,065,935; 813,495; 977,545. The *Seventh Biennial Report* gave for the first time the revised figures found in the accompanying table, but offered no explanation of the procedure by which they were arrived at. Analysis of the figures indicates the probable procedure. For these years an attempt was made to secure planted and harvested acres and such figures were printed, but with typographical errors. The revised figures of the formal table are secured by assuming an error in the planted acres as originally reported in the *Fifth Biennial Report* so that the figures read 1,199,723 instead of 1,999,723 and then adding the spring wheat acres to the corrected planted acres. The figures for 1886 can be taken as printed, so the simple addition of planted winter wheat acres and spring wheat acres gives the revised total. The figures given in the current biennial reports had been arrived at by adding harvested acres of winter wheat to spring wheat. The figure for 1885 given in the volume "Wheat in Kansas," p. 7, was arrived at by using the planted acres figure of 1,999,723 instead of 1,199,723. In conclusion, therefore, in state board wheat tables the figures given for the years covered by this paragraph are planted acres, not harvested acres as the explanations accompanying those tables indicate.

In the four counties included in this article the extent of the abandoned acreages as indicated by the state board figures for the first years for which they were published may serve as a warning as well as a measuring stick for earlier years.

	Year	Planted	Harvested	Yield Planted	Harvested
Riley	1885	10,709*	6,452	7.2	12
	1886	10,709*	2,008	2.0	11
Geary (Davis)	1885	19,556	6,845	2.1	6
	1886	10,660	2,132	2.2	11
Dickinson	1885	98,152	39,539	2.0	5
	1886	57,372	14,343	3.8	15
Saline	1885	91,517	22,458	1.2	5
	1886	70,975	28,390	6.3	16

* There is no explanation why the figures for these two years are identical.

In the county crop tables as compiled for earlier years from the reports of the state board, the yield figures are almost certainly based upon harvested acres, otherwise they would be much lower.

Still another example of divergence of figures appeared in the *Ablene Gazette*, May 28, 1880, which gave the acres sown in 1878 (1879 crop) at 74,449, and in 1879 (1880 crop) at 97,000. The first figure is 6,000 acres higher and the second 4,000 acres lower than the figures in the table. (*Second Biennial Report of the State Board of Agriculture*. . . .)

listed the yields of ten neighbors: 10; 5.5; 5.5; 6.5; 12.5; 9; 8; 12; 5.5; 6. This makes an unweighted average of 8 bushels, while the report of state board gave 11 bushels for the county.⁴²

In 1881 one editor in Saline county disapproved claiming 20 to 30 bushels and getting 8 to 10, but thought that on the basis of conditions in May the county average should be 15. The report of the state board of agriculture at the end of the year gave 13 bushels. That same year a local reporter gave the yield of his neighbors at 15; 8; 5.5; 4.75; 4.5; or an unweighted average of 7.5 bushels.⁴³ It is quite possible, if not probable, that most of the reports of yields scale down on about that proportion if realistic statistics were available. One complainant registered his protest against Kansas crop reports, insisting that in the last six years the Kansas average (excluding the western counties) was not over 12 bushels; that in 1881 an average of 15 bushels was claimed when the actual yield was about 9.⁴⁴ As it turned out the state board claimed only 9.38 that year. During this period the state board had averaged from 10.3 to 18.3 for the whole of the state.

The quality of Kansas wheat during this wheat boom is not to be measured by the same standards as the hard winter wheats. The weights per bushel were compiled by J. McFarland, state statistical agent of the United States Department of Agriculture for the years 1876-1883, inclusive:

Year	Lbs. Per Measured Bushel ⁴⁵
1876.....	54.10
1877.....	53.63
1878.....	55.90
1879.....	54.64
1880.....	55.05
1881.....	53.40
1882.....	57.29
1883.....	53.09

The inferior quality of the crop was admitted on occasion, a large part of the Saline county wheat in 1879 being No. 4, and the most of the crop of 1880 being No. 3.⁴⁶ This is of more importance than is usually recognized, because the prices quoted in the press were often for No. 1 and even when lower grades were quoted there was seldom

42. *Salina Herald*, August 14, 1880.

43. *Ibid.*, July 16, 1881, Poheta items.

44. *Abilene Chronicle*, September 16, 1881, from the *Kansas Farmer*.

45. *Junction City Union*, December 1, 1883; *The Daily Kansas Herald*, Lawrence, December 8, 1883.—Compiled from reports of millers in Topeka, Kansas City, Atchison and Fort Scott, and from growers.

46. *Salina Herald*, August 7, 1880.

a hint as to what grades were actually delivered. Farm income could not be bolstered up by nominal quotations, and many of the farmers' price grievances of the period must have their explanation in low grade wheat.

SOIL FERTILITY AND STATISTICS

Before leaving the subject altogether, something should be said of crop yield statistics and the use made of them in discussions of depletion of soil fertility and of efficiency of agricultural practices. The analysis thus far has demonstrated the unreliability of the statistics of yields, and that actual yields were much below the accepted figures, and the disparity would be much wider if yields were based on planted acres. Statistics of yields in either case are not necessarily any index to soil fertility and provide no basis for comparison with later periods. The factors determining actual variations in yields were not primarily fertility, but rather crop hazards, inefficient farming and climatic conditions in relation to the lack of adaptation of varieties and cultural methods. The factor of soil fertility cannot be segregated from these other factors. The varieties of wheat raised in the 1870's seem to have been developed with particular reference to high yields, rather than resistance to Western environmental hazards. The later hard varieties were developed with reference to the latter factors and an average good yield, as well as choice milling qualities. In these varieties, even the highest yields on new land, and under most favorable crop conditions, do not equal some of the spectacular yields claimed in the 1870's for the soft wheats. On the other hand their average yields, based upon planted acres over a period of years, are much more favorable than the soft wheats. Aside from the unknown factor of soil fertility there can be little question but that actual yields from planted acres in recent years are much above those of the 1870's. That much may be said of the combination of factors associated with adaptation as well as more efficient and intensive agriculture—and, for the sake of those who insist upon the soil-depletion argument, in spite of a possible decline in fertility.

FROM CORN BOOM TO WHEAT BOOM

The principal field crop competition was of two types—between corn and wheat and between cash grain crops and livestock. At the opening of the decade corn was still in the ascendancy in volume of production, was grown as a money crop in excess of the market demand, bringing ruinously low prices under the existing freight rate

structure, and a further hazard was the critical marginal position of corn with relation to climate. Probably no contemporary stated the case better, except for the livestock interest, than the Rev. John A. Anderson, president of Kansas State Agricultural College, in his "Sketch of Kansas Agriculture" of 1875.⁴⁷

As in most Western States, corn has been the leading crop; the statistics show that it is far from being either the most certain or the most profitable. . . . [These statistics say] "Don't put all your eggs in the corn basket; put most in the wheat basket, it is safer;" . . . Kansas farmers . . . are rapidly changing from the old theory that corn was *the* crop to the one already indicated.

Every State has its peculiar conditions of climate, soil and market; and no man in the world is surer to discover them, to adapt his work to them, than the practical American farmer . . . The variations in the fall of rain are apt to occur in those months when the wheat is out of danger, and when the corn is in danger. . . .

The first reaction to the distress of the early 1870's was a clamor for diversification,⁴⁸ but the relative success with winter wheat during the mid-1870's brought "the wheat fever" which threatened "to spread all over the State, to the great detriment of other interests and of the commonwealth." The *Manhattan Nationalist* argued that in twenty years Riley county had never yielded three fair crops in succession, while west of Junction City there had been three crops and it was safe to assume that this would continue, but even at that, a mixed husbandry would be best in the long run because "a failure of the wheat crop would force all of the counties to the west of Davis [Geary] to resort to begging. With half the people it would be beg or starve, and it needs no argument to show that it is not safe for a whole community to run such risks." The article closed with a world wheat surplus argument, the competition of Hindustan which had gone into wheat production and the price collapse which would ensue.⁴⁹

On December 1, 1876, the *Abilene Chronicle* took up the discussion on the argument that the speculative attitude was the cause of the farmer's troubles. When the price of a particular product was high, farmers rushed into producing that commodity; thus there had been successive speculations in cattle, wheat, sheep, hogs, broom-corn, etc. The editor advised diversification and the continuance with an adopted program long enough to secure results. Although the county was undoubtedly primarily a wheat county, the farmer

47. *Fourth Annual Report of the State Board of Agriculture* . . . 1875, pp. 18-38.

48. *Abilene Chronicle*, January 16, 1873.

49. *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, May 26, 1876.

should diversify by raising corn and hogs, thereby producing year-round employment and a failure of one would not necessarily mean a failure of all, and furthermore, the production of corn and hogs would not diminish the wheat acreage the individual farmer could handle.⁵⁰ The wheat boom spirit was the dominant note of the time, however, both for the region and for individual large producers who were written up as the wheat kings of their respective counties each with his hundreds or thousands of acres.⁵¹ The wheat boom took the place of the corn boom and in the two western counties the phrase "Wheat is King" displaced "Corn is King."⁵² The upper Kansas river valley became "The Golden Belt."⁵³

The wheat and corn acreages and yields by counties are given in separate tables from the official statistical sources and are subject to all the limitations already indicated. Riley county was conspicuously different from those farther west, and Geary [Davis] county was more nearly like Riley than like the two farther west. The large spring wheat acreage was a feature in Riley, and in both Riley and Geary counties the winter wheat acreage did not assume dominating proportions, corn remaining king. In the two western counties the corn acreage was by no means negligible, but winter wheat was king. The fluctuations in spring wheat acreage during the late 1870's are particularly interesting, especially in 1878 and 1879, and probably represents in large part the winter-kill of the fall planting, and if most of it was added to the winter wheat acreages, would represent more accurately than the official figures the area planted to winter wheat at the peak of the boom. Furthermore, if the yields were calculated on these larger figures the story would be conspicuously different and probably closer to the reality.

50. A similar recommendation appeared in a letter of T. Dunlap to the editor of the *Abilene Chronicle*, May 18, 1877.

51. *Salina Herald*, March 31, 1877, from the *Paola Western Spirit* and from the *Morris County Republican*, Council Grove; *ibid.*, May 19, 1877; *Wichita Eagle*, May 24, 1877, claiming that next to T. C. Henry, Abilene, C. R. Miller, Sedgwick county, was the largest wheat grower in Kansas; *Abilene Chronicle*, June 21, 1878, a 3,000-acre wheat field; *Lawrence Daily Journal*, November 5, 1879.

52. *Abilene Chronicle*, October 18, 1878; May 7, 1880.

53. *Ibid.*, July 6, August 10, 1877; *Salina Herald*, August 11, 1877.

Riley County ⁵⁴

Year	WINTER WHEAT		SPRING WHEAT		CORN	
	Acres	Yield	Acres	Yield	Acres	Yield
1872	2,512	14	2,339	15	14,033	..
1873	2,512	..	4,346	..	9,041	..
1874	3,264	15	6,985	8	12,593	2
1875	5,393	17	7,585	12	15,326	41
1876	4,640	15	6,528	12	17,787	40
1877	3,253	10	5,300	18	26,764	46
1878	4,249	22	10,262	13	25,424	40
1879	6,463	15	9,973	8	28,121	45
1880	5,860	12	4,282	10	30,691	32
1881	6,132	10	1,161	6	43,814	17
1882	4,524	24	1,801	15	52,203	50
1883	4,993	22	2,186	14	42,520	40
1884	8,215	24	1,174	15	42,891	43

Davis County ⁵⁵

Year	WINTER WHEAT		SPRING WHEAT		CORN	
	Acres	Yield	Acres	Yield	Acres	Yield
1872	1,617	20	1,528	16	6,185	..
1873	1,617	..	2,818	..	4,996	..
1874	2,921	15	3,977	8.5	6,219	5
1875	5,012	18	2,504	12	7,893	40
1876	7,201	15	2,963	10	7,654	40
1877	7,910	10	1,546	8	11,118	42
1878	11,568	22	3,197	10	11,183	40
1879	12,744	11	2,636	5	14,991	32
1880	16,836	11	1,621	9	19,750	33
1881	12,478	7	858	5	23,932	16
1882	9,187	23	470	12	26,482	37
1883	9,571	22	112	13	38,260	28
1884	16,185	26	140	18	22,561	35

Dickinson County ⁵⁶

Year	WINTER WHEAT		SPRING WHEAT		CORN	
	Acres	Yield	Acres	Yield	Acres	Yield
1872	5,687	15	2,639	13	9,099	..
1873	5,627	..	8,297	..	10,951	..
1874	15,030	18	9,300	13	12,720	5
1875	32,061	22	4,258	15	14,750	42
1876	50,561	15	3,901	9	11,406	46
1877	63,044	11	7,091	20	34,711	46
1878	76,395	22	19,203	8	30,197	40
1879	68,042	8	21,524	3	46,353	30
1880	101,303	12	3,011	10	76,238	28
1881	102,914	9	2,846	3	72,346	16
1882	78,909	26	3,390	12	72,784	38
1883	76,562	24	931	14	84,240	45
1884	107,212	24	452	13	87,327	48

Saline County ⁵⁷

Year	WINTER WHEAT		SPRING WHEAT		CORN	
	Acres	Yield	Acres	Yield	Acres	Yield
1872	2,356	15	5,076	12	10,678	..
1873	2,355	..	4,571	..	6,403	..
1874	12,804	16	9,037	9	17,239	..
1875	25,697	21	4,552	14	14,935	42
1876	32,651	16	4,196	10	14,111	40
1877	58,497	17	4,541	18	23,060	43
1878	67,740	23	10,992	10	23,416	36
1879	65,681	10	10,385	6	37,739	35
1880	89,918	11	1,455	7.5	45,710	20
1881	89,285	13	1,307	4	45,866	13
1882	70,540	26	1,483	15	55,247	30
1883	69,304	22	365	12	56,252	28
1884	93,858	22	119	15	46,699	39

54. Compiled from Reports of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture.

55. *Ibid.*56. *Ibid.*57. *Ibid.*

On account of the difference in area of the four counties the total acreage in each crop does not bring out the full value of the data. The table giving winter wheat and corn acreages per square mile emphasizes more clearly the conclusions already pointed out. In these terms Saline and Dickinson counties were the first and third ranking wheat counties in the state in 1878, McPherson and Sedgwick holding second and fourth places. Geary and Riley were twenty-fifth and fifty-third respectively among the seventy counties then organized.

Winter Wheat and Corn Per Square Mile ⁵⁸

	1872		1875		1878		1880	
	Wheat	Corn	Wheat	Corn	Wheat	Corn	Wheat	Corn
Riley county (600 sq. mi.) . .	4.2	23.5	8.9	25.5	6.9	41.2	9.7	51.1
Geary (Davis) (407 sq. mi.),	4.0	15.2	12.3	19.4	28.4	27.5	41.3	48.5
Dickinson (851 sq. mi.)	6.7	10.7	37.6	17.3	89.8	35.5	119.0	89.6
Saline (720 sq. mi.)	3.3	14.8	4.5	20.7	94.1	32.5	124.9	63.5

The average winter wheat and corn planting programs for farms of each size-group in Buckeye township, lying north of Abilene, is presented in the accompanying table for the periods, 1875, 1880 and 1885. Not every small farm reported wheat, but practically every farm had corn. The wheat acreage on all sizes of farms reached its peak about 1880 and declined in 1885, while corn expansion continued through the decade. Although wheat commanded the greater acreage in 1875 and 1880, corn resumed the dominant acreage position in 1885 on all groups of farms except the section size. This is evidence that corn was still a contender for the crown in Dickinson county in 1885, while data from the preceding table indicated that corn was fully confirmed as king in 1880 in the two eastern counties. The controlling difference was the limestone hills which set off the two eastern counties as a part of the bluestem-pasture region, while the western residual soils higher up in the valley blend into sandy loams and constitute a part of the central Kansas wheat region.⁵⁹

This emphasis upon wheat in central Kansas should not be misleading, however, as regards the state as a whole. In the very years in which this regional boom was at its peak the state board of agriculture emphasized that "Corn stands at the head of the list of Kansas crops in acreage, product, and the extraordinary increase from year to year."⁶⁰

58. Computed by the author from statistical data in *ibid.*

59. James C. Malin, "An Introduction to the History of the Bluestem-Pasture Region of Kansas," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. XI, pp. 3-28.

60. *Monthly Reports of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture* . . . August-October 1877, p. 15.

Winter Wheat and Corn in Buckeye Township, Dickinson County 61
Number of Farms and Acreage by Size Groups

	1870		1875		1880		1885					
	No. of farms.....	25-30?*	74		78		112					
			Total No. of farms.	Number having— Winter wheat.	Corn.	Total No. of farms.	Number having— Winter and spring wheat.	Corn.	Total No. of farms.	Number having— Winter wheat.	Corn.	
Number having winter wheat or corn by size group.												
40-acre farm.....	1		1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
80-acre farm.....	32		29	23	30	23	28	35	30	36	35	36
160-acre farm.....	31		27	25	30	29	30	43	39	41	43	39
320-acre farm.....	10		10	10	16	16	16	21	20	21	21	20
640-acre farm.....								9	9	9	9	9
Inadequate data.....					2			4				
Average acreage by size groups.												
40-acre farm.....			8	4		0	0		0	0		0
80-acre farm.....			17.7	7.6		23	25		20	28		28
160-acre farm.....			29.0	16.3		46	33		41	45		45
320-acre farm.....			45.0	17.2		65	47		59	66		66
640-acre farm.....									127	126		126

* Grant township before Buckeye township was separated from it. The Buckeye portion would contain less than 48 farms, possibly 25 to 30.

61. Compiled from the manuscript schedules of the Kansas state census, 1875, 1885, and U. S. census, 1870, 1880. The crop statistics in 1870 were in bushels, not acres, and therefore do not fit into this table. The wheat statistics for 1880 did not separate spring from winter wheat and therefore they are not comparable with 1875 and 1885. The wheat and corn acreages are respectively acres planted and acres to be planted.

SEARCH FOR SUBSTITUTE CROPS

During the wheat boom the search for substitute crops persisted especially in the years adverse to wheat and corn near the beginning and end of the period, and was associated with wishful thinking about processing and manufacture of existing and prospective crops. One man suggested a corn starch factory, cannery, cheese factory, tannery, cotton mills, woolen mills, and paper mills.⁶² During the same year, 1874, the village of Enterprise was utilizing its water power to operate a flour mill and was building a woolen mill as well as manufacturing vinegar from sorghum syrup and barrels for packing its products.⁶³ Junction City had its cheese factory in 1875, Blue Rapids its paper mill in 1875, Abilene its packing plant and soap factory in 1879, and Junction City its packing plant in 1883.⁶⁴ Among the more unusual crops included in the range of experimentation were silk, hemp, cotton, tobacco, and castor beans.⁶⁵ Flax had its advocates and proposals were made for a linseed oil mill.⁶⁶ Sorghum had been recognized in the 1860's as peculiarly adapted to the climate and it provided syrup. Each drought period gave it added emphasis.⁶⁷ With the revival of the late 1870's the possibilities of sugar manufacture were featured. Five sugar mills were in operation in the state in 1881 and a general sugar boom was predicted.⁶⁸ In Marion county the White Water Sorgo Association discussed the merits of several varieties from the standpoint of syrup and sugar; the three most favorably considered were the Red Liberian, Early Amber and Chinese Sugar cane ("old black-top sorgo"), the last named being best except that it lodged and fell down when grown on a large scale.⁶⁹ Sorghum was being sown also for fodder, the practice being to plant in a manner similar to wheat and cut when the seed was in the dough stage.⁷⁰ Millet and Hungarian were endorsed by the farmers' institute in 1878 for hay in spite of the conviction that these crops depleted soil fertility and

62. Junction City *Union*, May 2, 1874.

63. *Ibid.*, May 9, 1874.

64. *Ibid.*, May 15, July 3, 1875; November 17, December 15, 1883; October 3, 17, 23, 1885; Abilene *Chronicle*, September 19, 1879.

65. Junction City *Union*, July-August (silk culture), July 22, 1876 (hemp); Abilene *Chronicle*, September 7, 1877 (castor beans); *First Biennial Report of the State Board of Agriculture* . . . 1877-'78. The acreage of each crop 1872-1878, inclusive, for each county is printed.

66. Junction City *Union*, July 22, 1876.

67. *Ibid.*, October 4, 1873; Salina *Herald*, September 25, 1880; *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, April 21, 1881.

68. Junction City *Union*, December 31, 1881; *The Industrialist*, Manhattan, December 8, 1883.

69. *Marion County Record*, Marion, January 30, 1880.

70. *The Industrialist*, Manhattan, May 31, 1884.

harbored chinch bugs. German millet was grown in Dickinson county in 1878, and Pearl millet in Saline county in 1880. By the latter date also, a rice corn boom was under way.⁷¹ Broomcorn was raised rather extensively in the latter part of the decade, especially in the territory tributary to Salina, but by 1883 it was admitted that Salina had lost its prestige as a market.⁷² Of the group of crops only the sorghum as a forage crop became a permanent part of the crop system.

The weather extremes of the decade disturbed the balance of nature in the insect and plant world. The severity of the drought was being discussed before a grasshopper invasion of August, 1874, a diarist pointing out that the summer drought and heat of 1874 were more severe than in 1860, but a counter argument was advanced that to mid-June, 1874, there had been abundant rain while the spring of 1860 had been dry as well as the summer. The drought had destroyed largely the summer-growing crops of 1874 before the grasshoppers came, and the grasshopper migration was itself a result of the drought. It is only in retrospect that an exaggerated emphasis has been placed upon the grasshopper who only finished off what was left.

A committee conducted a survey in Dickinson county, receiving fifty replies to their questionnaire, the seventh question being: "In cases of need and privation to what do you ascribe the cause? State fully." The report on the question was that:

A very great range of answers are given. Eight say drought or dry weather; only four ascribe the difficulty to grasshoppers, and those but partially. The following are the terms embodied in the remaining replies: Indolence and want of management, lack of fore-thought, fast living, lack of snap, shiftlessness, no actual cases, relief from labor, extravagance, credit system, bonds and judgment notes, laziness, bad management, lack of elbow grease, lack of energy, bad whisky, not more than in an ordinary winter, privation very slim, there is none, not more than any winter, one case, sickness, no cases, lack of git up.⁷³

The editor of the Junction City *Union* was conservative in his outlook and was carrying on a feud with John Davis of the *Tribune*, a professional reformer, but the *Union*, April 10, 1875, declared that "All Kansas needs is deeper plowing, and more of it, with less 'reform.'" Somewhat later, July 24, he declared that "John Davis

71. *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, January 25, 1878; *Abilene Chronicle*, January 17, 1879; *Salina Herald*, February 7, 1880 (Pearl millet was also known as cat-tail, Japan, or Horse millet, or African cane); *Abilene Chronicle*, May 7, 1880 (rice corn).

72. *Salina Herald*, August 12, October 28, 1876; November 17, December 1, 8, 1877; August 17, 1878; August 31, 1882; October 25, 1883.

73. Junction City *Union*, March 27, 1875, from the *Abilene Chronicle*.

has about the poorest farm in the county. A good place to begin 'reform.'" During a period of distress, scarcely any commentator could be altogether objective in his valuations.

Continuance of grasshoppers brought much greater direct damage than the spectacular invasion of August, 1874. Particularly numerous in the fall of 1876, fall planted wheat was eaten off or planting was delayed with the result that the wheat went into the winter in bad condition to withstand the hazards of the season. A suggestion was made that a meeting should be called at which the old settlers experienced in the hopper invasion of the late 1860's might exchange information for the benefit of all.⁷⁴ No one knew much about grasshopper controls, however, but many thought they did and every conceivable plan of carrying on the hopper war was resorted to in the spring of 1877, and numerous ingenious machines were built. There were some farmers who took a fatalistic view of the calamity and let nature take her course, and during the early stages of the infestation the press indulged in violent denunciations of all who did not participate in the efforts at extermination. The futility of the hysterical campaign brought a change, and the comment was made that a wheat field was cleared by birds: "We are not sure but faith is better than grasshopper machines." With respect to another field, the farmer lost his entire crop of twenty acres: "As fine a crop of young hoppers as anyone could wish . . . as fat and pert as the best of them" on Sunday, but on Thursday all were dead. As the ground was covered with dead insects it was concluded the birds did not get them, the cause was unknown, but—

We have about come to the conclusion that the old settlers were about right in this hopper business, and knew what they were talking about, and that we new comers who have talked fight were off on our wrong foot.⁷⁵

Probably it is wrong to say that the attitude of the old settlers was fatalistic. Possibly they only sensed, without having scientific proof, that in dealing with far-reaching extremes of climatic phenomena there was not much that man could do about it but hang on as best he could until Nature's cycle had changed direction and weather factors had restored the underlying balances among plants, animals and insects. Within certain limits, however, there were cultural practices which might be discovered and observed that would not fight Nature, but rather, would adapt man's operations to

74. *Abilene Chronicle*, November 10, 1876.

75. *Ibid.*, May 4, 1877.

fit with some degree of approximation into the restrictions Nature imposed.

The spectacular aspects of the grasshopper raids have diverted attention from the chinch bug which was currently rated as more widespread and serious in its ravages.⁷⁶ The principal breeding places for this pest were in late maturing spring wheat, and in millet and Hungarian grass. The unusual spring wheat crop of 1877 was the occasion for the special warning not to plant again. In 1879 there was another heavy infestation delaying the planting of winter wheat, and local papers campaigned for weed and grass burning around fields and against the planting of spring wheat and other breeding crops. The *Marion Record* declared that "the chinch bugs have done more damage this year than those exaggerated pests—grasshoppers—ever did. . . ." ⁷⁷ Again in 1880, 1881, 1882, the chinch bugs were the subject of repeated complaint.⁷⁸ A local of 1880 is a gem of humor by means of inverse statement: "The chinch bugs are struggling with the corn crop." Of the three crop hazards, drought was most serious, chinch bugs were second, doing their damage in part independent of drought, and third were grasshoppers, always closely associated with drought cycles.

CULTURAL PRACTICES AND MACHINERY

In reviewing man's adaptations to environment the most conspicuous fact that stands out is the wide disparity between the best knowledge of what should be done and the common practices. During the period of beginnings of farming in the upper Kansas valley a number of basic practices were rather well recognized as necessary to success; early, deep plowing, both spring and fall, for corn and for wheat respectively, early planting of both crops, drilling of wheat east and west rather than broadcasting. The practice evidently fell far short of ideal. Each year comments can be found admonishing farmers that the experience of the current year had demonstrated the necessity of certain or all of these better practices; each year comments can be found recording that farmers were not going to be late with plowing and sowing this year, but the next year and the next, the same was repeated. There can be no statistical determination of how many did follow the practices recognized as best, or how many improved their performance each year

76. *Monthly Reports of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture* . . . August, September, and October, 1877, p. 13.

77. *Abilene Chronicle*, September 12, 1879; *The Marion County Record*, Marion, August 12, 1881.

78. *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, June 24, August 5, 1880; June 30, 1881; *Salina Herald*, August 13, 1881; *Abilene Chronicle*, May 12, 26, 1882.

on the basis of experience, but there can be no doubt that in general improvement, however short of ideal, was more or less continuous.⁷⁹

There was little discussion in the papers of the exact requirements for good plowing or of the types of plows used. T. C. Henry used a 20-inch plow when he began operations in 1873. A formal discussion of plowing in a farmers' institute of the agricultural college January 16, 1878, brought out the consensus among leading farmers participating that deep plowing had limitations; sod-breaking should be about four inches deep; thereafter it was agreed that each year the land might be plowed an inch deeper until a maximum of eight inches was reached, this bringing up the subsoil gradually. A Dickinson county farmer "preferred a sixteen- or eighteen-inch plow to one that cuts less, from the fact that these fail to cover up the weeds and stubble." Marlatt of Riley county, used a sixteen-inch sulky plow pulled by three common horses.⁸⁰ This complete coverage of all trash and an excessive use of the harrow were not challenged during this period, but possibly the slovenly "pioneer farming" so frequently condemned was in this respect more of a virtue in windy Kansas than the good farmers were willing to concede. The most realistic but certainly an inadequate precaution to retard blowing was the admonition to harrow or drill east and west, leaving the ridging crosswise to the prevailing wind. There is no question that the tillage methods contributed to the annual dust storms occurring in every dry year, to the blowing out of the ground root and all of wheat and corn, and to the conditions described so vividly in the locals:

Late sown wheat fields and corn fields that had the stalks raked off were robbed of about three inches of soil and drifted into the hedges and ravines like huge snow drifts. This should be a warning to farmers not to rake their field in winter or to do any fall plowing without seeding to wheat early.⁸¹

One woman estimated the dust fall in her house at 190 pounds from

79. Go ahead and plant as though you never saw a hopper, *Junction City Union*, September 23, 1876; late sowing and wind damage, *Abilene Chronicle*, October 27, 1876; drill wheat, *Salina Herald*, February 24, 1877; drilled wheat worth twice as much as broadcast, *Abilene Chronicle*, May 18, 1877; properly seeded wheat never fails, *Salina Herald*, May 19, 1877; seeding at the right time, *Abilene Chronicle*, June 8, 1877; drill east and west, *Junction City Tribune*, July 19, 1877; proven by experience that wheat should be put in in season, *Abilene Chronicle*, July 20, 1877; deep plowing and drought, *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, January 25, 1878; plow and sow on time, *Salina Herald*, July 20, 1878; many planted late, *ibid.*, November 16, 1878; plowing early, not to be caught this year, *Abilene Chronicle*, June 27, 1879; wide range of yields, plow early, *Abilene Gazette*, June 6, 1879; no two failures in succession, plant early east and west, *ibid.*, August 22, 1879; late corn almost a total failure, *Junction City Union*, September 6, 1879; sowing early to profit by last year's experience, *Salina Herald*, September 20, 1879; sowing completed, *ibid.*, September 20, 1879; late sown wheat poor, *ibid.*, January 31, 1880; late sown wheat coming up, *Junction City Union*, March 6, 1880; value of early plowing and sowing demonstrated, *Abilene Chronicle*, March 12, 1880; plow early not too deep, *ibid.*, June 25, 1880; plowing mostly done, *Salina Herald*, August 14, 1880; deep plowing for corn not approved, *ibid.*, April 6, 1882.

80. *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, January 25, 1878.

81. *Abilene Chronicle*, April 9, 1880.

one storm and another report gave nearly an inch in several houses during a later storm.⁸²

Plows were little discussed, but on occasion the merits of different types found their way into the papers if only as advertisements. In the spring of 1871 the leading implement firm of Junction City featured an assortment of plows listed as breaking, stirring, corn, subsoil, double Michigan, road, grubbing and gang plows.⁸³ In 1872 a gang plow equipped with a three-horse equalizing evener was displayed at Wakefield. The observer reported that one man with this plow could do as much as two men, teams and plows.⁸⁴ More frequently gang plow advertisements showed two teams hitched tandem. In 1879 the grange store sponsored a competition between a Hapgood sulky 16-inch plow and a 14-inch walking plow, the draft being measured with a dynamometer, with the results certified in favor of the sulky, of course.⁸⁵

The Buckeye drill was advertised in Leavenworth in 1865, but the first drill advertisements in the upper Kansas valley papers appeared in 1871 without the maker's name. In the mid-1870's the most widely advertised drill was the D. and H. Rentchlers' IXL hoe drill but later the Buckeye and Hoosier drills were popular.⁸⁶ Van Brunt seeders (not drills) were advertised also. They broadcasted the seed by machine. In 1877 the large-scale importation of drills was a feature of the season, the press recording receipts of dealers by the car load. By August 250 drills were unloaded at Abilene, 100 more were on the way, and at Solomon three to four carloads were received.⁸⁷ The competition was between two types, the hoe and the shoe devices for opening a furrow to receive the seed. The hoe drills were equipped either with wood break pins or spring trip to prevent breakage. Other brands of drills listed during the late 1870's were Dowagic, Lancaster, Triumph, Sucker State, McSherry, Eagle, Superior, Willoughby, Hagerstown and Farmers' Friend.⁸⁸ In 1877 the state board of agriculture attempted to compile information as to the use of the drill, but Dickinson and Saline counties did not report. Riley county reported 60 percent to 80 percent drilled and Geary (Davis) 75 percent to 90 percent drilled.⁸⁹

82. *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, April 23, 1880, Ogden items; *Salina Herald*, April 24, 1880, Poheta items.

83. *Junction City Union*, March 11, 1871.

84. *Ibid.*, April 13, 1872.

85. *Ibid.*, August 9, 1879.

86. *Ibid.*, May 15, 1875; July 29, 1876; *Salina Herald*, May 13, 1876.

87. *Abilene Chronicle*, July 20, August 10, October 26, 1877.

88. *Ibid.*, August 10, October 26, 1877; August 1, 1879; *Abilene Gazette*, June 28, August 23, 1878; *Junction City Union*, September 7, 1878; September 6, 1879.

89. *Monthly Reports of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture* . . . November and December, 1877, pp. 17-23.

The problem of plows and drills aroused much less interest during the wheat boom than harvesting machinery. In the early years the hand-rake or self-rake reapers and the Marsh type harvesters were in general use. The reaper delivered the cut grain in piles on the ground to be bound into bundles by men following the machine. Marsh type harvesters delivered it to a platform where a man riding the machine bound it by hand. In the early 1870's the Buckeye, McCormick, and Walter A. Wood's reapers were advertised in Junction City.⁹⁰ The self-rake device was featured by all these makers. By 1874 volume sales were emphasized in advertising, one firm announcing that by early June the fourth carload of reapers had been ordered. That firm sold the Buckeye, Wood and Marsh makes.⁹¹ In 1875 it was announced that the Marsh harvester would be available with a self-binder, although by mid-June a sample had not arrived but was expected in a few days.⁹² In 1876 the announcement was made that 55 carloads of reapers and mowers would be distributed from Junction City that spring, and Marsh and Wood harvesters, with self-binders were featured in advertisements, the latter make being introduced for the first time.⁹³ By late June, 1877, four Salina firms were credited with sales of all classes of harvesting machines as follows: 65, 75, 40, 100.⁹⁴ These first self-binders used wire bands, but in 1877 a trial of a twine self-binder was announced, the device to be attached to a Beloit harvester.⁹⁵ Apparently the test was premature because the twine binders did not appear regularly until the Marsh gave farmers their choice in 1880, and the Wood and Osborne twine binders gave it competition the next year.⁹⁶ In the meantime the farmers in Salina territory, and much the same was true elsewhere, had seven makes of self-binders to choose from.⁹⁷ In 1879 only self-binders were advertised in the reaper-harvester class. The list of makes which appear in the newspapers of the four counties during this period included the Buckeye, Wood,

90. Junction City *Union*, July 15, 1871; April 13, 1872; May 24, June 14, 1873. When these machines first were used in this vicinity is not known, but the sale was not sufficient apparently to induce the dealers to advertise much at an earlier date. At St. Mary's mission McCormick and other leading makes of tools were used even prior to the organization of Kansas.

91. Junction City *Union*, June 13, 1874.

92. *Ibid.*, May 15, June 12, 1875.

93. *Ibid.*, April 29, June 10, 1876; Abilene *Chronicle*, July 14, 1876, June 1, 1877. The McCormick self-binder was advertised for sale in Abilene in the spring of 1876 and was demonstrated at Wichita, in June, 1876. *Ibid.*, April 21, 1876; June 8, 1877, testimonial on Wichita demonstration.

94. Salina *Herald*, June 23, 1877.

95. *Ibid.*

96. Abilene *Chronicle*, April 2, 1880; May 20, 1881; *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, May 19, 1881; Junction City *Union*, June 4, 1881. The Deering was first mentioned in 1882, *ibid.*, July 1, 1882.

97. Salina *Herald*, June 1, 1878.

Marsh, McCormick, Osborn, Haines Illinois, Locke, Beloit, Adams and French, Deering, Minneapolis, Edwards, and Champion.

THE HEADER

Contrary to the traditions and the historians it was not the reapers, harvesters and binders that made wheat history on the Western prairie and plains. It was the header that should always be identified with the Plains region. In 1874 there were three headers in use in Saline county, and during that season one or more were sold in Dickinson county.⁹⁸ Evidence is not available when they were first introduced. The first identification of a header by make was the Haines Illinois Header, manufactured by P. Weyhrich, Pekin, Ill., and therefore frequently referred to by the maker's name.⁹⁹ Combinations by which one machine might serve two purposes appeared in 1876 when advertisements announced that Haines Harvesters and Harvester Kings might be equipped as headers. Under such an arrangement the machine would be started early as a harvester cutting relatively green wheat and later changed to a header when the wheat was dead ripe and shattered badly in handling, or it could be saved in this way when it was too short to bind into bundles.¹⁰⁰ However plausible the theory of combination machines might be, the idea did not take hold until later and then only as a binder attachment on the header as the basic machine. Still later in the 1920's the mechanical power-driven combine was the union of the thresher and the header making a single machine.

The Randolph header was the principal competitor of the Haines in the early days, the Abilene dealer claiming to have sold over 120 in 1877, but others were the Hodge and the Stickle, and the Lewis chain drive put in its appearance during the header boom.¹⁰¹ The first year of volume header sales in the area seems to have been 1877.

The advantages urged for the header in early years were that it did not have side draft, would cut over rough ground, cut a wider swath, allowed direct stacking and saved a cent per bushel in threshing operations. The one disadvantage admitted was the danger of

98. *Western Home Journal*, Lawrence, July 16, 1874, a report from Saline county. *Junction City Union*, June 20, 1874, a report from Dickinson county. The leading jobbing house in Atchison had been selling Haines headers in Kansas for some years.—*Atchison Weekly Champion and Press*, January 14, 1871.

99. *Junction City Union*, June 10, 1876; *Abilene Chronicle*, June 8, 29, 1877; May 10, 1878, referring to sales there years earlier; April 2, 1880; T. C. Henry, "The Story of a Fenceless Winter-Wheat Field," *The Kansas Historical Collections*, v. IX, pp. 502-506.

100. *Junction City Union*, June 10, 1876; *Salina Herald*, July 7, 1877. An illustration of the Marsh Harvester Header is found in the *Newton Kansan*, May 25, 1876.

101. *Abilene Chronicle*, June 29, 1877; May 20, 1881; May 9, 1884; *Junction City Union*, June 15, 1878; May 28, 1881; July 1, 1882.

sweating in the stack. It is evident that these arguments were derived in part from use of the machine in humid regions, Illinois in particular, where it was early manufactured and used. In dry climate there need be little fear of sweating in the stack unless the wheat was thin on the ground and weedy in consequence. The compelling reasons for using the header were the necessity for speed in cutting the grain which ripened quickly in the dry climate and for which the wide swath was the answer, and the shortness of the wheat for which heading was the only solution. Cheaper operation and saving of hired labor operations were important where a money crop in contrast with subsistence farming was a necessity in farm operations.

In 1874 the wheat ripened suddenly on account of the drought and heat emphasizing in the early stages of the winter-wheat boom the true significance of the header. In 1877 the situation was somewhat similar and again attention was focused upon the header.

The summer of 1879 had a wet harvest in spite of being rated a dry year, and drew the comment that "there will be a great deal of damaged wheat in market this fall, a great many put their wheat up with the header and put it up when wet, but we must all live and learn."¹⁰²

Whatever mistakes have been made in the learning process, the dry years 1880, 1881, confirmed fully the dominant position of the header as the necessary Plains harvesting machine. The drought caused the wheat to head close to the ground, too short to bind, so the rush for headers began in May, 1880. Some wheat was reported to be so short that it was necessary to mow it. By the third week in May one firm in Salina had sold forty headers, another two carloads in two weeks and the cry was for more. One dealer in Abilene sold fourteen in one week. As harvest time arrived farmers were reported frantic. At Lindsborg one report said that the constable had to be called to maintain order. In Salina, "several farmers watched the trains, and when a load came in there was difficulty in getting them up town to set up." From the Fairview neighborhood, field after field was reported to be dead ripe and no headers available to cut them. One farmer visited nine different header men but could get no one to harvest his wheat. He would just have to wait and hope. One farmer cut his field with an old self-rake reaper then picked up the bunches in a header barge and stacked them. He saved his wheat at the rate of six to eight acres per day instead

102. Abilene *Chronicle*, June 27, July 18, 1879, "Aroma Items."

of some thirty acres if he had had a header. From Lyon's creek it was reported that a number of farmers turned their self-binders and harvesters into headers—typical examples of resourcefulness in devising home-made substitutes so characteristic of Plains farmers.¹⁰³ The next season a number of second-hand harvesters, with and without binders, were offered at half price or less, having cut only ten to thirty acres.¹⁰⁴ Toward the close of harvest in 1881 the remark was made that "Dickinson county would have a big elephant on her hands if she undertook to harvest her large fields of wheat without the aid of the header."¹⁰⁵ The minimum standard header crew for a 12-foot cut machine operating with two barges was four horses on the header and two each on the wagons, and if operating with one barge six horses were sufficient, the manpower being six in the first instance and three in the latter. The prevailing sizes of headers used by small farmers were probably 8-foot and 10-foot machines in these early years. The dealers' advertising emphasized that the 8-foot header could be pulled by two horses, and a rural correspondent contrasted the 6-foot binder with a 10-foot header for the same horsepower.¹⁰⁶

The thresher problems did not present factors of such general interest as some other machines because the threshing was a custom operation. Horses provided the power for early threshers, but portable steam engines were mentioned in 1876 and 1877. Nichols and Shepard and Aultman-Taylor steam tractor-powered threshers attracted attention in 1883. The principal makes were J. I. Case, Nichols and Shepard Vibrators, Buffalo Pitts', Champion and Aultman-Taylor; the volume of sales rising with the wheat acreage, 45 machines being sold at Salina alone in 1882.¹⁰⁷

The possibilities of mechanical power for farm equipment had long intrigued the imagination. With the advent of the wire self-binder in 1876, E. W. Hoch saw it at work, the operator riding under the protection of a canvas cover, and was inspired to write a review of the evolution of harvesting machinery; the reaping hook, the cradle, the reaper, the harvester, and finally the self-binder. These represented the past, but in the future "will not steam, or

103. *Ibid.*, May 28, June 4, 18, 25, July 2, 1880; *Salina Herald*, May 22, June 19, 26, 1880; *Junction City Union*, June 19, 1880.

104. *Abilene Gazette*, June 10, 1881.

105. *Abilene Chronicle*, July 15, 1881.

106. *Saline County Journal*, Salina, May 22, 1879; *McPherson Independent*, February 7, 1883.

107. *Junction City Union*, June 3, 10, 1876; May 20, 1882; *Salina Herald*, January 20, June 16, July 14, 1877; August 3, 1882; *Abilene Chronicle*, July 13, 1877; June 21, 1878; June 29, July 13, 1883.

perchance Keeler's motor, propell the ideal machine of the future, and deliver *sacks* of grain where it now deposits bundles?"¹⁰⁸ The wheat boom induced an experiment with a steam plow. Credited with being the first to be introduced into Kansas it was built and shipped from Kokomo, Ind., June 12, to R. Huncheon in the upper Kansas valley. The claim was made that it would plow one acre per hour and would operate day and night:

The revolutions which steam has wrought in transportation, both by water and land, in the utilization of our timber, iron, cotton, etc., is really the history of the growth and development of our country; and now that it grapples with the soil itself, we may reasonably expect results as marked as follow its use in other fields.¹⁰⁹

This anticipation of the era of power farming is interesting, but not important, as the evolution of mechanical efficiency required still another half-century for success.

THE LISTER

The one and only important new tillage implement introduced during this period was associated with corn production, the lister. It might be described as a double plow having a divided moldboard, splitting the slice and turning half each way. Furrows, usually fourteen inches wide plowed at a distance of 42 inches from center to center left the soil ridged between. Corn was planted (drilled) in the bottom of the furrow and cultivation was accomplished by cutting down the ridge gradually, throwing the dirt around the growing corn. In early usage, the grain was sometimes planted by a separate operation, or the drilling attachment might be built on the machine and the whole process be accomplished at one operation. In view of the importance of the new tool, it should be noted that its introduction was unannounced, its presence was discussed in the press only after it had been used for some years. Prof. E. M. Shelton of the Kansas State Agricultural College remarked in the spring of 1881 that listers had been in use in that section for two or three years, which meant the first machines had been introduced about 1878 or 1879.

On occasion of a trip from Manhattan to Topeka he reported his observations that between Topeka and Silver Lake a large proportion of the fields were listed. When asked for a description of the lister Shelton summarized the advantages to be reduction of cost to one-fourth or one-third of other methods, increased yield and

108. *The Marion County Record*, Marion Centre, June 30, 1876.

109. *Junction City Union*, June 23, 1877, from the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times*.

greater resistance to dry weather. And to meet another kind of criticism so often directed at listing corn, he insisted that it was not necessarily a bad or shiftless method just because it involved little labor.¹¹⁰

In 1882 reports favorable to listing came from Saline and Dickinson counties, good results and cheaper.¹¹¹ The experience of a Brown county user was reprinted in the *Chronicle*. He preferred the lister with the drill separate. The lister was pulled with three horses on an evener that permitted the outside horse to walk in the furrow. He drilled immediately after listing. The method of cultivation was to harrow the ridges, driving the horses on the ridges. The sections of the harrow were fastened to a plank to prevent them from dipping into the furrow. When the harrow no longer served the purpose he used a four-shovel cultivator, attaching an inverted trough-shaped guard made of two boards to prevent covering the small corn.¹¹²

In different parts of the state and in different types of soil the lister was used, with conflicting reports of results, but out of the exchanges a few additional principles emerged: The lister worked well in sandy, porous and well-drained soil; in dry years the corn being rooted in the bottom of the furrow resistance to drought was definitely in its favor; weed seeds were thrown away from the planted corn, making it easier to keep clean. The ridge, crosswise to the prevailing south wind, protected the tender plants and resisted blowing of the soil.¹¹³

The most serious handicap to the use of the lister was that no tool was available which was adapted especially to the cultivation and leveling of listed ground. A lister cultivator was exhibited at the state fair in 1883 and in 1886 reference was made to the patenting of a sled for the purpose. This sled consisted of two runners five feet long made of 2" x 6" lumber and set at the width of the furrow. To the rear end mounted on a crossbar were two curved knives set with a forward pitch to throw the dirt toward the furrow, and a second pair of knives as fastened to the outside of the runners in such a position as to cut the weeds growing on the shoulders of the ridge. Of course the driver rode on a seat at the

110. *The Industrialist*, Manhattan, May 14, June 4, 1881.

111. *Salina Herald*, January 21, 1882; *Abilene Chronicle*, April 7, 1882.

112. *Ibid.*

113. *Kansas City (Mo.) Live-stock Indicator*, May 3, December 27, 1883; March 11, 18, 25, April 8, 15, 1886; February 24, 1887; *Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, for the Quarter Ending March 31, 1887*, pp. 24, 25, 27-29.

rear of the sled, adding weight to force the knives into the ground.¹¹⁴ Thus far the lister was used only for corn, but once the Plains farmer had become fully acquainted with this method of soil tillage it was only a matter of time until experiments were made with it for wheat culture.

114. Kansas City (Mo.) *Live-stock Indicator*, April 15, 1886.

(Part II to be Published in the February Issue)

Bypaths of Kansas History

INDIAN WARFARE IN 1840

The following article from the *Arkansas State Gazette*, Little Rock, April 7, 1841, describes a Kansas Indian attack on a Pawnee encampment somewhere in the Republican river area, either in present northern Kansas or southern Nebraska:

FROM THE WESTERN FRONTIER OF MISSOURI.—From the *St. Louis Gazette* of the 20th ult. we learn that a company (F) of the 1st regiment of dragoons, stationed at Fort Leavenworth, with Capt. [E.] Tremor commanding, and Dr. Kennedy, U. S. A., returned on the 1st ult. from a visit to the Kansas Indians, residing on the Kansas river.

This detachment was sent out on the 17th ultimo, on the requisition of Maj. [R. W.] Cummins, to assist him in making payment of the annuity due to the Kansas Indians, and to take from them certain prisoners captured from the Pawnees (Republics) on a recent war excursion into the Pawnee country. They recovered all the prisoners to the number of eleven, women and children, whom they brought to Fort Leavenworth, to be restored in due time to their own tribe. The history of the capture of the prisoners by the Kansas is interesting as showing the excessive cruelty and dastardly character of Indian warfare.

It seems that sometime in December last, the Kansas, or Caw Indians, hearing that an encampment of the Pawnees were on a buffalo hunt at some distance from the remainder of their tribe, gave up their own anticipated hunt and organized themselves into a war party, with their principal chief at their head. They entered the Pawnee country and laid in ambush near the ill-fated encampment until they saw the Pawnee warriors, numbering but 17, depart for their hunting ground. The Kansas warriors, 65 in all, then commenced a murderous fire upon the defenceless women and children, which they continued until they supposed all within the encampment had been killed.—On entering the scene of carnage they tomahawked and scalped more than seventy of their victims—they found twelve (six women and as many children) unhurt, whom they decided to retain as prisoners. One of the women, however, determined not to be taken alive, and suddenly springing at the nearest warrior, she seized him with a grasp of a tigress by the throat, and bore him to the earth. It was only when her arms were severed from her body that she relinquished her grasp—she was then dispatched, and her scalp added another bloody trophy to those yet reeking at their belts.

An act of more atrocious cruelty and shameless cowardice has seldom come to our notice; the murder of an entire village of defenceless women and children by a band of savages—and we are gratified to learn that the Kansas are living in constant dread of being attacked by the Pawnees. It is highly probable that before summer we shall hear of dire punishment having been inflicted upon these wretches by that fierce and warlike tribe.

On the 5th inst. Lt. [Chas. F.] Ruff, of the 1st regiment of dragoons, with a small detachment of men, left the fort to convey the Pawnee prisoners to Bellevue, where they will meet their missionaries and some members of their own tribe.

WESTWARD BOUND

From the New York *Daily Tribune*, July 8, 1852.

ON THE PLAINS, 400 miles out from St. Joseph— }
100 west of Fort Kearny, Tuesday, June 1, 1852 }

Having met a returning emigrant to-day from Fort Laramie, and feeling a good ways off from home, I take this opportunity to send you a word, informing you that I am yet on the turf, and in running order, although not in as good order as I could desire. The cholera is the general topic among the emigrants, spreading consternation and alarm from one train to another. Many a strong arm and iron constitution, that were boasting yesterday of their strength, to-day are left on the plains without shroud or coffin.

The cholera originated on the Missouri river, among the emigrants, on board the steamboat *Honduras*, which lost some seven passengers on her trip up to St. Joseph and some 20 or 30 died a few days after leaving here. There are but few but what have heard of the Missouri river, and few know what a miserable, dirty, crooked stream it is, where sand o'er sand, and snags o'er snags arise. Sometimes the boatman on the bow, throwing his lead, cries out *three feet scant*, and a few rods farther on, *no bottom*.

Missouri has the appearance of being a fine state, and there are many good-hearted people in it. It seems singular to a Northeastern man that so great a state should have been so long contented with no other thoroughfare of any kind on which to travel. We passed one boat that had blown up, another snagged, many on sand bars, &c. Taking all things into account, it is not good for anything at all. It is to be hoped a railroad will soon be got through to some place, if it terminates at St. Joseph. It is also to be hoped that some landlords will take charge of the tables and provide something to eat at the hotels.

We have now been 18 days on the plains, amid the greatest show in the world. The train is estimated to be 700 miles long, composed of all kinds of people from all parts of the United States, and some of the rest of mankind, with lots of horses, mules, oxen, cows, steers and some of the feathered creation, moving along about 15 or 20 miles per day; all sorts of vehicles from a coach down to a wheel barrow; ladies on horseback, dressed out in full-blown Bloomers; gents on mules, with their Kossuth hats and plumes, galloping over the prairies, making quite an equestrian troupe and a show ahead of anything Barnum ever got up. The plains are a pleasant place to travel; excellent roads—equal to any of our Eastern plank roads in dry weather, and were it not for the sick and the dying, that everywhere meet our eye, and the vast number of graves along the road, the journey would be a pleasant one. As near as I can ascertain by observation, there are about 80 graves to the 100 miles so far; that is, new ones. The old ones are nearly obliterated and their places no longer known to man. The Indians are numerous and somewhat troublesome, but we have had no battles so far. Our train is moving and I must close for this time. When I have a convenient season I will write again.

Yours truly,
SETH N. DOTY.

SLAVERY IN KANSAS

A news item and advertisement from the *Proslavery Squatter Sovereign*, of Atchison, September 9, 1856. Presumably the Negroes were not recovered for the advertisement ran six months.

NEGROES DECAMPED.—Two negroes belonging to Messrs. Frederick & Cabell were decoyed from this place on Tuesday night, taking with them two valuable horses. Five hundred dollars reward is offered for their apprehension. See advertisement.

\$500 REWARD

RAN AWAY from the Subscribers on the night of September 9th, two Negro Boys, Ned and Harrison.

NED is about 18 years old, stout and well built, about 5 feet eight inches high, and weighs about 170 pounds. At the time of his leaving was dressed in brown velvet coat.

HARRISON is a bright Mulatto, about five feet four inches high, weighs about 120 lbs., is about 16 years old, and was rather shabbily dressed.

Said Negroes took with them two Horses.

One black, six years old, branded H. on left hip, quite thin, about 15½ hands high.

One Claybank, dark main and tail, rather bushy, 6 years old, about 15½ hands high—paces.

Five hundred dollars reward will be given for the apprehension and safe return of the Negroes and Horses, or \$250 for the recovery of either of the Negroes and Horses.

A. J. FREDERICK,

R. H. CABELL.

Atchison, K. T.

26-tf.

DEBUNKING THE INDIAN OF 1860

From the *Topeka Tribune*, March 3, 1860.

Last Monday, the Kaw Indians gave a war dance in our city. Many of the Indians were arrayed in war costume, and made an appearance ludicrous in the extreme. One wore an otter skin cap, with horns about eight inches in length upon each side of the head. Two wore around their necks collars of bear claws, and two others were dressed in buckskin suits, profusely covered with fringes of the same material, and which streamer-like, trailed a foot behind. All of the dancers were painted; some black with streaks of red, some altogether red, some with blue in streaks, and one, a Comanche, probably through some freak peculiar to his position or tribe, was painted a ghastly pale yellow. The dance was conducted by about twenty persons, with about ten or twelve more sitting in a circle, and around which, in slow procession, the dancers moved. In the circle were seated the musicians, who kept time and made a sort of music by beating upon drums constructed of raw-hide, while all kept time and joined in a kind of low, dirge-like chant, with an occasional Ugh! Ugh! by some of the braves. To us, the scene was not at

all like the glowing descriptions of war dances, which we read in books of Indian legends, and descriptions, also, given us by those who have witnessed such scenes among the warlike tribes of western Kansas and Texas. The activity, the grace and lofty bearing were sadly wanting. The stoical look of indifference, so characteristic of the American Indian, was all that remained 'o redeem them from the degeneracy to which they have declined. . . .

BUFFALO HUNTING NEAR JUNCTION CITY

From the Junction City *Statesman*, October 13, 1860.

BUFFALO HUNTING.—This sport is becoming quite popular. Everybody and all their relations are indulging. Men and women, married and single, take to it like a duck to water, or a hog to a mud-hole. Junction is nearly depopulated and has been all the fall, caused by this unprecedented rush to see the "monarch of the prairies." There's no one seriously injured yet, but we have some hopes that the news of a fatal accident will reach us by the next express—we mean, of course, fatal to the buffalo. They are grazing now within thirty miles of Junction—just one-half day's ride. All who wish to get a glimpse had better go now. We shall start in the morning on bull back! Who wants to ride behind?

FIREMEN'S BALL

From *The Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, May 5, 1872.

The citizens in the neighborhood of Kimeo, Washington county, were in great danger one day last week from a prairie fire, and the men and women turned out in force, subdued the fire at a late hour in the evening, and then, securing the services of a fiddler, they spent several hours in the giddy mazes of the dance, right upon the blackened prairie.

DEALER'S CHOICE

From *The Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, June 16, 1872.

Game is abundant in Ellsworth just now. Buffalo, draw poker, antelope, old sledge, venison, faro, quails, billiards, rabbits, euchre, elk and keno are the prevailing varieties.

A WICHITA COURT SCENE OF 1875

From the Girard *Press*, October 21, 1875.

While a northern attorney was visiting in Wichita he dropped into the court room to see how the law was administered in that locality. A placard above the judge's seat read: "No smoking allowed," but the judge, nine of the jurymen, and half of the attorneys were smoking pipes or cigars.

UNAFRAID OF COMPETITION

From the *Eureka Herald*, June 15, 1876.

Not many days ago a young man applied to the probate court for license to marry one of Greenwood's fair daughters. The judge issued the document for the usual fee and the swain went on his way rejoicing. A day or two later another young man came in and also applied for license. The judge went to work to make it out, but when he came to the lady's name the young man mentioned the same damsel that No. 1 had obtained license to marry. The judge told him that one license with her name in it was out, and that she couldn't well marry both of them. No. 2 hesitated a moment and then said he wanted a license anyhow, it wouldn't do any harm. It was made out and he departed, but before many hours passed he came back to the judge's office with the young lady, and then and there the twain were made one flesh. And now No. 1 has a license to sell at half price.

LEGS WERE PAINTED IN 1876, TOO

From the *Inland Tribune*, Great Bend, September 2, 1876.

Sioux squaws do not wear striped stockings. Three streaks of green paint are cooler and cheaper.

WHEN BAT MASTERSON DIDN'T KEEP THE PEACE

From the *Dodge City Times*, June 9, 1877.

Bobby Gill done it again. Last Wednesday was a lively day for Dodge. Two hundred cattle men in the city; the gang in good shape for business; merchants happy, and money flooding the city, is a condition of affairs that could not continue in Dodge very long without an eruption, and that is the way it was last Wednesday. Robert Gilmore was making a talk for himself in a rather emphatic manner, to which Marshal [L. E.] Deger took exceptions, and started for the dog house with him. Bobby walked very leisurely—so much so that Larry felt it necessary to administer a few paternal kicks in the rear. This act was soon interrupted by Bat Masterson, who wound his arm affectionately around the marshal's neck and let the prisoner escape. Deger then grappled with Bat, at the same time calling upon the bystanders to take the offender's gun and assist in the arrest. [Marshal] Joe Mason appeared upon the scene at this critical moment and took the gun. But Masterson would not surrender yet, and came near getting hold of a pistol from among several which were strewed around over the sidewalk, but half a dozen Texas men came to the marshal's aid and gave him a chance to draw his gun and beat Bat over the head until the blood flew upon Joe Mason so that he kicked, and warded off the blows with his arm. Bat Masterson seemed possessed of extraordinary strength, and every inch of the way was closely contested, but the city dungeon was reached at last, and in he went. If he had got hold of his gun before going in there would have been a general killing.

The fastidious Col. Norton fell next. He ranks next to Bat Masterson in point of courage, being somewhat more cautious and much more inclined to

make a bloodthirsty talk. He is said to be tolerably handy with his gun, and fair to middling at shoulder hitting. Norton had been accused of "ways that were dark and tricks that were vain" in a poker game, by a Texan, and several other Texas men "took a hand" in the game of talk which followed. Norton soon discovered that the gang was oversized, and amiably went against the booze joint for the house. But the flowing bowl raised his courage above all cautionary measures and he gave it out solid that he was a fighter and thirsted for blood. Sim Holstein, a cattle drover, quietly gave it as his opinion that Mr. Norton couldn't fight very much; that there were several men in town he could not lick—Sim himself, for instance. A light-weight drover by the name of Lee then interfered and claimed the fight for himself. Norton and Lee then had a little scuffle, which was soon interrupted by the police. Larry soon after espied Norton in a crowd recommending himself as a fighter, and ordered him to disperse. Norton proudly reminded Mr. Deger that he was a sovereign citizen of Dodge City, and as such had certain inalienable rights. For answer Mr. Deger promptly marched him to the dog house.

Ed. Masterson [a newly-appointed marshal] accomplished his first official act in the arrest of Bobby Gilmore the same afternoon.

Next day Judge Frost administered the penalty of the law by assessing twenty-five and costs to Bat, ten to Norton and five to Bobby.

The boys are all at liberty now.

PLAYFUL NIMRODS OR THE HAZARDS OF RAILROADING

From the *Atchison Patriot*, October 13, 1877.

Yesterday, while a train was going from Waterville to Washington, a party of hunters flagged the engineer to stop. Conductor Murphy rang his bell to go on, whereupon the party began to throw stones and mud at the train, and the train men replied with coal. One of the party got very much excited over the fun and discharged his gun at the train, and the result was, Jimmy Griffin, representative of McPike & Allen, who was on board, got thirty-two bird shot in his leg. He came into Atchison today. His wound is not considered dangerous but it will lay him up for a few days. Tommy Plunkett did the shooting, but it was not with evil intent.

A WILD BED FELLOW

From the *Barbour County Mail*, Medicine Lodge, October 24, 1878.

A thrilling incident in the neighborhood of Lodi, occurring last night, the night of the 19th of October, caused quite a sensation. Mr. Millis, who is living in a tent on his claim, was awakened about midnight by some disturbance, to find, to his infinite surprise, a large animal of feline specie, on his bed, with his fore paw upon his breast. After recovering somewhat from the sudden surprise caused by a realization of his situation, he reached for a butcher's knife which he always keeps at hand. A terrible fight ensued, in

which M's large and valuable dog came to his rescue; thus fortunately reënforced, the animal was speedily dispatched. Mr. Dollar who helped to skin the monster, says that it is the largest of the kind he ever saw. We do not know the animal; some call it cougar, others a catamount, at all events I should say rather an uncomfortable bed fellow, let him be what he may. . . .

THE CONTROVERSY RAGES YET

From the *Atwood Pioneer*, January 29, 1880.

The newspapers of Kinsley are debating the question as to which is the least harmful at church socials, dancing or kissing games.

BLITZ TRANSPORTATION, 1881

From *The Independent*, Kirwin, May 11, 1881.

Quite a sensation was aroused among the people of town yesterday by the appearance on the square of a team of elks, being driven to a buggy. They are the property of Tom Sides and Charlie Parks, and are both females, aged four and six years. They make a perfectly matched team, except in size, but time will remedy this defect and make them a very valuable driving team, capable of one hundred miles a day.

From the *Norton County People*, Norton, December 22, 1881.

The other day two oxen passed through Glen Elder, all saddled, one with a lady rider, the other with a gentleman.

THE UNAPPRECIATED PRESS

From the *Cawker City Free Press*, July 28, 1881.

THE DEAD-HEAD EDITOR—The following from an exchange is a pretty fair version:

"One of the beauties and charms of the editor's life is his dead-heading it on all occasions. No one who has never tasted of the sweets of this bliss can begin to take in its glory and happiness. He does a hundred dollars worth of advertising for a railroad company, gets a pass for a year, rides twenty-five dollars worth, and then is looked upon as a dead-head. He 'puffs' a concert ten dollars worth and gets one dollar in complimentaries, and is thus passed 'free.' If the hall be crowded he is begrudged the room he occupies, for if his complimentaries were paying tickets the troupe would be so much more in pocket. He puffs a church festival free, to any extent, and does the poster printing at half rates, and rarely gets a 'thank you' for it. It goes as part of his duty as an editor. He does more work for a town and community than the rest of the population put together, and gets cursed for it. O, it is a sweet thing to be an editor."

THE CITY BEAUTIFUL

From *The Times*, Clay Center, July 19, 1883.

Our street commissioner has had a mower running the past week on the streets of this city, and they now present a clean, tidy appearance.

THE BEGINNING OF A WESTERN TOWN

The enthusiasm of Editor George H. Hand who started the *Ludell Settler* in Rawlins county on October 18, 1884, was as boundless as the prairies around him. Five columns of the first number were devoted to news items relating to Ludell's people, problems and prospects. Among these were the following:

The type for the first number of *The Settler* was set in a sod-house, with the fleas and bed-bugs having a fall round-up on all the territory below our shirt-collar.

A wind-mill in town is needed.

The dance in honor of the opening of the *Ludell Settler* building was well attended, and passed off in fine shape. As an index to the morality of the community, we will state that not a drop of anything intoxicating was indulged in; in fact, not a drop was to be had.

There's no grave yard in Ludell, and probably will be no need for one in the next ten years, unless an accident happens.

The mammoth milch cow staked in front of *The Settler* office is an advertisement for the nutritious buffalo grass with which every acre of uncultivated land in Rawlins county is covered. We will soon be compelled to either shorten the rope or feed anti-fat.

Five new buildings put up within two weeks, five more contracted for.

We buy, sell or trade anything that walks on four legs and eats buffalo grass.

No papers sent out of the county unless paid for in advance, Oberlin excepted.

We want one hundred shocks of sorghum, on subscription. Wood of any length, green or dry, is just as good as cash on subscription—in fact, better. Rye, corn, hay, millet, potatoes, eggs, chickens, etc., will be credited on subscription to *The Settler*. We want to place the paper within the reach of all, and shall endeavor to make it sufficiently interesting as a local paper to cause a healthy demand for it. Any one with a dollar and a half can act as a special agent.

The sound dry ash wood delivered to us by A. C. Blume makes us feel like a christian.

The school bonds have been accepted, and the new frame schoolhouse will be erected as soon as the lumber can be hauled.

A pocket knife presented to us by George Colby, a year or two ago, is now used as a razor; it's good stuff—so is George.

Prairie dogs are numerous within thirty yards of our office. A few years hence they will command a premium as curiosities.

One threshing machine, between Ludell and Herndon, recently had work for seven weeks in sight of where it was then staked.

Richard Riley fell from a house the other day in company with a ridge-log. Dick wasn't hurt much and the ridge-log is recovering.

Remember, no lots in Ludell are sold for speculation. They are disposed of only to those who intend to build and become residents.

We have adopted as a brand a two-inch letter H (full-faced gothic). We do not believe in the partial cremation of cattle in branding.

Whether or not it is polite to drink out of the same bucket after your pony depends entirely on the distance the water has to be drawn.

Thursday, October 16, 1884, we are setting type in the open air at sunrise while the carpenters are finishing up our office in handsome shape.

The editor of *The Settler* will buy the four lots on which the old sod school-house stands. The object is to secure the old ground for the planting of fine shrubbery.

On Sunday afternoon we counted twenty-seven men in front of one store in Ludell, eighteen of whom were land-seekers. They come in squads.

Medical men have long made a mistake in regard to hydrophobia. We have been married seven weeks and find it's the sight of an empty water bucket that does the work.

No more sod houses should be allowed inside the town limits. While admissible for stock sheds, they are outrageous in appearance as dwellings in a town like Ludell.

In Indianapolis, when we were young, Henry Ward Beecher urged our father to educate the present editor of this paper for the ministry. How our father missed it!

Peter Kesselring has our thanks for the return of a calf lost from a bunch being brought up from Oberlin. It was too fine-haired to be running around without a brand.

Think of it, ye slaves on morning papers! The editor of this paper takes in more fresh air in one minute than is to be found in the composing room of a daily paper in a natural lifetime.

The arrival of our new dress from Philadelphia (nonpareil and brevier, with light-faced celtics for display type) will enable us to make *The Settler* as handsome a county paper as there is in the state of Kansas.

One hundred tons of sorghum is nothing uncommon for one man in this county. It is a sure crop, can be sown broadcast and a second crop cut. It's a shiftless man indeed that can't raise plenty of feed for his stock in Rawlins county.

The new schoolhouse should be furnished with the most improved bent-wood furniture. Ludell wants no second-class articles, to cast away in a year. In fact we want nothing second-class in the town. If it is only a pig-pen or a chicken-coop, build it right, and then paint it.

Daniel Freeman made the first homestead entry in the United States five miles northwest of Beatrice, Neb. He has again used good judgment by taking a timber claim in Rawlins county, where the opportunities now are just as favorable as they were around Beatrice when he located there.

A really good shoemaker (none other need apply) will receive support, also a donation of a lot or two, by applying, prepared to go to work, at once. . . .

The little five column occasional up the creek is wormy; its issues are not regular enough for journalistic health. Neither the county seat nor a division of the county bother us. We have joined hands with live men for the purpose of building a live town, and intend to succeed. We will endeavor to advertise the entire county in the best shape, yet shall not be led into a controversy that would give the benefit of our circulation to a paper of irregular issue.

Strangers arriving at the rate of ten a day. They all take land, and seven-eighths of them will become actual residents. They are all financially prepared to take advantage of the rare opportunities offered for soon living in opulent ease in a rich, healthy, country; water as pure as crystal and air as refined as nature's most improved machinery can make. The climate is a cross between Florida and Maine. Society is a mixture of Western vim with New England purity. Come and see the country and people, is all we ask.

The location of Ludell is lovely; second bottom, with an abundance of good well water at a depth of twenty feet. On the south is the Beaver, with its beautiful banks crowded with timber. The scene to the east of town, the stream making a dozen lovely curves within sight, is bewitchingly beautiful. Add to the above scene countless knowls capped with coveys of bright and shining grain stacks, and some idea can be formed of the richness of the country adjoining the stream. And yet there is vacant land within a mile or two!

. . . When a country editor realizes the fact that he doesn't know it all, and accords merit where it belongs, correspondents will step to the front and assist in making a paper. We are even now looking, and probably won't be compelled to look long, for assistance with more brains than we possess.

A NEW DEPARTURE

From the *Oskaloosa Independent*, April 7, 1888.

OSKALOOSA TO BE GOVERNED BY WOMEN OFFICIALS.—As is well known by the world at large now, Oskaloosa elected Mary D. Lowman mayor and Mrs. Morse, Mrs. Balsley, Mrs. Hamilton, Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. Golden, members of the council, at the election last Monday. The action was taken in good faith, in the belief that needed public improvements would be pushed thro' better by the ladies. Notoriety was not sought or expected, and a very brief Associated Press dispatch announced the result. Then, suddenly, our lady officials found themselves famous, and the name of our little city is on everybody's lips. The like had never before been done in the wide world, and telegrams, letters and special reporters have deluged us, while interviews and photographs are in great demand.

Our good-looking and intelligent but retiring and modest city officials have been sorely amazed and perplexed at the turn of affairs, but finally concluded to good-naturedly bear the honors thrust upon them and make the best of the novel situation. Accordingly they took the oath of office yesterday, and will bravely assume the responsibilities made doubly great by the fact that the eyes of the whole country are upon them.

The ladies have no light task before them, and they should have the utmost encouragement and assistance from all good citizens. We believe they will demonstrate that they can wisely govern the city, and that we will have something to show for their work at the end of the year.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Dr. Ernst F. Pihlblad's reminiscences of Bethany College have been appearing in a series of articles in *The Kansas Conference Lutheran*, Lindsborg, under the title, "By-Gone Days." The series began with the issue of September, 1941.

Stories of interest to Kansans in recent issues of the *Pony Express Courier*, of Placerville, Cal., include: "Lawyers Milk 'Em Dry in Marysville," a lawsuit to determine the ownership of a twenty-five dollar calf, by Gerald F. Harrington, December, 1941, and January, 1942; "Legend of Father Padilla's Coffin," by H. E. Whiteside, February; "Was Wild Bill Hickok a Hero, or Murderer?" by J. G. Ellenbecker and Guy Giffen, and a biographical sketch of Albert Lowe, plainsman, by George J. Remsburg, August.

Among recent articles of historical interest in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* are the following: "New Fellowship Fund Will Crown Olin Templin's Long Service to K. U.," by Theodore M. O'Leary, December 6, 1941; a biographical sketch of W. C. Simons, publisher of the Lawrence *Journal-World*, who was completing fifty years of newspaper work in Lawrence, December 10; "Two Kansans [Henry Ware Allen and Carleton Beals] View the Good Old Days With Contrasting Emotions," by H. V. B., February 6, 1942; "Bicycle Age Dawned in Kansas City With an Odd Sight Sixty Years Ago," by Lynne B. Green, February 21; "A Double Lynching With Eight Hanged Only a Part of the Excitement Recalled by J. M. Satterthwaite in the Days of the Augusta-Eldorado County Seat War," by Paul I. Wellman, March 15; "Ben Hibbs Takes Pretty Prairie Faith to *Saturday Evening Post*," by John Shively, March 30; "A 15-Year-Old Bride [Mary Easton Sibley] at Ft. Osage Became the County's First Lady," by Frances W. Kerr, April 3; "The Wisdom of Bishop Wise Uplifts a State," by Paul I. Wellman, April 5; "Army's New Chief of Operations [Maj. Gen. Dwight Eisenhower] Headed For the Navy From Kansas," by Duke Shoop, April 11; "Ft. Riley's Cooking School Makes Mass Feeding an Art," by Anna Margaret Riepma, April 12; "Only Mulberry Trees Outlive the Colony of Grand Dreams a Frenchman [Ernest Valetton de Boissiere] Set Up in Kansas," by Paul I. Wellman, April 19; "The Victory Books Are Well Used by Our Soldiers at Ft. Riley," by Kenneth S. Davis, May 1; "Ten Men, All Active, in the Unbroken Line of Kan-

sas Governors Reaching Back 30 Years," by Alvin S. McCoy, May 3; "That Old Lady River Cimarron—She's Costly and Unruly," by Paul I. Wellman, May 17; "New Chief of General Staff School [Maj. Gen. Karl Truesdell] in Step With Tempo of Modern War," by E. R. S., May 18; "Women Students, as Well as Men, Turn to War Activities at the University of Kansas," by Alvin S. McCoy, May 24; "Memorial Day [1902] Brought [body of Col. Henry Leavenworth] the Founder of Ft. Leavenworth Back to Post," by E. R. S., May 30; "Echoes of Its Bloody County Seat War Still Heard in a Kansas Town, and Hugoton, Atop World's Largest Gas Reservoir, Could Supply Power and Natural Products for War Today," by Paul I. Wellman, and "Kansas Girl [Margaret Lowe] Works State's Native Woods," May 31; "Shawnee Mission, Indian School of 1840 Now Restored, to Be Open to Public Next Sunday," by Edward R. Schauffler, and "Now at 92, Mrs. [Bertrand] Rockwell Tells of a Lincoln Parade in Philadelphia, Civil War Days in Indiana and of a Happy Exciting Girlhood in Kansas Where General Custer and His Young Officers Were Her Friends and Beaux," by Paul I. Wellman, June 7; "Dwight Eisenhower Is a Wide Rover But He Always Returns to Abilene," by Henry Van Brunt, June 27.

Victor Murdock probably writes more articles about Kansas history than anybody in the state. From February through August, 1942, he printed the following in the *Wichita (Evening) Eagle*: "Land Around Wichita That Was Once Property of Osage Indian Tribe," February 2; "Ferment Here When the Territory of Cimarron That Is No Man's Land and Oklahoma Were Both Pressing Congress For Openings," February 3; "Some Terms From Indians That Have Survived Here and Some That Have Not," February 5; "Wichita Lumber Yards Once Hauled Their Stocks Overland From Emporia," February 9; "City Building Wonders That Were Witnessed by the Late Will Hoover," February 10; "Official Records Which Show That the Exodus [of the Wichitas] From This Place [site of Wichita] Was Attended by Considerable Difficulty at the Start," February 12; "Floods in the Spring of 1867 and a Terrible Plague in the Summer of That Year Which Beset the People Then Living at This Place [Wichita]," February 13; "When Wichita Slipped Out of Its Earliest Era Into an Embryonic City," February 14; "Memorable Night Here Now Seventy Years Ago When First Train Came In," February 23; "When Shift to Motor-Car Among the Wichitans Introduced a New Era," February 24; "Homes of the Wichitans Described by a Visitor From New York in 1869," February 25;

"Meaning of Some Words Used by Wichita Indians Given by Grant Foreman," February 26; "Part Wichita Played as a Deserted Village During an Early Period," March 2; "Giant Sioux Visitors Drew the Fulsome Praise of the Early Wichitans," March 5; "Part in a Revolution in Milling Wichita Had in the Spring of 1880," March 11; "Wichita's First Experience, Sixty Years Ago, With a Simultaneous Bull Market in the City and on the Countryside," March 19; "Payment on Account One Early Day Merchant Carried Home in Silver," March 20; "Difference of Wichita's Attitude Between the Reception of Its First [Railroad] Line in 1872 and Its Fourth in 1887," March 24; "Country Around Wichita Plunged Into Fruit at the Very Beginning," April 1; "Some Changes in Name Employed by Wichitans for Land to the South," April 2; "One of the Few Crops Kansas Farmers Dropped Was Known as Rice Corn," April 3; "Future Pork Production Not So Dependent on Corn in Coming Days as in Past," April 4; "Day When Pair of Boots Instead of Set of Tires Called For Conservation," April 6; "Hotel in Boom Town [Cash City in southwestern Kansas] Named for Pioneer Here Ended as Ranch Headquarters," April 9; "Old Settlers Society First Organized Here 65 Years Ago," April 11; "Tenth Kansas Regiment of Volunteers Recalled by James Patton's Letters," April 15; "Early Wichitans Given Civil Government Study by Oklahoma Invasion," April 16; "What Occupied Wichita in Month of April, 1888, Year Before Oklahoma," April 17; "Evolution of Avenue Recalled by the Death of a Pioneer, Mr. [David H.] Miller," April 18; "When Oil for the Guns of the Citizens Here Was Matter of Importance," April 21; "Near End of His Life [David L.] Payne Had No Thought Save That of Oklahoma," April 22; "Less Than a Quarter of a Century Ago Arthur Wood Found Wild Life in One Prairie Section Still Abundant," April 23; "Record of First Election [1868] Here Written by Citizen [Milo B. Kellogg] Who Cast Initial Ballot," April 24; "Prairies Proved Magnet That Attracted Wealth Here From Great Britain," April 28; "Trip Around a Circle Pioneer Wichitan Took Occupied a Whole Year," May 1; "Wildest Prairie Night in This Region's History as a Pioneer Recalls It," May 5; "Evolution in Millinery From Styles Prevailing When Wichita Started," May 6; "Four-Room Cottage Type Had Popularity in Wichita in First Building Boom," May 7; "Wichita's Early Flood Recalled by the Threat of High Water Last Week," May 11; "Black Powder Plentiful and Cheap in This City in the Pioneer Period," May 13; "When City Library Here Boasted That It Had

Over 600 Volumes on Hand," May 14; "Wichita Fair Feature Offered by Indian Tribes Proved to Be Big Success," May 16; "Pioneering in Fruits by Wichita Citizens in First Days Here," May 27; "Outlook Over Valley Never Failed to Inspire Pioneers Arriving Here," May 28; "James Armour's Memory Retained Vivid Details of Early Filling Station," May 29; "When Railroad Went on From Wichita Southwards Towards the New Oklahoma," June 1; "Trouble That Appeared for Hard Russian Wheat When Introduced Here," June 2; "First Grand Opera Here Had a Two-Night Stand Sixty-Five Years Ago," June 5; "When 'Arkansas Traveler' Halted Wichita's Hope of River's Navigability," June 8; "How Turning a Corner Led to the Beginning of Southbound Movement," June 20; "Visit With Ed Tinker, Father of Major General, Clarence, Reported Missing," June 23; "Process of Conversion of Bluestem Into Beef on Big Prairie Pastures," June 25; "One Favorite Phrase With Early Wichitans Used in Sale of Land," July 1; "Prairie Had Industry One Hundred Years Ago in Purifying Its Salt," July 2; "Early Fourth of July Was Held in This Area Before Wichita Was Here," July 4; "Child of the Prairies [Lorene Squire] Whose Love of Marshes Found a Voice in Art," July 6; "Record of a Single Hunt in Which Bag Contained Sixteen Hundred Head," July 7; "Camps in Hunting Season on the Early Prairies Could Be Very Colorful," July 8; "Earliest Sports Event in Wichita Vicinity of Which There Is Record," July 15; "Units of Organization That Helped This City on Its Way at the Start," July 16; "One Early Day Printer and the Trips He Took in This Country A-Foot," July 17; "Cowboy Dress Change to Be Seen in West With Passage of Time," July 18; "Civil War Refugees of the Seminole Tribe Weathered Winter Here," July 20; "Return of a Sacred Idol That Helped Along Peace Out on These Prairies," July 21; "Yellow Fever Dread Which Reached Wichita in Its Earliest Days," July 24; "Crops That Were Grown by Some of the Tribes on the Early Prairies," July 28; "Pioneer Part Played by Firewood and Water in Settling the West," July 29; "Change in Road Routing From Ridgeway to Valley That Came With the Rails," July 30; "When Wichita Took Lead in the Farm Revolution for Improved Implements," July 31; "When the Federal Government Passed Up This City and County in 1870 James Steele Made a Count of His Own," August 3; "Turn in the Fortunes of Wichita Appeared Sixty-five Years Ago," August 5; "Two Kansas Newspaper Men Traveled Long Together, Arthur Capper-Tom McNeal," August 8; "First

Adventure Here in Industrial Chemistry Had to do With Tanning," August 18; "Prophecy About Wheat Once Made by a Boomer [Col. Henry King, over sixty years ago] Who Was Praising Kansas," August 24.

Cecil Howes, Topeka correspondent of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, runs Victor Murdock a close second as the most prolific writer of Kansas historical articles. Also from February through August, 1942, he has printed the following: "That Kansas Hedge Apples Be Processed for Synthetic Rubber," February 6, 1942; "A Tribute to Lincoln Written Long Ago by Homer Hoch," February 12; changes in the names of Kansas counties and towns, February 18; "So Kaw Charley Wasn't Frozen in the Big Blizzard," February 20; "'Jake' Mohler Completes 50 years as Counselor to Kansas Farmers," and "A Bit of Straight Thinking by Daniel W. Wilder Is Filed in Kansas Historical Records," February 27; "Wartime Demountable Houses Are Not New to Kansas," March 3; "A Visit by Frederic Remington, the Artist, to Kansas," March 6; "Some More About Kansas Names," March 24; "Yes, There Once Were Silkworms at Work in Kansas, But They Didn't Like the Climate," March 31; "Building Towns on Railroads Was a Scramble in Early Day Kansas," April 8; "J. W. Roberts, Early Kansas Editor, Envisioned Much of Modern Fighting in the Air," April 15; "Kansans Long Have Had a 'Piano in the Parlor,'" April 17; "Guessing That Went on About Kansas Territory in the Early Days," May 5; "In the Early Days There Was Talk of Making Two States Out of the Territory of Kansas," May 8; "How Pioneer Women of Kansas Brewed Coffee Substitutes," May 13; "Association of the Name, Holliday, With Early Kansas," May 26; "Lawrence Long Has Been Known as the 'Athens' of Kansas," June 8; "An Interesting Colony [Dunkards] in Brown County," June 12; "Days of Railroad Pioneering in Kansas," June 17; "Council Grove Might Have Been the Kansas Capital," June 26; "The Kansas Statehouse Actually Is Five Separate Structures Joined Into One," June 29; "Kansas Owns Considerable Real Estate," July 3; "A Glimpse of Early Educational Institutions in Kansas," July 24; "More About Kansas Names," August 5; "Kansas Was a Leader Among the States in Granting Privileges of Office Holding to Women," August 14; "Kansas Lost Color When Editors Dropped 'Lopeared Leper' Epithets," August 17; "History of an Economic Experiment [silk industry] in Kansas Nearly Sixty Years Ago," August 24, and "Study of the Ghosts of Little Towns [Sumner, Atchison county]," August 31.

Some early history of Salina recalled by George Reed, Assaria farmer who came to Saline county March 4, 1878, was published in the *Salina Journal*, March 5, 1942.

Leonard W. Thompson briefly reviewed "The History of Railway Development in Kansas" in the spring, 1942, issue of *The Aerend*, publication of Fort Hays Kansas State College, of Hays. Construction for the first railway in Kansas began at Elwood in 1859. "From 1861 to 1923," Thompson reported, "no less than 1,112 [railroad] charters were recorded in the office of the secretary of state; 900 of these projects appeared to have been but paper roads, leaving 212 corporations that at one time or another actually constructed and maintained a railroad in the state. The above does not include the 54 territorial roads, few of which reached the construction stage. During the decade 1880-1890 no less than 556 charters were issued." Boom years for railway building were 1885-1888, when the state's actual rail mileage was more than doubled. "On a per capita basis," the survey disclosed, "Kansas in 1888 was the best equipped with railroads of any state in the United States or any country in the world. For every one thousand of her population Kansas had five and one-half miles of railroad; Missouri, two and three-tenths miles; the Western states, two and one-half miles; and the Middle and Eastern states not to exceed one and one-half miles."

That Kansas was once a jungle filled with prehistoric monsters is affirmed in an account of Alvin Scranton of Fort Hays Kansas State College in the *Hill City Times*, March 19, 1942. The article is entitled, "Graham County Group of Mammal Tracks Is Largest Ever Found in This Country."

A story and portrait of Maj. Gen. Emory Sherwood Adams, first printed in the April, 1942, number of the *United States Army Recruiting News*, Governors Island, N. Y., was reproduced in *The Kansas Industrialist*, Manhattan, May 6. General Adams, native of Manhattan and graduate of Kansas State College, recently retired as adjutant general. He saw service in China, the Philippine Islands, France and the United States.

Holton history was reviewed by Mrs. Florence Gabel in the *Holton Recorder*, April 6, 1942.

The Marion Presbyterian Church celebrated the seventieth anniversary of its founding May 3, 1942. Articles on the history of the church and the list of charter members were published in the *Marion*

Review and Record, April 29 and 30, respectively. This church, organized July 9, 1871, was the first in Marion county.

The history of the Holton post office, established in 1858, was recalled by E. J. Woodman of Wetmore in the *Holton Recorder*, April 30, 1942.

"Havana Methodists Celebrate Fiftieth Anniversary Sunday," was the title of an article briefly reviewing the church's history in the *Caney Daily Chronicle*, May 4, 1942.

A. K. Trimmer described historical events concerning Garfield and its Methodist church in an article entitled "The History of Garfield's Namesake," in the *Gove County Republican-Gazette*, Gove City, May 21, 1942.

The oldest building in Irving has been remodeled and was opened as a museum by Mrs. Olin Dibert of Irving. A story of her work and pictures of the museum were featured in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, May 24, 1942.

An article by Mrs. Jessie Hill Rowland about the coming of Anders Sorensen to the United States was printed in the *McPherson Daily Republican*, May 28, 1942, under the title, "McPherson Is 70 Today and Here's a Story About One of Its Pioneers."

On May 30, 1942, the *Fort Scott Tribune* published a sixty-page centennial edition commemorating the establishment of Fort Scott. Lists of county and city officials and histories of the city's schools, newspapers, clubs, railroads and sports were printed. Included among the titles of other historical articles were: "At Dawn of City's History"; "From Louisiana Purchase in 1803 This County Was Eventually Made"; "Slain by Night Riders—Gang Raid on Marmaton on Oct. 22, 1864"; "A Woman Spy [Emma Edmonds] Made History in Civil War"; "An Era of Trouble, Progress [1854-1860]"; "Spilled the Blood of Martyrs [Marais des Cygnes massacre, May 19, 1858]"; "Kansas' Greatest Battle [Mine Creek, 1864]"; "Trading Post Is One of Oldest Settlements in the Entire State"; "Great Drought of 1860 Was One of Nature's Scourges"; "A Dream of the Farms Has Now Become Reality—R. E. A. Has Brought Light and Power . . ."; "Steady Upward Climb as a Beef Cattle County"; "National Cemetery, Established in 1861, One of First Military Cemeteries in U. S."; "Bourbon County's First Agriculture Organization Was Formed in 1860"; "Pike, the Great Explorer, Through the County on Way West in 1806";

"Troops on the March Once More [During Civil War]"; "Streets Preserve Names of Many Early Day Leaders," and "Origin of Names of Bourbon County's Streams Reveals Interesting Side-lights." A featured picture was one of Gen. Winfield Scott, for whom the fort was named.

Stories giving the history of the old Hollenberg ranch house, "the only unaltered Pony Express station now remaining in the United States," were printed in the *Hanover Democrat*, June 5, 1942, *The Advocate-Democrat*, Marysville, June 11, and the *Linn-Palmer Record*, June 19. The state recently purchased the ranch house and seven and one-half acres for a state park. *The Advocate-Democrat* and the *Hanover Democrat* printed pictures of the old station as did the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star* of July 12.

On the eve of his golden wedding anniversary O. J. Rose, editor of *The Peoples Herald*, Lyndon, wrote an editorial recalling fifty years of life in rural Kansas, during which he operated newspapers at Eskridge, Waverly and Lyndon. The article appeared first in *The Peoples Herald*, July 9, 1942, under the caption, "Looking Backward Over Fifty Years." It was reprinted in part in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times*, July 21, under the title "A Kansas Editor's Journey Along 'the American Way' for 50 Years."

An article, "Heroes on the Home Front," by E. B. Garnett, was printed in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, July 12, 1942. It is a biographical sketch of Lt. John Paul Adams, U. S. N., of Brown county, recently decorated for distinguished service in the Southwest Pacific. A brief note on the parents, the Rev. and Mrs. N. J. Adams, by Hester Potter, the *Star's* correspondent at Robinson, was also featured. The Rev. N. J. Adams is a rural pastor of the Mount Zion Methodist Church in Brown county.

The 1942 "Progress Edition" published annually by the *Manhattan Morning Chronicle* and *Mercury* appeared July 26 and 27, respectively. Among the articles of historical interest were: "Manhattan's Stone Houses Have Stood Like Monuments Down Through the Years," by Mrs. Loyal Payne; "Chamber of Commerce Plays Active Role in War Efforts"; "Manhattan Man [First Lt. Arthur A. Farrell] Decorated for Heroism Beyond Call of Duty"; "The College and the War," by F. D. Farrell; "For Second Time K. S. C. Is on a War Footing"; "K. S. C. Faculty Contributes to Armed Ranks"; "Women Don Overalls, Grease to Do Their Part in War

Effort"; "Who's Who at Ft. Riley"; "For Half a Century Ft. Riley Has Trained Expert Horsemen"; "Huge Fort Riley Expansion Project in Full Swing"; "Highlights of Year's Activities at Fort Riley"; "MacArthur, Craig, Wainwright, Lear—All Have Been at Ft. Riley"; "Military Police Trained in Only School in Country"; "Once More Camp Funston Is Scene of Hustle and Bustle"; "Riley County Has Many Men in the Service." The illustrated features included: "Boys From Manhattan Serving All Over the World"; "Many Manhattan Men Serving as Army, Navy Officers"; "Manhattan Boys With the Army Or the Navy," and "An Airplane View of a Portion of Fort Riley." The edition also contained biographical sketches of commanding officers at Fort Riley and articles on the Manhattan Red Cross, local defense organization, first-aid course, enlisted reserves, soldiers' center, Douglas community center, college R. O. T. C., local airport, national defense classes, public health, Triple A as a war machine, Four-H club, Farm Bureau, Camp Funston, cavalrymen, Wounded Knee monument, armored division at Camp Funston, and religion at Fort Riley.

On July 30, 1942, the *Mennonite Weekly Review*, Newton, featured a story, "History of the Canton, Now Emmanuel Mennonite Church, Galva, Kansas," by the Rev. J. J. Ratzlaff.

"Dissolution of the Osage Reservation" was the title of an article by Berlin B. Chapman starting in the September, 1942, issue of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Oklahoma City. The study is a sequel to Chapman's article, "Removal of the Osages From Kansas," printed in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* in August and November, 1938.

The Mound City Catholic Church was dedicated September 7, 1942, as a memorial to Blessed Rose Philippine Duchesne who established a school for Pottawatomie Indian girls in 1841 at Old Sugar Creek Mission, present Linn county. The mission was located on a part of what is now the Frank Zimmerman farm, about five miles northeast of Centerville. The history of the church was reviewed briefly in the *Mound City Republic*, September 3 and 10, 1942, and by Theodore W. Morse in a two-column article in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, September 13.

A brief history of the Oakland Presbyterian Church of Topeka, organized October 4, 1892, was printed in the *Topeka State Journal*, October 3, 1942.

Kansas Historical Notes

The Washington County Oregon Trail Memorial Association held its annual meeting at Hanover August 14, 1942. Reëlected officers include: Leo E. Dieker, president; Dr. F. H. Rhoades, vice-president; Ed. Flaherty, secretary; John Merk, treasurer; Dugald Spence and Fred Brockmeyer, trustees. Henry Brockmeyer was elected a trustee to succeed the late E. H. Miller. The association, organized to preserve historic Hollenberg ranch house, a Pony Express station, is official agent for the state in the management of the property recently purchased by Kansas. Minor repairs have been made on the building.

The Greater Kansas City Council of the American Pioneer Trails Association was organized at a meeting held in Kansas City, Mo., August 25, 1942. Mrs. J. W. Quarrier, past president of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society, was elected president; Mrs. Gilbert Stecker, representing Kansas City, Mo., Frank A. Davis, representing Kansas City, Kan., and Nat D. Jackson, representing Jackson county, Missouri, vice-presidents; Mrs. James Anderson, recording secretary; Louisa P. Johnston, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Clyde H. Porter, treasurer; W. R. Honnell, historian, and Dwight B. Newton, research secretary. Mrs. Inghram D. Hook is chairman of the board of directors and Louis M. Nourse is educational director. On September 24-27, 1942, the council was host to the annual convention of the American Pioneer Trails Association presided over by Dr. Howard R. Driggs, of New York City, the national president. George A. Root represented the Kansas State Historical Society.

New officers of the Wilson County Historical Society, elected at the annual meeting in Fredonia September 5, 1942, are: Mrs. Harry Smith, president; Mrs. C. O. Pingrey, vice-president; Mrs. Bernice Ludwick, secretary; Mrs. G. L. Caughron, treasurer, and W. H. Edmundson, historian. The society meets regularly during the year. Historical papers presented at these meetings are typed and bound in volumes of a uniform size for preservation.

The annual convention of the Kansas department of the American Legion was held in Hutchinson September 6 and 7, 1942. Newly elected officers include: Beryl Johnson, Topeka, commander; Tom W. Flory, Ottawa, vice-commander; Everett Garrison, Osborne, na-

tional committeeman; Lee Kemper, Garden City, alternate committeeman; the Rev. John McManus, Wilson, chaplain; John Towle, Topeka, historian, and J. H. Geier, Pittsburg, sergeant-at-arms. Irvin L. Cowger, Topeka, is department adjutant. The auxiliary of the Kansas department held its convention in Topeka June 2 and 3, 1942. New officers are: Mrs. Camille Waugh, Wellington, president; Mrs. Jennie Hoyt, Lyons, vice-president; Lulu V. Faulkner, Topeka, secretary; Mrs. Ila Wray, Topeka, treasurer; Mrs. Ruby Vossloh, Abilene, historian, and Mrs. Marcia Cotterill, McPherson, chaplain.

Dedication of the Turkey Red Wheat monument in the Newton Athletic Park September 10, 1942, attracted national attention when *Life Magazine* sent a photographer to secure pictures of the monument and background scenes. The monument was erected under the sponsorship of the Newton Junior Chamber of Commerce and was dedicated to the Mennonite settlers of that area. The memorial is a figure of a pioneer farmer, 11 feet high, mounted on a six foot base. A Russian church, ships bringing the immigrants and wheat to America, trains carrying them to the Middle West, and a farm scene near a church and school, tell the story in stone. The inscription reads, "Commemorating Entry Into Kansas From Russia of Turkey Red Hard Wheat by Mennonites, 1874." Sculptor Max Nixon of Topeka designed and chiseled the monument from native stone.

The annual meeting of the recently reorganized Franklin County Historical Society was held in Ottawa September 15, 1942. Kirke Mechem, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, was the speaker. The society has been granted permanent quarters in Memorial hall on the third floor of the county courthouse at Ottawa.

At the annual reunion of the Twentieth Kansas Infantry Association in Topeka October 11 and 12, 1942, the following officers were elected: Albert Shipley, Coffeyville, president; George B. Daily, Medford, Okla., vice-president; Harry W. Brent, Topeka, secretary and treasurer, and Jerry Springstead, Topeka, historian. The Twentieth Kansas auxiliary elected Mrs. Arthur Gibson, Topeka, president; Mrs. H. O. Davis, Anthony, vice-president; Mrs. Edwin Barrett, Junction City, secretary; Mrs. Margaret Hopkins, Manhattan, treasurer; Mrs. Homer Limbird, Olathe, chaplain, and Mrs. V. N. Hammerli, Topeka, reporter.

Work is proceeding on the restoration of the main building of the old Iowa, Sauk and Fox Indian mission two miles east of Highland. The second press to be brought to present Kansas was set up at this mission in 1843 three years before completion of the structure now being restored. E. D. Saunders, a historian employed on the project, reports the finding of some of the plant's original type and believes the approximate location of the first printing office building has now been established. He also announces the discovery of the foundation of another building which was "exceptionally strong," judging from the type of its foundation. It stood about 100 feet southeast of the main building.

Dr. James C. Malin, professor of history at the University of Kansas and associate editor of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, was elected vice-president of the Agricultural History Society at its annual meeting in Washington May 5, 1942. Other officers for 1942-1943 are: Carl R. Woodward, Rhode Island State College, president, and Arthur G. Peterson, United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics, secretary-treasurer. Fletcher M. Green, University of North Carolina, and Lois Olson, United States Soil Conservation Service, were elected to the executive committee. The society will hold a joint session with the American Historical Association at Columbus, Ohio, December 29-31, 1942. The general theme of the meeting will be "Civilization at a Crisis." At the joint session, "National Agricultural Policies of the United Nations," a review of Russian agricultural policies and their historical background will be presented by Dr. M. P. Timoshenko, of the Food Research Institute, Stanford. British methods will be discussed by James A. Scott-Watson of Oxford University and now agricultural attaché of the British embassy, and policies of the United States will be outlined by Doctor Malin.

A 46-page handbook, *The Protection of Cultural Resources Against the Hazards of War*, issued in February, 1942, will be helpful to those concerned with the preservation of libraries, archival institutions and museums. The booklet was prepared by the committee on conservation of cultural resources of the National Resources Planning Board and is for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C., for ten cents. Other pamphlets relating to cultural resources and the war have been issued in the "Bulletins of the National Archives" series, and are distributed through the National Archives, Washington, D. C. They include

The Care of Records in a National Emergency (No. 3), and *Historical Units of Agencies of the First World War* (No. 4).

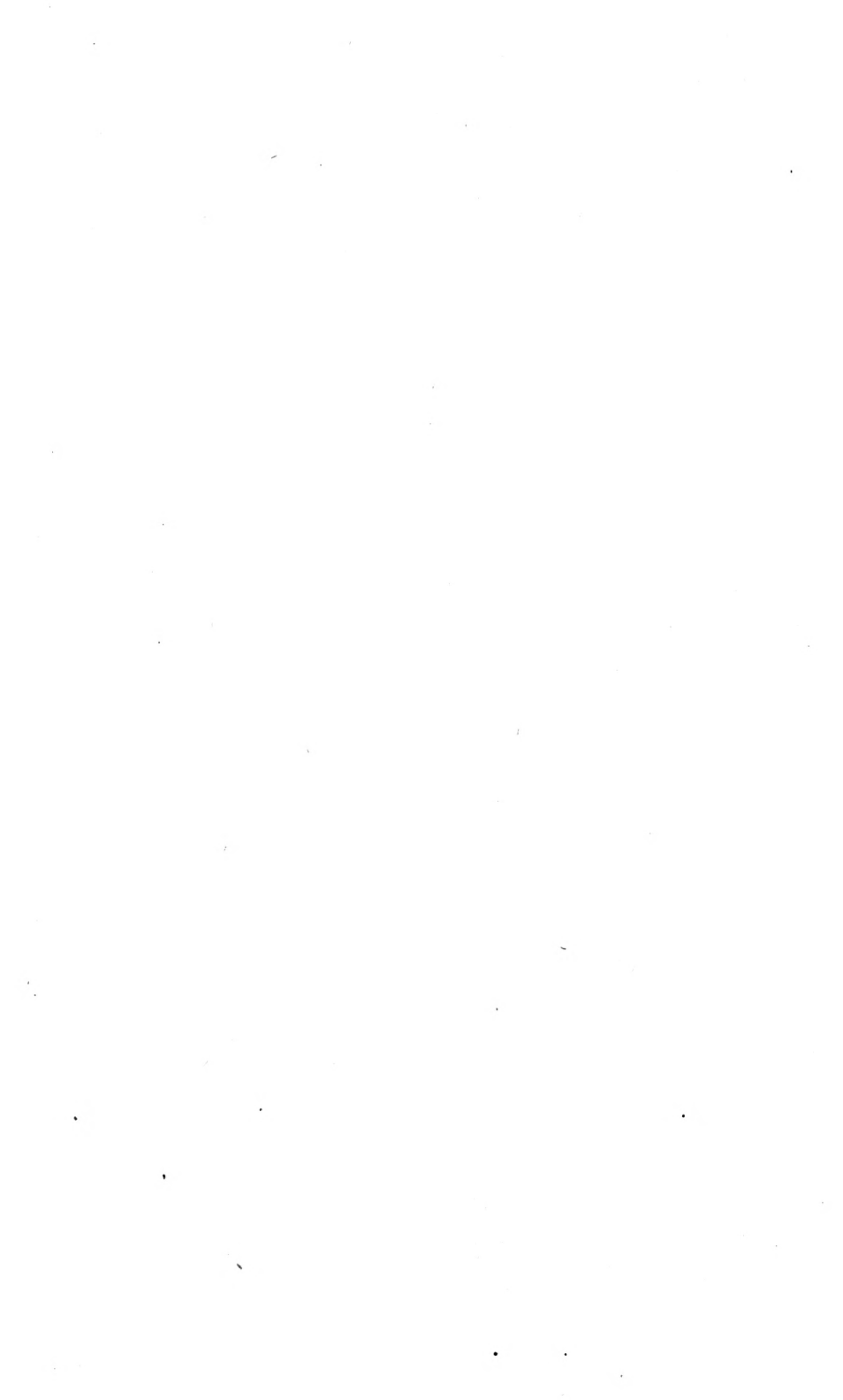
Two letters written by Mrs. Hannah Anderson Ropes from Lawrence in 1855-1856 were edited by Charles Lyon Chandler of Philadelphia and published in the June, 1942, issue of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Mrs. Ropes was author of the book *Six Months in Kansas. By a Lady* (Boston, John P. Jewett and Co., 1856).

"Using Volunteers in the Local Historical Society's Program" is the title of the August, 1942, *Bulletin* of the American Association for State and Local History. The twenty-four page article was prepared by Loring McMillen, director of the Staten Island Historical Society, and deals with the aims and work of the smaller historical societies. This *Bulletin* is one of a series of publications for members of the association which should be helpful to the city and county historical societies of Kansas. Any local society or individual may join. Further information may be secured from the American Association for State and Local History, Box 6101, Washington, D. C. N. H. Miller, of the Kansas State Historical Society, is membership chairman for Kansas.

A thirty-three page, illustrated pamphlet entitled, "History of St. Catherine's Parish, Catherine, Kansas," by the Rev. Matthew Pekari, was recently printed by the St. Joseph's College and Military Academy Press of Hays. The town of Catherine was laid out in 1876 by German colonists who emigrated from the Lower Volga region of Russia.

Erratum in Volume XI

Page 159, paragraph 2.—According to *The Weekly Bulletin*, Atchison, July 11, 1861, the trial run of Thomas Fortune's steam wagon was made on July 4, 1861, not 1860.



Index to Volume XI

A

Abell, Peter T.	297
Abilene	372, 374
—packing plant and soap factory, 1879,	386
“Abilene, End of the Chisholm Trail,” Kansas Historical Marker, note on dedication of	111
Ackerman, Tusten	206, 207
Adams, C. F.	150
Adams, D. W.	303, 305
Adams, Maj. Gen. Emory Sherwood, note on biographical article about	415
Adams, Franklin George	82
—biographical information on	83, 84
Adams, John	156
Adams, Lt. John Paul, of Brown county,	417
Adams, Rev. and Mrs. N. J.	417
Adams, W. H.	164
Adams, Miss Zu	84, 85
“Adaptation of Population and Agriculture to Prairie-Plains Environment,” mention of research project on	3
Agricultural History Society, note on annual meeting, 1942	421
Aitchison, R. T., Wichita	90, 92
Akers, John	111
Albright, Fred	107
Alcove Springs, painting by Wm. H. Jackson, reproduced in <i>Westward America</i>	336
Aldrich, N. W.	196
Aldrich, Royse, articles by, note on	104
Alexander, D.	144
Alexander, Edward P., of Wisconsin	111
Alexis, grand duke of Russia, note on	104
Alioth ranch	19
Allen, Bobby, K. U. basketball player	211
Allen, Caleb	227
Allen, Mrs. Chestina B., journal by, cited	38
Allen, David	228, 250
Allen, Mrs. Elizabeth (Hawkins)	227
Allen, Forrest C. (Phog.), basketball coach	204, 205, 212, 213
Allen, Henry, feature article about, note on	103
Allen, Henry Ware	410
Allen, Hiram	335
Allen, Margaret	227
Allen, Richard	221
Allen, Fourth of July in, 1861	165, 166
Allen county, first school, note on	335
Allison, Sen. William B., of Iowa	193
Almy & Fisher, freighters	305
Alvord, Capt. Benjamin	125
American Association for State and Local History	422
—notes on <i>Bulletin</i> published by	111, 422
American Fur Company	251
<i>American Genealogical Index</i> , subscribed to by Historical Society	73
American Historical Association, note on coming meeting of	421
American Legion, Kansas department, annual meeting, 1942, officers of,	419, 420
—Auxiliary, 1942 annual meeting, officers of	420
“American Newspaper Reporting of Science News,” by Hillier Kriegbaum, note on	111, 112

American Pioneer Trails Association	109
—annual meeting of 1942, note on	419
—Greater Kansas City Council, organiza- tion of	419
American river	293
Americus	166
Andale, founding of town and St. Jos- eph's parish, note on	103
Anderson, Capt. Geo. T.	68
Anderson, Mrs. James	419
Anderson, Rev. John A., quoted	381
Anderson, Kling L., article by, cited	26
Anderson county, first school, note on	335
Andrews, Mrs. H. W.	335
Angell, Mrs. G. R., donor	74
Anthony, Daniel Read, editorial on In- galls, quoted	197, 198
Antoine, C., freighter	305
Arcadia	129
Archer, Glenn, Topeka	221
Architecture, wartime, note on	414
Arkansas	117, 120, 122-125, 129
Arkansas city, 1871, note on	105
Arkansas river	115, 117, 119, 120, 125
—navigability, note on	413
Armour, James	413
Arnold, Ed, Douglas county	111
Arnold & Marten, freighters	304
Asbery, Horace	343
Ash Hollow, description of	247, 248
Ashland	40
—host to “Pioneer Mixer,” note on	107
Aspenwall, Rev. —, of Palmyra	153
Atchison, David R.	297
Atchison, article on freighting at	297-308
—Commercial street	303
—founding of	297, 298
—Fourth of July in, 1859	147
—1860	159
—1861	171
—Massasoit House	171
—St. Benedict's abbey and parish, dia- mond jubilee, note on	106
“Atchison, A Great Frontier Depot,” article by Walker D. Wyman	297-308
Atchison <i>Champion</i> , position of, on ques- tion of speculation	175, 178, 179
Atchison county, first school, note on	335
Atkinson, Brig. Gen. Henry	117, 118
Auburn	154
—Fourth of July in, 1859	144
—1860	155
Auburn Guards	144
Austin, E. A., Topeka	91
“Avenue Rocks,” on Oregon trail	259

B

Baber, C. P.	220
Bailey, L. D.	136, 144
Bailey, Roy C., Salina	77, 91
Baker, C. M.	220
Baker & Reed, freighters	305
Baker University	152, 153
—basketball at	103, 200
Baldwin City, Fourth of July in, 1860	152, 153
Ballord & Moralle, Marysville, freighters	302
Balsley, Mrs. —, of Oskaloosa	408
Banning, Mr. —	374
Bannock City, Id.	307
Barbé-Marbois, François, note on biog- raphy of	336

- Barbee and Sphar, Fort Scott..... 145
 Barber county, catamount in..... 404, 405
Barber County Index, Medicine Lodge,
 "Indian Peace Treaty" edition, note
 on 105, 106
 Barnes, Mrs. Lela, Historical Society
 treasurer 79
 —report of 79, 80
 Barrett, Mrs. Edwin, Junction City..... 420
 Barrett, Frances A..... 70, 71
 —biographical note 68
 Barry, Louise 114, 226
 —editor of John H. Clark journal..... 227
 —"The Fort Leavenworth-Fort Gibson
 Military Road and the Founding of
 Fort Scott," article by..... 115-129
 Barteldes, Fredo 111
 Bartholomew, J. E., donor..... 74
 Basketball, in Kansas, first played by
 women 199, 200
 —story of origin 199
 "Basketball," College, in Kansas, Some
 Notes on," article by Harold C.
 Evans 199-215
 Batchelor, Sheriff —, Decatur county, 95
 Bates, Willis S. "Bill"..... 205
 Baugher, Charles A., Ellis..... 90, 92
 Baxter Springs 129
 Beach, Rev. Mr. — 145
 Beals, Carleton 410
 Bean, Niel, Cherokee Indian..... 355
 Bear river 269, 270, 276, 277
 Beaver creek, Rawlins county..... 408
 Beavers, Joseph 370
 Beebe, Mr. —, of Manhattan..... 156
 Beecher, Henry Ward 131
 Beeks, Charles E. 91
 Beezley, George F. 91, 110
 Belknap, Maj. William G. 123, 124
 Bellevue Evangelical Church, near Leona,
 note on celebration of seventy-fifth
 anniversary 104
 Benicia, Douglas county..... 60
 Benson, Mrs. Charles H., Topeka..... 221
 Berryman, Rev. Jerome C..... 91, 339
 Bethany Academy, Lindsborg..... 110
 Bethany College, Lindsborg..... 110
 —note on history of, by Dr. Ernst F.
 Pihlblad 410
 Bethel Alliance, Cowley county..... 180
 Bicycles 410
 Big Blue river. *See* Blue river.
 Binders, types used in the 1870's.. 392, 393
 Bigaman, L. L. 102
 Bisonette & Lazine, Deer Creek,
 freighters 302
 Bivins, D. & Co., freighters..... 305
 Blachly, L. S. 170
 Black, Charles 206
 Black Hills, S. D. 253
 Blackjack, Fourth of July in, 1860..... 153
 Black's fork, of the Green river..... 268
 —picture of *opposite* 241
 Blair, C. W. 157
 Blair, Sen. Henry W., of New Hamp-
 shire 193, 194
 Bloomington, Fourth of July in, 1860... 152
 —1861 169
 Blue [creek] 121
 Blue Mound, Fourth of July in, 1861... 169
 Blue Rapids, paper mill, 1875..... 386
 Blue river 34, 35, 37, 40, 41, 237, 238
 —bridge, on military road..... 38
 Bluestem grass 8
 —distribution and growth of..... 4
 —varieties of 3
 "Bluestem-Pasture Region of Kansas,"
 name adopted by state board of agri-
 culture 8
 "Bluestem-Pasture Region of Kansas, An
 Introduction to the History of," article
 by James C. Malin 3- 28
 Blume, A. C. 406
 Blunt, Gen. James G. 344, 345, 362
 Bocker, W. C. 111
 Boernstein, Col. Henry 162
 Boertman, C. S. 222
 Boggy Depot, Chickasaw nation..... 347
 358, 363
 Bogy, McKnight & Bingham, freighters, 304
 Bofes, Miss Blanche, attack on picture
 "Custer's Last Fight" described..... 88
 Boissiere, Ernest Valetton de, note on... 410
 Boisvesh, F., freighter..... 305
 Bonebrake, Fred B., Topeka..... 74, 91
 Bonham, Tex. 344, 346
 Bonneville, Capt. Benjamin L. E. 123
 Book list, Historical Society acquisitions,
 1940-1941 309-331
 Books, Kansas, 1940-1941, list of... 309-314
 Boone, Capt. Nathan..... 118, 119
 Border troubles, note on..... 103
 Boston 38
 Boston mountain 120
 Boston Town Association..... 41
 Boughton, Mrs. E. H. 107
 Bourbon county 129
 —David R. Cobb a pioneer of..... 65
 —first agricultural organization, note on, 416
 —first school, note on..... 335
 —pioneer days in..... 65- 71
 —streams, note on names of..... 417
 Bowers, D. N., *Seventy Years in Norton
 County, Kansas, 1872-1942*, note on.. 336
 Bowles, Samuel 307
 Bowlus, Thomas H., Iola..... 91
 Bowman, Waldo 206
 Boyd, Mrs. Mame A., note on column
 "Early Days in Kirwin" written by... 105
 Bradford, Alexander W. 162
 Branham, C. C., Weston, freighter..... 302
 Brant, Maj. J. B. 116
 Brayer, Herbert Oliver, of New Mexico, 112
 Breithaupt, Clarence "Kid"..... 207, 208
 Brent, Harry W., Topeka..... 109, 420
 Brent, Mrs. Harry W., Topeka..... 109
 Brewster, Arthur 207
 Bridger, James 268, 269
 Briggs, Mr. —, of Manhattan..... 156
 Brigham, Mrs. Lalla M., Council Grove, 91
 Brinkerhoff, Fred W., Pittsburg..... 77, 81
 90, 91, 110
 —address by, on Marais des Cygnes
 massacre, note on 106
 —elected second vice-president Historical
 Society 91
 Briscoe, Merit 345
 Brock, R. F., Sharon Springs..... 91
 Brockmeyer, Fred 419
 Brodwell, J. M., freighter 305
 Bronough, Mary 342, 343
 Bronough, William 343-345
 Brooklin, Linn county..... 146
 Brooks, Mrs. C. A. 109
 Broom weed 25
 Broomcorn 387
 Brown, Capt. Andrew, of Ohio..... 227
 Brown, George W. 142
 Brown, J. S. 169
 Brown, John 150
 —cabin at Osawatomie, note on..... 108
 —Luke Parsons an associate of..... 366
 Brown, Dr. S. 158
 Brown, Samuel 368
 Brown, Solomon G., organized First
 Christian Church, Emporia..... 106
 Brown, Dr. W. A. 145
 Brown, W. E., & Co., freighters..... 305
 Brown, William Wells..... 130
 Brown county, first school, note on... 335
 Browne, Charles H. 81, 90
 —elected president Historical Society... 91
 Browne, J. C. 110
 Browne, Margaret 222

Browning, Asaph 34
 Brownville, Fourth of July in, 1858..... 135
 —Hale's Hotel 135
 Bryant, William Cullen..... 141
 Buchanan, Pres. James 151
 Buck creek 54- 56
 Buffalo hunt, of Grand Duke Alexis, note on 104
 —1860, near Junction City..... 402
 Bumgardner, Edward, Lawrence..... 80, 81, 108
 —donor 76
 Bunn, John 212
 Burlingame 144
 Butler, Sen. Matthew C., of South Carolina 194
 Butler county, county-seat war, note on, 410
 Butterfield, D. A., 306
 Butterworth, Benjamin, of Ohio..... 184
 "Bypaths of Kansas History",. 93-102, 216
 217, 332, 399-409

C

Cabell, R. H., escape of slaves belonging to 401
 Cactus 25
 "California, Overland to the Gold Fields of, in 1852," journal of John H. Clark 227-296
 Callahan, William..... 109
 Calloway, Dr. —, of Burlington..... 167
 Calloway, R. A., Indian agent..... 128
 Camp Center. *See* Fort Riley.
 Camp creek..... 294
 Camp Floyd..... 160
 Camp Funston, note on..... 418
 Camp Illinois. *See* Fort Wayne.
 Campbell, Robert..... 251
 Canadian river..... 360, 363
 Canton 38
 Cantonment Des Moines..... 116
 Capitol, First. *See* Kansas State Historical Society, First Capitol.
 Capper, Sen. Arthur, Topeka..... 90, 92, 413
Care of Records in a National Emergency, pamphlet, note on..... 421, 422
 Carey, Henry L., note on article by..... 334
 Carlile 157
 Carney, Gov. Thomas, elected by 1864 legislature to U. S. senate..... 71
 Carpenter, Anna R..... 221
 Carroll, T. C..... 101
 Carson, F. L., Wichita..... 90, 92
 Carson, Brown county..... 139
 Carson river..... 291
 —valley of..... 294
 Carter, William A., freighter..... 304
 Cash City, note on..... 412
 Cass, Lewis, secretary of war..... 116
 Castor beans, crop, 1877..... 386
 Catherine, history, note on..... 422
 —St. Catherine's parish, history, note on 422
 Catholic church, Atchison, note on history of..... 106
 Cattle, boom in thoroughbred stock in 1880's 11, 12
 —grazing region of..... 3- 28
 —markets for, in 1870's..... 13
 —in 1880's..... 14, 15
 —purchasing methods used by buyers of 19
 —Sam P. Ridings' writings on, noted..... 219
 —stealing of, from Indian reservations, note on 218
 —Texas 7, 12- 17
 —to Wichita, note on..... 218
 —Texas fever of..... 15- 17
 —volume of pasture movement of Southwestern 26- 28

Cattle industry, Bourbon county, note on, 416
 —new book on, noted..... 336
 —problems of, in 1930's..... 22, 23
 Cattlemen, ordered from Cheyenne and Arapahoe reservation, 1885, note on.. 219
 Caughron, Mrs. G. L., of Wilson county 108, 419
 Cawker City *Free Press*, quoted..... 93
 Cemetery, Oak Grove at Lawrence, note on 333
 Census, Sedgwick county, 1870, note on. 413
 Ceredo, Va., Northern colony at..... 141
 Challis, George T., Atchison store of 297, 298
 Chambers, Alice 98
 Chandler, C. Q., Wichita..... 90, 92
 Chandler, Charles Lyon, Philadelphia... 422
 Chapin, E. H..... 162
 Chapman, Berlin B., "Dissolution of the Osage Reservation," note on..... 418
 Chase, G. O..... 142
 Chase county, heart of bluestem-pasture region 9
 —homesteads, 1880..... 9
 Chase County Skirmishers, Civil War militia 167
 Chelsea, Fourth of July in, 1859..... 144
 Cherokee county..... 124, 129
 Cherokee *Index*, Mary A. Spring publisher of..... 95
 Cherry Creek mines 298
 Chiles, E. C., Independence, freighter... 302
 Chimney Rock, on Oregon trail..... 249, 250
 Chinch bugs..... 389
 Chisholm, Jesse, park memorial for, near Wellington 335
 Chisholm trail, inscription of D. A. R. marker for, near Wellington..... 335
 Choate, Rufus..... 130
 Chorpoening, Geo., California, freighter, 303
 Chouteau, Capt. P. M..... 32
 Chouteau, P. M. & Co., Kansas City, freighters 302
 Chouteau family, note on..... 103
 Chouteau's trading post..... 340
 Church, Howard..... 220
 Cimarron river, note on article about... 411
 Cincinnati, Ohio..... 227-230
 Cincinnati and Kansas Land Company... 41
 Cities and towns, extinct, note on..... 104
 —origin of names of, note on..... 219
 Clark, H. G., general superintendent Missouri Pacific railroad..... 101
 Clark, Jeremiah..... 227
 Clark, John Hawkins, biographical sketch 227, 228
 —"Overland to the Gold Fields of California," journal of..... 227-296
 —portrait *facings* 240
 Clark, Mrs. Margaret (Allen)..... 227
 Clark, Meribah, donor..... 74
 Clark, Mrs. Rachel (Hawkins)..... 227
 Clark brothers..... 228
Clark County Clipper, Ashland... 222, 223
 Clark County Historical Society, "Pioneer Mixer," note on..... 107
 "Clark County Historical Society Notes," mentioned 107
Clark County, Kansas, Early, Notes on, publication of Volume II, noted. 222, 223
 Clarke, Charles Francis, note on letters of 112
 Clarke, Mrs. Mary, note on letters of... 112
 Clay Center, streets mowed in 1883... 406
 Clayton, Curtas, Leavenworth, freighter. 302
 Clayton & Lowe, freighters..... 304
 Clevenger, Z. G..... 205
 Clicham & Bro., freighters..... 304
 Clinton, R. S., chief, Patents division, Washington, D. C..... 369
 Clinton, Douglas county..... 169

- Clinton (Mo.) *Journal*..... 164
 Cloud, R. W..... 167
 Clover, B. H..... 184
 Cobb, David Glenn, Cheney, Wash..... 2
 —edited "Letters of David R. Cobb, 1858-1864"..... 65-71
 Cobb, David Ransom, biographical sketch..... 65
 —letters of, 1858-1864, published..... 65-71
 —member of 1864 legislature..... 70
 Cobb, Judson M..... 65
 Coburn, Foster D..... 23
 Cochran, Elizabeth, note on paper by..... 222
 Cody, William F., note on article about..... 334
 Coffee, substitutes for, in early days, note on..... 414
 Coffey county, first school, note on..... 335
 Coffield, Mrs. L. E..... 109
 Colby, George..... 406
 Colonial Dames, Kansas..... 78, 340
 Columbus, Ark..... 118
 Columbus, Doniphan county, Fourth of July in, 1860..... 158
Commercial Appeal, Memphis, centennial edition, 1940, acquired by Historical Society..... 75
 Cone, D. D..... 138
 Converse, Asa F..... 335
 Conway, Martin F..... 136
 Coon Point..... 63
 Coons, B. F., freighter..... 305
 Copeland, Rev. John..... 152
 Copeland Spring, near Tecumseh..... 143
 Corbett, Dr. O. J..... 221
 Cordley, Rev. Richard..... 152, 169
 Corn, in Kansas, acres and yield, 1862-1890..... 376
 —and winter wheat, in Buckeye township, Dickinson county, 1870, 1875, 1880 and 1885..... 385
 Correll, Charles M., Manhattan..... 91
 —member executive committee, Historical Society..... 72
 Cotterill, Mrs. Marcia, McPherson..... 420
 Cotton Wood creek, present eastern Kansas..... 121
 Cottonwood creek, Washington county..... 238
 Cottonwood Falls, Fourth of July in, 1859..... 144
 —1861..... 167, 168
 Cottonwood tree, note on..... 219
 Couard, C. J., freighter..... 304
 Couch, —, Oklahoma boomer, note on..... 104
 Council Grove..... 367
 —Fourth of July in, 1861..... 168
 —Hermit's cave, note on..... 108
 —note on..... 414
 Counties, establishment of, note on..... 107
 —naming and history of, notes on..... 219
 Court House Rock, on Oregon trail..... 249, 250
Cow Country, by Edward E. Dale, note on..... 336
 Cowan, P. E..... 222
 Cowboys, note on..... 413
 Cowger, Irvin L., Topeka..... 420
 Cowskin creek..... 121
 Cox, Forrest..... 212, 213
 Coxe, Jacob..... 99
 Coxe's army, account of brigade of, in Colorado and Kansas..... 100-102
 Craig, Eli, of Museum..... 95
 Crawford county..... 129
 Crawford County Historical Society..... 90
 —note on meeting of..... 110
 Crosman, Capt. George H..... 123
 Cross, Trueman, acting quartermaster general of the U. S. army..... 122
 Cummins, Maj. R. W..... 399
 Curtis, G. W..... 150
 Custard, Harry..... 156
 Custer, Gen. George A..... 411
 "Custer's Last Fight," story of Blanche Boies' attack on picture entitled..... 88
 Cutting, Henry C..... 368, 369
- D
- Daily, George B., Medford, Okla..... 420
 Dale, Edward Everett, cited..... 26, 27
 —*Cow Country*, note on..... 336
 Dana's train, from Cincinnati..... 279
 Danford, J. B..... 137
 Danville, Ky..... 342
 Daugherty, Dr. P..... 86
 Daughters of American Colonists..... 78, 340
 Daughters of the American Revolution..... 78, 340
 —Wellington chapter, gives Chisholm trail marker..... 335
 Daughters of 1812..... 78, 340
 Davidson, Ellen..... 110
 Davis, Mrs. —, wife of Baker University president..... 153
 Davis, Frank A..... 419
 Davis, Mrs. H. O., Anthony..... 420
 Davis, J. C. & Co., freighters..... 305
 Davis, Jefferson..... 164, 167
 Davis, John..... 11
 Davis, Kenneth S..... 410
 Davis, Sylvester..... 148
 Davis, T., freighter..... 148
 Davis, Theodore R., copy of manuscripts by, acquired by Historical Society..... 74
 Davis, W. W., Lawrence..... 91
 Davis county, wheat and corn acreage and yield, 1872-1884..... 383
 Dawson, John S..... 90, 92
 —on executive committee Historical Society..... 72
 Decassure creek..... 278
 Deger, Marshal L. E..... 403, 404
 Delp, Dewain..... 336
 Denious, Jess C..... 91
 Denison, Rev. Joseph..... 30, 36
 Denton, John..... 68
 Denver, Gen. J. W..... 112
 Denver, Colo..... 140, 304, 306
 —Fourth of July in, 1859..... 148
 —1860..... 159, 160
 Derby, Grace E..... 221
 Des Moines river..... 117
 "Devil's Gate"..... 261-263
 Diamond Springs, Cal..... 295
 Dibert, Mrs. Olin..... 416
 Dickinson county, Buckeye township, corn and winter wheat in, 1870, 1875, 1880 and 1885..... 385
 —crops and weather, 1872-1883..... 371-375
 —wheat and corn acreage and yield, 1872-1884..... 383
 Dickinson County Historical Society, note on meeting of..... 111
 Dieker, Leo E., Hanover..... 419
 Digby, T. M., freighter..... 305
 Dillon, J. A..... 110
 Dillon family, donors..... 76
 Dimmock, Charles..... 119-121
 —report on survey for military road, 120, 121
 Directories, city, acquired by Historical Society, 1940-1941, list of..... 323-326
 District court, Twenty-third judicial district, records of, given Historical Society..... 74
 Dodge City, an incident of 1877..... 403
 —early-day religious activities in, note on..... 334
 —note on early history of..... 334
 —preparations for the cattle trade in, 1878..... 97
 —Presbyterian church organized in, 1878, 98
 Dodge City *Times*, 1876-1882, film copies made..... 75

Doerr, Mrs. A. A. See Doerr, Mrs.
 Laura P. V.
 Doerr, Mrs. Laura P. V... 90, 92, 110, 111
 Dolbee, Cora 114
 —"The Fourth of July in Early Kansas,
 1858-1861," article by 130-172
 Dold, John & Bro., freighters 304
 Dollar, Mr. — 405
 Dolph, Sen. Joseph N., of Oregon 193
 Donaldson, I. B. 45, 55
 Doniphan county, first school, note on... 335
 Doolittle, Sen. —, of Wisconsin 141
 Doty, Seth N., letter of, 1852 400
 Dougherty, John, Indian agent 116
 Douglas, "Col." George 126
 Douglas county, first school, note on... 335
 —military history, note on 111
 Douglas County Historical Society 90
 —note on meeting of 111
 Dovel, George 78, 339
 Doyle, James B. & Co., freighters 302
 304, 305
 Driggs, Dr. Howard R., New York City, 419
 —*Westward America*, note on 326
 Drills, types of, used in 1870's 391
 Drought, 1860, note on 416
 Duchesne, Blessed Rose Philippine 418
 Duke, E. J. 167
 Duniway, David C., of Washington,
 D. C. 111
 Dunkards, in Brown county, note on... 414
 Dunlap, T. 382
 Dunsmore, J. M. 85, 86
 Dunton, W. C. 156
 Dust storms, 1879 374
 —1880 375
 DuVall, Mrs. Dorothy, donor 74
 Dwellings, pioneer, note on 108
 Dyer, R. H. & Co., Fort Kearny,
 freighters 302
 Dyer, W. H. & Co., Independence,
 freighters 302
 Dyer, Mason & Co., Independence,
 freighters 302
 Dyhernfurth, Capt. — 218

E

Earnheart, — 145
 Eastin, Lucian J., editorial of, quoted, 45, 46
 Echo Canyon 270
 —picture facing 272
 Edmonds, Emma, Civil War spy, note
 on 416
 Edmonds, Leslie E., Topeka 223
 Edmundson, W. H., Wilson county... 90, 419
 Edwards, J. B. 111
 Edwards, J. E. 8
 Eisenhower, Maj. Gen. Dwight, note on
 articles about 410, 411
 Elder, A. P. 335
 Elk, hitched to a buggy 405
 Ellenbecker, John G., Marshall county... 90
 92, 105, 410
 —president Kansas council of the Ameri-
 can Pioneer Trails Association 109
 Elliott, Dempsey 166
 Elliott, Mrs. George 110
 Ellsworth, "game abundant" 402
 Ellsworth *Reporter*, issue acquired by
 Historical Society 75
 Elmendaro, Fourth of July in, 1861... 167
 Elm ndaro Light Guards 167
 Elsback, M. & Co., freighters 305
 Elwood 142
 —Fourth of July in, 1859 147
 —1860 158
 Embree, Mrs. Mary, Topeka 91
 Emigrant train, picture facing 272
 Emmet, William Leroy, note on 104

Emporia, First Christian Church, eighty-
 fifth anniversary, note on 106
 —Fourth of July in, 1858 136
 —1859 144
 —1860 155, 156
 —note on history of 334
 —Robinson House 96
 Emporia *Daily Republican* 181, 198
 Endacott, Paul 206
 Engleman, Howard 211, 212
 Ennis, James 160
 Enterprise, flour mill, 1874 386
 —manufacturing in, 1874 386
 —woolen mill, under construction, 1874. 386
 Eskridge, C. V. 181
 Eskridge 417
 Eufaula, Okla. 360
 Eustis, Sen. James B., of Louisiana... 194
 —speech on Sherman anti-trust bill,
 quoted 190
 Eustis, Lt. William 127
 Euwer, Elmer E., Goodland 90, 92
 Evans, Rev. E. 144
 Evans, Harold C., of Topeka 114, 224
 —"Some Notes on College Basketball in
 Kansas," article by 199-215
 Everett, Edward 130, 150, 162
 Everett, Sarah M. C. 135
 Ewing, R. C., freighter 304
 Ewing, Thomas, Jr. 134, 156

F

Fair, D. J., Topeka 78
 Fairmount College, Wichita, basketball
 at 205, 206
 Falls City, Neb. 138, 139
 Farmers' Alliance 179, 180, 189, 190
 —newspapers of the 184
 —state meeting, 1890 184
 Farming areas, types of, in Kansas, map, 5
 Farrell, First Lt. Arthur A. 417
 Farrell, F. D. 417
 Faulkner, Lulu V., Topeka 420
 Fay, Edward Thomas, donor 74
 Fay, Mrs. Mamie Axline 91
 Fearer, Capt. D. 153
 Fenton & Purcell, freighters 305
 Ferrier, J., freighter 305
 Fickert, Earl, donor 74
 Field, Ruth Maria, donor 74
 First Supply Train, Independence, Mo... 302
 Fisher, M. C., freighter 304
 Fisher, T. M., freighter 304
 Flaherty, Ed. 419
 Flax 386
 Flint creek 121
 Flint hills, use and application of the
 term 7, 8
 Flory, Tom W., Ottawa 419
 Foltz, Daniel 144
Fontaine qui Bouille river 140
 Football, at Friends University, Wichita,
 note on 106
 Foreign settlements in Kansas, Italian,
 note on 105
 Foreman, Grant 412
 Forest City 138
 Forest Hill 144
 Forrest, Lillian, article by, noted 334
 —donor 76
 Fort Bridger, Wyo. 140, 268, 269
 —views of, 1849 and 1866 facing 241
 Fort Coffee 115, 118-123
 Fort Gibson 115-119, 121-125
 128, 363, 365, 366
 Fort Hall 269, 270
 —road 278
 Fort Jesup 116, 122
 Fort John 251

- Fort Kearny 242, 243, 302, 304
Fort Laramie 250, 251, 302, 304
Fort Leavenworth 103, 115-117
 119-123, 125-128, 140, 399
—burial of Colonel Leavenworth at,
 1902, note on 411
“Fort Leavenworth-Fort Gibson Military
Road and the Founding of Fort
Scott,” article by Louise Barry 115-129
Fort Leavenworth-Fort Kearny military
road 300, 306
Fort Leavenworth-Fort Riley military
road 38
Fort Leavenworth-Fort Scott military
road, map showing route of *facings* 129
Fort Osage, Mo., note on 410
Fort Riley 38, 40, 103, 128, 302
—airplane view of, noted 418
—band 156
—cooking school, note on 410
—ferry over Kansas river on the military
reservation, 1861, note on 112
—history and activities, notes on 418
—military police school at, note on 418
—toll bridge over Kansas river on the
military reservation, 1860, note on 112
—victory books used by soldiers of 410
—Wounded Knee monument, note on 418
Fort Riley mission 44
Fort Scott 65, 67, 115, 126-129, 366
—early views of *facings* 128
—Fourth of July in, 1859 145, 146
—1860 156, 157
—one hundredth anniversary of founding,
note on 333, 416
—street names, note on 417
“Fort Scott, The Fort Leavenworth-
Fort Gibson Military Road and the
Founding of,” article by Louise Barry,
 115-129
“Fort Scott, Forts of, and the Fateful
Borderland,” by Ralph Richards, note
on 103
Fort Scott (city), history of, notes 416, 417
Fort Scott *Tribune*, centennial edition,
 May 30, 1942, note on 416, 417
Fort Smith 117, 122-126, 346
Fort Smith and Boggy Depot road 358
Fort Snelling 116, 119, 123
Fort Towson 115-117, 119
Fort Wayne 123-127
Fort William 251
Fortescue, Ethelynn 222
“Forts of Fort Scott and the Fateful
Borderland,” by Ralph Richards, note
on 103
Fortune, Thomas L., of Mt. Pleasant 159
Fountain City, Colo. 140
Fourth of July, first in Phillips county,
note on 104
“Fourth of July in Early Kansas, 1858-
1861,” article by Cora Dolbee 130-172
Fraker, Rev. Mr. — 144
Franklin, Sunday School 169
Franklin county, first school, note on 335
Franklin County Historical Society, note
on annual meeting, 1942 420
—officers of 335
Frazer and Hughes, Lawrence 143
Frederick, A. J., escape of slaves belong-
ing to 401
Frederick, Byron 206
Free-State party 59
Freeman, Daniel 408
Freemasons, Xenia lodge, celebration of
seventy-fifth anniversary, note on 103
Freighting, Atchison as a frontier depot
for 297-308
—from Atchison, 1858, statistics on, 302, 303
Fremont 166
—Fourth of July in, 1859 144
Freport Mining Co., freighters 305
Friends University, Wichita, basketball
at 203
—note on early football at 106
Frizell, E. E., Larned 91, 110
Frontenac, celebration of mutual benefit
society at, note on 105
Frontier Guards, Nos. 1 and 2 164, 165
Frost, Judge, —, Dodge City 404
Fuller, Mrs. A. V. 109
Funston memorial committee 109
Fur traders, 1852, description of ... 240, 244
- G
- Gabel, Mrs. Florence 415
Gaeddert, J. C., Manhattan 222
Gaines, Maj. Gen. Edmund P. 122
Galva, Emmanuel Mennonite Church,
note on story of 418
Gardner, Miss — 169
Gardner, George 205, 209
Gardner, Fourth of July in, 1860 153
Garfield, Methodist church, note on his-
tory of 416
Garnett, E. B. 417
Garrett, S. B. 156
Garrison, A. F. 148
Garrison, Everett, Osborne 419, 420
Gaylord, L. B., freighter 305
Geary county, crops and weather, 1872-
1883 371-375
—first winter wheat raised in 370
Geier, J. H., Pittsburg 420
Genealogical books, acquired by Histori-
cal Society, 1940-1941, list of ... 316-323
Genoa, Nebraska territory 151
Geology, bluestem-pasture region 3
George, Sen. J. Z., of Mississippi 187, 188
Getty, R. E. 336
Ghost towns. *See* Cities and towns, ex-
tinct.
Gibson, Mrs. Arthur, Topeka 109, 420
Giffen, Guy 410
Gilbert & Gerrish, freighters 305
Gilmore, Robert 403, 404
Gilson, F. L., pageant by, note on 105
Gilson, Mrs. Lulu Purdy 221
Gimple, Kipp, donor 74
Godard, A. A., donor 74
Goddard, E. 155
Godsey, Mrs. Flora R., Emporia 91
Gold region, Rocky Mountain, Fourth of
July in, 1860 159
—routes to the 298
Golden, Mrs. —, of Oskaloosa 408
Golden City, Colo. 148
—Fourth of July in, 1860 159
Goodale, Tim, freighter 305
Goode, W. H. 148
Goodlander, C. W., work by, cited ... 66, 67
Goodnow, Isaac T. 29-31, 34, 38
—papers of, given Historical Society 74
Goodnow, William E. 38
Gookins, Milo, U. S. Indian agent 218
Goose creek 278, 279
Gould, Jay 13, 14
Gowing, Clara 170
Graham, Bvt. Maj. W. M. 127
Graham county, early buyers of grain in,
note on 103
—prehistoric monsters in, note on 415
Grahot, C. H., freighter 305
Grand river 364, 365
Grandle, H. M. 110
Grasses, in bluestem-pasture region ... 3, 4
 23- 26
Grasshopper, *The*, first Jefferson county
newspaper, note on 104, 105
Grasshopper Falls, Fourth of July in,
1861 168
Grasshoppers, in 1870's, 371, 373, 388, 389

- Gratiot, Chief Engineer C. 122
 Graves, Mrs. A. C. 110
 Graves, Hon. P. 145
 Gray, Judge —, of Wyandotte. 170
 Gray, John M. 91
 Great Spirit Spring. *See* Waconda.
 Greeley, Horace 66, 148
 Green, D. J., donor. 76
 Green, Fletcher M. 421
 Green, Sen. James S. 149
 Green, Lynne B. 410
 Green, Ora (?). 228
 Green river 267, 302
 —Black's fork of 268
 —picture of. *facings* 241
 Greene, H., of Twin Mound. 169
 Greensburg 110
 Greenwood, Mrs. Blenda Palm, donor. 74
 Greenwood county 403
 —Fourth of July in, 1861. 167
 Gregg, Mrs. Alice 110
 Gregory's diggings 148
 Griffin, Jimmy 404
 Griffith, Col. Bruce, note on. 219
 Griggs, Mrs. Fannie (Pratt), donor. 74
 Grooms, Absalom 158
 Grove, Mrs. Jessie B. 110
 Grov, Galusha A. 162
 Guise, Charles T. 105
 Guthrie, J. M. & Co., Weston, freighters 302
- H**
- Hackney, Sen. Ed. T., Wellington. 335
 Hall, Mrs. Carrie A., Leavenworth. 91
 Hamilton, Mrs. —, of Oskaloosa. 408
 Hamilton, Capt. John. 165
 Hamilton, Sgt. John. 127
 Hamilton, R. L., Beloit 91
 Hamilton, W. O. 204
 Hamlin, Fourth of July in, 1858. 139
 Hammerli, Mrs. V. N., Topeka. 420
 Hancock's expedition, 1867. 74
 Hand, George H., Rawlins county. 406
 Hand, John, reminiscences of William F. Cody, note on 334
 Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad. 298
 299, 306
 Hanuere, A., freighter 304
 Harder, Mrs. Carl 109
 Hardesty, Mrs. Frank, Merriam. 91
 Hardy, Harry A., caretaker at Shawnee Methodist Mission 78
 Hardy, Mrs. Kate 78
 Harger, Charles M. 91
 Harlan, E. W. 109
 Harlow, Rex M., author, note on. 107
 Harper, Mrs. Melville Campbell. 223
 "Harpers Ferry, Plotting After," article by James C. Malin, note on. 224
Harper's Weekly, Theodore R. Davis an artist for 74
 Harrington, Gerald F. 410
 Harrison, Rep. Albert G. 122
 Harvey, Capt. — 84
 Harvey, Mrs. A. M., Topeka. 81, 90, 97
 Harvey, Peter, of Neosho Rapids 217
 Haskell Institute, basketball at. 202, 204
 Hastie, W. L. 111
 Hatterscheidt, J. P. 138
 Haucke, Frank, Council Grove. 91
 Havana, Methodist church, note on celebration of fiftieth anniversary of. 416
 Hawes, Mrs. F. S. 221
 Hawes, Mrs. Mary C. 95
 Hawkens, Dr. —, of Ottumwa. 167
 Hays, A. & Bro., freighters. 305
 Headers, types of, used in the 1870's, 393-396
 Hedge apples, suggested as source of synthetic rubber 414
 Hedrix, C. E. 105
 Hegler, Ben F., Wichita 91
 Hemenway, S. O. 135
 Hemp, crop, 1876 386
 Henderson, Harold J. 221, 223
 Hendry, Alexander S., donor. 74
 Henry, T. C., Abilene. 11, 377, 382, 390
 Herbert, Maj. W. W. 156
 Heritage, L. T. 144
 Hiawatha 139
 Hibbs, Ben, editor *Saturday Evening Post*, note on 410
 Hickok, James Butler, note on. 410
 Hickok, "Wild Bill." *See* Hickok, James Butler.
 Hickory Point, battle of, note on. 104
 Higginson, Thomas W. 141
 Highland 234
 —old Presbyterian mission near, being restored 72, 421
 Hill, Ben, donor 74
 Hill, W. J., Missouri Pacific railroad employee 101
 Hill City, telephone exchange, note on. 106
 Hinkle, Chris, biographical sketch, note on 108
 Hinkle, Fred, reminiscences, note on. 108
 Hinton, Richard J. 132, 150
 Historical markers, end of project for. 220
 —Marais des Cygnes massacre, dedication, note on 106
 —summary of project for. 77, 78
Historical Outline of the Territorial Common Schools in the State of Kansas, by Lloyd C. Smith, note on. 335
 Historical Records Survey, American Imprints Series discontinued 77
 —county inventories published by. 77
 —issue of inventory of Morris county archives by, note on. 336
 —publication of *Guide to Public Vital Statistics Records in Kansas* by, note on 223
 —recent publications of, note on. 223
 —unpublished material of, deposited with Historical Society 336
Historical Units of Agencies of the First World War, pamphlet, note on. 422
 "History of St. Catherine's Parish, Catherine, Kansas," by Rev. Matthew Pekari, note on 422
 Hitchcock, Gen. E. A. 126
 Hite, Mrs. Frank 126
 Hoar, Sen. George F. 188, 192
 —speech of, quoted. 193
 Hobbie, Frank A., Dodge City. 90, 92
 Hoch, E. W. 85, 395
 Hoch, Homer, note on Lincoln tribute by. 414
 Hockaday, John M. & Co., mail contractors 302, 303
 Hockaday, Burr & Co., Salt Lake City, freighters 303
 Hodgeman County Historical Society, note on meeting of. 109
 Hodges, J. A. 5
 Hoexter, Peter J., donor. 76
 Hogn, John C. 90, 92
 Holladay, Ben, stage line of, note on. 105
 —story of, by John G. Ellenbecker, note on 105
 Hollenberg, G. H. 238
 —ranch house of, acquired by the state 72, 417
 —note on 417
 —officially managed by Washington County Oregon Trail Memorial Association 419
 Holliday, Col. Cyrus Kurtz. 86, 87, 414
 Holmes, J. R. 111
 Holstein, Sim 404
 Holton, history, note on. 415
 —post office, note on history of. 416

Holton *Recorder*, early issues acquired by
 Historical Society 75
 Home & Chouteau, Atchison, freighters.. 305
 Home Guards, Atchison 171
 Honnell, W. R., Kansas City 419
 Hook, Mrs. Inghram D. 419
 Hoover, Will 411
 Hope valley 292
 Hopkins, Mrs. Margaret, Manhattan... 420
 Hord & Smith, Independence, Mo.,
 freighters 302
 Horton, Albert H. 171
 Hospitals, first, in Kansas, note on... 224
 Hough, Sam 107
 Householder, S. L. 110
 Houses. See Dwellings.
 Howard, Mrs. H. M. 111
 Howe, Ed, story of, by his son Gene A.
 Howe, note on 218
 Howe, Gene A., "My Father Was the
 Most Wretchedly Unhappy Man I Ever
 Knew," article by, note on 218
 Howell, Hiram 158
 Howes, Cecil, Topeka, notes on articles
 by 103, 104, 219, 414
 Hoyt, Mrs. Jennie, Lyons 420
 Hubbell, L. W. 109
 Hudspeth's cut-off 278
 Huggins, W. L., Emporia 221
 —note on memorial to 110
 Hughes, Col. J. W. F. 86
 Hugoton, center of large gas reservoir,
 note on 411
 —history, note on 411
 Hull, Biona, donor 74
 Humboldt, Fourth of July in, 1859... 145
 Humboldt canyon 291
 Humboldt river 269, 279-286
 Humphreys, Mrs. Charles H., donor... 74
 Huncheon, R. 396
 Hungarian grass 386
 Hunt, Charles L. 90, 92
 Hutchinson, Charles L. 173
 Hutchinson, W. M., Topeka, donor... 76
 Hutchinson, William 150, 151, 161
 Hutchinson, seventieth anniversary of
 Reno county celebration in, note on... 333
 Huxman, Gov. Walter 78
 Hyatt, Thaddeus 150

I

Illinois river 120, 121, 123-125
 —Barren fork of 121
 Independence Rock, on Oregon trail, 260, 261
 Independent Order of Good Templars... 133
 Indian campaign, 1868, note on 104
 Indian missions, Iowa, Sauk and Fox
 Presbyterian, history of, noted... 421
 —main building, acquired by state... 72
 —note on restoration of 421
 —seen by John H. Clark in 1852... 234
 —Osage Catholic, ninety-fifth anniversary,
 note on 334
 —Pottawatomie Catholic, on Sugar creek,
 in present Linn county, note on... 418
 —Shawnee Methodist, brief history
 of 339, 340
 —restoration of North building
 at 339, 340
 —note on opening of 411
 —pictures of *opposite* 340, 341
 —See, also, Kansas State Historical
 Society, Shawnee Methodist Mis-
 sion.
 Indian raids, 1878, last in Kansas, note
 on 107
 Indian refugees, Civil War period, note
 on 218
 Indian removal act of 1830 115
 Indian territory 346, 348-366,
 —1860's, map showing part of 349

Indian treaties, 1867. See Medicine
 Lodge Peace Treaty.
 Indianola 154
 —Samuel Reader a settler of, 1855.... 93
 Indians, Arapahoe, treaty of 1865, note
 on 219
 —Cherokee 117, 122, 125, 126
 —Cheyenne, 1878 raid by, last in Kan-
 sas, note on 107
 —treaty of 1865, note on 219
 —Chickasaw 125, 346
 —Choctaw 122, 125, 346, 348-357
 —Creek 125, 364, 365
 —crops grown by prairie tribes, note on, 413
 —Delaware 125, 133, 370
 —Fourth of July celebration, 1861, on
 reservation of 170
 —emigrant tribes in Kansas 115
 —Iowa 125
 —Kansas or Kaw, attack on Pawnees,
 1840, description 399
 —marriage customs 216
 —war dance described 401, 402
 —Kickapoo 125
 —Missouri 125
 —Osage 126, 128, 411
 —note on article about 418
 —Otoe 125
 —Ottawa 125
 —Pawnee 151
 —attacked by Kansas Indians, 1840... 399
 —Plains, signers of Medicine Lodge Peace
 Treaty, note on 105
 —Pottawatomie 125
 —school for Indian girls at Sugar
 Creek Mission, Linn county, note
 on 418
 —Sac (or Sauk) and Fox 125
 —Seminole 125, 413
 —Shawnee 125
 —Sioux 151, 246, 412
 —Wichita 219
 —exodus of 411
 —homes of 411
 —language, note on 412
Industrial History of a Midwestern Town,
 by Kenneth A. Middleton, note
 on 223, 224
 Ingalls, John J. 180-198
 —Farmers' Alliance resolution against re-
 election of 184
 —interview on politics, quoted 183
 —political predicament of, 1891... 180-184
 —stand of, on prohibition 182, 183
 "Ingalls Amendment to the Sherman
 Anti-Trust Bill," article by David F.
 McFarland, Jr. 173-198
 Ingram, Godfrey C. 228, 238, 243, 250
 255, 257, 261, 268, 275
 Inman *Review*, fiftieth anniversary edi-
 tion, 1942, note on 219
 "Introduction to the History of the Blue-
 stem-Pasture Region of Kansas," arti-
 cle by James C. Malin 3-28
 Iola, Fourth of July in, 1860... 152, 157
 —Ross House 157
 Irvin & Young, Independence, freighters, 302
 Irvin, oldest building now a museum,
 note on 416
 Irwin, R. B. 101
 Irwin, Jackman & Co., U. S. government
 freighters 304, 305
 Italian settlement, at Frontenac, note on, 105

J

Jackson, Pres. Andrew 117
 Jackson, Nat D. 419
 Jackson, William Henry, paintings by,
 *opposite* 336
 Jackson county, first school, note on... 335

- Jackson county, Mo. 343
 Jackson's diggings. 148
 James, William, New Jersey minute man, 1776. 93
 Jardine, W. M., Wichita. 221
 Jayhawkers. 67, 68
 Jefferson Barracks, Mo. 32
 Jefferson county, first school, note on. 335
 —note on first newspaper *The Grasshopper*. 104, 105
 Jefferson Rifles. 168
 Jenkins, E. J. 158
 Jenkins, T. A. 101
 Jenks, W. S. 335
 Jennison, Charles R. 164
 Jesse's ford, Douglas county. 169
 Jewell, Rep. F. A. 129
 Jewitt, Col. —, of Leavenworth. 153
 Johnson, Mrs. —, of Oskaloosa. 408
 Johnson, Beryl, Topeka. 419
 Johnson, Clinton L., reminiscences of Plainville, note on. 106
 Johnson, Thomas. 339, 340
 Johnson, Tommy, of K. U. 204
 Johnson county. 128
 —first school, note on. 335
 Johnston, Louisa P. 419
 Johnston, Judge Saunders W. 43
 Jones, Catherine H., Emporia. 221
 Jones, Ed., Bourbon county. 68
 Jones, Horace, Lyons. 91
 Jones, Iowa, Topeka. 336
 Jones, J. W., Argonia. 95
 Jones, Lucina, Emporia. 221
 —donor. 74
 Jones, Tosa, Argonia. 95
 Jones, William. 157
 Jones & Cartwright, freighters. 305
 Jordan river. 276
 Journalism, in Kansas, history of, note on. 219
 Joy, Fred D., Salina. 342
 Junction City. 112, 371, 373, 374
 —buffalo hunting near, in 1860. 402
 —cheese factory, 1875. 386
 —Fourth of July in, 1860. 156
 —packing plant, 1883. 386
 Junction City *Union*, George W. Martin owner of. 89
- K
- Kansas territory, Legislature, 1855. 42, 43
 —not settled by New Englanders, note on. 219
 Kansas, changing population of, note on. 333
 —governors, living, 1942, note on. 410, 411
 —Legislature, 1864. 69-71
 —1893, Populist and Republican war. 85, 86
 —1941, acquisition of three historic sites made by. 72
 —regiments, First infantry. 164
 —Sixth cavalry, Company F. 112
 —Sixth Mounted volunteers. 112
 —Tenth infantry. 412
 —Twentieth infantry, note on annual reunion. 109
 —World War I, note on histories compiled of. 224
 —State House, note on building of. 414
 —quarters of Historical Society in. 82, 83
 Kansas Bluestem Pasturemen's Association. 20
 Kansas books, 1940-1941, list of, acquired by Historical Society library. 309-314
 Kansas Catholic Historical Society. 90
 Kansas Chamber of Commerce. 77
 Kansas City, Mo. 66, 308
 —American Hotel. 33
 —description of, 1855. 36
 —early-day stage coach center, note on. 333
 Kansas Council for the Social Studies, note on meeting of, 1942. 221, 222
Kansas Cowboy, Dodge City, 1884-1885, film copies made. 75
Kansas Farmer, crusades against grain speculation. 174
 "Kansas Freedman, The Story of a," edited by Alberta Pantle. 341-369
Kansas Historical Collections. 84, 85
 "Kansas Historical Notes". 109-112, 220-224
 335, 336, 419-422
Kansas Historical Quarterly. 77
 "Kansas History as Published in the Press". 103-108, 218, 219
 333, 334, 410-418
 Kansas History Teachers Association, note on meeting of, 1942. 221, 222
 Kansas Loan and Trust Company. 181
 Kansas Mounted Rangers. 171
Kansas Points of Interest—Historic, Scenic, Recreational, booklet published by two state offices. 223
 Kansas river. 34, 35, 38, 41, 57
 58, 69, 121, 128
 —valley, upper, agricultural development of, 1872-1883. 370-398
 —crops and weather, 1872-1883. 371-375
 Kansas State Agricultural College, Manhattan. See Kansas State College, Manhattan.
 Kansas State College, Manhattan, basketball at. 203-205
 —department of landscaping. 78
 —on war footing, note on. 417
 Kansas State Grange. 179, 180
 Kansas State Highway Commission, and Industrial Development Commission, note on publication issued by. 223
 —donor. 74
 Kansas State Historical Society, accessions. 76, 77
 —annual meeting, proceedings. 72-92
 —appropriations. 80
 —archives division. 73, 74
 —books added to library of, 1940-1941. 309-331
 —census division. 75
 —committee on nominations for directors, report. 90
 —depository for unpublished material of the Historical Records Survey. 336
 —directors, for year ending October, 1942. 91
 —1943. 91
 —1944. 92
 —meeting, 1941. 91
 —executive committee report, 1941. 80
 —Federal Work Projects. 77
 —First Capitol, appropriations. 80
 —repairs. 78
 —George A. Root's reminiscences of. 82-89
 —historical marker project summary. 77, 78
 —John Booth bequest. 80
 —Jonathan Pecker bequest. 79
 —Kansas newspapers, 1941 list published. 75
 —library. 72, 73
 —gift of World War collections to. 73
 —Lyon county chapter, note on meeting of. 221
 —manuscripts division. 74
 —museum. 76
 —Thomas "Flyer" automobile acquired by. 76

Kansas State Historical Society, news- paper division	76
—files acquired by	75, 76
—nominating committee	81
—report	81
—picture collection	73
—research subjects	76
—secretary's report, 1940-1941	72-79
—Shawnee Methodist Mission, appro- priations	80
—improvements at	78
—managed by	340
—Thomas H. Bowlus donation	80
Kansas State Livestock Sanitary Com- mission, creation of	16
Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, basketball at	203, 206, 208
Kansas State Teachers College, Pitts- burg, basketball at	207
Kansas Traveling Libraries Commission, note on	219
<i>Kansas Weekly Herald</i> , Leavenworth	45
Kansas Wesleyan University, Glenn L. Martin athletic field, note on	107
Kansas Writers' program, Work Projects Administration, history of nursing in Kansas compiled by, note on	224
—note on publications issued by	224
Kanwaca, Fourth of July in, 1861	169
Kaw river. <i>See</i> Kansas river.	
Kearny, Col. Stephen W.	118, 119, 242
Keelan, —, Missouri Pacific railroad employee	100
Kelley, "Gen." —, leader Coxey's army brigade	102
Kelley, Charles, article by, note on	333
Kelley, Thomas D.	167
Kellogg, Milo B.	412
Kemper, Lee, Garden City	420
Kennedy, Dr. —, U. S. A.	399
Keohane, Robert E.	222
Kerr, Frances W.	410
Kesseling, Peter	407
Ketchum store, Wichita, note on	104
Keyes, Judge —	167
Kickapoo, American Hotel	138
—Fourth of July in, 1858	138
Kincaid, Mrs. Anna Vertrees	108
King, Mrs. Florence	335
King, Col. Henry	414
King, Rev. T. Starr	151
Kingman, Judge Samuel A., began His- torical Society's collections	82
Kinkead, W., freighter	305
Kiowa county, history, notes on	110
Kiowa County Historical Society, note on "Gold Ribbon Pioneer Party," sponsored by	110
Kirwin, history, note on	105
—old settlers' day, note on	107
Knapp, Dallas W., Coffeyville	90, 92
Kneudson, S., freighter	304
Knight, James	228
Knights of Labor	173
Knipe, S., freighter	304
Kob, Dr. Charles F.	138
Kook, Kalas	345-348
Kranhold, John, Jr., donor	74
Kriegbaum, Hillier, author "American Newspaper Reporting of Science News," note on	111
Kunkle, Gertrude S., donor	76

L

La Bonte creek	254, 255
Labonto	302
Lacock, Capt. —	171
Ladd, E. D.	169
Lamb, John	374
Lampe, T. H., article by, cited	8, 20, 21

<i>Lamps on the Prairie—A History of Nursing in Kansas</i> , compiled by the Writers' program of the Work Projects Administration, note on	224
Lance, John	207, 214
Lane, Gen. James H.	84, 135, 153, 163, 166
Langley, J. S.	221
Langley, Richard	221
Lapsley, Larry, Negro, description and facts concerning	341, 342
—story of	342-369
Lapsley, Samuel	342-344
Lapsley family, note on	342
Laramie Peak	254
Laramie river	251
Lassen, Peter	281
Lassen's meadows	281
Laughlin, Mrs. Robert	110
Lawrence, A. A.	74
Lawrence	142, 152
—"Athens" of Kansas	414
—Fourth of July in, 1858	133, 134
—1859	142, 143
—manufacturing, history published in booklet by Kenneth A. Middle- ton, note on	223, 224
—Mount Oread	37
—Oak Grove cemetery, note on	333
—pioneer dwellings, note on	108
—siege of 1856	45-64
—note on	333
Lawrence <i>Journal-World</i> , W. C. Simons, publisher	410
Lawrence party, gold seekers	140
Lawrence Stubbs, military company	143
Leahy, David D., writer, note on	107
Learnard, Tracy, donor	74
Learned, James	342
Learned, Lily	342
Leatherman, J.	95
Leavenworth, Col. Henry, buried at Fort Leavenworth	411
Leavenworth	45, 46, 300, 308
—Fourth of July in, 1858	138
—1859	146, 147
—1861	170, 171
—Planter's Hotel	171
—social life in, 1864	68-70
Leavenworth county, first school, note on	335
Leavenworth <i>Times</i>	197
Lebanon, Fourth of July in, 1858	137
Lecompton	57, 59, 60
—American Hotel	135
—Fourth of July in, 1858	135
—1861	168, 169
—river scene, 1855, reproduction of litho- graph showing	facings 57
—Rowena Hall	168
Lecompton party, gold seekers	140
Lee, Thomas Amory, gift to Historical Society by widow of	73
—on executive committee Historical So- ciety	72
Lee, Mrs. Thomas Amory	73
Lee's creek	120
Lee's creek mountain	120
Leona, note on anniversary celebration of Bellevue Evangelical Church near	104
"Letters From Kansas," by Julia Louisa Lovejoy	29-44
"Letters of David R. Cobb, 1858-1864"	65-71
Lewelling, Gov. L. D.	86
Lexington, Mo.	231
Lillard, T. M.	76, 91
—member executive committee Historical Society	72
Lilleston, W. F.	90, 92
Lillie, Gordon W., death of, noted	333
Limbird, Homer, Olathe	109

- Limbird, Mrs. Homer, Olathe..... 420
 Lincoln, Pres. Abraham 161, 162
 —tribute by Homer Hoch, note on..... 414
 Lincoln, Luke P. 30-32, 34
 Lincoln, Robert 150
 Lindsborg, "Svensk Hyllnings Fest"..... 110
 Lindsley, H. K., Wichita 91
 Lingenfelter, Rev. Angelus, Atchison.... 90
 Linn, Sen. Lewis F. 122
 Linn county 128
 —first school, note on 335
 —Fourth of July in, 1859..... 146
 —pasture region in 5
 Lister, use of, in Kansas, early 1880's
 396-398
 Liston, Emil S. 209
 Litchen, Ruth E. 222
 Little, John A., deputy U. S. marshal. . 68
 Little Bear, Osage chief, note on article
 about 108
 Little Blue river 239, 343
 Little Osage river 67, 121
 Little Sandy creek, Neb. 238
 Little Sandy river, Wyo. 267
 Livestock, boom in thoroughbred stock
 in 1880's 11
 —grazing region of 3-
 Livingston, Bell & Co., freighters..... 304
 Livingston, Kinkead & Co., New York,
 freighters 301, 302
 Lockhart, Hon. John 145, 153
 Lonborg, Arthur "Dutch" 206, 212
 Long, Chester I., papers of, given His-
 torical Society 74
 Lord, John 104
 Lost creek 121
 Louisiana territory, purchase negotiated
 by Francois Barbé-Marbois..... 336
 Louisville, Ky. 229
 Lovejoy, Rev. Charles H. 29-32, 34
 38, 42- 44
 Lovejoy, Edith Urania 37
 Lovejoy, Elijah P. 31
 Lovejoy, Irving Roscoe 29
 Lovejoy, Mrs. Julia Louisa 2
 —biographical note 29, 30
 —"Letters From Kansas" 44
 Lovejoy, Juliette 29
 Lowe, Albert, biographical sketch, note
 on 410
 Lowe, Lambert "Butch"..... 207
 Lowe, Margaret 221, 411
 Lowman, E. S. 169
 Lowman, Mary D. 408
 Ludell, 1884 406-408
 Ludwick, Mrs. Bernice 419
 Lumley, R. D. 221
 Lunt, George 150
 Lupfer, A. H. 110, 111
 Lyle, Mrs. Frank 109
 Lynam, O. W. 109
 Lynchings, in Augusta-Eldorado county-
 seat war, note on..... 410
 Lynde, Edward 168
 Lyndon 417
 Lyon, E. Wilson, *The Man Who Sold
 Louisiana*, note on 336
 Lyon county, Confederate raid into, note
 on 218
 —first school, note on 335
 Lyon county Historical Society, note on
 meeting of 110
 Lyons, Ida G. 111
 Lythe, Delphine 367
- M
- Mabie's circus, at Lawrence, 1859..... 143
 McBratney, Robert 372
 McClarkle, Wm., freighter 304
 McClenny, Mrs. George L., Topeka 221
 McCloud, P. 213
 McClure, J. R. 156
 McCoy, Alvin S. 411
 McCracken, Mrs. Ada B. 335
 McCulloch, Brig. Gen. Henry E. 346, 347
 McDowell, I. C. 107
 MacElhenny, Mrs. Margaret..... 109
 McFarland, David F., Jr. 114
 —"The Ingalls Amendment to the Sher-
 man Anti-Trust Bill," article by. . 173-198
 McFarland, Helen M. 91
 —"Recent Additions to the Library,"
 compiled by 309-331
 McFarland, J. 379
 McGee, E. M. 163
 MacGregor, Sen. Riley W.,
 Medicine Lodge 106
 McKinney, Mrs. J. C. 221
 McLallin, Dr. S. 184
 McLaughlin, Orson "Shorty" 207, 208
 Maclean, Lt. Col. Lauchlan A. 347
 McLean, Brig. Gen. Milton R. 81, 90
 92, 224
 —on executive committee Historical So-
 ciety 72
 McManus, Rev. John, Wilson..... 420
 McMillen, Loring 422
 McMindes, Mrs. Jess, note on historical
 verses by 107
 McMurry, Donald L., work by, referred
 to 100
 McNeal, Louise, Topeka 221
 McNeal, Thomas A., Topeka.... 90, 92, 413
 McNeil, Maj. W. G. 117
 Macomb, Alexander, commander-in-chief
 of the U. S. Army 122
 McPherson, seventieth anniversary, note
 on 416
 McPherson College, basketball at. 208
 McPike & Allen 404
 McQuade, J. G. 139
 Madison Center, Fourth of July in,
 1861 167
 Mahan, Ernest 222
 Malin, James C. 2, 77, 90, 92, 338
 —"An Introduction to the History of the
 Bluestem-Pasture Region of Kansas,"
 article by 3- 28
 —"Plotting After Harpers Ferry: The
 'William Handy' Letters," article by,
 note on 224
 —president Historical Society. . 72, 81, 91
 —"The Soft Winter Wheat Boom and the
 Agricultural Development of the
 Upper Kansas River Valley"..... 370-398
 —vice president of Agricultural History
 Society 421
 Malone, James, Topeka..... 91
 Malott, Deane, Lawrence. 221
Man Who Sold Louisiana, The, by E.
 Wilson Lyon, note on 336
 Manhattan, Chamber of Commerce, note
 on 417
 —Fourth of July in, 1858..... 136
 —1860 156
 —incidents in the founding of..... 29- 44
 —Red Cross, note on 418
 —stone houses, note on 417
 —war contributions of, note on 418
 Manhattan *Morning Chronicle and Mer-
 cury*, "Progress Edition," 1942, note
 on 417, 418
 Mansfield, Fourth of July in, 1861.... 170
 Manufacturing, in Lawrence, history pub-
 lished in booklet by Kenneth A. Mid-
 dleton, note on 223, 224
 Mapleton, Bourbon county..... 65
 Marais des Cygnes massacre, note on... 416
 —dedication of Kansas Historical
 Marker, note on..... 106
 —site of, acquired by the state..... 72
 Marais des Cygnes river 66, 67
 120-124, 126
 Marcy, Gen. Randolph B. 78

- Marion, Presbyterian Church, note on
seventieth anniversary celebration
of 415, 416
- Marion county, first church in, note
on 415, 416
- Markham, V. D. 158
- Marmaton river 67, 121, 126, 127
- Marmiton 65, 68, 69
- Marshall, Charles, assistant state archi-
tect 78, 339
- Marshall, Frank J., Marysville,
freighter 238, 302
- Marshall county, dedication of marker on
Oketo cut-off of stage line, note on... 105
- first school, note on 335
- Marten, M., freighter 305
- Martin, C., Green River, freighter 302
- Martin, Gen. Charles I., Topeka 109
- Martin, George W., biographical
data 88, 89
- Martin, Glenn L., biographical sketch,
note on 107
- Martin, John A. 171
- Marysville 302
- story of a lawsuit, by Gerald F. Har-
rington, note on 410
- Mason, Eli C., freighter 305
- Mason, Marshal Joe 403
- Mason, Lt. Col. Richard B. 124, 125
- Mason, S. G. & Co., Independence, Mo.,
freighters 302
- Masonic orders. *See* Freemasons.
- Masterson, Bat, Dodge City 403, 404
- Masterson, Ed., Dodge City marshal... 404
- Matterson, Mrs. Anna, of Rogers, Ark... 109
- Maxwell & Walker, freighters 305
- Means, Hugh 91
- Mechem, Kirke 91, 220, 335
- addresses Franklin County Historical
Society 420
- secretary Historical Society 79
- report of 72-79
- Medary, Samuel 162, 163
- Medary, Samuel A. 156, 162, 163
- Medicine Lodge, celebration of Indian
peace treaty anniversary at 105
- Medicine Lodge Peace Treaty, quinquen-
nial celebration, notes on pageant re-
enacting 103, 105
- Medicine Lodge Peace Treaty Associa-
tion 106
- Melvin, Dr. Frank E., Lawrence 74
- Mennonites, monument to, Newton, note
on 420
- Merk, John 419
- Methodist conference, 1860 154
- Mexican War 128
- Meyer, Mrs. X. O. 109
- Miami county 128
- first school, note on 335
- Michener, Mr. ——— 93
- Mickel, W. H. 144
- Middleton, Kenneth A. 223
- Military frontier, Western, line of, 1845,
map facing 120
- Military road, Fort Leavenworth to, Fort
Gibson 115-129
- Fort Kearny 300, 306
- Fort Riley 38
- Mill, Neosho Rapids, 1860 217
- Miller, C. R. 382
- Miller, David H. 412
- Miller, E. H. 419
- Miller, Karl, Dodge City 90, 92
- Miller, Nyle H., Topeka 221, 422
- Miller, Mrs. Percy 109
- Miller, Sol 163, 171
- Millet 386, 387
- Millikan, Mardie B., donor 74
- Milling, Wichita, 1880, note on 412
- Million, George M. 297
- Millis, Mr. ——— 404
- Mine Creek, battle of, 1864, note on... 416
- Minneola, Fourth of July in, 1858. 134
- 1861 169
- Mission creek settlement, Fourth of July
in, 1860 155
- Mississippi river 230
- Missouri 117, 120, 122, 124-129
- Missouri capitol, description of. 33, 34
- Missouri river 115, 117, 125, 230-232
- steaming on 400
- Mitchell, Mrs. ———, of Mansfield. 170
- Mitchell, Sen. John H., of Oregon. 193
- Mitchell, William, donor 74
- Mitchner, Bert E. 221
- Mize, ——— 11
- Moffet, Mrs. A. H. 110
- Mohler, Jacob C., fifty years of service
to Kansas farmers. 414
- Moneka 146
- Monrovia, Fourth of July in, 1858. . 139, 140
- 1860 158
- Montgomery, Capt. James 65-68, 137
146, 164
- Monypeny, Bill, basketball coach. 209
- Moodie, Minnie S. 221
- Mooney, Mrs. Margaret 109
- Moore, Capt. B. D. 126, 127
- Moore, H. H. 169
- Moore, Mayor John C. 160
- Moore, Russell 90, 92
- Moreau, J. F., deputy sheriff 101
- Morgan, Isaac B., Kansas City. . 79, 81, 91
- Mormon trail 336
- Mormons 276, 277
- in Salt Lake City. 271-275
- Morris county, first school, note on... 335
- inventory of archives of, published... 336
- Morse, Mrs. ———, of Oskaloosa. 408
- Morse, Elizabeth S. 170
- Morse, Park 221
- Morse, Theodore W. 108, 418
- Morton, P. G. D. 167
- Motte, Dr. J. R. 126
- Mound City 128
- Catholic church, dedicated, note on... 418
- Fourth of July in, 1858. 137
- Mary Somerville Library, note on his-
tory of 108
- Mount Zion Methodist Church, Brown
county 417
- Mountain City, Colo. 140
- “Mud Springs,” Cal. 295
- Mueller, Harrie S., donor 74
- Mulberry 129
- Murdock, Hugh, freighter 304, 305
- Murdock, Marshall M. 197
- campaign against speculation. 175-179
- Murdock, Victor 90, 92
- articles by, notes on. 104, 218, 219
- list of articles written by 411-414
- Murphy, Ray V. 78
- Music, fragment of Revolutionary War
martial tune 93
- Mutual benefit society, first in Kansas,
note on 105
- Myer, Rodney 105
- Myers & Lockhart, freighters. 305
- Myres' cut-off, on California road. 278
- N
- Naismith, Dr. James A. . 199, 200, 204, 212
- Memorial Fund 215
- Names, geographical, notes on changes
in Kansas 414
- Nation, Carrie A. 88
- Nation, Odella 221
- National Archives, Washington, D. C. . 421
- National Interscholastic Basketball tourna-
ment, first held in 1938. 209
- National Resources Planning Board. 421

Native Sons and Daughters of Kansas, note on annual meeting, 1942.....	221
Nebraska territory, Fourth of July in, 1860	151
Needham, Dana	335
Nealey, S. T., U. S. marshal.....	101, 102
Negro slave, story of a.....	342-369
Nelson, E. E.	336
Nemaha county, first school, note on.....	335
Nemaha river	138, 237
Neosho Rapids, community mill-building project, 1860	217
New York <i>Tribune</i>	58
Newell, Mr. —, of Manhattan.....	156
Newsom, James M.	143
Newspapers, odd and humorous names of, note on.....	104
Newton, Dwight B.	419
Newton, monument to Turkey Red Winter Wheat dedicated, note on.....	420
Nicholson, John C., Newton	91
—donor	74
Nickel, Frank W., donor	74
Nixon, Max, Topeka sculptor.....	420
Noble, Chase	95
Norris, Mrs. George	91
North Fork Town, Creek nation.....	360-363
Norton, Col. —, Dodge City.....	403, 404
Norton, Henry	110
<i>Norton County, Kansas, Seventy Years in, 1872-1942</i> , by D. N. Bowers, note on	336
<i>Norton County Champion, The</i> , Norton, history of Norton county by D. N. Bowers, published by	336
Nourse, Louis M.	419
Nursing, in Kansas, history of, note on.....	224
Nute, E.	74
O	
Oak Mills, seventy-four-year-old post office, note on	333
Oakland Presbyterian Church, Topeka. See Topeka, Oakland Presbyterian Church.	
Oberlin, Kansas Historical Marker at, mentioned	107
Ogden, Peter Skene.....	279
Ogden's river	279
Oil field, Mid-Continent, note on.....	219
Oketo cutoff, on Ben Holladay's Overland Stage Line, note on dedication of marker on	105
Olathe	128, 145
Olathe <i>Herald</i> , two early issues acquired by Historical Society	75
O'Leary, Theodore M.	410
Oliver, Hannah F., Lawrence.....	91
Olson, Lois	421
Olsson, Olof, founder of Lindsborg, note on	110
O'Neil, Dr. —	153
Oregon	138
Oregon trail	336, 340
—Hollenberg ranch house on, acquired by the state	72, 417
Oregon Trail Memorial Association, 109.....	336
O'Rourke, Steve, basketball coach.....	207
Osage county, first school, note on.....	335
Osage county, Okla., southern end of bluestem-pasture region	3
Osage orange. See Hedge.	
Osage-pasture region of Oklahoma.....	5
"Osage Reservation, Dissolution of the," by Berlin B. Chapman, note on	418
Osage river. See Marais des Cygnes river.	
Osawatimie, Fourth of July in, 1858.....	135
Osborn, Mrs. Clarence E., donor.....	74
Osborn, H. A.	221
Osborne, Hattie	221

Osborne county, School District No. 28, note on history of.....	333
Oskaloosa Guards, military company....	168
Otis, J. G.	165
Ottaway, B. M., Pomona.....	335
Overland journey, 1862, described in letter of Seth N. Doty.....	400
Overland stage, to the mountains.....	300
"Overland to the Gold Fields of California in 1852," journal of John H. Clark	227-296
Owen, Mrs. E. M., Lawrence.....	111
Owen, Jennie Small, Topeka, donor....	74
Owen, Mrs. Lena V. M., Lawrence.....	91
Oxen, note on.....	218
Oxford	145
Ozark mountains	120

P

Pacific Springs.....	265
Padilla, Father Juan de, legend, note on	410
Padonia	139
Paine, C. A.	221
Paleontology, Graham county, note on.....	415
Palmetto	302
Pantle, Alberta, Topeka	338
—"The Story of a Kansas Freedman," edited by.....	341-369
Paola	128
Parallel road.....	298, 299
Pardee, Gene, pioneer, note on.....	104
Park, George Shepard.....	40
Parker, A. S.	159
Parker, A. S. & Co., freighters.....	303-305
Parker, Rev. R. D.	139
Parkerson, Harriet, estate, donor.....	74
Parkhurst, Ellen G., donor	93
Parks, Charlie.....	405
Parkville, Mo.....	40
Parr, Marshal J. R.	157
Parrish, Fred L., note on paper by.....	222
Parrish, Paul, gift to Historical Society by family of.....	73
Parrott, M. J.	170
Parsons, Luke Fisher.....	367, 368
—biographical sketch.....	366
Parsons, William B.....	132, 140
Pasture, methods of leasing.....	19-21
—rental prices of.....	21, 22
Pasture region, bluestem, in Kansas.....	3-28
Patrick, Mrs. Mae C., Satanta.....	91
Patton, James.....	412
Paullin, William Theodore, Lawrence.....	222
Pawnee	40, 42, 43
"Pawnee Bill." See Lillie, Gordon W.	
Pawnee county, pioneer days, note on.....	111
Pawnee County Historical Society, note on meeting of.....	110
"Pawnee Fork, Attack on General Marcy's Train Near, 1867," water color, gift to Historical Society.....	73
Payne, David L.	412
—note on photograph of colony of.....	104
Payne, Mrs. Loyal F., Manhattan.....	91, 417
Pea Ridge, battle of, mentioned.....	345
Peffer, W. A.	174
Pekari, Rev. Matthew.....	422
Penny, Mrs. W. A.	335
Perry, C. A. & Co., Weston, freighters.....	302
Perry, N. P., freighter.....	305
Perry, history, note on.....	104
Perry <i>Mirror</i> , forty-third anniversary edition, note on.....	104
Perryville, Choctaw nation.....	362, 363
Peterson, Arthur G.....	421
Peterson, Mrs. Carl.....	111
Pflaum, George R. R., Emporia.....	221
Phelps, Thomas A., New Orleans, slave.....	163
Philip, Mrs. W. D., Hays.....	80, 91

Phillips, Wendell.....	141
Phillips, Col. William A., biographical sketch.....	365
Phillips county, first Fourth of July in, note on.....	104
—old settlers' day, note on.....	107
Pihlblad, Dr. Ernst F., reminiscences of Bethany College by, note on.....	410
Pike, Zebulon Montgomery, note on.....	416, 417
Pike's Peak, Fourth of July, 1858, in area around.....	140
—routes to the gold region of.....	298
Pingrey, Mrs. C. O.....	419
Pipher, John, of Manhattan.....	156
"Pittsburg, Kansas, Guide to," note on publication of by Kansas Writers' program.....	224
Placerville, Cal.....	295
—Ohio House.....	295
—view of, 1850's.....	273
Plainville, reminiscences by C. L. Johnson, note on.....	106
Platt, Sen. O. H., of Connecticut, speech of, quoted.....	195, 196
Platte river.....	140, 241, 242, 246-248, 251-253, 257, 258
Platte route.....	299
Pleasant Hill, Cass county, Mo.....	343
Plow, steam, first in Kansas.....	396
Plows and plowing.....	389-392
Plumb, Preston B.....	144, 167, 180, 188
—note on article about.....	334
Plunkett, Tommy.....	404
PM, New York, issues acquired by Historical Society.....	75
Poinsett, Joel R., secretary of war.....	118, 120, 123
Poliska (Poleska).....	38
Pomeroy, Samuel C.....	74, 147, 158, 163
Pomme de Terre.....	121
Pony Express, Hollenberg ranch house on route of, acquired by the state.....	72
—history of, notes on.....	417
Ponziglione, Father Paul Mary, S. J., note on unpublished work of.....	334
Poort, Milton.....	207, 208
Populists, in legislative war, 1893.....	85, 86
Porter, Mrs. Clyde H.....	419
Pottawatomie county, northern end of bluestem-pasture region.....	3
Potter, Hester.....	417
Powderly, T. V.....	173
Prairie fire, protection against, note on.....	218
—Washington county, 1872.....	402
"Prairie-Plains Environment, The Adaptation of Population and Agriculture to," mention of research project on.....	3
Pratt, George, of Museum.....	95
Price, Harry B., Cherokee.....	110
Price, Ralph R., Manhattan.....	90, 92
Price, Gen. Sterling.....	347
Price, Tom, of Lyon county.....	221
Pringle, Robena, Topeka.....	222
Printing, early, in Kansas, note on.....	421
Procter, A. G.....	144
Proctor, Alvin, note on paper by.....	222
"Proslavery March Against Lawrence, Notes on the".....	45-64
Proslavery party.....	59
Proslavery proclamation of May 11, 1856, quoted.....	45
Protection of Cultural Resources Against the Hazards of War, pamphlet, note on.....	421
Prouty, S. S.....	94
Pugh, Sen. George E.....	131

Q

Quantrill, William C.....	133, 134
—member of guerrilla band of, note on.....	103
Quarles, William.....	163
Quarrier, Mrs. J. W.....	419
Quigley, Ernest C.....	213
Quindaro, wind storm, 1860.....	158
Quinlan, L. R., Manhattan.....	78

R

R. A. F., Kansas and Missouri boys in, note on.....	333
Radford, Cabot & Co., St. Louis, freighters.....	302
Raft river.....	278
Railroad, first, in Kansas.....	415
Railroading, "hazards of," in 1877.....	404
Railroads, cattle market via.....	12-15, 17, 18
—early, in Kansas, notes on history of.....	414, 415
Rainfall, in bluestem-pasture region.....	3
Rallston, J., freighter.....	304
Ranching, new book on, noted.....	336
Range, free, disappearance of.....	12
Rankin, Sen. Robert C.....	81, 90, 91, 111
—on executive committee Historical Society.....	72, 80
Raser, L. H.....	109
Raser, Mrs. Margaret.....	109
Ratner, Gov. Payne.....	78
Ratzlaf, Rev. J. J.....	418
Raynesford, H. C., Ellis.....	90, 92
Raynolds, Leroy.....	110
Raysville. See Lebanon.	
Reader, Samuel J.....	93, 154, 165
—diary of, quoted.....	154, 155
Reagon, Sen. John H., of Texas.....	185-188
Reapers, and harvesters, used in the 1870's.....	382
"Recent Additions to the Library," compiled by Helen M. McFarland.....	309-331
Recreation areas, Kansas, guide to, note on.....	224
Red river.....	117, 119, 123, 125, 344, 345, 347, 348
Redfield, Abram.....	126
Redfield, M. A.....	157
Redpath, James.....	132
Reed, Sen. Clyde M., Parsons.....	91
Reed, George, Saline county.....	415
Reed, H. L., of Pawnee county.....	110
Reeder, Gov. Andrew H.....	43, 339
Reese, Iden, Kansas City.....	222
Reid, Albert T., donor.....	74
Reif, P.....	205
Remington, Frederic.....	414
Remsburg, George J.....	410
—article by, note on.....	333
Reno county, seventieth anniversary celebration, note on.....	333
Revolutionary War, fragment of martial tune of.....	93
Reynald & McDonald, Fort Laramie, freighters.....	302
Rhett, Robert Barnwell.....	142
Rhodes, Dr. F. H.....	419
Rice corn, notes on.....	387, 412
Richards, Ralph, author of "The Ports of Fort Scott and the Fateful Borderland," note on.....	103
Richards, W. M., Emporia.....	221
Richardson, Albert D.....	139, 140, 159
Richardson, Mrs. Howard.....	221
Ridings, Sam P., mentioned.....	219
Ridley, J. S.....	143
Riegle, Sen. Wilford, Emporia.....	91

- Riepma, Margaret 410
 Riley, Gen. Bennett, note on 218
 Riley, Richard 407
 Riley county, first school, note on 335
 —war contributions of, note on 418
 —wheat and corn acreage and yield, 1872-1884 383
 Risley brothers 228
 Roads, Sedgwick county, note on 413
 Robb, George, state auditor 341
 Roberts, J. W. 414
 Roberts, William Y. 157
 Roberts & Landerdale, freighters 305
 Robinson, B. F., Salina 342, 368
 —biographical sketch 341
 Robinson, Mrs. B. F. *See* Robinson, Mrs. S. Adelaide (Smith).
 Robinson, Gov. Charles 74, 134
 Robinson, Florence 335
 Robinson, Mrs. S. Adelaide (Smith), 341, 342
 Robinson, Mrs. Sara T. D., note on 219
 Robley, T. F., work by, cited 66-68
 Rochester 154
 Rockwell, Mrs. Bertrand, reminiscences of, note on 411
 Rogers, James, freighter 304
 Rogers, John, Cherokee Indian 126
 Rogers, Mrs. Mary 107
 Rogler, Henry, article by, cited 26
 Rohrer, Mrs. E. E. 111
 Roosa, T. J. 156
 Root, Mrs. Emma 227
 Root, Frank A. 227
 Root, George A., Topeka 90, 227, 419
 —donor 76
 —member Historical Society staff for fifty years 81
 —"Reminiscences of the Historical Society" 82-89
 Root, Gov. J. P. 157
 Ropes, Mrs. Hannah Anderson, letters of, note on 422
 Rose, Charles L. 336
 Rose, O. J., author "Looking Backward Over Fifty Years," note on 417
 Rowe, Mrs. Nellie 109
 Rowland, Mrs. Jessie Hill, McPherson 416
 Ruff, Lt. Chas. F. 399
 Runnymede, note on 412
 Rupp, Mrs. W. E., Hillsboro 91
 Ruppenthal, Judge J. C., Russell 91
 —records given Historical Society 74
 Rural Electrification Administration, in Bourbon county, note on 416
 Rushville, Mo. 297
 Russell, W. J., Topeka 90, 92
 Russell, William Howard 161
 Russian thistle 25
 Ryan, E. C. 221
 Ryan, Ernest A. 91
 Ryan, John 228
 Rydjord, John, note on paper by 222
- S**
- Sacramento, Cal. 296
 Sacramento valley 295, 296
 Sageser, A. B., Manhattan 222
 St. Benedict's abbey and parish, Atchison, note on diamond jubilee of 106
 St. George, Mount Zion (U. B.) church near, note on 108
 St. John's College, Winfield, basketball at 209, 210
 St. Joseph, Mo. 158, 232, 308
 —tri-weekly stage from, 1859 209
 St. Louis, Mo. 230
 —Missouri Hotel 81
 St. Mary's College, St. Marys, basketball at 207
 St. Paul, early history, note on 334
 St. Paul *Journal*, historical edition May 7, 1942, note on 334
 St. Peters' river 117
 St. Pierre, Lucille, adventures of, among the Osage Indians, note on 334
 Salina 367
 —history, by George Reed, note on 415
 Saline county, crops and weather, 1872-1888 372-375
 —pioneers 341
 —wheat and corn acreage and yield, 1872-1884 383
 Salisbury, Byron F. 336
 Salt industry, note on 413
 Salt Lake 273, 276
 Salt Lake City 271-275, 302, 304
 Salt Lake road 267, 278
 Salt Lake valley 272, 303
 Samuels, J., freighter 305
 Sand Springs, historical marker for Chisholm trail near 111
 Sanders, "Gen." J. S., brigade of Coxe's army led by 100-102
 Sanders Industrial Army 100-102
 Sandy, G. H. 221
 Sanford, Mr. —, of Massachusetts 169
 Santa Fe, N. M. 307
 Santa Fe trail 336, 340
 —caravan to cover route of, 1942 109
 Satterthwaite, J. M., Douglass 410
 Satterwait, Alvin 63
 Saunders, E. D., of Doniphan county 421
 Sayers, William L. 91
 —donor 74
 Scandinavians in Kansas, note on 110
 Schaefer, Muriel, writer, note on 107
 Schafer, A. E. 336
 Schaffler, Edward R. 411
 Schell, A. J., Pennsylvania, freighter 303
 Schmidt, J. F. 156
 Schofield, Maj. Gen. John M. 362
 Schollenberger, Mrs. Maude G., Wichita, 221
 Schools, early, note on 414
 —territorial, outline of, by Lloyd C. Smith, noted 335
 Schulte, Paul C., Leavenworth 91
 Schultz, Floyd B., Clay Center 91
 Scott, Mrs. Jessie 109
 Scott, Marion 107
 Scott, Gen. Winfield 126, 417
 Scott-Watson, James A. 421
 Scott City, brigade of Coxe's army captured at 100-102
 Scott's Bluffs 249, 250
 Scranton, Alvin 415
 Sears, Mrs. W. H. 111
 —donor 74
 Second Supply Train, Independence 302
 Sedgwick, history, notes on 104, 107
 Seelye, Mrs. A. B., Abilene 111
 —donor 74
 Seneca *Weekly Courier*, 1871-1875, film copy acquired by Historical Society 75
Seventy Years in Norton County, Kansas, 1872-1942, by D. N. Bowers, note on 336
 Seville, William P. 140
 Shanklin, S. T. 101
 Shannon, Gov. Wilson 59
 —portrait and biographical note *facings* 56
 Sharps rifles 62
 Shattuck, Willis H. 107
 Shaw, Marshal S. H. 153
 Shawnee, Shawnee House 145
 Shawnee county, first school, note on 535
 "Shawnee Methodist Mission, Restoration of the North Building at" 339, 340
 Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society 78, 90, 340, 419
 —note on meeting of 109

Sheets, Mrs. Dolly..... 221
 Shelter belt. See Trees.
 Shelton, Prof. E. M., Manhattan..... 396
 Shepard, Mrs. Clifton..... 109
 Sherman Anti-Trust bill..... 185-196
 "Sherman Anti-Trust Bill, Ingalls
 Amendment to the," article by
 David F. McFarland, Jr..... 173-198
 Sherman county, naming of, note on..... 219
 Shideler, H. W., Girard..... 110
 Shideler, Ralph J., Girard..... 110
 Shields' Guards, Leavenworth..... 138
 Shinn, J. E..... 335
 Shipley, Albert M., Coffeyville..... 109, 420
 Shively, John..... 410
 Shoop, Duke..... 410
 Shrewder, Mrs. Dorothy Berryman..... 223
 Sibley, Mary Easton, note on..... 410
 Sides, Tom..... 405
 Silence, L..... 158
 Silk manufacture, notes on..... 219, 386, 414
 Silkville, Franklin county, note on..... 410
 Silver creek..... 121
 Simons, W. C., Lawrence..... 91
 —biographical sketch, note on..... 410
 Simpson, Asst. Surgeon J..... 127
 Simpson, Samuel N..... 74, 169
 Sims, D. P., Hill City, note on..... 106
 Skinner, Alton H., Kansas City..... 91
 Slaves, Negro, escape from Atchison,
 1856..... 410
 —story of escape from Texas... 342-369
 Sloan, —..... 228
 Sloan, E. R., Topeka..... 91
 Smith, A. W..... 153
 Smith, E. A..... 165
 Smith, Mrs. Harry, of Wilson county... 419
 Smith, Jessica, Wichita..... 222
 Smith, Ralph H., Pittsburg..... 110
 Smith, Mrs. Ralph H., Pittsburg..... 110
 Smith, Mrs. Ross B., Pittsburg..... 90
 Smith, Maj. T. F..... 117
 Smith, William E., Wamego..... 90, 92
 Smoky Hill river..... 367
 Smoky Hill route..... 299
 Smythe, Prof. Bernard B..... 83
 Snyder, —, of Monrovia..... 158
 Snyder, Alice Evans..... 221
 Snyder, S. J. H..... 139
 Social Science Research Council, New
 York..... 3
 Soda Springs..... 269
 "Soft Winter Wheat Boom and the Ag-
 ricultural Development of the Upper
 Kansas River Valley, The," by James
 C. Malin..... 370-398
 Solander, Mrs. T. T..... 90, 92
 Somers, John G., Newton..... 90, 92
 Sorensen, Anders, note on story about... 416
 Sorghum..... 386, 387
 "Sound on the goose"..... 48, 53
 —explanation of term..... 46
 Soupe, William..... 108
 South Pass, of the Rocky mountains... 265
 Southwestern College, Winfield, basket-
 ball at..... 205, 206, 209, 210
 Spangler, Irma, of Douglas county..... 111
 Sparnis creek..... 121
 Spavinaw creek..... 125
 Spence, Dugald..... 419
 Spencer, Jesse, Humboldt creek..... 370
 Spencer, John C., secretary of war... 126
 Spilman, John..... 228
 Spohn, Gerald..... 207, 208
 Spottswood & Jacobs, freighters..... 305
 Spring, Mary A..... 95
 Spring river..... 120, 121, 124, 126
 Springstead, Jerry, Topeka..... 109, 420
 Sproull, Ralph "Lefty"..... 205
 Squatter Sovereign, Atchison..... 43, 84, 297
 Squire, Lorene, of Harper, note on.... 413

Stancel, —..... 344-348
 Stanford, Leland..... 181
 Stanley, Henry M..... 74
 Stanley, W. E., of Wichita..... 81, 91
 —elected first vice-president Historical
 Society..... 91
 Stanley, Mrs. W. E., donor..... 74
 Stanton, F. P..... 147
 State capitol, note on building of..... 414
 Staten Island Historical Society..... 422
 Steamboats, *Clipper No. 2*..... 230
 —*Financier*, at Manhattan, 1855..... 41
 —*G. W. Sparhawk*..... 230
 —*Hartford*, at Manhattan, 1855..... 41
 —*Honduras*..... 400
 —*Saluda*..... 231
 —*Kate Swinney*..... 30
 —journey on..... 32-54
 Stecker, Mrs. Gilbert..... 419
 Steele, J. C..... 152
 Steele, James..... 413
 Stephens, Alexander H..... 142
 Stephenson, S. A., article by, cited... 19
 Sterling, W. T..... 111
 Stevens, Caroline F., Lawrence..... 90, 92
 Stevens, Richard B..... 111
 Stewart, Donald, Independence..... 90, 92
 Stewart, Robert, Topeka..... 201
 Stieffel, H., of Co. K., Fifth U. S.
 infantry..... 73
 Stone, Robert, Topeka..... 91
 Stookey, Roy W., state architect... 78, 339
 Storrs, —, of St. Louis..... 145
 "Story of a Kansas Freedman, The,"
 edited by Alberta Pantle..... 341-369
 Stotler, Jacob, of Emporia..... 94
 Stranger creek..... 50, 52
 Streeter, F. B., Hays..... 221
 Stringfellow, Dr. John H., Atchison. 43, 139
 Stroud, Everett, donor..... 76
 Stuart, Capt. John..... 121-123
 Stubbs, Sam, note on article about... 334
 Sublette, William L..... 251
 Sugar mills, 1870's..... 386
 Sugar Mound. See Mound City.
 Sumner, Charles..... 150
 Sumner, George..... 141
 Sumner, Fourth of July in, 1858..... 138
 —history, note on..... 414
 Sun City trail..... 108
 Sutter's Fort..... 296
 Sutton, Will..... 200
 Sweetwater river..... 260-263
 Swingley, Leonard J..... 164, 170
 Swords, Capt. Thomas..... 127

T

Taft, Dr. Robert, Lawrence..... 91
 —donor..... 74
 Taft, William Howard, Memorial build-
 ing dedicated by..... 89
 Talbot, Ben..... 221
 Taylor, Rev. Nathan..... 145
 Taylor, Gen. Zachary..... 117, 126
 Tecumseh..... 154
 —Fourth of July in, 1859..... 143
 Teed, Mrs. O. L..... 109
 Teef, John..... 160
 Templin, Olin, fellowship fund at K. U.
 to honor, note on..... 410
 Tester, —..... 102
 Texas road..... 363
 Thacher, Solon Otis..... 169
 Thacher, Timothy Dwight..... 146, 152
 Thanksgiving Day, in Kansas, history of,
 note on..... 219
 Tharp, J. H..... 110
 Thayer, Eli..... 141
 Thayer, R., poem of, quoted..... 149
 Thayer, William..... 224
 Third Supply Train..... 303

- Thomas, Maj. Charles 123
 Thompson, Leonard W., Hays 415
 Thompson, Lt. Philip R. 118
 Thompson, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas E., in newspaper work sixty years 104
 Thompson, W. F., Topeka 79, 90, 92
 Thomson, W. A., district clerk 101
 Thorp, S. M. 169
 Thurston, E. M. 39
 Timoshenko, Dr. M. P. 421
 Tinker, Maj. Gen. Clarence 413
 Tinker, Ed 413
 Tomlinson, William P. 132, 137
 Topeka 68
 —appearance of, 1864 69
 —basketball in 201
 —Chase House 165
 —Congregational church 154
 —Copeland Hotel 85
 —Fourth of July in, 1859 143
 —1860 154
 —1861 165
 —Oakland Presbyterian Church, note on history of 418
 —Public Library, donor 74
 —social life in, 1864 69-71
 —Tefft House 96
 Topeka *Daily Capital* 197
 Topeka *Press*, issue acquired by Historical Society 75
 Topeka *Spear*, issue acquired by Historical Society 75
 Tornados, note on 333
 Towle, John, Topeka 420
 Towns, railroad, note on 414
 Trading Post, cemetery 106
 —note on history of 416
 Trafton, Rev. Newell 32
 Tragedy Springs 294, 296
 Trails 336
 Trees, shelter belt of, 1885, note on, 107, 108
 Treffer, Gustavus E. 334
 Treffer family, of Jewell county, note on, 334
 Trembly, W. B., Kansas City 91
 Tremor, Capt. E. 399
 Trickett, Rev. —, of Holt county, Mo. 158
 Trimmer, A. K. 416
 Truesdell, Maj. Gen. Karl 411
 Trusts 173-198
 Tucker, George E., article by, cited 8
 Turgeon, J., freighter 305
 Turkey Red Wheat monument, Newton, description 420
 —note on dedication of 420
 Tutt and Dougherty, freighters to Fort Laramie 301
 Twentieth Kansas Infantry Association, annual reunion, 1942 420
 —auxiliary, note on meeting of 109
 —officers elected by, 1942 420
 Twiss, C. P. 157
- U
- Uhl, L. C., Jr., Smith Center 91
 Ulsh, I. H., biographical sketch, note on, Uncle Jerry, Negro slave 344
 Uniontown, Fourth of July in, 1859 145
 United Brethren in Christ, Mount Zion church near St. George, note on 108
 United States, Army, Company A engineers 140
 —dragons, First regiment, Company F 399
 —histories of Kansas regiments in, during World War I, note on 224
 University of Kansas, basketball at 200, 201, 204-212
 —Graduate Research Fund 3
 —note on war activities at 411
 —Olin Templin's long service to, note on, papers relating to history of, acquired by Historical Society 74
- University of Oklahoma Press 336
 University of Wichita, basketball at 207
 "Using Volunteers in the Local Historical Society's Program," pamphlet, note on, Utah 304, 307
- V
- Valentine, John 228
 Van Brunt, Henry 411
 Vance, Sen. Z. B., of North Carolina 188
 Van de Mark, M. V. B., Concordia 91
 Vandergrift, — 9
 Van Tuyl, Mrs. Effie H., Leavenworth 90, 92
 Varnum, Walter H. 111
 Vaughan, Champion 133
 Vaughan, J. C. 138
 Veasey, Prof. George, article by, mentioned 24
 Vest, Sen. George G., of Missouri, speech on Sherman anti-trust bill, quoted 189
 Veterans of Foreign Wars, Pleasanton post, gives tract of land encompassing Marais des Cygnes massacre site to the state 72
 Vickery, Mrs. Fanny 221
 Victor, Lois 110, 111
 Vinland Farmers' Alliance, Douglas county 180
Vital Statistics Records in Kansas, Public, Guide to, issued by Historical Records Survey, note on 223
 Vittoria Società Italianá di Mutuo Soccorso, Frontenac, note on 105
 von der Heiden, Mrs. W., Newton 221
 Vossloh, Mrs. Ruby, Abilene 420
Vox Populi, The, Lawrence, two early issues acquired by Historical Society 75
- W
- Wabausee, Fourth of July in, 1860 156
 —See, also, Waubonsa.
 Wabausee county, first school, note on 335
 Waconda Spring, list of "tokens" found in 93
 Waggener, B. P. 101
 Wagon, steam, of T. L. Fortune, trial trip of 159, 422
 Wait, George 156
 Wakefield, Judge John A. 152, 169
 Walden, John, writer, note on 107
 Walker, B. P., Topeka 91
 Walker, Mrs. Ida M., Norton 90, 92
 Walker, J. E., freighter 305
 Walker, Gov. William 135, 157
 Wallace, Judge Clark A., donor 74
 Wallace, Mrs. Leslie E., Larned 110
 Wallace's Grove, note on 103
 Wallenstein, Marcel, notes on articles by 103, 333
 Wallingford & Murphy, freighters 304, 305
 Walters, Mrs. —, actress 69
 Walthall, Sen. Edward C. 196
 Ward, Emma 76
 Ward, Seth E., freighter 304
 Warden, Della A., Emporia 222
 Ware, Eugene F., Fort Scott 87
 Wark, George H., Caney 91
 Washburn College, basketball at 201, 206-208
 Washington County Oregon Trail Memorial Association, annual meeting, 1942, noted 419
 Waterloo 144
 —Fourth of July in, 1861 166, 167
 Waterloo Rangers 165, 166
 Watson, J. H. 155
 Watson, J. S., Marysville, freighter 302
 Watson, R. S., freighter 305
 Watterson, "Marse Henry," of Louisville, Ky. 192
 Wattles, John O., Moneka 5, 146

- Waubonsa Cornet Band 136
 Waugh, Mrs. Camille, Wellington 420
 Waverly 417
 221
 Wayman, H. A., of Lyon county 21
 Weber, A. D., article by, cited 20, 21
 Weber, George C., donor 76
 Weber river 270, 276
Weekly Anti-Monopolist, Parsons and Fort Scott, issues acquired by Historical Society 75
 Weil, L. 156
 Wellington Business and Professional Women's Club, gives Chisholm trail marker 335
 Wellman, Paul I., notes on articles by 103, 333, 410, 411
 Wells, Mrs. Don E., donor 76
 Wells, T. C., letters by, cited 30
Western Globe, The, Stockton, issues acquired by Historical Society 76
 Westport, Mo. 66
 —first emigrant train to Pacific from, note on 333
Westward America, by Howard R. Driggs, note on 336
 Wheat, hard, note on 413
 —history of, note on 413
 —in Kansas, acres and yield, 1862-1890 376
 —production, in the upper Kansas river valley, 1872-1883 370-398
 —winter, and corn, in Buckeye township, Dickinson county, 1870, 1875, 1880 and 1885 385
 "Wheat, Soft Winter, Boom and the Agricultural Development of the Upper Kansas River Valley, The," by James C. Malin 370-398
 Wheeler, Mrs. Bennett R., Topeka 80, 81, 90, 91
 Wheeler, Ernest M. 336
 Wheeler, John P. 139
 Whistler, Lt. Col. William 121, 122
 White, D. D. & Co., freighters 305
 White, William Allen 90, 92, 110, 221
 —comment on changing population of Kansas, note on 333
 —donor 74
 —reminiscences of, note on 218
 White Cloud, City Hotel 159
 —ferry boat, 1858 138
 —Fourth of July in, 1860 158, 159
 —1861 171
 White Water Sorgo Association, Marion county 386
 Whitehorn, Dr. Samuel 28
 Whiteside, H. E. 410
 Whitfield, J. W. 139
 Whitman, Alfred 169
 Whittier, J. G., quotation from poem by, 141
 Whyte, Mrs. Bertha Kitchell, Milwaukee, Wis. 73
 Wichita, architecture of homes, note on, 412
 —court scene, 1875 402
 —early-day flood, note on 412
 —early days in, notes on 218
 —election, 1868, note on 412
 —filling station, early-day, note on 413
 —first train, note on 411
 —flood of 1867, note on 411
 —gas discovery, 1887 218
 —grand opera in, note on 413
 —growth of, note on 411
 —High School, basketball at 207
 —history, notes on 104
 —Ketchum store, note on 104
 —library, note on 412, 413
 —lumber yards, note on 411
 —milling industry, note on 218
 —Old Settlers Society, note on 412
 —railroads, 1887, note on 412
 Wichita, railroads, south of, note on 413
 —St. Francis Hospital, note on 219
 —small pox scare, 1873, note on 218
 —surrounding land once Osage Indian property 411
Wichita Daily Eagle 175
 Wichita *Vidette*, 1870-1871, film copies made 75
 Wickwire, Mrs. E. G. 110
 Wildcat creek 121
 Wilder, Daniel W. 147, 414
 —state auditor, first home of Historical Society in office of 82
 Wilder's *Annals*, motion made for continuation of 81
 Wilkins, Verne 206
 Wilkins, Mrs. Walter 111
 Williams, Judge Joseph 137
 Williams, W. S., freighter 305
 "Willow Springs" 260
 Wilson, A. C., note on poetry by 105
 Wilson, C. N. 34
 Wilson, Henry 150
 Wilson, John 228
 Wilson, John H., Salina 90, 92
 Wilson, Samuel, Topeka 77
 Wilson, Samuel M., Lexington, Ky., donor 74
 Wilson, Walter, Topeka 109
 Wilson County Historical Society 90
 —annual meeting, 1942, note on 419
 —meeting of, note on 108
 Wind River mountains, Wyo. 264
 Wind storms, 1879 374
 Winfield, basketball in, 1939 209, 210
 Wingfield, J. J., of Lyon county 221
 Winkles, Benjamin 139
 Wintermute, Joseph 34
 Wire, barbed, introduction of 12
 Wirth, Rev. Augustine, OSB 106
 Wise, Gov. Henry A., of Virginia 167
 Wise, Bishop James, note on 410
 Withington, Charles H. 165, 166
 Woestemeyer, Armin 206
 Wolf river 235
 Wolff, Mrs. Winifred Clark, donor 74
 Woman suffrage, note on 414
 Women in office, Oskaloosa, 1888 408
 Wood, Arthur 412
 Wood, Samuel N. 144, 145, 167
 Woodard, Sarah A. (Dyer), article by, cited 29
 Woodman, E. J. 416
 Woodring, Harry H., Topeka 91
 Woodward, Carl R. 421
 Woodward, Chester, Topeka 72
 Woodward, Dr. J. B. 156
 Woodworth, Judge — of Wyandotte 170
 Woodworth, Caleb A., Sr. 84
 Woolard, Sam F., Wichita 91
 Wooster, Lorraine E. 91
 Work Projects Administration, museum project, provides desk and bed reproductions for Shawnee Methodist Mission building 339
 —projects sponsored by Historical Society 77
 World War I, Wichita's first unit organized for, note on 219
 Wray, Mrs. Ila, Topeka 420
 Wright, John K. 372
 Wright, N. R. 34
 Wulf, John 206
 Wyandotte 152
 —Castle Garden 157
 —Fourth of July in, 1858 135
 —1860 157
 —1861 170
 —Garno House 157
 Wyandotte county, first school, note on, 335

Wyman, Walker D..... 226
 —"Atchison, A Great Frontier Depot,"
 article by..... 297-308
 Wynne, Roy..... 208

X

Xenia, Masonic lodge seventy-fifth anni-
 versary celebration, note on..... 103

Y

Yell, Rep. Archibald, of Arkansas..... 123
 Yellow fever, note on..... 413
 Yellow Paint creek..... 67
 —battle on..... 67, 68
 Young, Brigham, Mormon
 leader 271, 274, 275
 Young, Col. Samuel..... 135

Z

Zimmerman, Frank..... 418

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