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THE
Kansas Historical
Quarterly

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THE
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Volume XIII

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The Mythical Jayhawk

KIRKE MECHEM

SEVERAL weeks ago that noble myth, the Kansas Jayhawk, was attacked on the grounds that it is attempting to become a real bird. A group of educators had discovered that one of their own textbooks not only tells little children that it is real but that it is a native of this locality. Faced with this dilemma, the school men naturally appointed a committee. As a result, an open season was declared on the Jayhawk and for a time there was a good deal of excited shooting, principally in the newspapers. When the smoke cleared away it was hard to tell from appearances whether the educators were the hunters or the hunted. Although they claimed they saw feathers fly the only trophy they brought back was the statement out of the textbook, which they announced they would stuff and mount above the committee-room door. But even this turned out to be not completely dead, and from last reports the Jayhawk will still perch in the text, metamorphosed, however, once more into a myth.

Comment over the state at the time was not wholly respectful. Some Kansans thought the educators had merely succeeded in taking each other out snipe-shooting. The mythical Jayhawk, they said, is like the mythical snipe, it always leaves the hunter holding the sack. "All myths," observed one kibitzer, "exist in what it amuses men to believe. The professors will have no more luck killing the Jayhawk than the historians have had with George Washington's cherry tree."

It is, of course, possible that these school men did not know they were taking on a myth when they attacked the Jayhawk. A little research outside the textbooks would have made them more wary. In the writings of John J. Ingalls, for example, they could have found these words of warning:

"The Audubon of the twentieth century," he wrote, "will vainly search the works of his illustrious predecessor for any allusion to the Jayhawk. Investigation will disclose the Jay (*Cyanurus cristatus*), and the hawk (*accipiter fuscus*): the former a quarrelsome egg sucker, the latter an assassin of the atmosphere. Were it not that nature forbids adulterous confusion of her types, he might surmise that the Jayhawk is a mule among birds, the illicit offspring of some aerial intrigue, endowed with the most malign attributes

of its progenitors. But the Jayhawk is a creation of mythology. Every nation has its myths, human and animal, and they are accepted as facts. Poetry decorates them with its varnish, orators cover them with a rhetorical veneer, and they are incorporated into the literature of the country. There was an epoch when the Jayhawk flew in our troubled atmosphere. It was a bird with a mission.



The Jayhawk Banished From the Schools

It was an early bird and it caught many a Missouri worm. It did not allow salt to be put on its tail."

This last statement might well serve as a warning to all Jayhawk hunters. It is a bird that cannot be caught. Even the names, Jayhawk and Jayhawker, are elusive. They are like the chicken and the egg, nobody knows which came first.

The earliest use of either

word seems to have been in 1849 when a party of adventurers from Illinois, who called themselves Jayhawkers, made the nickname famous in the California desert known as Death Valley. There are references to Jayhawkers in Texas history, which may be of an earlier date, but are not authenticated. The name became common during the territorial troubles and was at first applied to both sides. Jennison's regiment of Free-state men, as well as Quantrill's raiders, were at one time called Jayhawkers. The name finally stuck to the anti-slavery side and eventually to all the people of Kansas.

As to the word Jayhawk, it has now sent several generations of Kansans to the ornithologies. Probably the belief that somewhere the bird had a real prototype will never die. The story of Pat Devlin has always encouraged this hope. Devlin was a native of Ireland, an early immigrant to Kansas. One day in 1856 he was returning home after some private plundering across the Missouri border. When asked what he had been up to, he replied, "You know, in Ireland we have a bird we call the Jayhawk, which makes its living off of other birds. I guess you might say I've been Jayhawking!"

A few years ago Paul Wellman, of the *Kansas City Star*, thought this was a lead worth following up. He wrote a letter of inquiry to the Library of Dublin. Although the answer was that there is no such bird in Ireland, it was admitted that the name might exist in an isolated locality for some species. At the end of his letter the librarian added, "May I suggest that you inquire if history relates whether the original Pat Devlin was known sometimes to have an inventive turn of mind."

Whether Pat Devlin invented the Jayhawk may never be known. However, it was a happy inspiration, one that appealed to the humorous fancy of early-day Kansans, and they adopted the bird without question. But until recent years the myth was strictly an amateur production. The first professional development was in 1932 by Raymond C. Moore, professor of geology at the University of Kansas. Writing in the *Graduate Magazine*, he said:

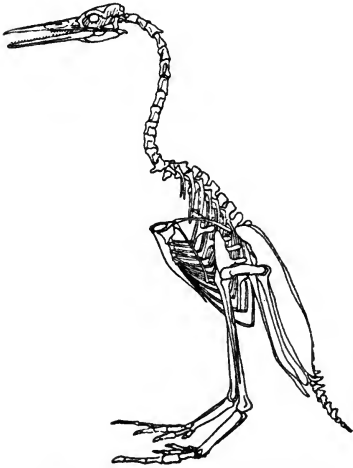
"Geologists in the Mid-Continent region are familiar with the representative of the class Aves called *Jayhawkornis Kansasensis*. In unscientific parlance this species of bird is familiarly known as the Jayhawk. We may direct attention to what has been designated as one of the most famous yells in America, 'Rock Chalk, Jayhawk.' The close association of Jayhawk and rock chalk in this yell certainly suggests the possibility that the cretaceous chalk may contain evidence bearing on the Kansas Jayhawk. It is proper to inquire whether there may be avian remains in these chalk beds. It would be too much to hope that we might discover the remains of the original Jayhawk himself, yet nothing seems too remarkable for modern science.

"As a matter of fact, discovery of the Rock Chalk bird is not at all new. Some were found as long ago as 1870, when a paleontologic field party from Yale University made first discovery of ancestral Jayhawk bones in the cretaceous rocks of western Kansas. This bird was given the not unfitting name *Hesperornis regalis*, which means the 'kingly Western bird.' Subsequently other fossil remains have been found, and at the present time there are two remarkably fine mounted skeletons of *Hesperornis* in the Peabody Museum at Yale University, one in the American Museum of Natural History in New York City, one in the National Museum at Washington, and a complete specimen in the museum of the University of Kansas.

"A unique feature of the specimen in the University of Kansas collection is the preservation of clear imprints of feathers in the chalk. Thus we know not only the skeletal form but something

of the feather covering that clothed his body. Unfortunately, pigment is rarely preserved in fossils, and consequently we have no actual evidence of the coloring of *Hesperornis*. Under the circumstances, however, is it not reasonable to assume that the red and blue of modern *Jayhawkornis* were the hues of the ancient Rock Chalk bird?

"Old *Hesperornis* was a good-sized bird, the skeleton attaining a length of six feet from tip of beak to end of out-stretched toes, and his height in stocking feet was a good four and a half feet. He was a ferocious-looking bird. We see not only the big strong beak, like that of the modern Jayhawk, but we find that the upper and lower jaws were armed with a row of very sharp-pointed teeth. It is perhaps unfortunate that these teeth, inherited from reptilian ancestors, have been lost in the later evolution of the Jayhawk. There are many times when these teeth would come in handy.



Skeleton of *Hesperornis Regalis*,
Ancestor of the Jayhawk

"In conclusion, it is of interest to point out that the regal birds of the Kansas chalk were very thoroughly adapted to an aquatic life. It is fortunate or unfortunate, according to point of view, that the fossil remains do not permit accurate determination of the size of the brain case, and we cannot, therefore, tell whether there has been development or decline in intelligence during the course of evolution from *Hesperornis* to *Jayhawkornis*."

This is the kind of cool scientific research needed to convert the Jayhawk from an amateur to a professional myth. The Jayhawk is a unique bird, one the state should be proud of. It should be capitalized and advertised and mounted on the state-house dome. It should be the trade-mark of Kansas. As an "attention-getter" it has more advertising value than all the wheat, oil, Indians and buffalos in the state put together. Yet as a trade-mark the Jayhawk has been neglected and unappreciated. And as a myth it is still incomplete. Both deficiencies should be dealt with scientifically. To begin with, the myth must be made bigger, better and

more unbelievable. For this purpose the scientific method of Mr. Moore's article cannot be improved.

As he suggests, the fossils of Kansas may some day give up the secret of the Jayhawk. There is an unverified story that the Indians believed the great round stones in Rock City in Ottawa county are petrified eggs. The anonymous Indian who made this statement declared they were laid by the Thunderbird. This, he claimed, is the Indian name of the Jayhawk. When asked how any bird known to man could have laid eggs the size of those rocks, some of which are over twelve feet in diameter, his answer was that the Thunderbird, or Jayhawk, not only could change its size at will but could make itself invisible, and was immortal.

This same Indian, who perhaps was invisible himself at the time, declared that the first inhabitants of the great Plains were Jayhawks. They settled here, he explained, because the land was flat. They flew at such a great speed that they needed level runways for landing. When the Jayhawks first came to the plains, he said, all the country was a desert, without water or vegetation, and even without wind. For many moons whenever a Jayhawk wanted a drink he had to fly to the Great Lakes. One hot summer day several million Jayhawks started northeast for water at the same time. The tremendous force of their flight started a strong breeze from the southwest. From that day the wind has never ceased. Since it blew the first clouds across the plains the Indians always credited the Jayhawk with bringing rain and vegetation to Kansas.

The Spaniards of Coronado's day, of course, were the first white men to hear these stories from the Indians.

Full of their faith in the existence of cities of gold and the fountain of youth, they not only believed these tales, but eagerly added scientific observations of their own. The following is ascribed to a famous Spanish ornithologist, now unfortunately apocryphal:

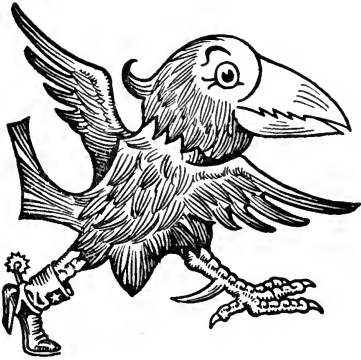
"These incredible birds," he says, "we first saw on Sts. Peter and Paul Day as we crossed the river which lies just below Quivira.



Hesperornis Restored
(*Jayhawkornis Kansasensis*)

They were of all sizes, sometimes appearing in great numbers, then of a sudden not to be seen by the keenest eye, so that the men grew apprehensive, saying they made themselves invisible. This they took to be an omen, but whether for good or ill no one could judge.

"Now that I wish to describe the appearance of these birds it is to be noticed that no two of our soldiers found it possible to agree



Jayhawk During Mating Season (From *Apocrypha of Coronado*, ca. 1541)

in any particular. As it seemed to me, they have a narrow short face, except for the beak, which is long and grotesque, being yellow in color, and curved to a sharp point. The brow of those of the commonest size is two palms across from eye to eye, the eyes sticking out at the side, so that when they are flying they can see in all directions at once. They are blue and red, the feathers shining like the steel of a Toledo sword, iridescent, wherefore it is not possible to say

where one color leaves off and another begins. They have long talons, shaped like an eagle's. These claws are so powerful that many of our men, among which even the priest was one, aver that these birds have been seen to fly off with one of those hump-backed cattle in each claw. [He refers to the buffalo.] Some, however, deny this, declaring they have webbed feet. Also there are those who insist, in spite of the laughter of the army, that they have no claws at all but wear great boots extending half way up to the feathers of the leg. And there are some who say they wear but one boot, this being like those worn by horsemen, with a high heel and long spur, most grotesque as they walk about the prairie.

"However this may be," the Spaniard continues, "there is almost general agreement concerning the tail. This is quite short, being a mere tuft of feathers when these birds are in repose. But in flight, or when running along the ground (where they out-distance our best horses) they carry it erect like a scorpion. The Indians say this tail is poisonous, declaring that in battle they employ it as a weapon, flying backwards, which they do with the greatest ease.

"Because of the hoarse voice of this bird, which can be heard one hundred leagues, our soldiers nicknamed it the Feathered Jackass.

This disrespect," he naively suspects, "was the cause of all our troubles in this land, the least of which by no means was our failure to locate those golden cities. Inasmuch as we had been warned by the Indians that the Guardian Spirit of the Prairies is none other than this bird, it would have served us better to propitiate it, instead, as our ignorance prompted, to offer them these insults.

"There are some who profess to believe," he concludes, "that these are the birds Aristophanes described in his comedy, which, living between earth and heaven, forced tribute from both men and gods. Wherefrom it is argued that the squawking of these prairie monsters was merely a demand for tribute. Rather do I believe them to be a species of the Phoenix bird, generated in fire and brimstone, and never ceasing do I offer my prayers of thanksgiving to the Virgin, that I was delivered from their country with a whole skin."

This legendary Spaniard was not the last to consider the Phoenix and Jayhawk identical.

Like the Jayhawk, the Phoenix is all things to all men, as well as all sizes. It is described as "a bird of gorgeous plumage, a native of Arabia, and sacred to the sun." Some have said the Phoenix is like the roc of Marco Polo and the *Arabian Nights*, easily capable of making off with a horse. It is most famous, of course, for the fact that it propagates itself in fire, and so makes itself immortal.

This theory that the Jayhawk is a Phoenix has divided scientists into two schools of thought, both fiercely incognito. One asserts that both are able to change colors like a chameleon, that both can assume different shapes and sizes, that both have the power to become invisible, and that they are, therefore, but Eastern and Western species of the genus *mirabile dictu*.



Hen Jayhawk in Spring Plumage

The second school, ignoring the Phoenix, declares that the Jayhawk is merely a variant of the cuckoo. "This myth of invisibility," says one authority, "derives from the well-known fact that the cuckoo is often heard but seldom seen." He quotes Wordsworth's verse: "'O cuckoo! Shall I call thee bird or but a wandering voice!' The cuckoo," he says, "is a bird with a loud voice notorious

for the fact that it builds no nest of its own but lays its eggs in the nests of other birds. When its young are hatched they eat the food intended for the true nestlings and end by shoving their starving hosts out on the ground to their deaths. Naturally the adult is an evasive bird, but its invisibility is that of a sneak and a coward. Unquestionably the Jayhawk is cuckoo!"

Invisible Jayhawks on Their Way to Plant
Volunteer Wheat

So much for the myths of the ornithologists. Phoenix or cuckoo, the Jayhawk continues to be the Guardian Spirit of Kansas. As it once defended the territory from bushwhackers it still spreads its protecting wings over the state. The grasshoppers of the great plague of 1874, which disappeared as suddenly as they came, many old timers assert, were devoured in one night by fledgling Jayhawks. And the miraculous growths of volunteer wheat in barren fields, which over the years have saved hundreds of farmers from ruin, they will tell you, were drilled there by tiny invisible Jayhawks.

It was the opinion of Dave Leahy, however, that the Jayhawk did not always conduct himself as a feathered Boy Scout should. That Irish Kansan of delightful memory once complained that the Jayhawk was a practical joker and that it had spoiled one of his best hoaxes. Dave at the time was a reporter on one of the Wichita papers. One day toward the end of March he wrote a story about a great flock of parrots which were flying north, following the course of the Arkansas river. The next day he described the vast numbers of the birds and estimated the speed of their flight. Each day the story grew, until, on the 31st, he had the birds just south of Wichita, darkening the sun, and scheduled to reach the Douglas avenue bridge about seven the next morning.

"I knew the stories had been good," Dave is reported to have said, "but I was astonished the next morning to see hundreds of people waiting on the bridge for the birds to appear. It was April Fool's Day, you understand, and I was chuckling to myself, constructing the lead for tomorrow's story. Then I heard somebody shout, and overhead, would you believe it, about fifty scraggly little birds the size of a sparrow came into sight. For a few minutes they dived around, just long enough to make sure that I'd be taken for a fool or a liar, then they disappeared. Those birds were Jayhawks, the little devils," Dave concluded, "I recognized them. They were jealous that anybody but them would try to pull off a practical joke in Kansas!"

It was also near Wichita, apparently, that a Jayhawk was seen last. The following story is an army pilot's account of a weird flight in a B-777, one of the new seven-motor bombers. This plane, strangely enough, had been christened "The Flying Jayhawk." On its fuselage there is a painting of the sponsor, going into action with three pairs of dice. Clutched in its right claw are a three and a four, in its left a two and a five, while from its beak it rolls out a six and a one. This interview is taken from the *Wichita Beagle*:

"We were on a routine flight, returning to Wichita," said the pilot, "loafing along at about 8,000 feet. A little this side of Hutchinson I heard a swishing sound above the roar of the plane. Then something passed us, a sort of shadow, going like a bat out of hell. As it went by it kind of wailed, though maybe it was more like a loud swoosh. From the sound I figured it for one of those new jet-propelled jobs. Then I heard Sergeant Goober's voice in my ear phone.

"'Good God, Lieutenant! Look!' he yelled. 'It's got feathers!'

"By that time it was too far away for me to make out. But it was plain that it was the biggest and fastest thing I'd ever seen in the air. My heart did an outside loop—laugh if you want to—but for a second it came over me that this was some secret plane the Nazis had suddenly turned loose on us. Then Goober's voice came in again



Jayhawk in the Midst of Making a Myth

“Lieutenant!” he said, “It’s stopped!”

“He was right. It had stopped dead, in the air! Then it started backing up towards us, and fast. No time for anything. Yet I still remember thinking in a surprised sort of way, ‘Hm-m! Jet propelled both ways! Why the hell doesn’t the army tell us these things?’

“At about two hundred yards it stopped again and started forward. Then it let down its left claw.

“Yeah, I said claw! Foot. Leg. Whatever you want to call it. But it wasn’t a wheel. That’s the only thing the whole crew agrees on. Bright and shiny—yellow—but no part of any normal landing gear. And it kept on letting it down. Every once in a while it would knife up into the air and maybe do a couple of impossible rolls, as if calling attention to itself. Then it would swoosh down and dangle that yellow left claw at us again.

“This kept up till we were over Wichita. But when we approached the airport it zoomed up out of sight. For a second I thought it had left us. But as I circled the field I could hear the swoosh louder than ever and I realized that it was right above us. Then, as I settled in for a landing, Goober came into my ear with a shriek.

“Lieutenant! Lieutenant!” he yelled. “It’s sinking its claws into us!”

“My first thought was to give her the gun. Why I didn’t I’ll never know. Instead, I made a normal landing and the swooshing sound faded away. Then the plane suddenly toppled over sideways. I had landed with the left wheel gone!

“Well, that’s my story. If I’m stuck with it so is Goober and the rest of the crew. Goober says this Whatever-it-was looked exactly like the picture of the Jayhawk we’ve got on the plane. I wouldn’t know, I don’t see so well. Besides, Goober is a K. U. man and has funny ideas. Too funny, and could be he’s giving ’em to me. You see, when I came out of the hangar, still wiping off the sweat, right in front of me, sitting on a fence, was a bird the size of a wren, exactly the same! Big yellow beak and all, except this one had on boots! I stopped, pop-eyed. The bird looked at me a second then let out a squawk like a Bronx cheer. When he flew off he made a faint swooshing sound, like a baby sky-rocket.”

That is the story of the lieutenant, according to the *Beagle*. If this is the stuff of mythology, let us have more of it. As the myths

of the Greeks reflected their humor and idealism, the Jayhawk is peculiarly an expression of the spirit of Kansas. Like the state, it was born in adversity and its flight is to the stars. It is a fighting bird, full of the tough humor of the territorial soldiers who first made it their mascot. A famous regiment of the Civil War was proud to bear its name. When this war is over the Jayhawk will have fought three times in the Philippines: first with Funston, again in the bloody retreat on Bataan, and those invisible wings will be present, never fear, when Corregidor is avenged. In France, in the first World War, it gave its name to another Kansas regiment. Today its free and fierce spirit flies with Kansans on every battle front. Soon the shadow of its wings will fall once more over France, above the victorious armies of a soldier from Kansas.

The Jayhawk is a heroic bird, but don't try to treat it like a hero. You might receive a faint swoosh from its exhaust. It is a bird of peace. It is sentimental, and loves to croon strange words to itself at dawn or in a prairie twilight. Poetic words about ripening wheat, and prohibition, and service flags in the windows of quiet homes, and the purification of politics. Yes, the Jayhawk is heroic, but its heroism was bred in the courage of peace. The courage of a bird that can fly backwards into a dust storm squawking prosperity. The courage of a Phoenix, perhaps, that falls into the fires of adversity only to regenerate itself.

Notes

The quotations from Ingalls and Moore have been condensed, with some sentences transposed. The original articles are: "The Last of the Jayhawkers," in *A Collection of the Writings of John James Ingalls* (Hudson-Kimberly Publishing Co., Kansas City, Mo., 1902), p. 145; "Discovered: Ancestor of Jayhawkornis Kansasensis," by Raymond C. Moore, *Graduate Magazine*, Lawrence, (v. XXX) April, 1932, p. 10. The Jayhawk on page 8 is by J. W. Fazel. The other illustrations originally appeared, with different captions, in the *Graduate Magazine*, and are used by courtesy of Fred Ellsworth, secretary of the Alumni Association of the University of Kansas. The sketch on page 9 is by Frank Miller of the *Kansas City Star*. In an article, "How Did the Jayhawk Get This Way?" by Chester K. Shore, in the *Graduate Magazine*, (v. XXIV) December, 1925, pp. 4, 5, there is a discussion of the pictorial development of the Jayhawk with mention of the copyrights and patents that have been issued.

This article was issued as a pamphlet before this number of the *Quarterly* was off the press. It was sent to a number of newspapers and to Kansans in the armed forces. Among the comments which resulted were the following, of interest because of what they say about the Jayhawk.

Henry Maloy of Eureka has been mentioned by several correspondents as

the originator of the "Pictorial Jayhawk." In a recent letter Mr. Maloy explains how he began to put the bird on paper:

. . . When I enrolled up there [at the University of Kansas] in 1910, there were no Jayhawks in sight. A bulldog was being used to represent the university. I do not know when that bulldog business got started; but at football rallies a bulldog would be led along with the stuffed tiger. I had been bitten by the cartoon bug and so started drawing cartoons in great quantities and putting them on the desk in the *Kansan* office in the morning before any of the staff had got there. The stuff went into the waste basket as fast as I brought it in; but I kept on bringing several a week all through my freshman year. If I had known how bad it was, I wouldn't have kept on doing it. I used half a dozen different things to represent the university while this was going on, but never thought of using a Jayhawk. To me the term "jayhawk" in the school yell was a verb and the term "jayhawkers" was the noun. The bird implication escaped me. But, as I said, I kept on turning out cartoons and not getting them printed. I started in doing it again the next year, too, and kept it up till the middle of the year when Merle Thorpe, who had just come to take charge of the journalism department, saw one that he thought might be worth printing. He told me to bring my stuff to him and let *him* throw it away, which I did from then on. He was pretty rough and made me draw a lot of them over; but he persuaded the *Kansan* staff to use one a week. By the end of that second year everybody was accustomed to the new order of having a cartoon a week in the paper.

When the football season of the third year opened, Con Squires, a photographer who did most of the student work, brightened up his display window with a stuffed chicken hawk holding a K. U. pennant in his claws. As soon as I saw that, I felt like kicking myself for being so stupid so long. A bird was what we needed instead of those bulldogs, Mother K U's and so on.

The Houn' Dawg Song was popular then; so I decided to have a Jayhawk kicking the Aggie dog aroun'. So that this Jayhawk could get a better kick on the dog, I put human legs and heavy shoes on him. That was in October, 1912—I think October 12 [October 25.—Ed.]. That was the first Jayhawk I had ever seen and, judging from what others told me, it was the first one anybody else had seen around there. It was plain to all of us around the *Kansan* office that we had something; so we all pitched in to get him simplified to where amateurs could draw him quickly, and workable enough so that he could look mad or happy or moody as conditions required by just changing a line or two. Here is what I mean. If the tip of the bill bends down, he will look mad in spite of anything you can do to him. There isn't enough bad news to keep a Jayhawk mad all the time; so we had to straighten the bill out again,—like it had been in that first dog picture.

We tinkered around getting bugs out of him for two years after that. You might say that getting the Jayhawk to where he was a going concern was a four-year job—two years getting a channel opened through which he could be exposed to the general public and then two years more tinkering him up and plugging him by the *Daily Kansan* staff and the journalism faculty. No one person could have put that over. For instance, if Thorpe hadn't got us a chalk plate outfit so that we could make our own cuts cheaply and quickly, we couldn't have made much headway. In case you don't know, you dig your picture in a layer of chalk sticking to a steel plate, then use this as a matrix to cast a cut from. As you dig your picture you blow the loose chalk away so you can see where your steel point is going. This chalk gets all over the room. So this jayhawk came out of chalk as did those bones you mention (*Hesperornis Regalis*).

We left the human legs and shoes on him for two reasons. One was that the shoes were good weapons for slap-stick comedy. (It is lots more fun to see a tiger get a good swift kick in the pants than get his eyes clawed out.) The other reason was that students soon were running around at football games inside of Jayhawks made of wire, cardboard and cloth. They looked just like

the cartoons—same kind of legs and all. We had animated cartoons before Walt Disney did. . . .

It was ten years or so after this that a Jayhawk was copyrighted. Research in connection with lawsuits brought out that birds of one sort or another had been used to represent K. U. on postcards, wall posters and at least once in a Kansas City paper as far back as the gay nineties. But nobody ever made more than one and no newspaper ever promoted the idea. That accounts for why they died out.

Another comment comes from Boyd B. Stutler of New York, managing editor of *The American Legion Magazine*. Mr. Stutler is a student of Kansas history and has, perhaps, the most complete private collection of material in the country relating to John Brown. Mr. Stutler writes:

Back years ago when I was a youngster the term "jayhawk" was quite common in our part of the West Virginia hills, used to describe a raid or as a synonym for the current "hijack." Civil War veterans often used the term "lim, skim and jayhawk 'em," past or present tense, to describe utter annihilation or the rout of a political opponent. Youngsters went "jayhawking" in the watermelon season—and to lift a fat hen from a roost for the Saturday evening mudbake was another form of "jayhawking."

I have a lot of respect for the bird and the myth; at least he has given us a colorful and highly descriptive term to cover more or less innocent pranks to downright brigandage. Long may he wave.



Records of the Squatter Association of Whitehead District, Doniphan County

Edited by MARTHA B. CALDWELL

I. INTRODUCTION

KANSAS was a part of the region west of the Mississippi river which in 1830 was set aside by the government for the Indians and solemnly guaranteed to them forever.¹ All white persons except Indian agents, missionaries and licensed traders were prohibited. Within a few years approximately the eastern one-third of the present state was specifically set aside and occupied by Indian tribes. But before the Indians were little more than well established upon their new reservations, and notwithstanding the sacred promise that the country should forever belong to them, politicians at Washington, incited by a demand for more slave territory, started a movement to displace them. After two years of agitation and debate the Kansas and Nebraska bill was passed by congress and on May 30, 1854, was signed by Pres. Franklin Pierce. This act provided for the organization of the territories of Kansas and Nebraska under the doctrine of popular sovereignty.

In anticipation of the passage of the act treaties with various Indian tribes were hurried through, extinguishing their titles to the land. During the month of May previous to the passage of the bill Com. George W. Manypenny negotiated treaties with the Otoes, Delawares, Shawnees, Iowas, Sacs, Foxes, Kickapoos and the confederated tribes of Kaskaskias, Peorias, Piankeshaws and Weas. On June 5, a treaty was made with the Miami tribe. By these treaties the Indians relinquished the greater part of their reservations. The lands ceded by the Iowas, the confederated tribes, and the Delawares, with the exception of their "outlet," were to be sold at public auction for the benefit of the tribes, and were not subject to the pre-emption law.²

It had been the policy of congress to forbid white settlement upon public land until the Indian title had been extinguished and the land surveyed. As early as 1785 an ordinance to that effect was passed.³

1. *Laws of the United States of America, From the 4th of March, 1827, to the 3d of March, 1833* . . . (Washington, 1835), v. VIII, pp. 342, 343.

2. *Revision of Indian Treaties; A Compilation of All the Treaties Between the United States and the Indian Tribes* . . . (Washington, 1873), pp. 341, 404, 426, 427, 512; *The Kansas Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, January 13, 1855.

3. *Journals of the Continental Congress* . . . (Washington, 1933), v. XXVIII, pp. 460-462.

In 1807 congress enacted a law prohibiting any person from taking possession of, settling in, marking off or surveying any such lands until authorized by congress. The president was authorized to take measures even to employing "such military force as he may judge necessary" to remove the intruders.⁴ The provisions of this act were extended as far as applicable to the lands ceded by the Miami, Delaware, Iowa and Wea Indians in the treaties of 1854. The treaty of the same year with the Shawnees provided that no white person should be permitted to make a location or settle upon their reservation until the lands had been surveyed and the Indians had made their selections.⁵ If the above agreements had been adhered to they would have precluded any white settlement until the treaty stipulations had been complied with.

The pre-emption law of 1841 made squatting upon surveyed land legal, and gave the settler a right to pre-empt his claim before the public sale.⁶ The benefits of this law were extended to the territories of Kansas and Nebraska by an act of July 22, 1854, with modification to permit settlement upon unsurveyed lands.⁷ However, the phraseology of the law was confusing and it was interpreted differently by different officials.⁸

The government had been rather unsuccessful in enforcing its laws to keep settlers off the public domain and perhaps less successful in the opening of Kansas than at any other time previously. The settlement of the territory was stimulated not only by the ordinary westward movement but also by political and sectional rivalry. The incorporation of the squatter sovereignty doctrine into the act organizing the territory resulted in outside intervention and both the Northern and Southern states urged their citizens to migrate to Kansas. The organization of societies to promote this emigration greatly intensified the feeling between the two regions.

The first rush of settlers, nevertheless, was said to resemble that

4. *Laws of the United States of America, From the 4th of March, 1789, to the 4th of March, 1815* . . . (1816), v. IV, p. 118.

5. *Revision of Indian Treaties*, p. 797, Art. 5.

6. *The Homestead Guide, Describing the Great Homestead Region in Kansas and Nebraska* . . . (Waterville, F. G. Adams, 1873), pp. 91-93.

7. *The Statutes at Large and Treaties of the United States of America* (Boston, 1854), p. 308.

8. Chief Justice Samuel D. Lecompte when asked by a settler to issue an injunction against a trespasser, answered on December 20, 1854, that he did not have the authority, that while the act extending the pre-emption law to Kansas had a proviso in relation to unsurveyed lands, yet it "requires notice, &c., amounting to conditions precedent to the investment of any right."—*The Evening News*, St. Louis, Mo., February 2, 1855, "Webb Scrapbooks," v. II, pp. 222, 223. (The scrapbooks of Thomas H. Webb are in the Library of the Kansas State Historical Society.)

Eight days later Gov. A. H. Reeder gave as his opinion that a man had the right to make a pre-emption on unsurveyed lands in Kansas, and if he complied with all the requirements he could not be prevented from obtaining his title.—*Ibid.*

which had taken place in the opening of other territories. The emigrants were interested in land rather than in the "political complexion or social regime to be established."⁹

Emigrants began to arrive on the Kansas border in March, 1854,¹⁰ and on April 21, a squatter meeting was held at Henry Thompson's¹¹ across the Missouri river from St. Joseph, Mo., by men who had already staked out their claims. This association met several times before the opening of the territory. At its meeting on May 5, D. M. Johnston, a lawyer of St. Joseph, Mo., was chosen register of claims.¹² Claim jumping, therefore, had also commenced at this early date.¹³

By May 27 thousands were waiting to cross over. When the news reached the border that the president had signed the bill opening the territory the emigrants swarmed across. Within ten days two thousand claims had been made in the region around Fort Leavenworth.¹⁴ A newspaper correspondent wrote on June 13: "The excitement in border life is unparal[l]eled. The rush to California was nothing like it." He was confident that there were not less than thirty thousand emigrants scattered along the line.¹⁵

In present Doniphan county all the land from ten to twenty miles back, with but few exceptions, had been taken by June 26.¹⁶ And C. C. Andrews wrote on June 27: "The immigration of settlers does not diminish. . . . I feel convinced . . . that the territory will be populated with a rapidity unparalleled in the rise of states."¹⁷ The scene within the territory in June was described by the editor of the Parkville (Mo.) *Luminary*:

Now is the time for Missourians to make claims. The country is swarming with emigrants. Men on horseback, with cup and skillet, and ham, flour, and coffee, tied on behind, and, with axe shouldered, are facing westward; while gentlemen and ladies are driving furiously to and fro in carriages, printers writing, lawyers speaking, doctors gallanting ladies, and selecting sites for residences, companies with flags waving, staking out the vast prairies, trees falling,

9. Harlow, Ralph Volney, *The Growth of the United States* (New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1932), p. 445.

10. St. Joseph (Mo.) *Gazette*, March 29, 1854.

11. Henry Thompson operated a Missouri river ferry at St. Joseph, Mo. In 1853 he built a house on the west side of the river and moved his family there.—"Illustrated Doniphan County," supplement to *The Weekly Kansas Chief*, Troy, 1916, p. 226.

12. St. Joseph *Gazette*, May 3, 10, 1854.

13. *Ibid.*, May 3.

14. Baltimore (Md.) *Sun*, June 28, 1854, in "Webb Scrapbooks," v. I, p. 43.

15. Chapman, D. M., in the Boston *Evening Transcript*, July 6, 1854.—*Ibid.*, p. 41.

16. Letter dated June 26, 1854, in *The Missouri Republican*, St. Louis.—*Ibid.*, p. 46.

17. Andrews, C. C., to John A. Halderman, June 27, 1854.—Halderman Collection, MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

tents stretching, cabins going up, everything alive, and everybody wide awake. Hurrah for Kansas! "Westward the Star of Empire takes its way!"¹⁸

The majority of these emigrants came from Missouri, Iowa, Illinois and Indiana, Missouri sending the greatest number. Many home seekers who had had to compete with slave labor in the latter state were in favor of making Kansas a free state.¹⁹ There were speculators who marked their claims and returned across the border intending to watch and hold their new possessions. Legally all were trespassers, for the land was unsurveyed and the time of Indian occupancy under the treaties had not yet expired. The squatters, therefore, could expect no protection from the general government in their imaginary rights. Furthermore, from the signing of the Kansas and Nebraska bill to the arrival of Gov. Andrew H. Reeder, a period of over four months, the territory was without formal government. To meet these conditions and to protect themselves from "land sharks" and "claim jumpers" the settlers formed claim associations or squatter associations as they were known in Kansas.

These extra-legal organizations were not peculiar to Kansas territory. They were a frontier institution dating back, probably, to the self-governing communities of Wautauga, Cumberland and Transylvania,²⁰ and functioning where conditions demanded on each frontier as it moved westward. Squatter associations were no doubt formed in all parts of Kansas wherever settlements were made, but unfortunately information on only a few is extant. Satisfactory manuscript records of but one, the association at Whitehead, has as yet come to light.

The constitutions adopted by these organizations were usually in the form of a set of resolutions and differed only in minor details. The purpose as stated was to protect the settler and to secure safety and fairness in the location and preservation of claims. A few of the later ones included rules regarding fencing against stock.²¹ They laid down the rules and regulations for making a valid claim, provided for a register for recording all claims made and their transfer, and also provided a body to enforce the rules and settle disputes. Some associations more strongly Proslavery than others recognized the institution of slavery and refused protection to Abolitionists. Few persons suffered from the latter clause, however, for the designa-

18. *Arkansas State Gazette and Democrat*, Little Rock, July 7, 1854.

19. Connelley, William E., *A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans* (Chicago, Lewis Publishing Company, 1918), v. I, p. 337.

20. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, "Frontier Land Clubs or Claim Associations," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1900, v. I, p. 69.

21. *The Kansas News*, Emporia, July 4, 1857.

tion Abolitionist was almost as distasteful to the early Free-State settlers as to the Proslavery adherents. These constitutions were freely amended at subsequent meetings. Disputes were referred to a committee or court established by the association or were settled in mass meeting. The members bound themselves to abide by these decisions and each pledged himself to "do his duty" in case of trouble.

The decisions were enforced in different ways. There were penalties ranging from a warning to leave the country to the application of tar and feathers,²² and even to threats of death. Claim jumpers who refused to leave upon notice were usually forcibly ejected. Orville C. Brown, of Osawatomie, gave the following account:

Claim disputes were adjusted by the settlers, and all were obliged to yield to their decision. In one case some western men forbid Mr. John Carr to erect his cabin. Mr. Carr's claim was known to be original. The oposers came with their shot guns, but seeing the structure being carried up by determined men retired in peace. I allowed a man and family to occupy my house until he could build a cabin. My family came, he refused to vacate. The squatters set his effects out upon the prairies and his wife refusing to go, was carried in her rocking chair and added to the household things.²³

When the time approached for the completion of the survey and the sale of the land the associations were especially active. Settlers were urged to register their claims and commit themselves to the squatter laws.²⁴ Where the land was sold at public auction the squatter, surrounded by his fellows, bid in his claim at the minimum price, and no one dared bid against him.²⁵ Squatters on lands subject to the pre-emption laws were protected by the association from having their claims entered by other persons.

II. THE SQUATTER ASSOCIATION OF THE WHITEHEAD DISTRICT

The association which met at Whitehead²⁶ was a typical claim

22. William Phillips, a young lawyer of Leavenworth, suffered this penalty at the hands of the Leavenworth squatters' association when he refused to leave the territory.—Andreas, A. T., and Cutler, W. G., *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 425.

23. Brown, O. C., "Pioneer Life in Kansas," in O. C. Brown Papers, MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

24. Brown, O. C., to Charles Foster, November 28, 1855, in Charles Foster Papers.—*Ibid.*

25. *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, November 29, 1856. One resolution adopted by the citizens of Chase county read: "Fourth, that the citizens of Chase county attend the sales *en masse*, and forbid any person bidding on any lands that may be declared occupied by the township secretaries, and any person bidding in defiance of such warning shall then and there forfeit his life."—*Emporia News*, August 11, 1860.

26. Whitehead began as a trading post established in 1852 by J. R. Whitehead, an Indian trader. A correspondent to the *Missouri Republican* wrote of it in June, 1854:

" . . . This city is as yet, of course, a prospective one. There are only several houses built, but they are well constructed and permanent. The site is about five miles from St. Joseph, at the termination of the ridge which bounds the plains on the East, and is adapted to the improvements and the construction of a large city. . . . Thousands have already come in, and thousands are still coming."—Letter dated June 26, 1854, in *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, "Webb Scrapbooks," v. I, p. 46.

The town was platted in the spring of 1855. Later its name was changed to Bellemont. It is now extinct.—"Illustrated Doniphan County," *loc. cit.*, p. 226.

association, and, as mentioned above, is the only one whose manuscript records are at all complete. The minutes of its meetings, beginning July 22, 1854, and a registry of claims both appear in an old territorial record book (1855-1860) of the county commissioners of Doniphan county. A draft of the resolutions adopted at the first meeting on June 24, 1854, and the proceedings of the vigilance committee were given to the Kansas State Historical Society by Benjamin Harding, of Wathena, secretary of the committee. The minutes of the first meeting also appeared in *The Weekly Kansas Chief*, of Troy, August 16, 1883. The manuscript from which they were copied was picked up in the streets of Wathena before the Civil War. It seems certain from the editor's description that it was the first leaf in the record book mentioned above.²⁷

The association of the Whitehead district was formed at a large gathering of squatters at Whitehead on June 24, 1854. Col. W. Broadus Thompson²⁸ was said to be the leading spirit in its organization. Maj. Daniel Vanderslice,²⁹ Indian agent at the Great Nemaha agency, and his son, Thomas J., were among the members. The jurisdiction of the organization, defined in the minutes of the second meeting, embraced the Iowa, Sac and Fox and the northern part of the Kickapoo reservations. The majority of the members were Proslavery in sentiment, as a clause in the constitution refusing protection to Abolitionists and welcoming slaveholders makes clear. Yet at least four of the signers of the document became "red-hot Free-State champions,"³⁰ and took an active part in the various Free-State conventions. However, politics seemed to play little part in the association, and the contests arising were for the possession of claims rather than in defense of any peculiar institution.

The speculators, or absentee claim-holders, were not numerous, apparently, in this organization. A study of the census of 1857,

27. "It is written on a large sheet of heavy, bluish flat paper, such as is used in public record books, is 12½ by 18 inches in size, with top and marginal ruling, like flatcap, the blue lines for writing on being almost faded out. The pages are numbered 1 and 2, in printed figures, and it was doubtless the first leaf out of some Missouri record book."—*The Weekly Kansas Chief*, Troy, August 16, 1883.

28. W. Broadus Thompson was an attorney from St. Joseph, Mo. He was said to have been prominent in early Doniphan county politics. In 1857, he and his brother, M. Jeff Thompson, were associated with Cyrus K. Holliday, of Topeka, and others in the promotion of the St. Joseph and Topeka railroad.—*Ibid.*; see, also, letters from the Thompsons in the "F. L. Crane Scrapbook," MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

29. Maj. Daniel Vanderslice, a native of Pennsylvania, was agent at the Great Nemaha agency from 1853 to 1861. He had previously lived in Kentucky where he edited a newspaper. At the expiration of his term as Indian agent, he decided to spend the remainder of his life in Doniphan county and settled on his farm near Highland. He was a leader in the political and industrial affairs of the county until his death in February, 1889. Three generations of the Vanderslice family have been prominent in Doniphan county history.—"Illustrated Doniphan County," *loc. cit.*, pp. 369-373.

30. *The Weekly Kansas Chief*, Troy, August 16, 1883. The names of John Fee, Benjamin Harding, A. Larzelere and Henderson Smallwood appear in the Free-State county and state conventions.—*The Kansas Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, September 1, 8, 1855.

taken three years after the opening of the territory, revealed that 43.2% of the forty-four signers of the constitution and 41.2% of the one hundred and thirty-six who registered their claims were still living in the district. Allowance must be made for the transfer of claims which was made possible by registration in the claim association. These figures agree quite closely with studies that have been made in the movement of population in Kansas.³¹

The last entry in the record book was the meeting of November 22, 1854. The book was lent to the Kansas Historical Society by the commissioners of Doniphan county for copying. The records here reproduced retain the spelling and punctuation used in the originals.

MINUTES OF THE MEETINGS

At a large and enthusiastic meeting of the Settlers of Kansas Territory, held on the 24th day of June, 1854,³² at Whitehead, in accordance with notice previously given, the following proceedings were had:

Col. A. M. Mitchel was called to the Chair, and James R. Whitehead appointed Secretary.

On motion of Col. W. Broadus Thompson, the Chairman explained the object of the meeting, and appointed a committee to present resolutions for their consideration. The committee consisted of Col. W. Broadus Thompson, Capt. John H. Whitehead, Benjamin Wharton, and John R. Carter.

During the absence of the committee, the Chairman made an able address, shewing the necessity of an immediate organization for mutual protection against intruders, and for the promotion of the interest of the Territory. The committee, through their chairman, Col. W. Broadus Thompson, then reported the following resolutions:

WHEREAS, We, citizens of Kansas Territory, intending to fix our homes upon its fertile soil, have this day met at Whitehead, for the purpose of taking measures to secure safety, certainty and fairness in the location and preservation of claims.

Therefore, be it resolved:

1st. That we are in favor of bona fide Squatter Sovereignty, and acknowledge the right of any citizen of the United States to make a claim in Kansas Territory, with the ultimate view of occupying it.

2d. That such claim, when made, should be held inviolate so long as a bona fide intention of occupying it is apparent; and for the purpose of protecting and defending such, we agree to act in concert, if necessary, to expel intruders.

3d. That any person of lawful age, or who may be the head of a family, who shall mark out his claim of 160 acres so that it may be apparent how the same lies, shall be deemed to have made a proper claim.

4th. That any person marking out his claim, shall be deemed to have forfeited it unless he commences his cabin or pitches his tent within (30) thirty

31. See Malin, James C., "The Turnover of Farm Population in Kansas," in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. IV, pp. 339-372.

32. Taken from *The Weekly Kansas Chief*, Troy, August 16, 1883. This is the only copy containing the signatures. It agrees in text with the rough original draft and also with the copy in *House Report No. 200* (Ser. No. 869), 34 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 956.

days thereafter, unless the same shall be on such land as prohibit it by Military or Indian reservation.

5th. That all persons now holding claims shall have thirty days from this day in which to make the improvement contemplated by the foregoing resolution.

6th. That no person shall be protected by the Squatter Association who holds in his own right more than one claim.

7th. That any person building his cabin or tent within less than half a mile of another, shall be deemed an intruder.

8th. That a citizen of the Territory be appointed Register of Claims, who shall keep a book in which he shall note the name and description of all Squatters and their claims, for which he shall be allowed the sum of fifty cents for each claim, to be paid by the claimant.

9th. That a bona fide purchaser of a claim located and registered be recognized as entitled to the same under the laws of this Association, provided his intention be to occupy the same as a citizen of this Territory.

10th. That we will afford protection to no abolitionist as settler of Kansas Territory.

11th. That we recognize the institution of Slavery as already existing in this Territory, and recommend to Slaveholders to introduce their property as early as practicable.

12th. That a Vigilance Committee be appointed by the Chair, consisting of (13) thirteen members of this Association, whose duty it shall be to decide upon all disputes in relation to claims; and to ensure the execution of their judgment in regard to rightful claimants, they shall have power to call together the entire Squatter Association.

13th. That all persons who wish to become members of the Squatter Association, shall subscribe to the foregoing preamble and resolutions.

The foregoing preamble and resolutions, presented and supported by Col. W. Broadus Thompson in a forcible and eloquent speech, were unanimously adopted.

By unanimous consent, the Chair appointed as Register of Claims, James R. Whitehead, and as Vigilance Committee, Capt. John H. Whitehead, Samuel P. Blair, Henderson Smallwood, James B. Otool [O'Toole?], Thomas W. Water-son, Cary B. Whitehead, Anderson Cox, John W. Smith, Sen., Samuel Montgomery, Benjamin Harding, John W. Smith, Jr., John [James J.?] Keaton, Joseph Siceliff.

On motion it was resolved that the Chairman appoint five delegates to the General Territorial Convention, to be held at Salt Creek, on the 4th day of July, proximo.³³ Whereupon, Capt. John H. Whitehead, Benjamin Wharton, Albert Heed [or Head?], Samuel P. Blair and John R. Carter were appointed said delegation.

It was further resolved that the papers of St. Louis, Independence, Weston, St. Joseph and Savannah be requested to publish these proceedings, for refer-ence, and as notice to all interested.

33. An excerpt from the *Platte Argus* in *The Democratic Platform*, Liberty, Mo., of June 22, 1854, reads: "We are authorized to state that the citizens of Kansas territory, will celebrate the approaching Anniversary of American Independence at Salt Creek Valley near the trading post of Mr. Kivaly [Riveley?]. Ample preparations will be made, and a public Dinner will be furnished. The citizens of Missouri, generally, are invited to be present. Charles Grover, Esq., has been requested—and has consented—to deliver the Address. . . ."

The meeting then adjourned, to meet again at this place, on this day four weeks.

Nimrod Duncan,
 Hezekiah Jackson,
 Andrew J. Brans[?]on,
 William H. Butram,
 J. B. Anderson,
 Michael McGee,
 Peter O'Rourke,
 James R. Whitehead,
 Henry Thompson,
 Peter Huver,
 Thomas Byrne,
 John W. Smith,
 Henderson Smallwood,
 James J. Keaton,
 James B. O'Toole,
 B. Harding,
 John H. Whitehead,
 A. L. McChesney,
 Frederick Trent,
 Samuel Montgomery,
 George W. King, M. D.,
 James Muir,

David C. Montgomery,
 Nicholas Shookman,
 Wm. Gore,
 A. Larzelere,
 Allen Wallis,
 Thomas H. Baker,
 Sam. Perin Blair,
 Joseph H. Siceliff,
 I. G. Rogers,
 Charles H. Rogers,
 George W. Breckenridge,
 John Fee,
 Wm. G. Fee,
 H. H. Frazer,
 Philip Manuel,
 Eli Gabbert,
 W. G. Cox,
 Lester Deming,
 John Mullolly,
 James M. Teegarden,
 J. M. Holt,
 Joseph Crippen.

1854 At a meeting of the members of the Squatter association of Kansas Territory held at Whitehead on the 22nd of July, in accordance with a resolution passed by an adjourned meeting of the 24th of June, the following proceedings were had.³⁴

Thomas W. Waterson was called to the chair, and James R. Whitehead, appointed Secretary of the meeting.

1. On motion of A. Lazalere the proceedings of the previous meeting were read and unanimously adopted.

2. On motion of Major D Vanderslice the 4th resolution of the previous meeting was amended so as to read as follows

Resolved That any person marking out his claim shall be deemed to have forfeited unless he commences his cabin or pitches his tent within (30) thirty days thereafter, unless the same shall be on such lands as prohibit it by military or Indian reservations. Provided That any Indian agent, officer, or employee, of the Government of the United States who shall have marked out his claim, and has been deterred from commencing his cabin or otherwise improving his claim, on the ground that it was a violation of the law, but have in all respects complied with the 3rd resolution then such claim shall be deemed good.

3. On motion of John H. Whitehead, it was resolved, that all persons having marked claims in Kansas Territory, within the following boundary, (To wit) Beginning at the mouth of Cadew Creek,³⁵ and running due west to the

34. This is the first of the entries copied from the county commissioners' record book.

35. This creek was possibly present Peter creek. It was named for Peter Cadue, a Frenchman, who came to this region about 1840, and became an interpreter for the Kickapoo Indians.—Gray, P. L., *Gray's Doniphan County History* (Bendena, 1905), p. 25.

western boundary of the Kickapoo Lands, thence north along said boundary to the Iowa & Sack lands, thence north along the western boundary of said lands to the Nemahaw, thence down the Nemahaw and Missouri rivers to the place of Beginning, shall be constituted members of, within the Limits, and under the jurisdiction, of this Squatter association.³⁶

4. On motion of James M. Te[e?]garden, it was resolved that there be but one register of claims within the limits of this Squatter association.

5. On motion of Samuel Perin Blair, James R. Whitehead was appointed said register.

It was further resolved that all claims registered previous to this meeting by a regular appointed register be considered valid, but such as are registered after this date by any other than the register appointed by this meeting be considered invalid.

6. On motion it was resolved that all claims made and properly authenticated since the first day of January 1853 be considered valid.³⁷

7. On motion the meeting adjourned to meet again at the same place on the 19th day of August next.

James R. Whitehead Secretary

Aug 19 Pursuant to previous appointment a meeting of the Squatter association of Kansas Territory was held at Whitehead on the 19th day of August 1854 James B Otool[e?] being called to the chair made an appropriate address explaining the object of the meeting whereupon the following resolutions were unanimously adopted

1st Resolved That from and after this date all disputes in relation to claims shall be referred to a committee of three to be appointed by the Vigilance Committee who shall be authorized to settle all disputes so referred. Provided however that any person feeling themselves aggrieved have the right of appeal to the Committee of Vigilance previously appointed which shall hold its meetings on the first Monday in each month at Whitehead

2nd Resolved That said Committee of three shall receive fifty cents as compensation for their services in deciding each claim to be paid by the person against whom judgment is rendered

3rd Resolved That the secretary of the Committee be allowed twenty five cents each for issuing notices and that the Marshall be allowed fifty cents each for serving such notices and 10 cts pr mile for travelling any distance over four miles

4th Resolved that each party having a dispute to be settled by the Committee shall deposit with said Committee five dollars to cover the cost arising under the foregoing resolutions said cost to be paid out of the money so deposited by the person against whom judgment is rendered and the ballance to be refunded to the proper owners

5th Resolved That any person failing to deposit the amount required by the foregoing resolution with the Committee *after he shall have been duly cited to trial* judgment shall be rendered against him by default.

6th Resolved That every person having a claim which is not recorded shall

36. The area embraced parts of Doniphan and Brown counties, and probably a part of eastern Nemaha county.

37. A number of the claims registered in the Whitehead association had been previously registered in the office of D. M. Johnston in St. Joseph, Mo. Johnston was register of claims in an earlier association.—See p. 18.

be required to record the same within thirty days from this date and if there is no house upon the same to erect one or a flag staff or put 4 posts in the ground and lay a foundation of 4 logs thereon or plough at least one acre of ground somewhere on said claim or erect some other evidence of his claim on the same which in the judgement of the Vigilance Committee of this association is a sufficient notice to those who may wish to make claims that these claims are taken

On motion the meeting then adjourned to meet again at the same place on the 16th day of September 1854

James R Whitehead Sec

September 15th 1854.

On this day the association met according to adjournment. On motion of J. H. Whitehead Maj W. P. Richardson was called to the chair.

On motion of D. Vanderslice the secretary read a communication from T. J. Vanderslice, addressed to the Squatter Association in regard to the conflicting claims of said Vanderslice and Judge A. Lewis. Whereupon Maj. D. Vanderslice introduced various witnesses whose testimony was reduced to writ[ing] by a member of the association & filed with the records of the secretary, going to show the nature of the claims of T. J. Vanderslice, & D. Vanderslice, as well as the fact that Judge Lewis' claim conflicted with the same—and also going to show that said Lewis refused positively to submit to and abide by any decision which this association might render in the premises.

Whereupon, Upon motion of A. Larzelere, Resolved That it is the deliberate opinion of this association that D. & T. J. Vanderslice are the rightful owners of the claim occupied by Judge Lewis, and we will sustain them in holding the same.

Resolved, That a copy of the above resolution officially signed by the chairman of this association be furnished to Judge Lewis.

On motion of J. R. Whitehead the association adjourned until its next regular meeting.

J. R. Whitehead Sec

October 15th Pursuant to previous appointment the association met on this day whereupon the following proceedings were had

On motion of John H. Whitehead—Thomas Wildbahn was called to the chair and Silas Woodson appointed Secretary.

Capt J. H. Whitehead in a few brief remarks explained the object of the meeting whereupon on motion of S Woodson the chair appointed a committee of (5) five to draft resolution's expressive of the sense of the meeting

The committee consisted of the following gentlemen Silas Woodson D. B. Welden John H. Whitehead

The committee after a few minutes absence reported the following preamble and resolutions which were unanimously adopted

Whereas it appears from the records of this association that George Jameson on the _____ day of _____ 1854 took possession of a claim owned by W. K. Richardson near Was. Se. Na's³⁸ in Kansas Territory within the jurisdiction of this association, and that on the [22] day of [August] 1854 said Jameson at the instance of said Richardson, was duly notified to appear

38. Wa-the-nah, Kickapoo chief, for whom the town of Wathena was named.

before the vigilance committee of this association for the purpose of contesting the validity of his claim if he had any, and whereas—he failed to appear before said committee and judgment was in consequence thereof rendered against him by default, and the marshal of this association was required to notify said Jameson of said judgment and to require him to leave said claim before the 5th inst. and whereas—he refuses to leave said claim and is still thereon in defiance of the Judgement of the Vigilance Committee and the notice to leave, Therefore resolved by this association that the members of the association this day present, being determined to enforce their rules & Judgements will forthwith proceed to the claim in controversy, and require said Jameson to leave the same and surrender the possession to said Richardson, and if upon such request he refuses to leave said claim we will remove him therefrom peacefully if we can & forcibly if we must, and put said richardson in possession of said claim.

The committee farther state that the records of this association show that Hamilton J. Johnson on the [26] day of [August] 1854 recovered a judgement before the Vigilance committee of this association against M'ashan for a claim of 160 acres in Kansas Territory lying within the jurisdiction of this association and whereas it appears from satisfactory evidence before the committee that after the rendition of the Judgement aforesaid Mcashan abandoned said claim and has put Jameson in possession of the same as his agent or otherwise, & that said Jameson is now residing on the same and refuses to deliver the same to said Johnson according to the Judgement of said Vigilance Committee, We therefore recommend the same proceedings to be adopted against said Jameson, as is provided in the foregoing resolutions, for the purpose of putting W. K. Richardson in possession of his claim

November 22nd 1854 At a special meeting of the Squatter Association held at the house of Milton Bryan this day the following proceedings were had

James B. Otool[e?] was unanimously appointed chairman and J. R. Whitehead requested to act as secretary.

The secretary then in a brief manner announced to the meeting that the regular chairman of the Vigilance Committee Capt. Jno. H. Whitehead was then lying very sick with fever so much so as to render him unable to attend to any of the duties of his office and that the said J. H. Whitehead had requested him the said J. R. Whitehead to announce the same to this meeting and tender it his resignation of said office—which was accepted

Whereupon James B. O'Tool[e?] was appointed chairman of the Vigilance Committee vs John H. Whitehead resigned

On motion of Benjamin Harding the following *resolution* was adopted

Resolved that the Vigilance Committee shall not take Cognizance of any complaint made by any person who is not a resident of this Territory unless he shall render satisfactory evidence by oath or otherwise that he intends to become such within six months from this date

The meeting then adjourned to meet at Whitehead on the 15th day of December proximo
December 15th 1854

DESCRIPTION OF SOME OF THE LAND CLAIMS

One hundred and thirty six claims were recorded in the association between July 1 and December 2, 1854. The time of making the claims varied, the earliest date being that of James R. Whitehead, who claimed the land "by right of actual settlement thereon and peaceable possession of the same from the 1st day of November 1851 to the present time." The land had not yet been surveyed and the claims were identified by giving the names of adjoining claimants, by listing bordering roads or streams, and in a few cases by giving descriptions of land in Missouri opposite.

The following are representative of the record of land claims:

- | | | |
|-----------|--------------------|---|
| 1854 | 1 | |
| July 1st | | James R. Whitehead's claim is bounded as follows on the north by John Montgomery on the East by the Missouri river on the South by John H. Whitehead and on the west by James Oconnel and Mary Burnets claims. This claim is composed of two fractional Quarter Sections supposed to contain 160 acres and lies on the west bank of the Missouri river opposite the following described Lands in Missouri (To wit) The south west quarter of section (34) thirty four Township (58) fifty eight Range (36) Thirty Six and of the north half of Section (3) three of Township (57) fifty seven of Range (36) Thirty Six. |
| | | J. R. Whitehead claims the above described parcel of Land by right of actual settlement thereon and peaceable possession of the same from the 1st day of November 1851 to the present time. |
| Witnesses | (Samuel Montgomery | |
| | (| James R. Whitehead Recorder of claims |
| | | (John H. Whitehead |
| | 11 | |
| July 1st | | Thomas L. Lease records his claim as follows bounded on the Mo River on the east by Tobias S. Lease on the south by a claim marked VIE on a black oak tree and on the west by a vacant claim. This claim is situated near the head of the prairie bottom on the Mo river above banks'es ferry This claim includes a valley which is part timber and part prairie with a small branch running through it which usually sinks before reaching the river and was made on the 2nd day of June 1854 |
| Witness | Tobias S. Lease | James R. Whitehead Recorder |
| | 33 | |
| July 15 | | Thomas W. Waterson's claim is bounded as follows on the north by a vacant quarter on the east by a vacant quarter on the south by a vacant quarter and on the west by James Waterson This claim has a small grove on it with a tree near |

by known by the name of the Loan Oak and was made by
Thomas W. Waterson on the 13th day of June 1854

Witness James Waterson James R. Whitehead Recorder

37

July 17 Thomas J. Vanderslice made a claim on a quarter section of
land on the 15th day of March 1854 which claim is situated on
the east side of wolf river where the Indian tole bridge was,
on the road leading from St Joseph Mo to the Great Nemahaw
Agency embracing said road which runs near its northern bound-
ary and is bounded as follows on the north by a vacant claim
on the east by a vacant claim on the south by W. T. B. Van-
derslice and on the west by D. Vanderslice

Witnesses (H. C. Clifford
(
(Saml McClasky
(James R. Whitehead Recorder
(John B. Roy

39

July 17 D. Vanderslice has a claim on wolf river embracing the road
from St Joseph to Great Nemehaw Agency which is paral[le]l or
nearly so to its northern boundary supposed to be 150 yds
within said boundary and is bounded on the north by a vacant
prarie claim on the east by Thomas J. Vanderslice on the
south by the claim of James J. Vanderslice and on the west by
a vacant claim D. Vanderslice made this claim on the 26th
day of May 1853 in the presence of Major Wm P. Richardson
and reiterated the same in the presence of Mr McMeeken
George W. Manypenny and others in the following September
(This claim lies on the west side of wolf River)

James R. Whitehead Recorder

49

July 18 Charles Estes records his claim as having the following bound-
aries on the north by Paten W. Estes Jr on the east by a
fraction & Mo River on the south by Mr. Acord's fraction on
the west by Peter Monroe this claim is all timber and was
made by Charles Estes on the day of 1854

Witnesses Paten W. Estes Jr
George Estes James R. Whitehead Recorder
The above claim was transferred to E. F. Wells by C Estes on
the 17th day of Oct 1854 for the sum of \$25.00

J. R. Whitehead

57

July 22nd Paten W. Estes Sen records his claim as bounded as follows on
the north by the Missouri river on the east by a vacant claim
on the south by a vacant fractional Quarter and on the west
by Paten W. Estes Jr this claim is mostly Timber and was
made by P. W. Estes Sen on the day of 1854

- Witnesses (Charles Estes
(
(George Estes James R. Whitehead Recorder
The above claim was awarded to Francis Bosaier by the Vigilance Committee on the 19th day of August 1854 by his establishing to their satisfaction priority of settlement
J. R. Whitehead Recorder
- 91
August 26th William K. Richardson records his claim as being situated on Peters creek and embracing said creek and is bounded as follows on the north by Anderson Cox on the east by J. W. Crane on the south by Sidney Tennent and on the west by claimant unknown This claim is all Timber and was made by Mr Richardson on the 19th day of April 1854
- Witness Anderson Cox J. R. Whitehead Recorder
(Registered in Johnson's office on the 19th day of May)
- 114
Sept 16 Johnston D. Carson's claim of 160 acres in Kansas Territory on the cotton wood prairie commencing on the S W corner of H. H. Woodson's claim and running south 160 poles to said Carson's S W corner thence east 160 poles to said Carsons S E corner thence north 160 poles to said Carsons N E corner thence west to place of beginning This claim was made on the 27th day of July 1854 by putting 4 post in the ground and laying 4 logs thereon within said boundary
- Witnesses (Wm Carson
(
(Silas Woodson James R. Whitehead Recorder
- 119
Sept 16 Mary Dysart's claim of 160 acres made in Kansas Territory on the 28th day of July 1854 by setting 4 post in the ground and laying 4 logs on them for a foundation said claim lies on the cotton wood prairie and the foundation is made near the top of the ridge about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile S east of the cotton wood spring said foundation is near the south line of said claim and the said claim is to extend 80 rods east & 80 rods west of the foundation
- Witness Silas Woodson James R. Whitehead Recorder

PROCEEDINGS OF THE VIGILANCE COMMITTEE

The association provided that disputes were to be settled by a vigilance committee composed of thirteen members appointed by the chairman. Possibly distances and difficulty of travel made it hard to secure a quorum, for at its meeting of August 19, 1854, the association ruled that all disputes in relation to claims should be referred to a committee of three chosen by the vigilance committee. Any

person feeling aggrieved at a decision, however, had the right of appeal to the whole committee, which was to meet on the first Monday of each month.

The original records of the vigilance committee, as previously mentioned, were given to the Historical Society by Benjamin Harding of Wathena, who served as secretary of the committee. They are written on loose sheets of paper and apparently are not complete. The minutes of the meetings, which do not go beyond August 19, 1854, are as follows:

At a meeting of the committee of vigilance appointed at a previous meeting of the squatter association held at James R. Whitehead's in accordance to previous notice on the 15th day of July 1854, the following proceedings were had

The meeting was called to order by the Chairman, Capt. John H. Whitehead and the roll called by James R Whitehead when the following members answered to their names

Capt J H Whitehead, chairman, H Smallwood, James B O'Toole, John W Smith Sen. Sam'l Montgomery Benj Harding, John W Smith Jr & James J Keaton

—Absent— Sam'l P Blair Thomas W Waterson Carey B Whitehead, Anderson Cox & Joseph Siceliff

On motion, Benj Harding was appointed secretary and James R Whitehead Marshal

Resolved that all complaints be made in writing to the chairman of the vigilance committee and that the person complained of be notified to appear at the next meeting of the committee to answer such complaint, also that said notice be issued in writing by the secretary and served by the marshal, at least three days previous to the time appointed for said meeting³⁹

39. The following are illustrative notices :

Capt J H Whitehead

Whitehead July 15th 1854

Sir as you are Chairman of the Vigilance Committe organized and appointed by the Squatter association at Whitehead on the 24th June 1854 I address this note to you informing you that Mr E Blackston has in violation of the laws passed by that association intruded upon my claim and I have to request that you give him notice to answer this complaint before your Committee on the 22nd day of July inst at Whiteheads place in Kansas Territory

Henry Thompson

[On reverse side]

Jacob Sharp
Wm Gains
James Workman

H Thompsons Complaint

Spring Hill Farm Kansas Ter
July 17th 1854

Mr E Blackston

You are hereby notified in accordance to a resolution passed by the committee of vigilance, appointed by the Squatter association at a meeting held at James R Whiteheads on the 24th ult. to be and appear, at James R Whiteheads, at the next meeting of said committee to be held on the 22nd inst. to answer the complaint of Henry Thompson as intruder on his claim

B Harding
Sec. Vig. Com.

[On reverse side]

July 18th 1854
Served this notice by reading the same to the defendant

Jas. R Whitehead
Marshal

Resolved. That the Secretary and marshal be allowed the usual fee for issuing and serving such notice

Henderson Smallwood complained of Daniel O'Toole having made a claim *within* a half mile of his house

Ordered that said O'Toole be notified to appear at said meeting to answer said complaint

Henry Thompson complained of E Blackston building a house within a half mile of his own

Ordered. That said Blackston be notified to appear at next meeting of the committee to answer said complaint

Disputed claim, Muir vs. Branston. Referred to committee and decided in Muir's favor—Branston submitted like a philosopher

On motion. The meeting adjourned until the 22nd instant

B Harding
Secretary

John H Whitehead
Chairman

At an adjourned meeting of the committee of vigilance held at James R Whiteheads on the 22nd day of July 1854 the following members answered to their names

Capt J H Whitehead, H Smallwood, J. B O'Toole John W Smith Sen. Sam'l Montgomery B Harding S. P. Blair, T. W. Waterson, A Cox & J. Siceliff

Absent J W Smith Jun. J. J. Keaton and Carey B Whitehead

Case of Smallwood vs O'Toole, continued for want of witness

Case of Thompson vs Blackston discharged on the understanding that Blackston shall, on condition that Thompsons quarter includes his house or improvement when the government survey is made, relinquish all land of which he may be possessed, belonging to said quarter, but reserving the privilege of removing his improvements provided said Thompson refuses to make a reasonable compensation for the same

Adjourned to meet again in two weeks (Aug 5th) at twelve o'clock at Wa-the-nas

B Harding
Secretary

At an adjourned meeting of the Squatter association vigilance committee held at Wa-the-na's on the 5th day of August 1854 a quorum being present the following proceedings were had

The case of McChesney against Trent & Muir was called, but continued at the instance of the plaintiff for want of evidence.

Smallwood vs O'Toole.— Plaintiff unable to sustain his case— Dismissed

Duncan vs O'Rourk— Continued

Adjourned to meet at Thomas W Watersons on Saturday the 12th inst at eleven o'clock A. M.

B Harding
Sec. Vig. Com.

At an adjourned meeting held at watersons on Sat 12th July [August] 1854 a quorum was not present and no business was transacted except settling a dispute between Hawkins & Acord which was decided in Hawkins favor

Adjourned to meet at Whiteheads on Sat Aug 19th 1854

August 19th 1854— Vigilance committee met

Thomas W Waterson was appointed chairman pro tem.

The case of McChesney against Trent was continued for want of evidence
Duncan vs O Rourke— Continued

Francis vs Estes decided in Francis's favor

McChesney vs Muir, Judgment rendered against Muir

In accordance with a resolution passed by the mass meeting on the same
day John H Whitehead— John W Smith Sen and Thomas W Waterson
were appointed a committee to settle disputes

Adjourned

B Harding

Sec Vig Com

Trials in claim disputes followed court procedure. In some cases
the vigilance committee, when appealed to, reversed the decision of
the committee of three. An example of such a decision appears
below:

Whitehead Kansas Territory

Sept 4th 1854

A. L McChesney

VS

Frederick Trent

To the Marshall of the Squatter association for the district of Whitehead

You are hereby Comanded to notify F Trent that at a meeting of the
Vigilance Committee held at Whitehead on the 25th day of August 1854 a
verdict by default was rendered against said Trent and in favour of A L Mc-
Chesney in relation to the rightful ownership of a Certain Claim lying and
being in the Walnut Grove and bounded as follows on the north by Joseph
Rakenger & Philip Shirer on the east by N Duncan on the south by A J
Hawkins and on the west by Vacant Land.⁴⁰ You are therefore Comanded
to notify Said Trent to remove from and off of said Quarter Section of Land
and leave the Same in peaceable possession of the above named A L Mc-
Chesney within ten days from the serving of this notice

John H Whitehead

Chairman of Vigilant Committee

⁴⁰. The claim in dispute was originally made jointly by Roland Shannon and A. L. McChesney. On April 10, 1854, Shannon relinquished his right to McChesney. The relinquishment read:

"Know all men By these Presents that I Roland Shannon have this day Delivered unto A. L. McChesney My Right Title & interest in a certain Claim that I had in Connexion with the said McChesney in the Territory of Kansas Being Located in what is call[e]d the Walnut Grove this Claim was Made by Me & McChesney in June 1853 & on this day I have Relinquished all My Right to said McChesney Given under My hand this the 10th day of April 1854

Witness

P. S. Roberts

Roland Shannon

[On reverse side]

A L McChesney

VS

Frederick Trent

Notice to remove

Served by reading the Same to Defendant Sept 4th 1854

James R Whitehead
Marshall

Whitehead Sept 4th 1854

To the Chairman of the Vigilance Committee of thirteen for the district of Kickapoo in Kansas Territory

Sir

having been informed that there has been a verdict by default rendered against me by the Committee of three of this association in the Case in which A L McChesney was plaintiff and I was defendant and believing that I have the best right to the property in dispute and that it will appear so to the Satisfaction of your honorable body upon a full investigation of the case and knowing that I have the right to appeal from the decision of Said Committee of three to that of your honorable body I take this method of doing so and hereby request that you will have Said McChesney notified of the fact and that he be and appear before your Committee to defend Said Suit on the 16th day of Sept 1854

Frederick Trent

vs

A. L. McChesney

Appeal

Whitehead Kansas Territory

Sept 11th 1854

To the Marshall of the Squatter association for the district of Kickapoo
Greeting

By authority vested in me by the Vigilance Committee of the Squatter association for the district of Kickapoo you are hereby commanded to notify A L McChesney to be and appear before Said Committee at Whitehead in Kansas Territory on the 16th day of Sept 1854 at 1 o'clock to answer the Complaint of Frederick Trent in regard to the equity of a verdict rendered by the Com. of three against Said trent and in favour of A L McChesney on the 26th day of August last

B Harding

Sec. Vig. Com.

Kansas Territory, 15th Sepr. 1854.

Frederick Trent Appellant

Appeal to Vigilance Committee of the

vs

Whitehead, Kansas Association

A. L. McChesney Appellee

This day the parties appeared before the Committee in proper person and after hearing all the evidence, the Committee are of the opinion that the appellant is entitled to the possession of the claim in dispute the appellee having in the opinion of the committee forfeited his claim in consequence of

making an improvement on another and different claim after appellant settled upon and commenced improving the claim in dispute, thereby recognising the acts of appellant as being legal. It is therefore adjudg[ed] & ordered by the committee that the appellant recover & judgment is hereby awarded in his favor for the claim of 160 acres upon which appellant is living in the walnut grove in Kansas Territory and the Marshal of this association is required to see that this judg'et is enforced. It is further ordered & adjudged that appellant recover of appellee his *costs* expended in this behalf to be taxed by the Secretary of this association.

John H Whitehead
Chairman of Committee

The last date in the records is December 2, 1854, for the registration of a claim. After the territorial government was established, and the land was surveyed and pre-empted, the squatter associations gradually disappeared.

English Quakers Tour Kansas in 1858

From the Journal of Sarah Lindsey

Edited by SHELDON JACKSON

I. INTRODUCTION

THE first recorded visit of Friends to the territory now comprising the state of Kansas was that of Henry Harvey, Simon Hadley and Solomon Haddon in 1833. Their purpose was to investigate the possibility of opening a mission among the Shawnee Indians in their new Western home. The mission was established in present Kansas, a short distance southwest of Westport Landing, in 1837. It operated until after the opening of Kansas for settlement, closing permanently in 1870.¹

Quaker families began to enter the territory following the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act in 1854, the first ones coming to Dragoon creek and to the vicinities of Shawnee Friends Mission, Leavenworth and the present city of Osawatomie. They tended to settle in groups or colonies, of which Springdale (near Leavenworth), Spring Grove (near Osawatomie), and Cottonwood (near Emporia) were the largest. Smaller settlements grew up near the Shawnee Friends Mission and at Le Roy. By the end of the year 1857 about 200 had come to these settlements.

The settlers early began to meet in private homes on each first day² morning, later adding fourth day morning services. The meetings were usually silent throughout, for no Friends minister had yet emigrated to Kansas territory. Interruptions to their routine were frequent during the border-ruffian conflicts of 1855-1856 and the Friends doctrine of nonresistance received some severe trials. The danger at times became so great that some families would drive to the Shawnee Friends Mission for refuge, or cross into Missouri, until the immediate threat was past.

In March, 1858, these isolated groups were greatly encouraged by the welcomed visit of two itinerant English ministers, Robert and Sarah Lindsey. Typical of the traveling ministers among Quakers

1. This group of Shawnees had been moved in 1832-1833 from their Ohio reservation to a new location west and south of Kansas City. For a history of the mission (located in the SW $\frac{1}{4}$ sec. 7, T. 12, R. 25) see Hobbs, Wilson, "The Friends' Establishment in Kansas Territory," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. VIII, pp. 250-271. This article also gives information on some of the other early Friends settlements in Kansas.

2. Early Friends refused to use the names Sunday, Monday, etc., for the days of the week, because the names had been taken from pagan gods. They called the days of the week by their numerals: First day, second day, etc. Similarly the months were designated as First month, second month, third month, etc.

of the nineteenth century, these were a source of strength to the society.

Robert Lindsey³ had begun his ministry in 1844, visiting Friends in neighboring communities to his home town in England. Two years later he informed his monthly meeting⁴ of his "concern"⁵ to visit the Friends meetings in Ireland, for which service he was "liberated," and was absent from home three months. When he returned he found that Benjamin Seebohm was soon to make a religious visit to North America, whereupon they decided to make the journey together. In October, 1846, Lindsey and Seebohm sailed from Liverpool. The extensive tour of Friends in North America which followed occupied four years and eight months. During this period, he wrote, they "traveled on the American continent by land and by water 32,373 miles, two-thirds at least of that distance in our own private conveyance. . . . The rest . . . was performed by steamboat, railroad cars, [and] public stage." They "attended in that time 966 Meetings for Worship."⁶ Kansas was not included in this tour, however, for it was not yet opened for settlement and the only Friends there were the missionaries at the Shawnee Friends Mission.

Hardly had the two returned to England in 1851 when Robert again felt called to go, this time to Australia, with Frederic Mackie as companion. In the course of this journey he was absent from home three and one-half years and traveled through New Zealand, Australia, and South Africa.

After spending a year and a half at home, he again felt it his duty to visit foreign lands. This time his wife accompanied him, and they were given a "minute"⁷ to visit "all the isolated families of Friends in the world." They set out in 1857 on this ambitious undertaking, and spent two years in visiting the United States, Canada, and Nova Scotia. It was in the course of this journey that they visited the

3. Robert Lindsey was born at Gildersome, in Yorkshire, England, in 1801, the son of a woolen cloth manufacturer. He learned the drapery business early and began business for himself when about twenty-four years old. In 1828 he married a Quaker girl, Sarah Crosland, of Bolton, in Lancashire. He was engaged in business and was heard in ministry only occasionally until 1843 when the family inherited a small fortune. Soon thereafter Robert Lindsey embarked on the first of his many travels, Sarah accompanying him on the last one. He died in 1863 and Mrs. Lindsey in 1876.—*Travels of Robert and Sarah Lindsey* (London, Samuel Harris and Co., 1886), by Elizabeth Lindsey Galleway, a daughter. Although this book contains biographical information on the Lindseys and extracts from their diaries, it only briefly touches upon Mr. and Mrs. Lindsey's journey through the United States in 1858 when Kansas was visited.

4. A monthly meeting is the local business meeting in the organization of Friends.

5. Friends placed great emphasis upon being "led by the Spirit." When the Spirit "moved" a minister to visit a distant meeting, he expressed this as his "concern" to visit said meeting.

6. Galleway, *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 50.

7. When Friends ministers traveled in other localities they took with them credentials called "minutes," prepared by their local meetings.

scattered settlements of Friends in Kansas, enduring "many privations and rough accommodations." They were in Kansas in March and April, in Iowa in April and May, and then on into the North and East. In June, 1859, they left New York for California, going to the Isthmus of Panama by sea, crossing the Isthmus by rail, and continuing up the coast by boat. They spent considerable time on the West coast, preparing the way for the establishment of the first Friends meetings in that area. Hawaii, Australia, Tasmania, and South Africa were also visited before they returned to England from this last journey in July, 1861.⁸

Robert Lindsey kept a careful record in his diaries until the last journey, on which Mrs. Lindsey wrote the diary. The diary itself is preserved in the Devonshire House Library in London. There is an excellent manuscript copy of it in the Quaker collection of the Haverford College Library, and it is from this manuscript copy that the selections were taken which are here reproduced.⁹

After landing at New Orleans, the couple had an eventful journey by river steamer up the Mississippi to St. Louis. The portion of the diary here printed begins with their departure from St. Louis March 17, 1858. Sarah Lindsey's account of the trip up the Missouri river from St. Louis to Kansas City is an illustration of the vicissitudes of traveling this most popular of the routes into Kansas in those years. In their ten-mile trip from the landing at Kansas City to the Shawnee Friends Mission they got their first taste of frontier high prices and speculation—a charge of five dollars for the last six miles.

The Indians at the mission interested them, especially the several who attended the first day meeting. Leaving the mission on March 22, they set out for the Springdale settlement, about thirty miles north, with Caleb Harvey and his wife. The road was new to them all and they were repeatedly lost, so that it took them over fourteen hours to make the thirty-mile journey. They finally arrived at the house of Wm. Coffin, however, and held a meeting on the 24th in the meeting house with forty present. Benajah Hiatt here offered to convey them to the other settlements of Friends in Kansas in his covered wagon. Thus equipped they proceeded to Spring Grove, then across the high prairie to Le Roy and up the Neosho river to the Cottonwood settlement. Thomas Stanley's residence (near the present town of Americus) and Henry Harvey's home on Dagoon

8. Galleway, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-185.

9. From v. I (1857-'58), pp. 175-200, and v. II, pp. 3-9.

creek were stops on the way back to the mission. Having completed their tour, Sarah would have been glad to leave Kansas, but Robert had become increasingly concerned about a lack of unity between some of the members in the Cottonwood settlement. Returning to Emporia, they were able to relieve the situation in a conference. This completed their work in Kansas. They retraced their journey to the Friends mission and were driven to Kansas City by Caleb Harvey, having been in the territory near four weeks.

It is interesting to note the reactions of these English visitors to the rough frontier conditions. Having been used to the comforts of their English home they were appalled by the inadequate housing, lack of furniture, and rough life in these settlements. This did not deter them from the object of their visit, however, and their ministry was a great blessing to those pioneers who had just gone through the trying slavery controversies and were enduring the pioneer hardships in their isolated homes. Benajah Hiatt states that their ministry was prophetic and inspiring, resulting in many conversions. He relates that most of the meetings were held in groves of trees, the entire community, both Friends and others, coming to hear the English visitors.¹⁰

Soon after the Lindseys' visit, permanent meetings were established among these groups, and others sprang up as more settlers came in. Kansas Quakers were granted a yearly meeting of their own in 1872, with 2,620 members. Subsequent increase has made it one of the larger yearly meetings of America, with a membership of 8,610 and headquarters in Wichita.

II. SARAH LINDSEY'S JOURNAL: MARCH 18-APRIL 19, 1858

18th 3 mo. [1858] Left St. Louis at 3 p. m. yesterday on our way to Kansas. Proceeded 125 miles by rail to Jefferson City, & from thence by steam boat up the Missouri river about 325 miles. In usual course we should have arrived at Jefferson City at 9 o'clock the same evening, but after proceeding about 16 miles the train stopped and the passengers were informed that there was an obstruction in the way, & we were desired to leave the carriage and walk about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile over a hill thro' which there was a tunnel. So taking our light luggage along with us we ascended the rugged & stony hill, partly through the mud where there was no road; and the descent was very steep. On regaining the railway we found ourselves at the further end of the tunnel where a quantity of rock & earth had

10. Letter of Benajah Hiatt to Herman Newman, n. d., in possession of Herman Newman, Newtown, Pa.

fallen. The heavy luggage was carried over the hill on men's shoulders, and a number of workmen were employed in removing the obstruction, but some of the stones were so large that they had to blaster them with gunpowder. We walked a short distance to the next station where we waited several hours until the train arrived from Jefferson City on its way to St. Louis, when the passengers left the train to walk over the hill as we had done, & we took their seats and proceeded on our way, but owing to the engine being behind, instead of at the front of the train, we got along very slowly: and missed getting our afternoon meal, except a little fruit pie at 11 p. m. After traveling all night about 4 a. m. we breakfasted at a small station and after proceeding a little further we met with a second detention from another fall of earth. The line of railway runs close by and parallel with the Missouri river, while high rocks, and almost perpendicular bluffs rise from the other side. From various detentions we lost about 14 hours, and did not reach Jefferson City until 11 o'clock this morning. The steam boat was waiting for the train, and we were quickly on board, & sailing up the river. The scenery on our right hand is bold & rocky; on the left the land is flat and mostly covered with a small growth of forest trees. We had an abundant supply of good & well cooked provisions set upon the table with much taste. The water of the Missouri is very muddy & yellow, yet it is used for all purposes on board the boats.

20th. 3 mo. Yesterday we passed Miami & Brunswick, small villages: the day was oppressively hot but in the evening the wind arose, and we had a heavy storm, of thunder, lightning, & rain, during which our boat was put close to the shore, where we remained several hours until the storm abated. Great care is required to steer clear of sandbanks, & great numbers of trees are washed from the shore and carried down by the stream until they become fixed in the sand, some with the roots downward and the trunk standing above the surface of the water: and it is dangerous to get amongst the snags as they are called. We see numbers of wild geese of dark plumage on the sand banks & along the shore; they rise & fly in the air, seeming to enjoy their unbounded liberty.

21st. 3 mo. First day morning. At the Friends Mission for the Shawnese Indians in Kansas. About 5 o'clock yesterday afternoon we arrived at Kansas City on the borders of the Missouri & Kansas states. This place has only been open for white settlers about 2 years,¹¹ but the Friends Mission has been established much longer

11. Kansas territory was opened for settlement in 1854 under the provisions of the Kansas-Nebraska act, signed by Pres. Franklin Pierce, May 30, 1854.

and occupies many acres of rising ground. The City is rapidly increasing, and contains many good stores & houses built of brick. We proceeded 4 miles by a stage coach; but as the Mission was 6 miles further, & the sun near setting, we seemed obliged to pay the driver 5 dollars as the smallest sum he would convey us for. We soon crossed the boundary line & entered the state [territory] of Kansas, where prairie land opened before us—a deep black soil carpeted with grass. On reaching the Mission we were kindly welcomed by the Superintendent Simon Harvey, who with his wife & daughter; a young man Caleb Harvey & his wife—the former of whom has charge of the farm, a female teacher, & a domestic assistant forms their staff. During the winter 24 Indian children were boarded & taught gratis, but owing to an epidemic only ten remain in the school at present.

23rd. 3 mo. Third day. On first day we attended the meeting which is held in the schoolroom when we had the company of several Indians who were civilized and well dressed; two of the men & one of the wives dined with us, the men spoke good English.

During the late disturbances in Kansas two years ago, the Mission friends were threatened with disturbance from the pro slavery party: the school was discontinued for some time and the premises left in charge of a man & his wife.¹² The friends were much discouraged on their return to find things much out of order and no crops to meet the wants of the family, but their prospects have now brightened.

We left Missouri [the Mission?] yesterday accompanied by C. Harvey & his wife to visit a settlement of friends on Strangers creek 11 miles S. W. of Levensworth City. Our conveyance was an open wagon: all of us being strangers to the road we had to make frequent inquiries. Crossed the Kansas river on a flat owned by a respectable Indian who was well dressed & spoke pretty good Eng-

12. In the *Minutes* of Indiana Yearly Meeting for the year 1856 is recorded this account of the affair:

"The 20th of 8th month last [1856], . . . a body of armed men, 18 in number, came to the Establishment, took all the horses and saddles on the premises, and the Superintendent going out, asked them to leave him one of the horses to send to obtain a physician for his wife, who was lying sick in the house, when the captain of the band gave utterance to profane and abusive language, and presenting his gun at him, in that threatening attitude told him, this was only a beginning of what he might look for if he did not leave the place.

"The Superintendent returning to the house, the commander told the hired man, who was present on the occasion, that if he came out again he would shoot him. The day previous a number of the Indian children had been taken away from the school by their parents, who gave as a reason, their fear that there would be an attack made upon the Establishment. These facts, together with the reports of threatened violence toward the inmates, and the destruction of the buildings, induced our Superintendent to come to the conclusion that the present safety of himself and family, and the Friends employed there, required him to leave the Territory; and accordingly on the 23rd of the 8th month last, they all left for the purpose of returning to their homes in Indiana.

"The premises were left in charge of a hired man by the name of John Denny, and his wife, and we learn from late accounts received from him, that no further acts of violence have been committed."

lish: understanding that some of his children could read we gave him some small books. His dwelling was a good frame house, and he owned 800 acres of land, some of which he pointed out lying along the banks of the river. He seemed under discouragement, remarking "*White men fight.*" On enquiry we found that about 2 months ago one of his brothers found some white men cutting down timber upon his land, & on going to expostulate with them, one of the party shot & killed him. The murderer escaped, but some others were caught & imprisoned.

The Kansas river is the boundary line between the Kansas & Shawnee Indians. There are at present 850 of the former tribe & 900 of the latter. We are now on the Delaware lands which extend 40 miles in length & 10 in breadth. Passed a Mission¹³ for the Indians, & traveled many miles of prairie land without seeing either man, beast, or house. The prairies are now covered with withered grass, which is burnt off in spring & we saw some on fire. In this state [territory] the Indians hold 200 acres of land each: i. e. if a man has a wife & 4 children the family have 1200 acres but in general they only cultivate a little for their own support, and the rest lies waste, making fine hunting grounds.¹⁴

In crossing an unbroken prairie, several miles in extent, & not knowing which way to proceed, we came to a stand, and at a distance observed 3 Indians mounted on horseback coming towards us; on their advance the party seemed to consist of a man & his wife & 2 children; the woman had a yellow handkerchief bound round her temples, & a long yellow scarf round her neck, with a red blanket over her shoulders, enclosing a babe upon her knee: various ornaments hung from her saddle, and altogether she had quite an imposing appearance. On one of the man's boots I observed a large spur, the stirrups were made of wood, & covered with leather which came up to the ankle. The Indian was well dressed & tried to give us some information about our journey. After proceeding some miles we became uneasy, thinking we were going in the wrong direction, and on coming to a cross road altered our track. There are numerous natural roads over the prairies, and we often see Indian trails where they ride on horseback two or 3 abreast, & the roads having been washed with rain appear like deep furrows. At length we were cheered by the sight of a house, and a man directed

13. Probably the Delaware Baptist mission and school operated by the Rev. John G. Pratt.

14. As early as 1854 treaties with certain Indian tribes permitted Indians under some conditions, and if they so desired, to hold 200 acres of land each. The statement obviously does not apply, however, to every Indian then roaming within the boundaries of the territory.

us to Captain Wolfe's for information. Here we found good farm buildings, and a respectable looking family, apparently consisting of 3 generations. As we sat waiting in the carriage the captain, a fine looking man, came from the woods accompanied by several men with an ox team. The Indians are generally shy & retiring, some young women were peeping at us in the background, & finding that some of them could read, we left books. We got some information respecting the situation of the locality of our friends, but were still at a loss as to the point to aim at. After being on the road 14 hours, when within 4 miles of our place of destination we found a man who knew some of our friends and their settlement, so we hired him as guide to Strangers creek, which we forded & in a short time reached the house of Wm. Coffin,¹⁵ which was only 30 miles from the Friends Mission. Wm. Coffin is a son of our worthy friend Elijah Coffin of Richmond, Indiana; he has been here 4 years & is still living in a small log cabin.

24th. 3 mo. Fourth day. Had a meeting with the friends settled in the locality in a log building, used both as a meeting house & school room.¹⁶ About 40 persons, including children, were present: the Lord was mercifully pleased to own us, and my dear husband ministered to us, commencing with the text: "A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of things which he possesseth;" "Godliness with contentment is great gain." And the watchword to some seemed to be, "If riches increase, set not your heart upon them." Counsel & caution followed, and we had a favored time together.

Dined at Benajah Hyatt's [Hiatt] whose wife is Sarah Coffin's sister. In the evening rode a few miles to the habitation of Henry Worthington, a log cabin of one room 12 feet square. This friend who has a wife & 5 children came here from Philadelphia about 6 mo. ago. They had been used to the comforts & refinements of good society; but being unfortunate in business, they had taken land & come out here. We were much interested in seeing them all trying

15. William H. Coffin came to Kansas in 1854, settling near Leavenworth in 1855. An excellent account of his coming to Kansas and the establishment and growth of the Stranger (later called Springdale) settlement is found in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. VII, pp. 322-361.

16. This school is described by V. K. Stanley, the first teacher, in *The Kansas Educator*, Hutchinson, February, 1905. "This primitive school house . . . was built of small oak logs, not hewn, cut from a grove nearby. The cracks were stopped with split pieces of timber, commonly called 'chinks' and mortar composed of mud and prairie grass roots. The building was plastered in good shape for that day. It had one three-light and two, two-light windows, the glass being 8 x 10 inches. The flooring was rough and the roof was composed of three foot boards riven out of oak timber, on Stranger river two miles east. The roof was held on by weight poles such as were commonly used in that day. The furniture consisted of seats made of slabs, with no backs, and four pegs for the legs. Boards were fastened to the wall near the windows where the pupils did their writing. The teacher's stool was a block sawed from the end of the log, about eighteen inches in diameter, and his desk nothing more than a board, fifteen inches wide and three feet long, fastened to the wall in one corner."

to do what they could in their humble cot; a little corner was shielded off where we slept, the rest of the family sleeping in beds in the same room.

26th. 3 mo. Yesterday morning H. W. drove us in his ox team to the house of Thomas Newby, a distance of 6 miles a long & weary drive occupying about 3 hours, & we crossed several ravines. Found our friend, with his wife & 2 small children living in a rude log hut. We spent a few hours in social converse, and had a little spiritual refreshment to hand them. On our return called to see James Wilson & wife, an interesting young couple with whom we had an interesting opportunity. After a parting opportunity with our host & his wife, accompanied by our truly kind friend, Benajah Hiatt, we set out in a covered wagon to visit the other settlements of our friends in this state [territory]. The little company at Strangers creek suffered much during the late disturbances; the pro-slavery party stopping supplies of food. When steamboats reached Leavenworth City from the free states, they were often plundered of their stores, & goods &c. sent back. And supplies coming from the settlers were seized to feed the soldiers of the pro-slavery men, and altho' thus circumstanced, it was perilous to leave their homes. Some of the families removed for a time, & several of their horses were stolen. Leavenworth City is erected on the banks of the Missouri river about 11 miles from our friends location on Stranger's creek. 3 years ago this site which has been chosen for the city, was overgrown with high bushes, but now many good wholesale & retail stores have been erected, and comfortable houses, with a population of 9,000 persons. The neighbouring settlers here find a ready market for their produce.

Some of the first settlers in the country gave only 2½ dollars pr. acre for their land which is well situated, with a good supply of timber & water. The bluffs abound with good stone; limestone is abundant; & there is plenty of wild fruit, consisting of gooseberries, plums, grapes, &c., &c. There is a constant stream of fresh air on the prairies, & the friends have wisely chosen sites for their cabins on the open ground instead of amongst the trees & creeks in the valleys, where chill & fever often prevail. But to proceed with our journey. Passing thro' the Delaware Indians reservation, we rode about 12 miles over the open prairie without passing a single house; the first we came to was a good new frame house belonging to an Indian chief, and was used as an hotel. Some of the best houses we see here are two stories high & belong to the Indians. They generally locate themselves on the margin of rivers & creeks, beside

the woods. As we rode along, the horses gave a sudden start & turned on one side; when the driver told us he had checked them on observing a rattlesnake in our path, coiled up & ready to strike. We all alighted, & on looking back observed the reptile with head erect, but our driver soon killed him with his whip & took the rattle from his tail. It is well that the rattle is set in motion & heard in time to avoid being struck by these venomous creatures. His color was a light brown, and his length about 2 feet. There is a plant called the rattlesnake's master, which grows abundantly on the prairies which, when applied, takes the venom from the bite, hot stimulants being taken at the same time.

During the day we forded two rivers, the Ottawa, & Osage. As the day closed we came in sight of a house, & made our way to it, to ask for lodgings; but finding only a company of men, we were directed to another house at some distance which we found to be a large cabin inhabited by a large family of respectable persons. Being told that they had other company & could only admit us on the condition of occupying beds upon the floor, we were discouraged but as the next house was some miles further we tried to feel thankful that we had a shelter over our heads. Supper was prepared for us, and on wishing to retire, how thankful we were that without any contrivance of our own, my dear R. L. & self were shown to a good bed with curtains, the man & his wife occupied another bed in the same room; our friend had a bed laid upon the floor, and the other inmates occupied a loft.

28th 3 mo. First day. Yesterday we found the prairies more level with high bluffs, & stones were abundant, and we passed numerous creeks enriched by thick belts of trees. Part of our route lay over the Ottawa Indian reservation, and as usual found them living on the banks of a creek. In general they are not fond of work, but like to hire white men to work for them. They receive annuities from the government for land which has been sold which makes them feel independent, but some of them begin to copy from the white man & farm their land better.

Made about 35 miles during the day, crossing Middle creek, & the Pottawattnia [Pottawatomie]. We met with a kind welcome from Simon Jones & family who live near Osawattami [Osawatomie]. Eleven families of friends are located around here, some of which are numerous; there are 59 members including children. For sometime a meeting for worship has been held at one or another of their houses which is frequently attended by some of their neighbours.

This morning the meeting was held out of doors, and an awning put up to shelter us from the wind, planks were arranged for seats, and about 100 persons were present. The canopy of divine love was felt to spread over us, and ability was afforded to preach the gospel of life & salvation.

After meeting we dined at David Mendenalls,¹⁷ and returned to S. Jones in the evening where we were most affectionately waited on by his children whose greatest pleasure seemed to be anticipating our wants. This family removed here from N. Carolina 8 months ago; their farm consists of 160 acres for which they paid 500 dollars. In the evening we had a meeting with the family which cleared the way for our departure.

30th 3 mo. Rode over flat prairies yesterday, bounded by long low bluffs. Passed thro' the town of Hyatt, which consists of two houses. Some other houses & improved farms lay on our way. We rode 20 miles, and only passed one dwelling house. Crossed the Pottawattania creek at Greely, a small town consisting of a few huts. Sometimes as far as the eye could reach we could see neither house nor tree. Most of the creeks have high banks, but some of them are nearly dry at present, which is much to our advantage. In summer numerous buffaloes cross the plains & there are many wild deer, but we only observed a solitary wolf at a distance.

The natural roads over the prairies are generally very good, but some are rather indistinct, sometimes a furrow is ploughed up to shew the track. It was nearly dark before we came in sight of a house, and found shelter under the roof of a settler named Pearson who we found was born a member of our society, but did not retain his membership. Two families of friends reside at Le Roy where we had a meeting the following day at the house of R. Davis, who has a wife & one child. Their dwelling is made of rough logs laid one upon another without the interstices being closed; there is no window but an opening for a door, tho' it is only an opening, the floor is nature's covering & very uneven from the projecting roots of trees: and there is a recess for a fire place, but no chimney. The furniture consists of two beds, two chairs, a few boxes, & mirror, &c., &c. A number of chairs were brought from the neighbours and here in the midst of the woods 15 persons assembled for the purpose of divine worship. The Lord owned us in our solitary situation, and counsel & encouragement to some present were given, prayer was also offered for their preservation.

17. David Mendenhall and his brother, Richard, were the first Friends to settle in the Spring Grove neighborhood.

Dinner was prepared for us at a neighbour's house after which we rode 15 miles to Hampden, part of the way lying along what is called Neosia [Neosho river] bottoms, low wet land. On arriving at the village, we were received into the house of Perry Mills, who has a wife and a large family.

1st 4 mo. We have had a meeting in a school house, 26 persons present, and my R. L. addressed us from the text: "All scripture is given by inspiration from God, and is profitable for reproof, correction, doctrine, &c."

The frequent reading of these records was encouraged, and the nature of true worship & prayer described, & the difference shown between those prayers which were conceived in the heart and those which were only uttered in a formal manner by the lips. Perry Mills suffered much during the late political disturbances, being twice taken prisoner while going about his lawful business. The ruffians made preparation & were intending to hang him, had it not been for the interference of another man who knew him. A considerable number of his cattle were taken away, besides provisions & stores which were for sale. These things reduced their means very much. Their house containing two rooms is a very humble dwelling, but we were lodged & treated with great hospitality. P. M. is a very energetic man, and we hope he will soon be able to overcome his present depressing circumstances. Our next stage was to Emporia, distant 35 miles. Part of the road was thro' fine rich prairie land, passing the little town of Autumia [Ottumwa?] situated on rising ground. The last ten miles was a flat lonely district and we only passed a single house. Night closed upon us, and it appeared as if we should have to remain in the carriage all night upon the open plain, but at a distance at last were cheered by seeing a light which proved to be only a store. However we were directed to a house at a little distance, but found it newly built & in a very unfinished condition, & the man said they were not prepared to accommodate us; but we were admitted under the roof, and we found two rooms without windows, and we had to sleep close by a large opening thro' which we had abundance of damp air from the river close by the house; but by putting up a screen we did not suffer from the exposure.

Next morning we crossed the Neosha river and came to Emporia, but found two of the friends houses locked up, and had to drive 2 or 3 miles further before reaching two other families who were living in log cabins. One family consisted of a man & his wife and 8

children, several of whom were grown up. A meeting was occasionally held in one of their houses; and arrangements were made for a meeting. On returning to Emporia we found a decent inn where we took up our quarters, and were glad to have a little quiet; and esteemed it a great favor to having a lodging room to ourselves.

2nd 4 mo. Attended the appointed meeting at Curtis Hyatt's, Cottonwood creek on Neosia river where about 30 members of our society met us, including children; several of the neighbours were present & there seemed to be great openness in speaking of those things which appertain to our present & eternal welfare. At my dear husband's request the friends remained after the meeting, when he had a more private opportunity of expressing his feelings of Christian interest on their behalf. It seemed that some of them were but little known to each other.

Dined at Andrew Henshaw's, where we met with Thomas Stanley¹⁸ who gave us directions to his house where we had fixed to go the following day. Having endeavored to draw the scattered members of our society in these parts together, and my R. L. feeling his mind relieved, we have much enjoyed a leisure afternoon, spent in writing in our little private bedroom.

4th 4 mo. First day. At Thomas Stanley's 8 miles from Emporia. This individual along with his wife & children are living in a temporary one roomed house the walls of which are of rough boards driven into the ground. T. S. has interested himself a good deal about the Caw Indians, and is now awaiting the decision, respecting the settlement of land to which this tribe of Indians are supposed to have a claim, but which is disputed by some of the white settlers. This tribe moves about, & lives in tents, being but partly civilized, but they wish T. Stanley to open a mission for them. Our friends gave us the best lodging their frail house afforded. The wind has been high during the night.

5th 4 mo. The night was cold & frosty, & owing to the numerous chinks in the walls & roof, it seemed likely that we should suffer from such an unusual stream of fresh air, but we do not seem to have taken cold from the exposure. Held a meeting in a new house where we had the company of the neighbours; the room was well filled & the Lord was near strengthening for service. Left after dinner, T. Stanley accompanying us, to a creek called 142, where we lodged. In the drive we ran over a rattlesnake & partly killed,

18. Thomas Stanley was a well-known Quaker missionary to the Indians. Having served three years (1842-1845) at the Shawnee Friends Mission, he moved among the Kaw Indians in 1857 and carried on an independent work among them until they were moved to Indian territory. Later he was active in the Friends work among the Indians in present Oklahoma.

our friends alighting to complete its destruction. Next day we proceeded to Henry Harvey's, who has been interested, and spent much time & labor on behalf of the Indians. He lives on Drago[o]n creek,¹⁹ but we were sorry to find he was not at home, but were kindly cared for by his wife, a delicate woman, & his sons.

The day has been very cold, windy, & wet, and we were glad to find a shelter, but sorry to see the family of such a self sacrificing friend living in such an humble dwelling with so few of the comforts of life.

6th 4 mo. On the 6th rode 40 miles to Bloomington, having had a meeting with the different branches of C. Harvey's family the preceding evening. Lodged at Edwin Stokes' who had a birthright in our society & his brother is still a member. Called to see Shubal Sevain, who had an accident lately & lost several fingers from his left hand; and he is now confined to bed with a broken leg. He has a wife & several children; we had a religious opportunity with the family. Had an appointed meeting in a school house. My dear husband had good service in the ministry, dwelling particularly on the Atonement; the knee was afterwards bowed in prayer. At the close of the meeting a man arose, & requested leave to ask a few questions; but my R. L. replied that having fulfilled his mission he did not wish to be detained. We had heard that some noted infidels were in the neighbourhood and he proved to be the leader amongst them. Altho' there are 25 friends settled around, they are not in the practise of meeting together for Divine worship.

16th 4 mo. Kansas City, Missouri. I trust our visit to Bloomington may have been useful to some who now seem resolved to begin the reasonable and needful duty of holding religious meetings. Surely we require the pure mind stirring up, or we may get into the lukewarm & benumbed condition. Great is the loss which some persons sustain by going into isolated situations where religion is at a low ebb. Taking leave of our kind friends, the Stokes family, we forded the river, & drove about 20 miles partly thro' the Shawnese reservation, to the house of Henry Wilson who has a wife & 4 children. He had been in the employ of a respectable Indian named Charles Fish, but is now renting some land from him, & is living in a log cabin belonging to some of C. Fish's family. [8th 4 mo.] On 5th day the 8th had a meeting in our friends cabin where Levi Woodward, wife & child came to meet us. An Indian named Pascal Fish,

19. For an account of the early settlement on Dragoon creek see Stephen Jackson Spear's "Reminiscences of the Early Settlement of Dragoon Creek, Wabaunsee County," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XIII, pp. 345-363. See, also, biographical sketch of Henry Harvey, *ibid.*, p. 348, footnote.

with his wife & son also gave us their company. The Wing of Divine Goodness was felt to spread over us, and we had an interesting season, wherein counsel & close things were spoken to some present. Prayer was also offered. On separating the Indian seemed to regret that we had not taken up our quarters at his house, as he had room &c., and could have found food for ourselves, and corn for our horses: he requested that we would pray for them.

The Indians were well dressed, & the man spoke good English. In the afternoon rode to the town of Lawrence. As we had now visited the different settlements of our friends in Kansas, we should have been glad to leave the state [territory], but my dear R. L. did not feel his mind relieved in regard to the friends in Emporia, between some of whom there was a want of unity, so we returned to that place, altho it caused us two days journey. Lodged at the house of Milton Chamness, after which there was a conference between the parties referred to, which ended to satisfaction.

We called to see Jonathan Wheeler's family; he has a wife & 8 children who reside in a one roomed cabin upon the open prairie. The house had no windows & but few of the comforts & conveniences of life within: the bare uneven ground was covered with a little hay.

16th 4 mo. Jonathan Wheeler's house was scantily furnished; round the sides of the house several trunks of trees enclosed loose lay, which with cross timber, without bed stocks, formed several sleeping places for the night. A large box was used as a table, two or three chairs, & smaller boxes served for seats, a few open shelves held the crockery ware, and a small cupboard contained their stock of books. But in the midst of this humble abode contentment seemed to dwell, and a smile played upon many of the happy faces around us. This family have taken up 160 acres of land and seem likely to do well. We had a meeting with them to satisfaction; many of us would think their lot a hard one, but we had cause to believe that the Son of Peace had taken up His abode in some of their hearts.

Dined with our young friends A. Henshaw & wife, then had a cold windy ride to Duck creek where we lodged. Next morning the ground was covered with snow, and we had a stormy drive over the open prairie, 15 miles of our route being through the Sac & Fox Indian reservation where we did not see a single house, & only crossed two creeks. Dined at Burlingham [Burlingame?], and lodged at Henry Hyatt's at Twin Mounds, the place taking its name from two oblong natural elevations which are seen from a distance

& appear as if they had been cast in a mold. H. Hyatt was once a member of our society. Here we met with a person named William Denton who is a noted infidel, and the individual who attended the meeting which my R. L. had at Bloomington. He removed to this country from Darlington about nine years ago; he was acquainted with the Pease's family. We could agree with a remark he made; that this country suited persons holding views similar to his own better than England.

On leaving the house H. Hyatt refused to take money for our accommodations. Rode to Lawrence next morning where we parted from our truly kind friend Benajah Hyatt who has been our driver & faithful companion for nearly 3 weeks, during which time he has given us much information upon subjects relating to the recent disturbances in Kansas, some of which were of a most tragical nature, being cold blooded murders & atrocities, such as are seldom heard of in this age of the world amongst civilized nations. We were intending to proceed to the Friends Mission by public stage but all the seats were engaged. A note had been sent to the hotel for my R. L. from L. N. Wood [Samuel N. Wood?], an entire stranger to us, but a descendant of friends, who having heard of our arrival invited us to his house to remain either a day, or a month, as suited our convenience; so we spent the afternoon & lodged there, and his wife, a well educated & sensible woman, treated us kindly. L. N. Wood is a lawyer by profession & seems to be in easy circumstances. The family are living in a temporary house, but a little snug bed was prepared for us in the loft, the ascent of which was by irregular boards some of which bent as we trod upon them. Took leave of our kind friends the following morning and went to the Mission, a distance of 35 miles by public stage. For nearly two weeks there has been a cloudy atmosphere but now the sun shines in the clear blue sky.

Within the last week we have seen abundance of wild plum & gooseberry trees in full blossom. The prairie chickens are like a little speckled pullet, and very numerous, if we come near they take wing & fly a short distance. The larks build their nests upon the ground, & sing a short sweet plaintive note; but in other respects are unlike our English birds bearing that name. Spent fifth day with our friends at the Mission: the mid-week meeting was an interesting season wherein my dear husband had some service. A friend named James Stanley²⁰ who had just arrived in the state

20. James Stanley was a younger brother of Thomas Stanley, and was also a missionary to the Indians.

[territory] along with wife & 3 children called in the evening. J. S. is a joiner by trade and has come here with the prospects of stationing himself among one of the Indian tribes to instruct them in manual labor & to endeavour to raise their condition in other respects. The poor Indians have been driven from one place to another, until some of the Shawnese & other civilized tribes are intending to become citizens of the United States. Some of the natives have married white persons. In riding along we do not see many Indians & but seldom pass their habitations. They are generally shy & retiring; we saw two squaws in Lawrence, one of whom was clad in a scarlet, & the other in a yellow dress, & blankets were thrown over their shoulders like a cloak.

This morning, the 16th, 4 mo., we arose very early and taking a final leave of our friends at the Mission, were accompanied by C. Harvey who drove us to Kansas City in a waggon. The road was thronged with emigrants who were just entering the state [territory]: some in covered wagons had been camping for the night, and having kindled a fire were preparing breakfast. Others were walking with their bags & bundles. On approaching the river we had the mortification to see the steamboat by which we expected to proceed, start from the shore & sail without us; not knowing when another of that class might be passing, we went to an inn where I spent some hours in posting up my journal, but being on the tiptoe of expectation we had an uncomfortable day. We retired to rest and got a few hours sleep; and at an early hour the following morning we heard the steam whistle, & before 6 a. m. were on board the "Meteor." Much rain fell during the night accompanied by thunder & lightning. Our boat is rather small but a fast sailer; we have not many fellow passengers. On first day morning we held our meeting in our cabin, rather a dull heavy season to myself; wherein I felt my own weakness & inability to help myself. It is not usual for the boats on the Missouri to run thro' the dark nights: but our captain being desirous of reaching Jefferson City, ran until 8 P. M., when we struck upon a sand bank, and notwithstanding all the skill & ingenuity which the accident called forth we were not afloat until daylight next morning. Reached Jefferson City about 7 A. M. just in time to take the train to St. Louis where we arrived in 6 hours.

The Annual Meeting

THE sixty-eighth annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society and board of directors was held in the rooms of the Society on October 19, 1943.

The annual meeting of the directors was called to order by President W. E. Stanley at 10 a. m. First business was the reading of the annual report by the secretary.

SECRETARY'S REPORT, YEAR ENDING OCTOBER 19, 1943

In last year's report mention was made of the war service of the Society. Most important is the assistance given to persons born in Kansas who seek evidence of place and date of birth. These are nearly all applicants for war jobs where proof of American birth is required. Copies of such records go directly to the factories or are used by the individuals in securing birth certificates. The Society holds the original records compiled by state census takers from 1865 to 1925. Most names can be found in these statistical rolls but occasionally proofs come from old newspapers, church records and school records. During the year 4,317 persons were supplied with this information. Part of the time it was necessary to transfer workers from other departments to meet the demand.

The museum with scores of First World War relics is popular with soldiers and visiting relatives of men at the army hospital and air field. A special museum devoted to World War II was installed in the first floor lobby in August. Outstanding posters are shown on the walls and a number of special exhibitions of war photographs, sketches and paintings have been arranged for. Two cases of war relics are on display and it is expected that within a few months several more will be added.

Three members of the staff of the Society are on leave in the service. Lt. Edgar Langsdorf is stationed at Camp Shelby, Mississippi, where he is helping with the training of Japanese Americans. Ens. Josephine Louise Barry, U. S. N. R., is with the ordnance bureau at Washington, D. C. G. R. Gaedert is in Washington, D. C., in training for a position as assistant field director of the American Red Cross.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

President W. E. Stanley reappointed Chief Justice John S. Dawson and T. M. Lillard to the executive committee. The members holding over were Robert C. Rankin, Charles M. Correll and Milton R. McLean. Since last year's meeting three outstanding members of the board of directors have died. They are Fred Bonebrake of Topeka, one of the most loyal members of this Society, who served for a time as its secretary; E. A. Austin of Topeka, president of the Society from October, 1936, to October, 1937; and L. C. Uhl, Jr., of Smith Center who for many years was active in the work of the Society.

THE LEGISLATURE

The legislature of 1943 provided for an additional cataloguer, raised the salary of the secretary to \$3,750 a year, and allowed an emergency salary in-

crease of ten percent to members of the staff for the duration of the war. Other items of the regular appropriation remain the same.

The legislature also transferred control of the janitors in the Memorial building from the state executive council to the Historical Society. For thirty years the building has been an orphan, employees having come through the statehouse janitorial pool. In addition, another janitor was authorized and \$500 a year was added to the building contingent fund.

The printing and binding fund, along with funds of other state departments, was arbitrarily reduced in the budget director's recommendation to the legislature. Our last year's appropriation of \$7,500 was cut to \$7,000 for the fiscal year ending in June, 1944, and to \$6,000 for the year ending in June, 1945. The Society will do less printing during the war, but we feel it is poor economy to try to postpone binding, since documents and newspapers deteriorate more rapidly if left unbound.

The contingent fund of the Old Shawnee Mission was raised to \$2,250 a year and the salaries of caretakers there and at the First Capitol building were substantially increased to bring them within the ranges set up by the state merit system. The First Capitol received the usual \$150 a year for its contingent fund.

The Historical Society gave active support to appropriation items covering other state historic sites and parks, though they are not directly under our supervision.

LIBRARY

During the year more than 2,300 persons have done research in the library. Of these about 900 worked on Kansas subjects, 700 on genealogy and 600 on general subjects. Numerous other requests were answered by letters. Due to the war there has been a marked decline in the number of persons engaged in long research on theses for advanced degrees and historical works.

Many Kansas books and pamphlets and 28 genealogies have been received as gifts, and the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Colonial Dames have contributed valuable records. A gift of unusual interest at this time is the family Bible of Jacob F. Eisenhower, grandfather of Gen. Dwight Eisenhower. It was presented by Mrs. Lydia Anna Holdeman Eichelberger of Tabor, Iowa, a granddaughter of Jacob F. Eisenhower. The Bible contains family records.

The library is receiving regularly 30 publications from military and naval camps and defense plants in Kansas. Two artists in military service at Fort Leavenworth and Camp Funston, who were selected to paint murals depicting Western scenes at these posts, were given help in their research.

Approximately 6,000 clippings from representative Kansas newspapers were clipped and mounted on sheets for binding and on cards for vertical biographical files. These clippings, numerous in spite of newsprint cuts and abandoned newspapers, are preserved in an effort to tell the newspaper story of Kansas in war-time. They not only include articles about army posts and defense plants, but also tell of the war's effect on the social, educational and economic life of the state.

PICTURE COLLECTION

During the past year 626 pictures were classified, catalogued and added to the picture collection. An album of 151 kodak pictures illustrating conditions, programs and activities of the Pottawatomie jurisdiction in Kansas was given

by the WPA through Mrs. Mary Parkman. A large collection of pictures on the Santa Fe trail and the West was purchased from J. G. Masters. These have not yet been accessioned.

STATE AND FEDERAL ARCHIVES

The outstanding archival accession of the year was official correspondence of Gov. Payne Ratner. This includes letters and other official records and is estimated at 38,500 manuscripts. From the state board of agriculture came 3,006 booklets of statistical rolls for 1935 and 3,119 for 1936.

The following microfilm copies of the records of the office of Indian affairs have also been added to the Society's collections: Six reels of outgoing communications of the Secretary of War relating to Indian affairs, 1800-1824; 65 reels of copies of outgoing letters of the office of Indian affairs, 1824-1861, and 126 reels of registers of letters received, 1824-1880, containing digests of the letters received, names of the writers, dates, etc.

PRIVATE MANUSCRIPTS

Forty manuscript volumes and 98,117 individual manuscripts were received during the year.

Perhaps the outstanding accession was the collection of Joseph L. Bristow, U. S. senator from Kansas from 1909 to 1915. The papers embrace correspondence, speeches and miscellaneous manuscripts. There are 86,400 letters, dating from 1900 to 1925, the majority from 1909 to 1915 when Bristow was senator. They are official and political in character and will be invaluable to students of the political history of the period. The collection was received from Frank H. Bristow of Salina, a son of Senator Bristow.

A large collection of the manuscripts of Frank A. Root was presented by his son, George A. Root, who for more than fifty years has been a member of the staff of this Society. Frank A. Root was for many years a prominent Kansas newspaperman and was the author of *The Overland Stage to California*. In addition to his father's papers Mr. Root gave his own collection consisting of letters, reminiscences and miscellaneous material, approximating 3,300 items. These collections have not yet been organized.

Eleven photostat letters and seven documents relating to William "Buffalo Bill" Matthewson were donated by George H. Browne of Kansas City.

The Civil War diaries (1863, 1864) of John Melvin Converse were given by Mrs. May Frink Converse of Wellsville. Converse served in an Illinois regiment.

To the George J. Remsburg collection were added 205 letters dating from 1911 to 1942.

Irving R. Lovejoy of Compton, Cal., presented the diary (September 1, 1828-August 1, 1864) of his mother, Julia Louisa Lovejoy, and numerous clippings of her letters to Eastern newspapers. Julia Lovejoy and her husband, the Rev. Charles H. Lovejoy, came to Kansas in 1855. Her writings relate many of her hardships as the wife of a pioneer Methodist missionary.

The Columbian Title and Trust Company of Topeka gave the Society photostat copies of several pages from the early record book of the Topeka Association.

To the historical records of Russell county, Judge J. C. Ruppenthal added a list of marriages of Russell county citizens from 1874 to 1883; the names

of men inducted into the U. S. forces in 1917 and 1918; together with other material.

A group of letters and documents were given by Adela C. Van Horn. Included was a photostat copy of the famous "Ross-Pottawatomie" letter written by Sen. S. C. Pomeroy in 1861. The letter proposed a bit of graft in the letting of a contract for supplies to the Pottawatomie Indians. It appeared in a number of newspapers in 1873 and was used against Pomeroy in his campaign for re-election.

Three hundred seventy documents, muster and pay rolls of detachments of the U. S. army hospital corps at Fort Riley (1853-1902) were given by Sgt. Mark M. Woodford of the hospital department, Fort Riley.

The Society recently received from E. T. Stretcher through Gen. M. R. McLean a manuscript volume containing a roster of Co. A, Fifth Kansas Volunteer cavalry, and a diary written by Capt. William F. Creitz of the company, also a manuscript history of Company A by the same author. Captain Creitz settled in present Jackson county in 1856, erecting the first house on the townsite of Holton. He took an active part in the territorial troubles. In the 1870's he moved to Portland, Ore.

Other donors were: Henry J. Adams, Lee H. Cornell, P. L. Courtright, Matthew C. Dickson, Mrs. Mabel Adams Evans, E. B. Everhart, Lee W. Fergus, Dr. J. W. Fields, Lillian Forrest, Mrs. Emily L. B. Grant, W. W. Graves, E. G. Hamilton, Grant W. Harrington, Charles C. Hoge, Edward Killen, R. W. McGrath, Grace Meeker, Mrs. E. S. Platt, H. G. Pope, Robert C. Rankin, George Robb, Mrs. Philip K. Roberson, Mrs. Clarence R. Rupp, Mrs. A. B. Seelye, Sierra club of San Francisco, Rollo G. Silver, Dr. Robert Taft, Harriet E. Freeman Tarbet estate, Topeka Board of Education, William Allen White, Whittier club of Leavenworth, and Henry E. Riggs of Ann Arbor, Mich.

NEWSPAPER AND CENSUS DIVISIONS

Demands on the newspaper and census divisions fell off to about half the total reported a year ago. However, nearly 21,000 loose issues of newspapers and 4,284 bound volumes were consulted; 8,806 census volumes were searched and from them 4,317 certified copies of family records were issued.

The work of indexing names in the census continued till the close of the Society's WPA project, January 28, 1943. For the period from October, 1942, through January, 1943, 44,100 cards were prepared, listing the residents of the city of Topeka, 1895; Soldier township, Shawnee county, 1895, 1915, and Topeka township, Shawnee county, 1905 and 1925.

The 1943 *List of Kansas Newspapers and Periodicals* was published in August. It showed the issues of 697 newspapers and periodicals being received regularly for filing, 32 fewer than were shown in the 1942 *List*, and 62 fewer than were listed in 1941. Fifty-eight Kansas newspapers have suspended publication since the United States entered the war, and there will doubtless be more. During this period the Society added seventeen military and ten industrial publications, printed in Kansas.

Of the 697 publications in the 1943 *List*, 56 are dailies, 10 semiweeklies, 443 weeklies, one three times monthly, 24 fortnightlies, 11 semimonthlies, one once every three weeks, 83 monthlies, 13 bimonthlies, 21 quarterlies, 29 occasionals, 2 semiannuals and 3 annuals, coming from all the 105 Kansas counties. Of these 697 papers, 149 are listed Republican, 33 Democratic and 251 independent

in politics; 82 are school or college, 32 religious, 17 fraternal, 8 labor, 3 local, 17 military, 10 industrial, 10 trade and 85 miscellaneous.

On January 1, 1943, the Society's collections contained 48,838 bound volumes of Kansas newspapers, in addition to the more than 10,000 bound volumes of out-of-state papers dated from 1767 to 1943.

Sixty-eight reels of newspaper film were acquired during the year. The outstanding accession was twenty-five reels covering the Atchison *Champion*. This includes the weekly edition from February 20, 1858, through May 22, 1869, and the daily from March 22, 1865, through March 21, 1877. Until this film was secured the Society had only scattered issues of the *Champion* for these years. A very complete file belonging to the Wisconsin Historical Society was borrowed and was combined with the issues held by this Society and others belonging to the Library of Congress. The Library of Congress collated and microfilmed the combined collection of 16,429 pages. This Society canvassed the leading historical societies and libraries for subscriptions and six additional orders were secured, thus materially reducing the cost. Other film accessions were: Washington (D. C.) *Evening Star*, July 5, 1853-September 30, 1865; St. Joseph (Mo.) *Weekly Free Democrat*, August 6, 1859-April 13, 1861; *The Morning Herald*, St. Joseph, February 12, 1862-February 11, 1865; *The Weekly West*, St. Joseph, May 8, 1859-April 28, 1860; St. Louis (Mo.) *Intelligencer*, January 1, 1850-December 31, 1851; St. Louis *Daily New Era*, March 6-December 29, 1849; St. Louis *Evening Pilot*, January 6, 1855-November 15, 1856; St. Louis *Daily Union*, August 17, 1846-April 6, 1849; *Choctaw Intelligencer*, June 16, 1850-January 7, 1852, and *Choctaw Telegraph*, of Doaksville, Okla., May 3-December 20, 1849.

Newspaper accessions include: A file of *PM*, New York, beginning with the issue of June 18, 1940 (v. I, No. 1), from Dr. N. E. Saxe, of Washburn Municipal University, Topeka; a copy of the *Le Roy Pioneer*, June 8, 1867 (v. I, No. 33), from Glick Fockele, Le Roy; thirty issues of the *Manufacturers and Farmers Journal*, Providence, R. I., dated from June 8 to December 31, 1857; files of *The Kansas Sentinel*, Emporia, April 21, 1880-August 2, 1882, and the *Emporia Democrat*, February 25, 1885-February 16, 1887; and single issues of a miscellaneous character from Mrs. J. W. Dansey, Chicago, Ill.; Mrs. Beth K. Casper, Anthony; Mrs. J. W. Wally, Fort Dodge; Miss Helen Capps, Mrs. Arthur Gray, David E. Palmer, and George A. Root, Topeka.

MUSEUM

The attendance in the museum from July 1, 1942, to October 1, 1943, was 31,295. There were 75 accessions. Among the most interesting is a collection of models made by Harold L. Kookken (1904-1934) of Burlington. Ill health from boyhood kept him from normal activities and he turned to hand work and became so skillful that he was employed as a model maker by two leading automobile manufacturing companies. Another new display that attracts much attention is the set of 14 dioramas donated by the Work Projects Administration through Mrs. Harrison Parkman.

SUBJECTS FOR RESEARCH

During the year the following have been subjects for extended research: *Biography*: William Mathewson. *County and town history*: History of McPherson; Coffey county and the Neosho valley; old Westport. *Education*:

Education in Doniphan county. *General*: History of the United States district court in Kansas; the old West; history of agriculture; pioneer life in Kansas; statistical history of Methodist churches in the Central Kansas conference boundaries, 1854-date; Kansas stories; folk-lore in northwest Kansas; advertising problems; land policies in Kansas; early fur traders in Montana; Cherokee Strip Livestock Association.

ACCESSIONS

July 1, 1942, to September 30, 1943

Library:	
Books	1,334
Pamphlets	4,517
Magazines (bound volumes).....	443
Archives:	
Separate manuscripts	44,625
Manuscript volumes	None
Manuscript maps	None
Private Manuscripts:	
Separate manuscripts	98,117
Volumes	40
Printed maps, atlases and charts.....	132
Newspapers (bound volumes).....	821
Pictures	626
Museum objects	75

TOTAL ACCESSIONS, SEPTEMBER 30, 1943

Books, pamphlets, bound newspapers and magazines.....	412,771
Separate manuscripts (archives)	1,552,406
Manuscript volumes (archives)	28,290
Manuscript maps (archives)	583
Printed maps, atlases and charts.....	11,700
Pictures	21,054
Museum objects	33,190

THE QUARTERLY

The Kansas Historical Quarterly is now in its twelfth year, eleven 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 on its collections was closed the last of January. For the period from October 9, 1942, to January 28, 1943, an average of thirteen persons were employed five days a week, with the federal government spending \$3,232.14 for wages. The Society's staff supervised the workers.

The closing of the project marks the end of a series of federal work programs which the Society has operated with brief interruptions for the past nine years. The first project, through the Civil Works Administration, began in January, 1934. Anyone who was out of a job could be employed. Following the CWA came the Federal Emergency Relief Committee which hired workers from the relief rolls only. Then came the Works Progress Administration,

and finally the Work Projects Administration. Similar work projects, offered by the National Youth Administration and other agencies for young people in and out of school, were also sponsored by the Society. In all, the federal government spent about \$90,000 for wages, while our expenses ran to \$2,400, much of which went for typewriters and filing equipment which became the property of the Society.

Major records of the Historical Records and American Imprints surveys, projects sponsored by the Historical Society to inventory the county archives of Kansas and to list the early imprints in the state's libraries, have been deposited here by Mrs. Mary Parkman, state director of the WPA community service programs. The collection fills 107 file drawers and fourteen pasteboard cartons. When the state WPA offices were closed Mrs. Parkman also made it possible for the Society to select other items for preservation. Included in this miscellaneous material were pictures, art and museum catalogues, and five filing cases of clippings and records.

OLD SHAWNEE METHODIST MISSION

Despite gasoline rationing the number of visitors at the mission continues to increase. Most are people who live within a radius of ten miles. When the mission was acquired by the state fifteen years ago there were few houses in the vicinity. Now the site is surrounded by homes and there has been continuous development in every direction. Last spring 150 young trees were planted on the grounds and nearly all weathered the summer. During the year minor repairs were made on the buildings. The grounds are being constantly improved by grading and the removal of stone.

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, the Daughters of 1812 and the Shawnee Mission Garden Club for their continued coöperation at the mission. 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

Since travel through Fort Riley on U. S. highway 40 was detoured the number of visitors at the old capitol building has fallen to a new low. Many soldiers and members of their families, however, continue to visit 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, John S. Dawson moved that it be accepted. Motion was seconded by Milton R. McLean.

President Stanley 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, 1942, to September 30, 1943

MEMBERSHIP FEE FUND

Balance, September 1, 1942:		
Cash	\$1,358.31	
U. S. treasury bonds (par value \$3,500).....	3,441.81	
		\$4,800.12
Receipts:		
Memberships	336.00	
Bond interest	142.26	
Refunds for postage	457.25	
Profit sale treasury bonds.....	169.69	
		1,105.20
		<u>\$5,905.32</u>
Disbursements		870.35
Balance, September 30, 1943:		
Cash	1,534.97	
U. S. savings bond, "Series G".....	3,500.00	
		5,034.97
		<u>\$5,905.32</u>

The United States treasury bonds in the amount of \$3,441.81 (par value \$3,500) belonging to this fund, were sold with the approval of the executive committee April 5, 1943, and the proceeds reinvested in United States savings bonds, "Series G."

JONATHAN PECKER BEQUEST

Balance, September 1, 1942:		
Cash	\$97.17	
U. S. treasury bonds	950.00	
		\$1,047.17
Interest received:		
Bond interest	40.92	
Savings account82	
		41.74
		<u>\$1,088.91</u>
Disbursements, books		12.50
Balance, September 30, 1942:		
Cash	126.41	
U. S. treasury bonds	950.00	
		1,076.41
		<u>\$1,088.91</u>

JOHN BOOTH BEQUEST

Balance, September 1, 1942:		
Cash	\$19.33	
U. S. treasury bonds	500.00	519.33
Interest received:		
Bond interest	21.59	
Savings account40	
		21.99
		<u>\$541.32</u>

Disbursements	None
Balance, September 30, 1943:	
Cash	41.32
U. S. treasury bonds	500.00
	<hr/>
	<u>\$541.32</u>

THOMAS H. BOWLUS DONATION

The United States treasury bond for \$1,000 which substantiated this donation was sold April 5, 1943, and a United States savings bond, "Series G" in the amount of \$1,000 purchased in its place. The interest is credited to the membership fee fund.

This 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, 1943, these appropriations were: Kansas State Historical Society, \$29,670; Old Shawnee Mission, \$2,000; First Capitol of Kansas, \$750.

On motion of Mrs. W. D. Philip, seconded by Robert C. Rankin, 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 Milton R. McLean.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

OCTOBER 15, 1943.

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, 1942, to September 30, 1943, and that they are hereby approved.

T. M. LILLARD, *Chairman.*

On motion of Milton R. McLean, seconded by Edward Bumgardner, the report was accepted.

The report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society was read by Milton R. McLean:

NOMINATING COMMITTEE'S REPORT

OCTOBER 15, 1943.

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: Fred W. Brinkerhoff, Pittsburg, president; Ralph R. Price, Manhattan, first vice-president; Jess C. Denious, Dodge City, second vice-president.

Respectfully submitted,

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

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

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, W. E. Stanley.

The annual address by Mr. Stanley follows:

Address of the President

THE JAYHAWK FINDS ITS WINGS

W. E. STANLEY

I believe I occupy a position unique among presidents in this Society in that what I have to say this afternoon has been "censored." I imagine that Kirke has often wished he could censor a lot of the things that have been said at these gatherings. I know my wife feels that my remarks frequently need censoring. However, this is the first time it has ever been done successfully.

My paper was submitted to the army air forces, so that I could be sure none of the few references to the present situation would be regarded as objectionable. Several such references were objected to, and I have eliminated them. In all fairness to the army, it doesn't really "censor"; it merely advises you of the regulations, and asks you to conform to them. No good citizen could do otherwise.

It had always been my understanding, gleaned not only from the ornithologists, but also from the historians, that our Kansas Jayhawk was in about the same unglamorous category as the barnyard rooster in the matter of flying. However, either the authorities are mistaken or times have changed. Now, whether one goes to Kansas City or Coffeyville—Garden City or Hays—Topeka, Wichita or Salina, he will see the cloudless Kansas skies filled with aircraft, and everywhere there is a tremendous amount of activity, all dealing with airplanes.

It is not accidental that Kansas should now have attained a position of such preëminence in the aircraft industry; nor is that position due entirely to governmental fiat in placing factories and air bases within the state. In very large measure the fact that Kansas is today one of the leading states of the union in aircraft manufacture is due to the perseverance and ingenuity of the early pioneers of that industry who struggled on through difficulties of almost every conceivable kind, and who had five years ago firmly established experience, personnel, equipment and facilities. In all fairness the level terrain of Kansas, the temperate weather, and the central location of the state within the United States were contributing factors, but they are not my concern this afternoon.

I want to tell you about some of the early beginnings of the airplane industry in Kansas; not all of the early struggles, but at least some of the historical background of aviation and airplane manufacture in this state. To me—and I have been in a position to have watched from the beginning—it has been a very interesting development.

Just who was the first in Kansas to experiment with airplanes is probably the subject of some argument. However, among the first was Glenn L. Martin, now president of the Glenn L. Martin Company of Baltimore, Md. Martin was born in Iowa in 1886, but in 1888 his parents came to Kansas, going first to Cullison in Pratt county and after a few months to Liberal. While only a boy Martin built rather intricate biplane-type kites, which he sold to other boys. The family moved to Salina about the time Glenn entered high school, and he graduated from high school there and also attended Kansas Wesleyan in Salina. He continued to tinker with kites, and obtained a spare-time job in a garage and bicycle shop in Salina owned by Dave Methven, where he managed to learn a great deal about the principles of the internal combustion engine. Also, he continued to build and fly kites. However, in the fall of 1905 the family moved to Santa Ana, Cal., where the first actual plane was built in 1907. Martin returned to Kansas in 1911 for a series of exhibition flights, and still regards Kansas as the place where his life's work began.

Also, in Salina another of the industry's leaders began his experiments with planes. Max Short, now executive vice-president of the Vega Aircraft Company, an affiliate of Lockheed, and formerly chief engineer for the Stearman Aircraft Company, built a glider in 1912. He was only a freshman in Salina High School at the time,

but the craft was sufficiently well built that Short was able to make short flights with it from the top of a building.

The Socialist lecturer, Henry Laurens Call, made the first attempt to manufacture an airplane in Kansas. Early in 1908 he formed a company at Girard. His first model was powered with two gasoline engines, of twenty horsepower each, operating four propellers. There were four adjustable planes grouped about a large central plane. The craft, however, proved too heavy to fly. This plane caused the state's first airplane fatality. On November 2, 1908, one of the propellers struck and killed H. W. Struble, a mechanic.

The first Kansan to build an airplane within the state which really flew appears to have been A. K. Longren of Topeka. Longren built a plane during the summer of 1911 and made his first flights early in September. He built several planes during the prewar era. One of his first exhibition flights occurred at Marion. He had a guarantee of \$5,000 if the plane left the ground. A crowd of several thousand people waited on the field all day for the plane to fly. However, Longren did not wish to make the flight in a wind. He would hold up a handkerchief, and if it moved there was too much wind. Soon members of the crowd were holding up their handkerchiefs. Finally about sundown the wind died down entirely. Longren took off, got the plane a few feet above the ground, but it crashed into a river bank. Longren, however, was uninjured. About 1915 he built a barrel-shaped biplane which was extremely popular with the exhibition fliers.

It has been in Wichita, however, that the greater part of the development has occurred, and it has indeed been a fascinating story. So far as can be gleaned from the records, Wichita's introduction to aircraft occurred on October 12, 1908. On that day and the four following, the Commercial club, which was the forerunner of the Chamber of Commerce, staged a celebration to which it assigned the somewhat lugubrious title of "Peerless Prophets' Jubilee." It was merely a street carnival. To enliven it Roy Knabenshue's airship was secured. The ship was a 150-foot dirigible with a catwalk hanging beneath it at the front of which was a forty horsepower motor and a propeller. The ship, which was to be piloted by Frank Goodale, was moored on Ackerman island immediately north of the Douglas avenue bridge and from there it was to make flights over the city. The contract with the Knabenshue company contained a rather unique feature. Goodale was to make four flights with the

ship during the period of the jubilee, but he was not required to attempt to fly the ship unless the wind velocity was less than eight miles per hour. No flights were made during the jubilee. In answer to a charge of fraud the company voluntarily waited for more favorable weather. After several false starts an attempt to fly over the city October 20 ended abruptly when a gust of wind blew the gas bag into the propeller. Although Goodale was then flying over the island at a height of fifty feet, he escaped with bruises.

The next year, in 1909, a true airplane was brought to the city. It was to make flights from Hellar's grove near the city, but the event attracted little public attention.

Wichita's next experience with aircraft was of a similar nature, but somewhat more satisfactory from the standpoint of the spectators. On May 4 to 6, 1911, Wichita held its first air show. The meet was sponsored by O. A. Boyle and was held at Walnut Grove, on the Arkansas river northwest of the city. Four famous "death-defying aeronauts," Jimmy Ward, C. C. Witmer, Eugene Ely, and R. C. St. Henry, were brought to the city for the event. The *Wichita Eagle* published an "Aviation Number" on May 4, claiming, and I believe justifiably, to be the first newspaper in the Middlewest to give such recognition to the new industry. Special trains and cars were provided on the railroads and the Interurban to convey the anticipated crowds. The planes when on the ground were kept within a canvas inclosure to which the admission price was \$1.25, and which was advertised as being sufficiently large to accommodate "1,000 autos and 2,000 carriages and buggies." The planes used were all Curtiss pusher biplanes and seem to have performed credibly. Ely attempted (at least so the newspapers of the time record) to break the then existing altitude record of 9,714 feet set by Ralph Johnstone at Belmont Park, L. I., on October 31, 1910. Ely ascended to almost a mile when he ran out of gasoline (an occurrence for which he was apparently wholly unprepared) and was forced down. Ward tried to break the speed record of 67.86 miles per hour set October 30, 1910, by Alfred Le Blanc, but failed, probably for similar reasons.

On November 3 and 4, 1911, Hugh A. Robinson was brought to Wichita in connection with the Wheat show, but an accident wrecked his airplane and put Robinson in a Wichita hospital.

However, interest in aviation had been aroused and in 1912 the Wichita Aero Club was formed, which club at its peak had 200

members. The club purchased a balloon and succeeded in securing the national balloon races for Wichita in 1913.

Wichita also succeeded in obtaining Ruth Law and her famous aerial circus for several of the Wheat shows before the first World War. Ruth Law's aerial shows were "big time," and their exhibitions were generally held in the larger cities. However, Wichita produced the crowds and the money and thus secured her. She indulged in night flying, did loops, barrel rolls and other aerial feats which were then almost unheard of.

The actual manufacture of airplanes did not commence until long after the first invasions of the barnstorming tribe. To Clyde V. Cessna goes the distinction of having built the first airplane to be constructed in Wichita. Cessna was born in Iowa in 1879, but was brought to Kansas the following year by his parents who settled in Kingman county near Rago. He was reared and educated in the Kingman community, but later moved to Enid, Okla. He became interested in aviation shortly after the Wright brothers made their first flights, and in 1910 he built his first plane. This was a high-wing monoplane, the rear half of the fuselage being bare and having the horizontal stabilizer and elevator below the fuselage. This plane crashed in one of its first flights, but was rebuilt and was followed by others at the rate of about one a year. In 1916 Cessna moved from Enid to Wichita, rented building "H" of the old Jones Automobile & Truck Works (the present location of the Culver Airplane Company) and commenced the manufacture of the plane later known as the "Comet." The plane was a monoplane, as have been nearly all the planes designed by Cessna, and had a shield over the forward part of the cockpit to shield the pilot. This was the first step in the evolution of the cabin monoplane. The plane had no ailerons, the entire wing being movable.

Cessna continued to build a limited number of planes, doing a great deal of the work himself and never having more than a handful of employees while the "factory" was located at the Jones plant. He built planes for the use of the barnstormers, and found a ready market among the members of that daring profession.

Immediately following the close of World War I the Wichita city fathers determined that the rather haphazard use of any convenient cow pasture as a landing field during the various meets and flights then becoming commonplace in the city was not fitting to the city's dignity. Accordingly, the Chamber of Commerce arranged for the acquisition early in 1919 of the city's first airport. This port was a

field adjoining the Jones factory, and its conversion from a wheat field to an airport consisted of the construction of a concrete bull's eye in the center of the field. However, it was appropriately dedicated on May 1, 1919, by a group of seventeen military planes touring the country in interest of the Victory Loan Drive.

Also, during 1919 a corporation was chartered known as the Wichita Airplane Company. Among its stockholders were Jacob N. Moellendick, who later came to be known as the "father of aviation in Wichita," George H. Siedhoff and J. H. Turner. The firm acquired an airport approximately a mile east of the Jones airport, three airplanes and several ex-army pilots and went into the business of barnstorming, repairing and servicing airplanes and instructing would-be pilots and mechanics.

Moellendick, the principal figure in this venture, deserves special mention because of his important part in the always troublesome financial end of the early development of the industry. Moellendick was a Pennsylvania Dutchman who came up "the hard way." He worked in the oil fields of western Pennsylvania, and later came to Okmulgee, Okla. Frequently he was asked to accept an interest in a lease in lieu of wages, and one such venture made him comfortably wealthy. He moved to Wichita in 1917 to retire, but instead commenced to pour his money into the manufacture of airplanes. Rumor has it that before he stopped he had invested \$3,000,000 in the airplane industry. Whether that is correct or not, he was at least more than generous in his financing and was penniless for several years before his death in 1940.

The following year, 1920, witnessed the beginning of the first commercial manufacturing company, the parent of the Swallow Airplane Company. The Swallow venture was largely financed by Moellendick and operated by E. M. "Matty" Laird. Laird first became interested in aviation in 1910 while an office boy for the First National Bank of Chicago. He was then only fourteen years old, but together with a friend, George "Buck" Weaver, he began building model airplanes and studying the then so-called science of aeronautics. In the fall of 1912 Laird actually completed his first airplane which he called the "Baby Biplane." Laird had never before ventured to fly an airplane, and his first attempt on a field near Cicero resulted in the destruction of the plane, but fortunately no injuries resulted to Laird. This last was due, at least in part, to the fact that the maximum height of the plane was some ten feet.

Between 1912 and 1919 Laird engaged in building and flying airplanes, and by 1919 was operating as the E. M. Laird Airplane

Company in Chicago and making a plane called the Laird Model S. During those intervening years he had turned out several designs, the best known being the famous "Boneshaker," a sturdy Anzani-powered biplane.

In late 1919 the Wichita Airplane Company was having one of its financial crises, and Moellendick secured William S. "Billy" Burke from Okmulgee, Okla., to manage it. Burke went to Chicago, interested Laird in the possibilities of Wichita as a place for his operations, and in early 1920 the E. M. Laird Company, a partnership of Moellendick, Laird and Burke, was formed for the manufacture of airplanes in Wichita. Laird contributed his designs and equipment, and Burke and Moellendick \$15,000 each. The company commenced manufacture in a small shop behind the Wichita forum. Operations had scarcely commenced when the new company was given the opportunity of acquiring the assets of the Wichita Airplane Company, which company was about to expire. For an investment of \$19,000 the E. M. Laird Company secured the landing field, planes, hangars and equipment of the old company.

Operations continued meanwhile on the first ship, and it was finally ready for testing in April, 1920. It was a three-place biplane powered with a ninety horsepower Curtiss OX-5 engine. The plane had a wing span of 36 feet, 4 inches, and an over-all height of 8 feet, 8 inches. One of the spectators at the test flight was W. H. Lassen. When the plane was in the air he remarked that it looked "just like a swallow." The term "Swallow" stuck, and was adopted by the company as the name of the new plane. The Swallow factory was the first commercial factory west of the Mississippi, and the first successful factory in the country devoted exclusively to commercial planes.

Tests proved the ship to be everything hoped for by Laird, and plans were immediately made for ten more to be built during the balance of the year. This additional work required additional help, and shortly after the initial flight of the "Swallow" the E. M. Laird Company hired Lloyd C. Stearman. Stearman was a native Kansan, having been born at Harper, and studied architecture at the Kansas State College at Manhattan. He became interested in aviation during the first World War and was a naval air cadet, but did not complete his training before the war ended. He came to Wichita after the war and got a job as a draftsman, but left that job to go into the Laird firm. He first worked in the shop, but later became a designer and engineer.

By October 1, 1920, the first ten Swallows had been completed,

and orders were coming in fast. The plant had forty-five employees by that time, and was working overtime to keep ahead of the orders.

In May, 1921, Walter H. Beech joined the Laird organization as test pilot and demonstrator. Beech, a native of Tennessee, first flew in Minneapolis on July 11, 1914, was a pilot in the army air corps during the war, and following the war continued in the business until he became connected with the Swallow firm.

Some ill-fated ventures, together with the business recession of 1921, led to difficulties within the Laird organization. Burke withdrew in the fall of 1921, and Weaver at the end of that year. In October, 1923, Laird also withdrew, and the name of the company was changed to Swallow Airplane Manufacturing Company. At that time Stearman became chief designing engineer, and work was started on a new plane. Friction soon arose over the design of the ship between Moellendick on the one hand and Beech and Stearman on the other. Beech and Stearman insisted upon the use of metal tubing to frame the fuselage of the new plane, but Moellendick favored wood with which the earlier Swallows had been built. The issue was sufficiently bitter that it led Beech and Stearman to leave the firm. This occurred in the fall of 1924.

Immediately Beech and Stearman interested Clyde Cessna in joining them in the building of a new airplane. Cessna had been quietly building airplanes in his little factory during most of the early and turbulent history of the Laird company, although he did go with the Laird organization for a short time. Beech rented a shop on North Waco street just north of the Broadview Hotel and commenced work on the first Travel-Air airplane. At first the company was a partnership of Beech and Cessna, but on February 5, 1925, the Travel-Air Manufacturing Company was chartered, with Cessna as president. During 1925 nineteen Travel-Airs were built, and in 1926, forty-six. The company was off to a good start, but disagreements over design and methods later led to other changes.

The first Travel-Airs were open cockpit biplanes, and the company succeeded in having three of them, one piloted by Walter Beech, in the Ford Reliability Tour, later called the National Air Tour in the fall of 1925. In 1926 a Travel-Air piloted by Beech won the National Air Tour.

In 1929 Travel-Air developed the "Mystery S," a low-winged racer which was flown in the Cleveland races by Doug Davis. The plane proved the fastest in the field, winning from army and navy planes, and being the first commercial plane to win the "free for all," or Thompson trophy.

In 1926 Stearman left Travel-Air and went to Venice, Cal., where in October 1, 1926, the Stearman Aircraft Company was chartered. Stearman secured Max Short, who had been with Travel-Air for a short time the preceding year, to come to Venice and work with him on the Stearman biplane.

In April, 1927, Cessna decided to strike out for himself, and withdrew from Travel-Air, forming on September 8, 1927, the Cessna-Roos Aircraft Corporation with Victor H. Roos. The manner of his withdrawal is an interesting commentary on Cessna. Cessna had always favored the monoplane. His first plane and all others designed by Cessna exclusively had been monoplanes. Beech at that time was partial to the biplane, and a majority of the directors agreed with Beech. Accordingly, Cessna, while still in the Travel-Air organization, rented a building at 1520 West Douglas avenue, and at his own expense and in his spare time designed and built a monoplane the way he thought it should be built. That was in 1926 and early 1927.

The new Cessna company was organized to build this ship, but before it could get into full production the first experimental hand-made plane, known as a Travel-Air monoplane, was flown to Hawaii by Ernest Smith and Emory Bronte, landing in a tree July 14, 1927. This was the first commercial flight from the mainland to the islands. Following the Lindbergh flight to Paris James Dole, of pineapple fame, offered a prize for a flight to Hawaii, but not until after the Smith and Bronte trip. However, the Dole prize was captured by Travel-Air, the "Woolaroc" flown by Arthur Goebel, who landed ahead of the field on August 17, 1927. Travel-Air, by the way, had jumped its production from forty-six planes in 1926 to 154 in 1927.

Swallow, meantime, was having difficulties, the kind which continually harassed the early manufacturers—financial. Moellendick had determined to capture the Dole prize, and had suspended other production to complete "The Dallas Spirit," a plane designed and built for that one purpose. "The Dallas Spirit" unfortunately didn't even start the race. The day after the race "The Dallas Spirit" headed out across the Pacific on a rescue flight, seeking two planes which were lost. "The Dallas Spirit," her pilot Capt. William Erwin, and his aid A. H. Eichenwaldt, all disappeared and have not been seen since. The Swallow company went into receivership on August 13, 1927.

Stearman's new company in California was also having its difficulties—again financial. The company was about to close its

doors. However, Stearman had friends in Kansas who believed in his ability as a designer, and upon condition that the company return to Wichita a group of Wichita men, Walter Innes, Jr., H. V. Wheeler, George Siefkin, H. A. Dillon, C. L. Henderson, Frank Dunn, Henry J. Allen, Marcellus M. Murdock and others raised \$60,000 additional capital. The move was made in November, 1927, and the Wichita location chosen was the old Jones plant north of the city.

The years 1928 and 1929 were hectic ones for the industry. In 1929 Travel-Air, alone, made nearly 1,000 planes, over twenty-five percent of the nation's total. Production was high at all the plants. A number of new plants sprang up but their names are now almost forgotten—Mooney Aircraft Company, Self Aircraft Corporation, Okay Aircraft Company, Wichita Blue Streak Airplane Motor Company, Poyer Motor Company, Wichita Imblum Aero Corporation, Watkins Aircraft Company, Laird Aircraft Corporation, Quick Manufacturing Company, Red Bird Airplane Company, and Swift Aircraft Company. None of these last survived, although several of them were in production for a time.

Nineteen twenty-nine was the year of the stock market boom, and the year of the mergers. On December 6, 1929, it was announced that both Swallow and Cessna had been merged in General Aero Corporation of America. In August, 1929, Stearman was purchased by United Aircraft and Transport Corporation, and in that same month Travel-Air by Curtiss-Wright.

In a short time the old Travel-Air factory was closed and the other companies greatly curtailed production. In 1932 Walter Beech, who had gone to New York in 1929 to be president of Curtiss-Wright Sales Corporation, returned to Wichita where he immediately organized the Beech Aircraft Corporation and again began designing an airplane. The company did not commence production until 1934 when it leased the old Travel-Air plant, and finally purchased it in 1936.

The Stearman company competed in 1934 for an army primary-trainer contract, and was successful in securing the order. The plane entered in that competition, with some modification, has now become the most widely used army and navy primary trainer, and is known as the PT 13 D. To the men in the army air forces I am told it has the not very flattering title of "The Yellow Peril." United was split up in 1936, the Stearman plant going to the Boeing Airplane Company of Seattle.

The Cessna company broke away from General Aero Corporation, and in 1934 Clyde Cessna withdrew entirely from the company, selling his remaining interest to his nephews Duane and Dwight Wallace, both native Kansans.

While I have discussed in some detail the development of the three large Wichita factories, there are three others in the state worthy of some comment. The Culver Airplane Company moved to Wichita from Cleveland, Ohio, in 1940, and has been located just north of the city where Cessna had his first factory. The company formerly built a small extremely sturdy "flivver" type high-wing monoplane, until it turned to war production.

While the Wichita plants were enjoying their "bull market boom" R. A. Rearwin commenced the manufacture of a three-place biplane known as the "Ken-Royce" in Salina in 1928 under the name of Rearwin Airplane Company. In March, 1929, the company was moved to a factory in the Fairfax district of Kansas City, Kan., and A. R. Jones, an oil producer, became a partner. Later, in 1929, Rearwin Airplanes, Inc., was chartered. The company shifted its emphasis to a small inexpensive lighter plane, the "Rearwin Jr.," and the "Sportster," and others. In 1937 Rearwin purchased the Le Blond Aircraft Engine Corporation of Cincinnati, and moved the factory to Kansas City. In the fall of 1942 the company was sold to new management headed by Raymond Voyer as president and J. Farkas, general manager, and the name changed to Commonwealth Aircraft, Inc.

The most recent addition to the field is North American Aviation, Inc., of Kansas, a subsidiary of North American Aviation, Inc., of Inglewood, Cal. The plant was built in Kansas City with government funds, and is engaged almost exclusively in building the Mitchell B-25 medium bomber. The plant was built in 1940, and the first plane completed in January, 1941.

And, now in closing, just a word about the present. The six factories actually engaged in the manufacture of airplanes do not tell the whole story. There are now in Kansas approximately 350 firms manufacturing aircraft parts, assemblies and sub-assemblies. One hundred and seventy-five of these firms are located in Wichita alone, approximately 75 in Kansas City, and the remaining 100 scattered throughout the state. The companies vary in size from one man shops to huge establishments employing over 1,000 men and the work done is not just for the Kansas factories. The Kansas sub-contractors make parts for nearly every airplane factory in the country. The Beech plant can well claim to be the pioneer in the

entire field of sub-contracting. Beech regularly uses 165 different sub-contracting firms, and as a result is now able to produce more airplanes per square foot of floor space than any other factory in the United States. All of the Kansas companies are now engaged in war contracts. Several of them build training planes, but others make combat craft. The total number of planes being turned out each month in Kansas is approximately ten percent of the grand total for the United States; a truly enviable record considering the size and wealth of the state.

In addition to the factories there have been established in Kansas within the last few years thirteen army and two navy air bases scattered all over the state.

What the future of the airplane industry in Kansas will be I do not undertake to predict, but I submit that its somewhat brief history has been one of glorious achievement—literally “Ad astra per aspera” in the best Kansas tradition.

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

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS FOR DIRECTORS

October 15, 1943.

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, 1946:

Berryman, Jerome C., Ashland.
 Brigham, Mrs. Lalla M.,
 Council Grove.
 Brock, R. F., Goodland.
 Bumgardner, Edward, Lawrence.
 Correll, Charles M., Manhattan.
 Davis, W. W., Lawrence.
 Denious, Jess C., Dodge City.
 Fay, Mrs. Mamie Axline, Pratt.
 Frizell, E. E., Larned.
 Godsey, Mrs. Flora R., Emporia.
 Hall, Mrs. Carrie A., Leavenworth.
 Hall, Standish, Topeka.
 Hegler, Ben F., Wichita.
 Jones, Horace, Lyons.
 Lillard, T. M., Topeka.
 Lindsley, H. K., Wichita.

Means, Hugh, Lawrence.
 Morgan, Isaac B., Kansas City.
 Oliver, Hannah P., Lawrence.
 Owen, Mrs. Lena V. M., Lawrence.
 Patrick, Mrs. Mae C., Satanta.
 Payne, Mrs. L. F., Manhattan.
 Reed, Clyde M., Parsons.
 Riegle, Wilford, Emporia.
 Rupp, Mrs. Jane C., Lincolnville.
 Schultz, Floyd B., Clay Center.
 Sloan, E. R., Topeka.
 Stewart, Mrs. James G., Topeka.
 Van De Mark, M. V. B., Concordia.
 Wark, George H., Caney.
 Wheeler, Mrs. Bennett R., Topeka.
 Woolard, Sam F., Wichita.
 Wooster, Lorraine E., Salina.

Respectfully submitted,

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

Upon motion by John S. Dawson, seconded by Robert C. Rankin, the report of the committee was accepted unanimously and the members of the board were declared elected for the term ending October, 1946.

The secretary spoke briefly about the markers being placed along the route of the Oregon trail by the Old Oregon Trail Centennial Commission and the American Pioneer Trails Association. Reports of other societies were then called for. The report of the Shawnee Mission-Indian Historical Society was read by the secretary. Mrs. Caroline Smith read the report of the Riley County Historical Society and Fred W. Brinkerhoff spoke on the activities of the Crawford county society. Grant W. Harrington of Kansas City told the meeting of Mrs. Richard Hopkins' desire to continue the work begun by her husband, the late Judge Hopkins, on an annals of Kansas, and the secretary was instructed to write to Mrs. Hopkins expressing the interest of the Society in her work.

Milton R. McLean, adjutant general of the state of Kansas, presented a set of small flags representing nations that have claimed territory now within the state's boundaries.

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 Stanley who asked for a rereading of the report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society. The report was read by T. M. Lillard, chairman, who moved that it be accepted. Motion was seconded by E. A. Thomas and the following were unanimously elected:

For a one-year term: Fred W. Brinkerhoff, Pittsburg, president; Ralph R. Price, Manhattan, first vice-president; Jess C. Denious, Dodge City, second vice-president.

Mr. Brinkerhoff spoke briefly. There being no further business the meeting adjourned.

DIRECTORS OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AS
OF OCTOBER, 1943

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1944

Aitchison, R. T., Wichita.	Moore, Russell, Wichita.
Baughner, Charles A., Ellis.	Murdock, Victor, Wichita.
Capper, Arthur, Topeka.	Price, Ralph R., Manhattan.
Carson, F. L., Wichita.	Raynesford, H. C., Ellis.
Chandler, C. Q., Wichita.	Russell, W. J., Topeka.
Dawson, John S., Hill City.	Shaw, Joseph C., 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.	Stewart, Donald, Independence.
Hogin, John C., Belleville.	Thomas, E. A., Topeka.
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.
Malin, James C., Lawrence.	Wilson, John H., Salina.
Miller, Karl, Dodge City.	

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1945

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

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1946

Berryman, Jerome C., Ashland.	Means, Hugh, Lawrence.
Brigham, Mrs. Lalla M., Council Grove.	Morgan, Isaac B., Kansas City.
Brock, R. F., Goodland.	Oliver, Hannah P., Lawrence.
Bumgardner, Edward, Lawrence.	Owen, Mrs. Lena V. M., Lawrence.
Correll, Charles M., Manhattan.	Patrick, Mrs. Mae C., Satanta.
Davis, W. W., Lawrence.	Payne, Mrs. L. F., Manhattan.
Denious, Jess C., Dodge City.	Reed, Clyde M., Parsons.
Fay, Mrs. Mamie Axline, Pratt.	Riegle, Wilford, Emporia.
Frizell, E. E., Larned.	Rupp, Mrs. Jane C., Lincolnville.
Godsey, Mrs. Flora R., Emporia.	Schultz, Floyd B., Clay Center.
Hall, Mrs. Carrie A., Leavenworth.	Sloan, E. R., Topeka.
Hall, Standish, Topeka.	Stewart, Mrs. James G., Topeka.
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.

Recent Additions to the Library

Compiled by HELEN M. McFARLAND, Librarian

IN ORDER that members of the Kansas State Historical Society and others interested in historical study may know the class of books we are receiving, a list is printed annually of the books accessioned in our specialized fields.

These books come to us from three sources, purchase, gift and exchange, and fall into the following classes: Books by Kansans and about Kansas; books on the West, including explorations, overland journeys and personal narratives; genealogy and local history; and books on the Indians of North America, United States history, biography and allied subjects which are classified as general. The out-of-state city directories received by the Historical Society are not included in this compilation.

We also 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, 1942, to September 30, 1943. Government and state official publications and some books of a general nature are not included. The total number of books accessioned appears in the report of the secretary, p. 58.

KANSAS

- ALEXANDER, CLARA GRACE, *Ladies' Aid in 1789*. N. p., c1923. 7p.
———, *Little Theatricals for Little Schools*. N. p., c1924. 60p.
- ATCHISON, TOPEKA AND SANTA FE RAILWAY COMPANY, *Delicious Foods in Tin and Glass Grace the Nation's Table*. [Chicago] The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company [c1938]. 33p.
———, *Dried Fruits; Preservation of Fruits by Drying Antedates Written History*. [Chicago] The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company [c1939]. 35p.
———, *Meat for America's Millions* . . . [Chicago?] The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company, c1940. 35p.
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Bypaths of Kansas History

BURIAL OF A CHIEF'S SON

From the White Cloud *Kansas Chief*, October 21, 1858.

A son of To-he, an Iowa chief, died a few days since, and was buried with the highest honors of the tribe. He was placed in a standing (or sitting) posture, on the surface of the ground, upon the top of a high hill, with his face to the setting sun, and bow and arrows, a war-club and a pipe were deposited near him. A pony, which was said to be the fleetest in the tribe, was then shot and laid beside the boy; and thus prepared to journey to the happy hunting grounds, a mound of earth was raised over the whole. A white flag was then raised over the mound, and the usual charms placed around, to keep away evil spirits. The young chief was but ten or twelve years of age.

KEEPING THE SABBATH IN 1859

From a manuscript volume, "Record of Members of the Congregational Church, Topeka," preserved in the archives of the First Congregational Church.

The annual meeting of the church was held May 21st 1859, the pastor being in the chair. . . . A communication from Brother C L Terrill, giving his reasons for traveling on the Sabbath while teaming, was read, and final action upon it deferred to a future meeting. . . .

Minutes of a meeting of the Free Congregational Church of Topeka, held July 16th, 1859, according to public notice. . . . The reading of a communication from Brother C L Terrill received May 21st was followed by a verbal statement of the facts, from him. After consideration of the subject the following was unanimously adopted.

Resolved That this church having heard from Brother C L Terrill his reasons for traveling on the Sabbath upon the two occasions mentioned by him, considers them insufficient, that he violated the law of God by so traveling, and should make an acknowledgment of the wrong as public as the offence. . . .

Pursuant to a call of the trustees, a meeting of the church or society was held Nov 6th 1860, in the evening at the school house; E C Tefft presiding.

Bro. C L Terrills request for a letter of dismission and recommendation, was presented, and it being objected to on account of his being under censure for violation of the Sabbath, the clerk was instructed to correspond with him in relation to the matter.

GETTING OUT THE VOTE

From the *Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, December 10, 1859.

Dr. H—— tells a good story at the expense of our worthy ex-city marshal. While the latter was endeavoring to rescue the team which broke through the ice on election day, he broke through himself, and came very near drowning. As the ice was giving way, and he about going down, he exclaimed, at the top of his voice, "I have not voted—I have not voted!" Of course he was rescued, as candidates could be found within the hearing of every man's voice.

INDIAN BALL

From the Leavenworth *Daily Times*, April 27, 1862.

The Burlington *Register* notices a game of ball played by the refugee Indians at Leroy on Sunday, April 15th. It is a new game, and might be adopted for novelty by the ball-players of civilization. Two frames, each about twelve feet high and three feet wide, were erected, about 150 yards apart. These belonged to the two parties engaged in the play, each party composed of eighty Indians and each possessing a frame. The trick of the game was to cast balls through those frames. If the party of one frame succeeded in thrusting a ball through or hitting the frame of the other party, it resulted in counting one for the party so succeeding. Twenty was the number played for. But one ball was in circulation at a time, and it was started from the center by umpires, the ball being thrown upward. Both parties mixed promiscuously, and upon the ascension of the ball from the umpires, a general scramble was made for it by all. Each Indian had two bars or scoops, about two and a half feet in length, with which to throw the ball. It was not allowable to touch the ball with the hands. The Indians wore nothing but breech clouts; all of their persons, except the little portion covered with breech clouts, were stripped bare to the skin.

BASIC ENGLISH

From the Marysville *Enterprise*, August 11, 1866.

The following is a true copy of a "notis" that is posted up on a post in the prairie somewhere in this county:

ey Due hear Buy for Bid eney purson of cutting eney grass on my plase if thay Due thay will loose thar labor and i want them to Bee veary carfull and not cum over the line. July the 30 1866.

HEADED FOR KANSAS

From *The Weekly Free Press*, Atchison, November 10, 1866.

The *St. Joe Herald* says yesterday morning a party of emigrants passed through that city en route to Kansas and created some excitement, owing to the very novel conveyance made use of. In a "dog cart," leisurely reclining upon a mattress, were an old woman and a young girl, both enjoying the luxury of a pipe; the old man and his youthful son being hard at work giving the necessary locomotion to the vehicle.

 FORECASTING THE WEATHER

From the *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, June 20, 1867.

We are reminded of the fact that the weather is very hot, by seeing the Indians sauntering about snugly enveloped in heavy blankets and military overcoats. In winter, they will go half naked.

 IN THE WRONG PEW

From the *Marysville Enterprise*, February 15, 1868.

At Topeka there is a marked saloon, with a beautiful gilt sign, marked "Senate." It is in a fine brick block just adjoining the rickety old rookery where the senate of the state convenes to make laws for the people. As becometh all religious and properly organized legislative bodies, the senate opens each morning with prayer, the resident clergyman of the city of Topeka officiating. The other morning, Rev. Mr. H [A. J. Hesson?], who is a new comer, was called upon to officiate. Observing the sign, he went into the "Senate," but seeing sundry bottles and billiard tables, concluded that was hardly the place for the assembled wisdom of the state to convene. The reverend gentleman explains the joke by saying, in a quiet way, that he thought he would be as apt to find as many senators there as anywhere.—*State Journal*.

 AN INDIAN HEARS OF THE FIRST SIN

From the *Emporia News*, January 28, 1870.

A gentleman from the Southwest, who called upon us the other day, is responsible for the following story: One of Grant's Quaker Indian agents was down in the neighborhood of Fort Gibson on a missionary tour, and called together a number of the red men to give them some religious instruction. The Friend talked of the exceeding sinfulness of human nature, and the "fruit of that forbidden tree which brought death into the world and all our woe," and as he warmed with his subject and his voice rose and fell in the pathetic undulations of his Quaker song, an aged chief was observed to be giving very marked attention to the preacher, until, through the interpreter, he learned

how the woman was persuaded by the serpent to eat the forbidden fruit, and for which she was driven from the Garden. His countenance changed, and with a look of unmistakable contempt, he replied, "Ugh! that was just like a white woman; if she had been a squaw, she would have picked up a stick and killed that snake."

UNCOMFORTABLE PLATES? TRY THIS!

From *The Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, May 1, 1870.

A gentle savage near Fort Scott recently traded two mules for a set of false teeth, and proudly wore them, necklace fashion, around his neck.

MAYBE HE DIDN'T LIKE THE HAT

From the *Ellsworth Reporter*, December 5, 1872.

Curley Marshall, a desperado of considerable note, recently departed this life peacefully in his bed at his home in Wichita. He used to live in this city and killed at least one man here. Last summer he made Newton his headquarters. One day a stranger came into a saloon wearing a "stove pipe" hat. The wearing of such a hat was sufficient provocation for Curley Marshall to shoot him, which he did without hesitation.

THE WAGES OF HORSE THIEVING WAS DEATH

From the *Junction City Union*, August 30, 1873.

Mr. L. C. Palmer, of this city, returned on Tuesday of last week from one of the longest, driest and dustiest chases after horse thieves that has occurred in his own history, or that of anybody else.

On the night of Sunday, the 16th inst., three horses were stolen from the stable of Mr. McNamee, living seven miles from this city, on Lyons creek. Two of the horses were a span once belonging to Mr. Forbes, of this city, and remarkable for large size, weighing about 3,300 pounds; the third animal was a riding mare belonging to a daughter of Mr. McNamee's. The Houston brothers, two sons of Mr. McNamee, Mr. McClelland, of Woodbine, and a Mexican in the employ of Mr. Mansfield, took the trail on Sunday morning, while the elder McNamee came to town and telegraphed to points south and west.

On Monday night Mr. Palmer started from Junction, armed with a warrant from Justice Gordon, and went out twenty-five miles up Lyons creek, where he waited for day-light, to resume his journey. At Marion Centre on Wednesday morning, Mr. Palmer found that the thieves with the three horses had been seen near town on Sunday morning, and had tried to trade the stock. He also learned that Sheriff Howe, of Marion county, had gone on in pursuit. He also heard that the Hustons and their party were still on the trail in advance, although some of the neighbors who had started from Lyons creek had returned. Thus there were at that time, including Mr. Palmer, eight men

after the thieves. At Marion Centre Mr. P. exchanged his horse and buggy for a saddle horse, and pushed on to Peabody, where he again changed horses. At Towanda, Butler county, his next stopping place, he found the Marion Centre party had changed horses. The people all along the road had noticed the big horses and suspected the riders, but had not arrested them.

Mr. Palmer rode on to Augusta, changing horses again, went on to Winfield, where he found he was beginning to gain on the thieves. He learned at Winfield that the Marion Centre party had gone on to the state line, and had there given up the chase and returned through Winfield.

The next stopping place was Arkansas City, a short distance from the state line. Here he learned that the thieves had passed through, and had broken into some houses, from which the owners were absent, and stolen provisions. They had also stolen two saddles, which must have been a relief, as two of them had ridden bareback all the way from Lyons creek. Mr. Palmer also heard here that the Davis [Geary] county boys had come down the river from Wichita, had taken four men with them and gone south. Two of the men, the Arkansas City men said, were old scouts, who would certainly take the thieves in. It was Thursday morning and Palmer was bothered. He waited three hours in Arkansas City, then took a fresh horse and started east on the state line. Twelve miles east he found that the thieves had crossed and gone toward Gibson. Determined to cut them off, he kept east along the line in the territory, traveling forty miles without seeing a house. Just before reaching Elgin he met a bare-footed man who said he had come from the Osage agency, and that seven miles south of Elgin he had met three negroes with the horses. In the meantime the Davis county party had gone to the Kaw reserve in the territory, had heard of the thieves, but acting on the advice of the scouts, had returned to Arkansas City, thus throwing them behind Palmer. They then got six men and went east on his trail.

The affair was now getting interesting. Palmer was closing in on his game. At Elgin Mr. Palmer secured the aid of Deputy United States Marshal Joe Vannoy, Charley Case, Dr. Miller and another gentleman, and struck out on the agency road. At midnight the party halted on the prairie. On Friday morning they found the thieves had doubled on their track and taken the Coffeyville road to the old Osage agency, and then gone south. They were, when the pursuers reached the old agency, but two hours ahead, but were going their best. Taking the Fort Gibson road, the pursuing party went 35 miles to the home of the Delaware, Sarcoxie. The Indian informed them that half an hour before the thieves had passed, and taken a blind trail to the left. The thing was getting red hot. Sarcoxie gave Vannoy a fresh pony, mounted one himself and joined the pursuers. Seven miles more, and they came upon the thieves, who had dismounted, unsaddled their horses, and were resting. It was at the edge of the timber, and the thieves did not take the alarm until the pursuers were within two hundred yards. They then jumped up and ran on foot in different directions. Sarcoxie went to the horses. Palmer gave chase to one and called him to halt. He kept on running. Palmer's first inducement to stop him cut the vest on top of his shoulder. The second argument cut a finger off his right hand. The thief then fell as if dead, and Palmer turned back to the rest of the party. He found one of the thieves a prisoner. Another had been chased up a ravine in the prairie. It is not certainly known

what became of him, but there is great reason to hope that he will steal no more horses. Attention was then directed to Palmer's supposed dead man, but it was found that he had gone off. He was surrounded in a corn-field and ordered to come out. He at first declined on the ground that he was dead, but finally came out. The party, with the two prisoners and the recaptured horses, started for Elgin.

The thieves were all mulattoes, and young men. The two captured were well dressed and intelligent, and appeared quite unconcerned about their fate.

On arriving at Elgin, the Davis county and Arkansas City party was met. Palmer got handcuffs for his prisoners and left them in a livery stable, in custody, while he took a sleep. At about midnight a party demanded the prisoners. Resistance under the circumstances would have been manifestly improper.

A short distance from the town, in an open place in the timber, the enterprising citizens of Elgin have started a graveyard. It is designed for horse thieves and the like, and the first grave made there was that of a horse thief who killed one of the best citizens of that region. To this dismal place at midnight the two horse thieves were taken. They had not denied their guilt, for to do so would have been useless; but said a man named Cox had told them where to find McNamee's horses, and had said that if they could get the horses to Fort Gibson, he would give them a good price for them. They asked time to say their prayers, which was granted them, and then were hung on a tree; and were hanging there when the Davis county party left the next morning.

Mr. Palmer came with the party about thirty miles, and then left them, as they were obliged to travel slowly on account of the jaded condition of the big horses.

He arrived home on Tuesday, having been gone a week, and traveled in that time, as he figures it, about 600 miles.

We have been thus minute in describing this affair because we think all parties deserve credit for their perseverance in the matter, and set a good example. If a similar course were pursued in western Missouri, it would break up the gang of marauders which infest that country, robbing railroad trains and banks, and committing all sorts of depredations.

A WOLF HUNT IN 1876

From *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, March 31, 1876.

The following letter was written by an officer on the staff of Gen. [George] Meade, while stationed in the Indian territory, to his four little children. We are sure our young readers will thank us for producing it for their especial benefit.—[Ed.]

Fort Sill, I. T., March 7, '75 [1876?].

My dear children—Till, Meade, Joe and the baby—I doubt whether the baby can understand this—how are you all? Your papa does want to see you very much. Till must read this letter.—She ought to read it very well since she wrote her papa such a nice letter.

Soon after I got here I went on a wolf hunt—there are not many trees around here, but round hills and valleys, and a horse can run everywhere.

First rode the hunter, Mr. Jones, the man who talks to the Indians and tells us what they say, and them what we want to have told. After the hunter's horse's heels trotted half a dozen or a dozen greyhounds and the hunter had a horn something like those horns you get at Pentenrieder's for a quarter, on which he tooted whenever the dogs strayed too far away, and they came instantly back. We had not gone far before we saw a wolf sneaking away as if he did not want us to see him, but it was too late. One of the dogs saw him, and with a bark the whole pack was after him. The riders gave a cheer, and your father amongst them galloped after the dogs like the wind. First went poor wolf running for dear life and never uttering a sound—but ever and anon casting an anxious glance behind to see how far his pursuers were behind him—then came the cruel hounds straining every nerve, and so earnest that they did not have time to bark but only gave an occasional yelp—all well together—then came the riders, scattered for half a mile—some riding in the front at the top of their speed so as to be in at the death, or present when the wolf was caught and killed—others, who did not want to go so fast, or whose horses were not so fast, were strung along behindhand. Among the first riders, at the head of the column, were two boys, one ten and the other nine, only a year older than Till. They were mounted on small Indian ponies—had little horns to blow and enjoyed themselves more than anybody else. They also had knives to cut off the wolf's tail if they got there first. The first wolf chased ran along until it got to a stream running between banks as high as our house and very steep, and jumped right into the water ker-chunk, and all the dogs jumped right in after him and before he could swim across, the dogs caught him. We all got down from our horses and looked. Such a fuss and row as was kicked up in that water you never did see. Bark, snap—barking and snapping with the teeth were all the sounds you could hear. The water was churned by the struggle and splashing into a foam, and the foam turned red from the blood which flowed from the bites the dogs gave the wolf. Nor did the dogs escape without scars. They all were bitten on the nose and about the eyes by wolfie in his dying struggles. At last one of the hunters, a lieutenant, reached down, took hold of the wolf by the hind leg and pulled him out of the water, and held him up, he was quite dead, and his head hung down. His tail was cut off and kept as a trophy of the hunt—your mother will tell you what trophy means. They take the tail so as to brag of killing the wolf. The next wolf we caught was in the open prairie. We saw the dogs biting at him and wolfie snapping at the dogs. He has long jaws filled with shining white teeth and big grey eyes, just like the wolf who put on Little Red Riding Hood's grandmother's cap, and ate up Little Red Riding Hood, as you children have read of, so I didn't feel as sorry for the wolf as I might have done, seeing him alone surrounded by so many enemies. Just as soon as the first man got up he pulled out his hunting knife and cut off the wolf's tail while the dogs were fighting him. Wolves are smart, and this wolf very soon made out he was dead. Gen. [John W.?] Davidson, who was the chief man in rank, then came up, and he was a kind man, and said—take off the dogs, you've got the poor wolf's tail, he is only pretending to be dead, now you have his tail, let us go away and let us watch him. We had to beat and kick the dogs to make them go away and follow Mr. Jones, who tooted his horn for them. All the rest of us then rode off a little way and got behind a hill and watched the

wolf to see where he was going and what he was going to do. For some time the wolf laid right still and did not move. Soon he raised his head, looked around quickly and laid it right down again as if he were dead again. Then he raised it when he found he was not bothered and looked longer—and then seeing all the bad dogs away he got up a little and walked away a little—very weak and tired—laid down and rested a little bit, got up again and staggered off sadly into the world without any tail. We caught another wolf and turned him off without a tail. I'll bring you children home one of these tails to let you see what they look like.

Then we rode home all very tired, the dogs all scarred from nose to tail with bites from the wolves. Mr. Jones, the hunter, said they would not be able to hunt again for a week.

Sometimes they catch a wolf whose tail has been cut off before.

After we left off hunting, we rode home through some of the Indian camps. The first camp we came to we saw a little Indian boy creeping through the grass trying to shoot a bird that he was creeping on, with a little bow and arrow he had. This little boy was hardly any bigger than Joe. His was a small bow and his arrows had no iron head, but were made of sharp wood. I'll bring home some of the arrows to let you see. The little Indian boys are very expert in killing little birds, with these little bows and arrows. When they are big men they have to make their living by killing big game, with their bows and arrows, so they are taught how to commence shooting with little arrows when they are young, just like you children are taught how to read and write in small children's books when you are young so that you may make your own living when you grow big and strong, and be able to read big books, and write real letters and do big sums. We rode through their camps which were made of big tents or lodges, or tepees as they call them, made of buffalo robes sewed together and stretched over poles.

The men—warriors—were glad to see us, but the children hallooed and one little fellow pretended to shoot arrows at us, and made fun of us, and spit at us, as if he did not like us, although he was laughing. As he was not as big as Meade we only laughed at him. Perhaps if he lives and all his people are not killed before, he may be a big Indian like those you children have seen, and kill a great many white men.

I saw an Indian war dance here, but I'll tell you that some other time when I write, or when I come home, which I hope will be soon.

It will be nice weather when I come home, and I expect to walk with you.

Your mother says you have all been very good, and therefore I will bring you all something, but you must not expect too much, and you must not want to see your dear father just because he is to bring you something, but also because you love him and want to see him.

Good bye Till, Meade and sweet little Jo.

YOUR FATHER.

STILL FASHIONABLE IN PLACES

From the Junction City *Union*, July 22, 1876.

To cut a child's hair with neatness and dispatch, just turn over its head a bowl, and with a pair of sharp scissors clip close to the edge all around. This is very economical, and appears to be quite fashionable in many places.

ADD TO THE DIFFICULTIES OF RAILROADING

From the Parsons *Eclipse*, November 15, 1877.

Five car loads of cattle of train No. 6 was ditched on Friday evening, and unloading the stock a masculine bovine made it lively for the boys for a few minutes. After running all hands under the cars, he tried to throw the engine from the track, but failing in this he started off on the run. The last seen of him he was going over the hills at a lively rate with head and tail erect.

A CYCLONE INCIDENT OF 1879

From the Junction City *Union*, June 14, 1879.

A Salina gentleman tells a singular incident connected with the cyclone of the 30th. He was coming down Solomon valley in the public hack. They had passed Delphos a mile or so. There were three passengers beside the driver. One of the passengers was a good story teller, was engaged in the relation of some incident which attracted the attention of all the others, and they had turned their faces towards him on the back seat. Suddenly a strong gust of wind struck the hack, and the hats of all the company were carried off on the prairie. The hack was stopped and the whole party, including the driver, started in pursuit of their hats. Our narrator was the first to recover his, some two hundred yards from where the hack had been left. On turning round he was surprised not to see the hack. The whirlwind was plainly to be seen on its course. His attention was attracted to an object moving in a circle, as every thing was moving, but descending to the earth. He watched it till it struck the ground, then hastened to it to ascertain what it was. It was the hack and horses. The two horses and the hack had been picked up by the cyclone, carried up towards the clouds and then dropped again within a hundred yards from where they had been sucked up by the demon of the air. Both horses were killed, and the hack broken to pieces.

OF INTEREST TO VICTORY GARDEN SPADERS

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

We understand that a colored man in Graham county, has, during the summer, spaded a four-foot hedge row around his farm of 160 acres, and we are told that another colored man in the same vicinity has a cow with which he broke and improved twelve acres of prairie and cultivated eight acres of corn.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

A series of historical notes entitled "Sherman County Firsts" have been published as a frequent feature of *The Sherman County Herald*, of Goodland, for the past three years. The notes are contributed by D. W. Blackburn.

Cecil Howes, long-time head of the Topeka bureau of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, has been contributing illustrated articles under the title "The Birth of a State—This Month in Kansas History" to the *Kansas Teacher*, Topeka, since January, 1942.

The building of the Rock Island railroad through Doniphan county in 1886 was described in a two-column letter from W. F. Horn printed in *The Kansas Chief*, Troy, September 2, 1943. Another feature of this issue was a page pictorial history of the Troy Kiwanis Club.

A history of the Homemakers club of Frankfort, by Mrs. Stanton Arnold, was published in the *Frankfort Daily Index*, September 9, 1943. The club was organized September 9, 1923.

United States agriculture as it will relate to changing world alignments was discussed by Dr. James C. Malin of Lawrence in an article "Mobility and History: Reflections on the Agricultural Policies of the United States in Relation to a Mechanized World," in *Agricultural History*, Washington, D. C., October, 1943.

Historical articles of interest to Kansans by Victor Murdock, which have appeared recently in his column in the *Wichita (Evening) Eagle*, include: "Growing Use of Salt One of Developments in Wichita's History," November 6, 1943; "First Really Busy Day [Arrival of the Nineteenth Kansas Cavalry] on the Site of Wichita Came in November, 1868," November 12; "That Dance at Kellogg's [November 13, 1868] Opening of Social Era in the City of Wichita," November 15; "When the Open Country Westward of Wichita Was Truly Unknown Land [1868]," November 16; "Episode [Stampede of Hundreds of Horses] on Prairies Southwest of Wichita That Was Most Unusual," November 17; "Some Travel Essentials [Water, Wood and Grass] in the Wichita Area That Have Disappeared," November 18; "Era in Which the Area Beyond the Arkansas River Southwest of Wichita Was Wholly Without a Pioneer's Home," November 19; "Survey of Their Trees on a Thanks-

giving Day by the Early Wichitans," November 25; "Progress of the Match Through the Stretch Covered by Wichita," December 1; "Striking Figure of West Presented by a General, William Selby Harney," December 2; "Two Very Early Callers [Peter Ridenour and Frank Hunt] to Wichita's Vicinity Rode in From Lawrence [in 1857]," December 3; "Memory of Albert Jay Brown of the Way He Used to Haul Hay to Wichita . . . ," December 6; "Selling Corn to Ranch . . . , Episode in Which Figured H. D. Heiserman and a Couple of Neighbors From Sedgwick County in the Winter of 1879," December 7; "Buffalo Hunt Tactics That Got Best Results in Robes and in Meat," December 8; "Description of a Violent Tempest With Tornadic Features That Visited This Vicinity in the Fall of 1854," December 9; "Captain John Chisholm, Grandfather of Jesse, Earliest Resident Here," December 10; "Travels of Prairie Jesse [Chisholm], Original Resident Here, Over the Vast Southwest," December 11; "Early Household Here, That of Jesse Chisholm [Below Thirteenth Street on North Chisholm Creek], Numbered Large Family," December 13; "Origin of Two Names in the Wichita Tribe, the Waco and Towakony [Indians]," December 14; "Incident in the [Indian] Exodus From Wichita in 1867 to the Territory South," December 15; "Sight of a Tree Here That Brought Delight to an Early Voyageur [Lt. James B. Wilkinson, 1806]," December 16; "Last of Armed Spaniards to Set Foot in Kansas, Don Fracunda Malgares [1806]," December 18; "Splitting Buffalo Herd [in 1857] As a Defense Maneuver by U. S. Cavalry Force," December 22; "Effect on the Interior of This Country of an Act Sponsored by William Henry Harrison Which Put Public Domain Within Reach of the Poor Man," December 24; "Once Focal in Wichita and Region Around It Was the U. S. Land Office," December 27; "Vocation in the West, That of Interpretation, Prominent One in Past," December 28; "Notable Prairie Guide, Black Beaver, Delaware, Covered This Region," December 29; "Switch in Frontier Dress From Original Styles Was Witnessed in Wichita," December 30.

Early newspapermen in Butler, Sedgwick and Lyon counties were recalled by J. M. Satterthwaite in a column article in his *Douglass Tribune*, November 26, 1943.

A brief history of the Mitchell mill built on Clarks creek in 1855 was sketched by W. W. Roux in the *Junction City Republic*, December 2, 1943. One of the mill stones is now in the Manhattan City Park.

The forty-fifth anniversary of John Redmond's purchase of *The Jeffersonian*, predecessor of *The Daily Republican*, of Burlington, was celebrated at the annual correspondents' party at Burlington, December 5, 1943, the *Republican* of December 7, reported. The same issue also featured a two and one-half column history of Burlington Lodge No. 66, A. F. & A. M. The lodge was chartered October 21, 1868.

Some old bridges still spanning the streams of southeast Kansas were mentioned by Fred Brinkerhoff in the *Pittsburg Headlight*, December 18, 1943.

A. P. Elder recalled the organization of a good roads association for Kansas in 1904, in the *Ottawa Herald*, December 31, 1943. In Franklin county prizes were awarded for the best dragged roads, and names of the winners of 1907 were printed.

Early Phillips county history was briefly reviewed by Cecil Kingery in *The Phillips County Review*, Phillipsburg, January 6, 1944.

Brief notes on the founding of Augusta, as recalled in a pageant written by Miss Stella B. Haines, were printed in the *Augusta Daily Gazette*, January 20, 1944. The town was named for Augusta, wife of C. N. James. Mr. James was the town's first settler and first mayor.

William Allen White died on Kansas day, January 29, 1944, at the age of 75. Following his death newspapers and magazines of the nation published biographical information and anecdotes about him. A large portrait was reproduced in the January 29 issue of the *Emporia Gazette*, the newspaper he published for nearly fifty years, and in the same issue and others following, messages of tribute and acknowledgments were printed.

The Gnadenau settlement in Marion county, a typical Mennonite community, was briefly discussed by Cornelius Krahn in an illustrated article in the February, 1944, issue of *The American-German Review*, published by the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation of Philadelphia, Pa. The Gnadenau settlers came from the Crimea in 1874 under the leadership of Jacob A. Wiebe, the article reported.

Kansas Historical Notes

At special ceremonies on October 28, 1943, a stone was dedicated commemorating the immigration of the Kotosufka Mennonite congregation from Russia to Kansas. The stone, approximately three feet wide and nine feet high, stands four miles west of Moundridge near where the Santa Fe railroad erected the immigrant house in 1874. The marker reads:

IN MEMORY OF THE SWISS MENNONITE CONGREGATION
OF KOTOSUFKA, VOLHYNIA, RUSSIA, WHOSE MEMBERS LEFT RUSSIA
IN SEARCH OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, SIXTY-TWO FAMILIES SAILING ON
THE "CITY OF RICHMOND." LANDING IN NEW YORK SEPTEMBER 3,
1874, AND IN OCTOBER ARRIVING ON THIS QUARTER SECTION (S. W.
QUARTER SEC. 19-21-2W) WHICH WAS DONATED BY THE SANTA FE
RAILROAD COMPANY FOR CHURCH PURPOSES, AND WITH A FEW MORE
FAMILIES ARRIVING LATER, SETTLED THIS NEIGHBORHOOD; AND IN
GRATITUDE TO THEM AND TO OUR BELOVED COUNTRY, THE UNITED
STATES OF AMERICA, WHICH GRACIOUSLY GRANTED THE RELIGIOUS
LIBERTY SOUGHT; AND TO OUR HEAVENLY FATHER TO WHOM WE
GIVE ALL THE HONOR; THEIR DESCENDANTS ERECTED THIS MONU-
MENT, OCTOBER, 1943.

[and on the opposite side]

NAMES OF THE IMMIGRANT FAMILIES

ALBRECHT, DIRKS, FLICKNER, GOERING, GRABER, KAUFMAN, KREH-
BIEL, NACHTIGAL, SCHRAG, SCHROEDER, SCHWARTZ, STRAUSS, STUCKY,
SUTTER, VORAN, WALTNER, WEDEL, ZERGER.

The story of the colony was briefly reviewed in dedication notes printed in the *Mennonite Weekly Review*, of Newton, October 21, November 4 and 11.

All officers of the Lyon county chapter of the Kansas State Historical Society were reelected at its annual membership meeting in the chapter's museum at Emporia December 11, 1943. The officers are George R. R. Pflaum, president; Mrs. Robert L. Jones, first vice-president; John A. Roberts, second vice-president; E. C. Ryan, secretary; John S. Langley, treasurer; Mrs. Fanny Randolph Vickrey, Mrs. F. L. Gilson and Miss Lucina Jones, historians. Elected for three-year terms as directors were: C. A. Paine, Ivy township; Robert D. Lumley, Fremont township; Mrs. J. C. McKinney, Jackson township; Miss Kate Langley, Center township, and Mrs. Alice Evans Snyder, Third ward, Emporia. The chapter now has 117 life members, 120 annual members, and three honorary members.

Miss Stella B. Haines was reelected president of the Augusta Historical Society at the annual meeting held January 17, 1944. Other officers are Mrs. S. C. Webb, vice-president; Mrs. A. V. Small, secretary, and Miss May Clark, treasurer.

Dean Earl K. Hillbrand of the University of Wichita was the featured speaker at the annual meeting of the Native Sons and Daughters of Kansas in Topeka January 28, 1944. His subject was: "To Kansas, to Make It Free!" Newly-elected officers of the Native Daughters are Mrs. F. W. Hawes, Russell, president; Mrs. W. H. von der Heiden, Newton, vice-president; Mrs. John C. Nelson, Topeka, secretary, and Mrs. C. I. Moyer, Severance, treasurer. Mrs. George L. McClenny, Topeka, was the retiring president. Officers of the Native Sons are Nyle H. Miller, Topeka, president; Frank Hauke, Council Grove, vice-president; Judge Homer Hoch, Topeka, secretary, and Col. Will Zurbucken, Topeka, treasurer. W. M. Richards, Emporia, was the retiring president. The organization's annual essay and oratorical contests were won by Dean Gregory of Osborne, and Norbert Dreiling of Hays, respectively.

At a meeting of the Riley County Historical Society in Manhattan February 5, 1944, Mrs. O. O. (Cora Kimble) Parker was elected president to succeed Charles W. Emmons who died January 26, and Mrs. Florence Fox Harrop was elected vice-president. Featured on the program were papers by Mrs. Harrop and Mrs. Clarence Johnson.

Newly-elected officers of the Kansas Commonwealth Club, of Wichita, are Herman Quinius, president; Bert A. Hedges, first vice-president; Mrs. E. G. Cone, second vice-president; H. J. Quigley, third vice-president; Ralph Hinman, fourth vice-president; Mrs. Wallace E. Haines, recording secretary; Elsberry Martin, treasurer, and Ralph M. Cauthorn, executive secretary.

Wellington's museum, located under the National Bank of Commerce, is open for public inspection during regular banking hours. Pioneer relics of Wellington and vicinity, and displays from both World Wars are features of the collection.

Because of the gasoline shortage and the pressure of war-related duties the plan to mark every mile of the Oregon trail through Kansas is proceeding slowly, according to John G. Ellenbecker of Marysville, president of the Kansas council of the American Pioneer Trails Association. The work is part of a general marking program spon-

sored by the Oregon council for the whole of the Oregon trail. Included among the Kansas county chairmen are H. C. Lathrop, Blue Rapids, Marshall county; Leo E. Dieker, Hanover, Washington county; George A. Root, Topeka, Shawnee county, and William E. Smith, Wamego, Pottawatomie county.

A twelve-page pamphlet entitled *History of the First Presbyterian Church, Atchison, Kansas*, by Dr. Charles Arthur Hawley, the minister, was published by the women's union of the church early in 1944. The church was started in 1858.

Methodism in Hays was reviewed in a twelve-page sixty-sixth anniversary booklet recently issued by the First Methodist Church of Hays. The first service was conducted by the Rev. Leonard Bell in a saloon in the latter part of 1873, but the church remained unorganized until 1878.

A study, "An Investigation of the Governmental Agencies of the State of Kansas," by Don E. Davis, has been published by the Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia as the twenty-seventh of the *Studies in Education* series. Mr. Davis lists eighty-five governmental agencies in Kansas. He tells how they were created, describes their organization, and briefly reviews their histories and duties.



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Please Note

Due to the absence of several members of the staff in war service, which makes it necessary for the other experienced members to take care of the routine demands on the Society, *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* for a time will be printed with fewer pages.

During this interval it is hoped that the magazine can be returned to its usual publication schedule while still maintaining high quality and accuracy in the articles printed.

Volume XIII, now being published, will consist of eight numbers, covering the years 1944-1945. The index for this volume will appear as part of the November, 1945, issue.

—THE EDITORS.

Contributors

CECIL HOWES, correspondent of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, has been the Topeka representative of the *Star* for over thirty-eight years.

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

Pistol-Packin' Pencil Pushers

CECIL HOWES

"THE newspaper is the historian's surest and most nearly eternal source of information. The living event is forever gone, but the newspaper is evidence that life was here."

I know not who wrote the above lines, but they typify the highest ideals of journalistic endeavor, the factual recording of things as they are.

Recently there passed from the Kansas scene the last of the rugged individualists, editorially speaking. The death of William Allen White ended an era in Kansas newspaper history.

It began with the turbulent days preceding the Civil War and continued in unabated fury for fifty years except as the participants passed to their rewards. Bill White was a comparatively late comer into this galaxy of individual journalists, but he left his mark upon the era as distinctly as did Sol. Miller, M. M. Beck, John Speer, Dan Anthony, Marsh Murdock, Jake Stotler and a host of lesser but no less active editors in Kansas.

These men brought to Kansas a record in the number of newspapers and newspaper readers that has not been approached by any other state and has had much to do with the high literacy rate of our citizens.

They brought to the Sunflower State the Kansas language, a style terse and pointed. None ever asked a Kansas editor to make his writings more definite and certain. There was precision in what these editors said, they were proud to take sides on any question of moment and none was ever adverse to replying "I dood it." The Kansas language is one without equivocation, innuendo, double talk or double meaning. It is generally incisive and sometimes mordacious. It doesn't wiggle, wobble or waver, beat about the bush, put out a smoke screen, play hide and seek or dodge the issue and does not stoop to demagogery. It contains no weasel words.

Nationally the era passed with the deaths of Dana, Horace Greeley, "Marse" Henry Watterson, William Rockhill Nelson and their contemporaries. At the beginning of the present century began the era of anonymity in newspaper editing. In recent years there has been a bit of swinging back through the use of columns and commentators upon events of the community, the state, the nation or the world.

Pistol-packing pencil pushers is no figure of speech or alliterative titling. It was an actual fact. For, in the days of which I write, the typewriter had not been invented or was chiefly a toy or an instrument of business. It may be recalled by some that Col. William R. Nelson refused to allow typewriters in his news or editorial rooms because he felt that his writers tended to string out their stories or editorials and what he wanted was a clear-cut, sharply defined statement of fact or opinion without quantities of expressive but unnecessary verbiage.

The editors wrote with pen or pencil. During territorial days and through much of the Civil War period every Kansas editor also packed a gun. The old Colt's horse pistol was as much the necessary equipment of an editor in those days as was his pencil and a piece of scratch paper, or maybe just an old envelope.

With one or two exceptions I am inclined to the belief that no Kansas editor was actually bloodthirsty. They seldom shot to bolster their views or their ego but toted their guns purely as a matter of personal protection against viciousness. There is little sign of lust to kill in all the history of Kansas journalism, as rowdy, vituperative, flamboyant, pitiless and partisan as it was in the early days.

You should remember that Kansas was settled by crusaders, either from the North or the South, men and women who were willing to give their lives and their property in support of or in opposition to human slavery. There were no pennyweights, no shrinking violets within or without the newspaper profession in those days. Pillage, torture and murder were concomitants of the times. It was frequently a question of the survival of the quickest on the draw.

Like their contemporaries in the crusade editors took sides. There was no sitting on the fence in those days. You were either for or against slavery and all of its works and you lived and acted accordingly and always tried to act first and examine into the probable intentions of the other fellows or their groups afterward.

The editors in Kansas for the first ten years of its history as a political entity, either as a territory or a state, fought fire with fire.

Fire and brimstone was a necessary ingredient of their views upon the slavery question, border ruffians, jayhawking, murder, theft and the general cussedness of any editor or others who happened to have leanings toward the other side of any question.

Those men, on both sides, were masters of vigorous English. They knew or concocted virile expressions. They applied the barbed

epithet where they thought it would do the most good. Personal and editorial abuse was not uncommon. They spoke and they lived not only vigorously but violently and some died with their boots on.

Those editors were the embodiment of the drive and force of a crusader. They never were neutrals and never nonpartisan. Their abusive expressions were the off-shoot of enthusiasm, and psychologists assert that concentration for anyone along a certain line induces obsessions and engenders personal animosities.

The editors of an early day and their constituents made no distinction between politics and other questions of moment. If an editor were "agin" something he was also "ferinst" the personality that was sponsoring whatever project the editor happened to be "agin" at the moment. There was no distinction between editorial freedom and personal freedom in those days. If an editor objected to any program or the views of any person it was taken to be personal as well as political opposition to the proposal under discussion.

So it is no wonder that editorial viewpoints bred personal animosities. The times and conditions were such that no other course was open, they believed, as did their constituents and those whom the editors opposed. There is an old dogma, "If you believe you are right, let there be no deviation from the charted course." That was firmly imbedded in the minds and personalities of the men and women who constituted the citizenship of Kansas in those early days. And it applied to the editorial brethren as well as to the ordinary sovereign squat—meaning Mr. Average Citizen.

Some mention must be made of a group of newspaper men, not editors, but correspondents for Eastern papers, who packed pistols as well as language and had an important part of keeping aroused the question of squatter sovereignty and how slavery was to be driven from the new territory by force of numbers and arms when needed.

This group of audacious writers wrote feelingly and generally quite accurately of a passionate and raucous period in the history of Kansas. All of them were rugged, a few ruthless, they recorded the progress of human history as they saw it, fearlessly and sometimes intolerantly. They engaged in bitter and acrimonious debates in their newspapers over policies of the two factions of Antislavery settlers and, like the settlers, they were one of them and fought personally and with their pens to make Kansas a free state.

Horace Greeley visited Kansas early. Dr. Edward Everett Hale wrote a book about the new territory without ever setting foot on

its soil. Many of these correspondents did come to Kansas to write about affairs and remained to help mould the affairs of the new state and to live within its borders until their own hour glass ran out. Some of them held public office in a later day.

Marcus J. Parrott, Martin F. Conway, Col. Richard J. Hinton, Samuel F. Tappan, the Hutchinsons, William A. Phillips—later a member of congress from Kansas and for whom Camp Phillips was named, James Redpath, Richard Realf, James M. Winchell—later to be chairman of the Wyandotte Constitutional Convention, John Henry Kagi, John E. Cook and many others were in this group of correspondents, all militant advocates of Democratic processes, so long as it meant the destruction of slavery and the slave power.

Those of you who may have taken only a cursory glance at Kansas history will remember the sacking of Lawrence, the tossing of the type and printing presses of the Free-State newspapers into the Kansas river. There were other instances of a similar nature at Atchison and Leavenworth and print shops were wrecked at other points because the editors were too outspoken, too vehement possibly, in their advocacy of either the anti- or the pro-slavery causes. But these losses did not deter the editors a single minute. They borrowed money or type or printing equipment and their papers came out shortly after these episodes just as bitterly assailing the other side and as plain-spoken in support of their beliefs as if nothing had happened.

Dan Anthony I of Leavenworth deserves top billing among the pistol-packing pencil pushers. He fought a duel, was shot at numerous times, was seriously wounded once and killed a rival editor in his own home town. All of these incidents occurred during the territorial or early statehood days, and he carried two big horse pistols for many years and to his dying day these lethal weapons, ready to go, laid on or in the top drawer of his desk. During the later period of forty years he never had occasion to use this armament, but it was well known that "Ole Dan" was always ready. He mellowed a good deal as he grew older and while his likes and dislikes were just as sharply drawn and aggressively supported or opposed he learned to temper his violence materially.

The first victim to the pistols of Ole Dan was R. C. Satterlee, one of the editors of the Leavenworth *Herald*. Anthony had heard that a rebel flag had been flown from a store in Iatan, Mo., across the river from Leavenworth. He went over to see about it, visited the store where it was displayed, and returned to relate his adventures in his paper, *The Conservative*.¹ The *Herald* copied the Anthony

version and then printed another version, concluding: "Whereupon, it is said, Anthony made double-quick time out of the store down the railroad track, with coat-tails extended, and the utmost horror depicted on his countenance."²

The next day Anthony called at the *Herald* office and inquired for Satterlee. When his rival was not in the office Anthony and a friend left. They met Satterlee a short distance from the *Herald* office and after an exchange of a few words the shooting began, which resulted in the death of Satterlee and the wounding of Anthony's companion.³

About the close of the war Anthony engaged in a violent controversy in support of Capt. J. B. Swain, "recently sentenced by a court martial at Fort Leavenworth for killing rebels." In his paper Anthony said:

Col. Jennison gave the orders for the killing, and when called on to testify, denied his verbal order.⁴

The next day there appeared this advertisement in the Leavenworth *Daily Times*, then published by P. H. Hubbell & Co., and later purchased by Anthony:

D. R. Anthony, in his statement of May 11th, in regard to me, lied, and knew he lied, when making it. [Signed] C. R. JENNISON.⁵

Anthony met Jennison on the street the following day. Jennison called to Anthony that he wanted to talk to him. Anthony asserted that he backed away and advised Jennison that he did not want to talk to him and further that Jennison was armed with at least two eight-inch navy revolvers.

The shooting began and Jennison was wounded in the leg.⁶ Anthony was acquitted of a charge of assault with intent to kill.⁷

Later another rival editor, W. W. Embry, shot Anthony⁸ and Embry was killed by Thomas Thurston, a former employe of Anthony.⁹ The wounds of Anthony were so severe that medical journals of the time said, "So far as we can ascertain there are no parallels in the annals of surgery of a man surviving such a wound." Colonel Anthony did survive and lived many years as an aggressive, militant editor.

1. *The Conservative*, Leavenworth, June 12, 1861. Anthony was then associated with D. W. Wilder in the publication of the *Conservative*. He later was publisher of the *Bulletin and Commercial*. The *Times*, which was established in 1857, was acquired by Anthony in 1871, and the paper has since remained in the control of the Anthony family.

2. The daily *Leavenworth Herald*, June 13, 1861.

3. *Ibid.*, June 15, 1861.

4. *Leavenworth Evening Bulletin*, May 11, 1865.

5. *Leavenworth Daily Times*, May 12, 1865.

6. *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, May 14, 1865; *Evening Bulletin*, May 15, 1865.

7. *Ibid.*, June 2, 16, 1865; *Daily Conservative*, June 6, 17, 1865.

8. *Leavenworth Daily Times*, May 11, 1875.

9. *Ibid.*, January 3, 1880.

Anthony engaged in many fist fights with citizens. He apparently had no personal fear of anybody at any time. He was mayor at Leavenworth, and Gen. Thomas Ewing, then commander of the district of the border, had Anthony arrested and taken to Kansas City and martial law was declared in Leavenworth because the mayor had refused to allow some Missourians to reclaim horses which they believed had been taken from Missouri and were being held by Kansas Antislavery men. Anthony was held by the soldiers only one day and martial law was lifted. On returning, the evening of September 8, 1863, Anthony found his fellow citizens assembled to greet him. He addressed them in part:

Yesterday, I was brutally arrested and marched out of town with two thieves at my side, followed by a company of soldiers with cocked revolvers pointed at my back. Tonight, I returned to Leavenworth, my home, escorted by a committee of ten of your truest and best men. . . .

Yesterday, Martial Law reigned in Leavenworth—today it is scattered to the four winds of Heaven. Yesterday we were despondent, today we are triumphant. . . . The thieves who had me in arrest, left in a hurry. . . . Had Gen. Ewing made the same haste when he left here in pursuit of Quantrill, with his enemy in the front, that his detectives and soldiers did with an imaginary foe in the rear of them, Quantrill would not have escaped from the butchery at Lawrence with impunity. . . .¹⁰

A. F. Collamore, Leavenworth correspondent for the old Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, wrote of Anthony in 1880:

The fiendish, bloodthirsty proprietor of the Leavenworth *Times*, is so fearfully low down and utterly despicable, here, where he is thoroughly *known*, that the very dogs, the sorriest mongrels or the mangiest Spitz, would, in a certain contingency, pass him by, and cross a county writhing with agony, in search of a *cleaner* post. For twenty-two years, it has been his habit to call decent men, who opposed his lunacies, "*dirty dogs*," "*gamblers*," "*skunks*," "*drunkards*," "*scoundrels*," etc. His beastiality of disposition, and brutishness of heart, have banished him from the walk in life of every *gentleman*, and he stalks through our streets, despised, shunned, and hideous to the sight of those who, with gentle instincts or cultivated habits, loathe disagreeable or disgusting surroundings.

Ignoring decency, to answer an argument, or refute a charge, he even resorts to his vocabulary of billingsgate which springs spontaneous from a putrid heart, and scatters his blackguardism in very poor English. Gentlemen, congregated on the sidewalk, scatter at his approach, as though a cyclone of epidemic pestilence was imminent, and ladies shudder, as they drop their veils and shrink with horror, when they realize his vicinage. . . .¹¹

From the above it may be gleaned by all that Collamore didn't like Anthony. It may be said here that the respect was mutual, for

10. Leavenworth *Evening Bulletin and Daily Conservative*, September 9, 1863.

11. Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, May 30, 1880.

Anthony wrote of Collamore and two others, that they had "for years been associates and participants . . . in whisky drinking, gambling and debauchery. The trio embraces three of the lowest, dirtiest, filthiest scoundrels that ever infested any place on earth.

" 12

Anthony was a participant in many affrays aside from his shooting affairs with editors. Gen. James C. Stone, one-time resident at Leavenworth, is reported to have beaten Anthony with an umbrella. Collamore's account says that "Anthony backed for half a block while he received the castigation and then ran yelling for mercy." 13

One of Anthony's employes, who learned the newspaper business under the fiery editor of the Leavenworth *Times*, has written: "He was a hard task-master, yet a good one. His likes and dislikes were very marked. If he didn't like you it was best to remain in the background, for he never forgot why he disliked you." 14

One of the interesting incidents in the career of Colonel Anthony and an enlightened sidelight on his character, is the campaign he waged against his own cousin, George T. Anthony, for a second term as governor of Kansas. George T. Anthony had had the most active support of the colonel in the first campaign, but they quarreled over a matter of policy during the first few months of Governor Anthony's term and became bitter political enemies. So acrimonious were the attacks by Colonel Anthony upon his cousin and so actively did he wage his campaign that the governor had only a smattering of votes in the convention which nominated John P. St. John as the Republican candidate for governor and thus denied Governor Anthony a second term.

The next in line of the pistol-packin' editors takes us to Topeka, where another important shooting affray involving editors occurred.

J. Clarke Swayze was the editor of the Topeka *Blade*. He had long been engaged in sharp newspaper controversies with F. P. Baker, editor of the *Commonwealth* and with John W. and V. P. Wilson, former editors of the Topeka *Times*.

Swayze accused the Wilsons of padding the bills for county printing and frequently printed reflections upon the integrity of the Wilsons. The Wilsons retaliated and the bitter controversy continued for many months. On March 27, 1877, John Wilson put on his war paint, donned his lethal implements and went hunting for

12. Leavenworth *Times*, May 28, 1880.

13. Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, May 30, 1880.

14. Letter from H. H. Seckler, business manager of the Leavenworth *Times*, to the writer. March 29, 1944.

Swayze. He found him within a matter of minutes and when the smoke of battle cleared Swayze was mortally wounded.¹⁵

The late John Wesley Roberts, the founder of the Oskaloosa *Independent* and grandfather of the present editor, engaged in numerous sharp controversies in his papers and personally with the methods of Colonel Anthony. Yet, when Anthony was lying near death from the bullets of Embry, Roberts, who was then editing the Leavenworth *Daily Commercial*, frequently sat beside his brother editor and discussed philosophy, politics, economics, religion or any other topic which came to their attention.¹⁶

Roberts was one of the pistol-totin' editors, not for any rival editor but for citizens who felt themselves aggrieved because Roberts had stepped upon their toes.

The Oskaloosa *Independent* said:

The *Independent* editorially denounced jayhawking. During all the years of the war this newspaper continued with heavy indictments of this unlawful business, and became, thereby, the object of hatred and threatened revenge by the horsethief crowd, which grew to considerable numbers in these parts.

Even after 70 years the *Independent* cannot name names or tell all it knows about this business, but the editor relates the following to show the temper of those times:

Toward the close of the war its editor, J. W. Roberts, was repeatedly threatened and plots were made to do him bodily harm and destroy his property. Men followed him about the unlighted streets, whistled their signals in the darkness, and at one time during the county fair plotted the burning of the printing office. Warned of this mob action a party of 16 armed citizens of the town took positions at the windows of the office and stood guard through the night. The toughs got cold feet and failed to show up and a killing was averted. At another time three of the gang were appointed to go to the editor's residence in the night, call him out and beat him up. A neighbor woman, sitting up with a sick child, saw the three fellows go by the house and hide in a big patch of jimson weeds in the barn lot. The editor had been warned of the plot and had three loaded guns at his bedside. But again the nerve of the scoundrels failed them and they slunk away in the darkness. In later years Mr. Roberts remarked to his son, then associate editor, that while he and his friends won the long conflict and saw law and order restored when three of the outlaw leaders were driven from the county, he "wouldn't go through it again for a warranty deed to Jefferson county."

Once a time bomb, crudely made, was placed in the door of his printshop, but it was discovered in time to prevent damage or injury. Roberts engaged in a bitter fight against a gang of horse-

15. Topeka *Daily Blade*, March 27, 28, 1877; Topeka *Weekly Blade*, March 29, 1877; *The Commonwealth*, March 28, 1877.

16. Letter from Frank Roberts to the writer, undated.

thieves who called themselves the Union League, and finally drove them out of the county. An attempt to wreck this printing plant was made because he espoused the cause of prohibition.¹⁷

Two decades from territorial days the fighting spirit of the Kansas editors was still rampant but they were not so much given to ridiculing their rival editors with bullets as with satirical invective and verbal brickbats. Many of them continued their vituperative onslaughts down into the early years of the present century. Their methods of devastation changed from lead to words, but the words were tossed about with equal vigor and colorful design as those earlier editors tossed leaden missiles at each other and their enemies.

It wasn't until later that the editors generally changed their ways. Possibly it was not until William Allen White pointed out that the masters of abusive language in Kansas editorial chairs were either dead or in the poorhouse that the general plan of name calling was replaced by vigorous arguments and careful marshaling of facts and figures to win debates and discussions.

The period from the late 1860's down to the close of the century may be divided into two distinct sections, both intermingled as to time but widely different as to locale and purpose.

We herewith present some excerpts from various newspapers of our fair state in which the editors expressed their more or less general or specific views relative to their rivals. It should be noted that these were purely newspaper rows between editors of the same neighborhood or in adjacent counties where something occurred which aroused an editor to a determination to drive his rival out of the community, not by threats but by the most scathing, ruthless, meaningful, sometimes vulgar but generally colorful epithet, invective and innuendo.

Let us look now upon the proofs thereof: Frank C. Montgomery was the editor of the Hays *Sentinel* and Harry Freese was competitor. There were numerous flare-ups between the two editors and some name calling.

Montgomery didn't mind being called a horsethief. He had a horse. He didn't mind his rival calling him a skunk for his rival smelled bad. But when Freese accused Montgomery of stealing a picket fence, which Montgomery did need, but didn't steal, it was too much. He went on the warpath, found Freese and they engaged in a street ruckus that was long the talk of the town. The record does not show how long the rival editor stayed in the hospital, but

17. *Ibid.*

Frank Montgomery carried to his grave a twisted and gnarled finger as the result of the fracas.

T. W. Eckert, editor of the *Arkansas City Traveler*, wrote of the editor of the *Arkansas City Enquirer*:

It is reported that Charlie McIntire may soon take charge of Greer's supplement in this city. Charlie is all right. In fact, anybody would be an improvement on the eunuch who is snorting around in the basement, but unable to do anything.

That paragraph cost Eckert \$700 in a libel judgment.

The *Kansas Free State*, Lawrence, April 7, 1855:

It was exceedingly amusing to see how very much some men were alarmed in this place on the day of election. The editor of the *Herald* was concealed most of the day, until near night, then, loaded down with revolvers and bowies, sneaked over to the polls and voted after the Missourians had dispersed. A number of others did not go to the polls at all. There was no danger. . . .

Nothing is so ridiculous and contemptible as the manner in which he has managed the *Herald*. At first he, through fear and a desire to get more subscribers, got up a very tame, dough-faced paper, or at least those distributed in the Territory were such, we heard it intimated that a different edition was sent East. We noticed him several times, and finally he began to work right in the Free State ranks, until last week he issued two or three editions, one for the Missourians, containing no anti-slavery at all, the other for the East, rabid in its denunciation of pro-slavery men, and the third for a medium class of thinkers.—Such a coward might do in Conneautville, Pennsylvania, but we have but little use for him in the ranks of freedom, in Kansas.—We have suspected these various editions of the same paper for some time, but now we are convinced of their existence, as we have them on our table, procured enveloped, under the pretense of wishing to send some to Missouri and Massachusetts.

The Leavenworth *Times*, July 4, 1879:

The *Daily Appeal* died yesterday morning. It had been running about two months. It lived about one month longer than anybody supposed it would. It was a bankrupt concern in every sense of the word, from the first. It was without capital, ability or integrity. There was never any room for it, and it was only started to "hurt somebody." There are some men in Leavenworth who have just sense enough to think that any kind of an abortion, got up by any kind of deadbeats or gamblers, if it will only come out every day, will injure the business of the *Times*. . . .

From the *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, December 22, 1859:

ATTENTION!—We call the attention of wholesale news dealers to a sheet published in this Territory, called the *Democratic Platform*—Office No. 123, Broadway, Marysville, where they are "prepared to do job work of all kinds, in the best possible style." The paper is a fair specimen of their work. Marysville is a city of some dozen or twenty log huts, principally used as whiskey shops, scattered about with as much regularity as buffalo chips on the plains. Broadway can easily be found, by referring to the sign boards on the street corners.

Dealers cannot fail to make a speculation by the sale of this paper, as it overflows with wit, sarcasm and originality of the most "sockmational" kind. Somehow, its excruciatingly *ass toot* editors have taken a fancy to us; and the exceedingly cute, cutting and penetrating witticisms that they get off at our expense, are indescribably funny. They even take the trouble to manufacture sayings and credit them to us, in order to get off sharp answers to them. Here is a specimen. It is intended to be funny, and the reader is requested to laugh. We may occasionally furnish similar delicacies, at long intervals. Frequent visitations of this kind would be deleterious to the health. The following is all original (and funny) with the editors of the *Platform*. It required the united intellects of both to get it off:

"Our city is fast filling up."—*Chief*.

Especially in the vicinity of the Grave Yard.—*Platform*.

From the *Chief* of February 16, 1860:

The Marysville *Democratic Platform*, a paper about half the size of the *Chief*, containing about a dozen sticks of reading matter, and requiring three persons to edit it, is getting wolfish, and makes the following threat:

"When we are not crowded with sensible news, and no longer have room in our columes [*sic*] for interesting and respectable [*sic*] items, we will attend to *your* case,—'Sol. Miller.'"

Don't—we adjure you to don't! Do not let our case interfere with the "respectable" items in your paper. If we are to fare half as badly in your interesting "columes" as the English language does, our case is hopeless indeed!

and

In a recent number of the Marysville *Platform*, (the paper with three editors,) the sum total of the editorial is a quarter of a column puff of Judge Clardy, for the present of a cabbage head. We hope the Judge didn't rob himself, to supply the *Platform* office with an article, of which it already contained three too many!

From the *Chief* of April 12, 1860:

PRAY FOR US!—The Puritanical, Pharisaical, "more righteous than thou art" Lawrence *Republican*, is so shocked at what it terms the "vulgarity" of the *Chief*, that it steps out of the way to snap at us. As long as we made it convenient to agree in everything with that sheet, it was blind to our vulgarity; and we presume if we saw proper to wait for a cue from the *refined* swell head college students who dispense wisdom and agony through the columns of the *Republican*, before venturing an opinion upon any subject, we would still be all right. But since we have dared to express opinions upon the subjects of the Harper's Ferry murderers; Gov. Robinson's incontrovertible testimony in reference to fanatics of the *Republican's* school, who endeavored to keep Kansas in an uproar; the Presidential aspirants, &c.; and those opinions not happening to be shaped after the patterns laid down by the dictators of the *Republican*, we are extremely "vulgar," indeed. Well, if the road to refinement lies through the channel established by the editors of the *Republican*, we pray that we may remain "vulgar."

Another of Sol. Miller's numerous editorial skirmishes was with the editor of a newspaper in the neighboring town of Iowa Point. A

few bits from the *Chief* of December 29, 1859, show that the scrap was then at a white heat:

In the name of the editorial fraternity, we contend that the editor of the *Chief* should not so underrate the intelligence of the reading community as to outrage common sense, and "write himself down an ass" in one single paper.—Iowa Pint [*sic*] Paper.

Nature has not favored us as some others we wot of. We know of editors not "far about," who will readily be recognized as asses, without the scratch of a pen!

We have heard of hybrids of various descriptions, but only once of a cross between the quadruped and insect. That isolated case is the editor of the Iowa Point *Dispatch*—he is half "fyste" and half tumble-bug! His quadruped nature is indicated by his bark, and his insect nature, by the substance he delights to revel in!

"Venerable," of the *Dispatch*, acknowledges his indebtedness to us, to the amount of a hundred barrels of corn.—Keep your corn, neighbor, for home consumption; if we should have a hard Winter, provender for asses will be scarce in the Spring!

From the Marysville *Enterprise*, May 16, 1868:

Cone [of the *Nemaha Courier*, Seneca] for the three hundred and fifty-fifth time, refers to our being in the guard-house on one occasion. We have acknowledged that fact so often that it is useless to do so any more. Cone—you idiot—you Jackass—red-headed, frizzle-headed, mush-headed, slab-sided, brainless deformity and counterfeit imitation of a diseased polecat—we inform you again, once more and emphatically, we *were* there. But it wasn't for *stealing type!*

From *The Advisor*, Voltaire, April 22, 1886:

The snooping propensities of the Colby *Cat* are fully equal to those of the old "yaller" variety, and like the "yaller" cat, is continually in trouble by reason of it. For the past winter the Colby feline has been too much engaged in Sheridan county to smell much in any other direction, but the vigorous kicking it has received from that quarter has driven it out and now the nose of the beast is in this county. We are loaded for bear and don't want to monkey with cats, but if some things continue, there will be an excellent opportunity for some one to start a manufactory of fiddle strings in Thomas county.

From the Ottawa *Republican*, October 22, 1874:

For the most fulsome and able-bodied lying we recommend the Ottawa *Journal* as being in advance of any sheet in Kansas. Their elementary principles are founded upon falsehood and their political contest upon exaggeration of the most exaggerated sort. It has grown to an impossibility for them to make the most common statement about the most common affairs, without falsifying and enlarging. . . .

From the Dodge City *Times*, October 6, 1877:

After a sojourn of some weeks in the dog house, or, as it has been more recently dubbed, the "lime kiln," Mr. John Blake and his room-mate, "Shorty,"

are again as free as air. They were released immediately after the last meeting of the Council. Mr. John Blake greatly regrets that he has been thus compelled to eat the city's bread and drink the city's water for so long a time, as it made him think of the dry and dreary times when he was a good templar and tasted not the beverage.

Although we have promised Mr. Blake not to say anything that would injure his standing in the community, yet we are compelled to waive that promise for once and say that he is about as onery a specimen of the genus-homo as we ever saw, and we do earnestly believe that his proper sphere is the rock pile. He might make a good well digger or street scavenger if he was properly watched and kept at work, but as a man on his own merits, he is no good.

As for Shorty, he is not so bad. But he will persist in always being around under foot, and never was known to refuse a drink. He might have some style about him if he was a mind to, but he don't seem to care.

These two ex-guests of ours, we hope, will not cause the city useless trouble and expense any more.

There was intense rivalry between Atchison and Leavenworth to become the trading and political centers of the territory soon to become a state.

R. S. Kelley and John H. Stringfellow founded the *Squatter Sovereign* at Atchison, a Proslavery paper. At Leavenworth was published the Proslavery *Kansas Weekly Herald*, edited by H. Rives Pollard. Wrote Pollard May 11, 1855:

It is with great reluctance we condescend to notice anything from the vituperative pen of the insignificant, puerile, silly, black-guard who at present presides over the Editorial conduct of the *Sovereign*. Atchison may be, but Leavenworth is not the place where Peter Pindar's remark, "every black-guard scoundrel is a king," is recognized by the community. . . . The egotistical dupe of the *Sovereign* thinks we are a representation of the verdancy of Virginia. . . . Be that as it may, we can retort by saying that the mendacity of Missouri is represented in the person of one R. S. Kelley, of Atchison. . . .

To which Kelley replied in no uncertain terms that Pollard was the scum of the earth, a blackguard, muckraker and various other terms not of endearment. To this Pollard replied (issue of June 1):

The low, silly, garrulous numbskull of the *Squatter Sovereign*, yclept Kelley—the contemptible, whining, *blind puppy* of Atchison, that answers to the name of "Bob," continues to pour forth his tirade of abuse upon us with unrelenting fury. . . .

The *Sovereign*, in speaking of our "low-flung language," says:

"He can assail no one but in the language of the doggery."

It is to be presumed that when we assail a *dog*, it will be in language intelligible to him. We look upon Kelley as a *dog*, and consequently thought the "language of the doggery" suitable to the occasion. . . .

In the peroration of the *Sovereign's* article, Kelley becomes exceedingly bellicose, and gives us to understand he "will fight." This does not frighten us: if Kelley *wishes* to fight, and will designate some time and place for that purpose, we will meet him. . . .

The two rival editors of newspapers in rival towns continued their tirades and Pollard became so incensed that he challenged Kelley to a duel. But Kelley was too busy promoting the slavery cause and suggested that if his rival would devote as much time and space to editing a newspaper worthy of the name and support the cause for which the papers were founded and boost the community in which he proposed to live, his rival wouldn't have time to fight a duel.

Next possibly we should consider some newspaper rows with a somewhat different purpose in view. These grew out of the bitter county-seat contests which marked the settlements of some of the western Kansas counties. The driving force of the rival editors was not so much the general annihilation of their competitors as the destruction of the claims of the rival town for the county seat. About the first thing that the promoters of a town sought was an editor. About the only requirement they laid down was that the editor be the owner of a shirt-tail full of type, a battered old press and a command of abusive language intended to tear to pieces whatever upstart might undertake the publication of a newspaper, alleged or real, in the rival community.

The things those birds said about each other, to put it mildly, were not nice, in accepted parlance. There were many fightin' words used by editors of an earlier day and there is reason to believe they meant most of what they wrote, as witness these excerpts:

From the Hugoton *Herald*:

Now if we had Sam Wood hung and the deadheads that came over from Springfield to attend to our business tarred and feathered, we would have our dirty work done for the spring. The adherents of Wood are an itinerant class of gamblers, toughs and disreputable roustabouts, the most despicable followers the heart of such a contemptible old villain could wish.¹⁸

From *The Jacksonian*, Cimarron, August 2, 1889:

We are "onto" the lop-eared, lantern-jawed, half-bred and half-born whisky-soaked, pox-eaten pup who pretends to edit that worthless wad of subdued out-house bung-fodder, known as the *Ingalls Messenger*. He is just starting out to climb the journalistic banister and wants us to knock the hay-seed out of his hair, pull the splinters out of his stern and push him on and up. We'll fool him. No free advertising from us. Murphy, k. m. a.

E. L. Cline, editor of the *Garfield County Call*, Eminence, November 25, 1887:

. . . Ravanna, a hamlet conceived in infamy and buried in disgrace.
 . . . The most degraded of . . . bats was one who flourished as the editor of a newspaper called the [Ravanna] *Record*. . . . He flies from

18. Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, May 31, 1942.

one corner of the rookery which, by the way, was intended for a court house, to another, regardless of stone walls or contact therewith. His cheek is of flint and the indentions in some places have almost worn through the wall. He is a great curiosity to every visitor of the "deserted village," and oftentimes since have men well versed in veracity tried to win from him his laurels as a liar but in every instance met with disasterous failure. He stands alone more than the peer of any liar on the earth or in the sun, moon and stars, the balance of the universe still to hear from. For this fame he has become immortal and will continue to eke out a miserable bat-like existence until some undiscovered planet will send forth an expert who will rob him of his fame, then like Sampson shorn of his locks, he will sink into insignificance and pull the dilapidated walls of the rookery down upon him. . . .

The *Chieftain*, published at Ravanna, referred to the *Garfield County Call* as *Gall*.

The *Call*, of October 21, 1887, said:

Poor fool! Go off and soak your head, and do not try to defend the \$2,500.00 Boodle Bull any more, for you can't tell lies without losing what little brains you have got, and saying just the opposite of what you want to. . . .

The *Chieftain* said:

Eminence is thriving like a potato bug in an onion patch.

The *Eminence Call* said:

Although in the interest of humanity, common decency and honest government we desire that this enterprising, God-fearing and progressive city of Ravanna shall be and remain the permanent county seat of this magnificent county, dowered by nature with a climate that makes the most favored part of Italy seem by comparison like a fever-breeding, miasmatic swamp, yet we refuse, in speaking of the denizens of that nondescript collection of bug-infested huts which its few and scabby inhabitants have the supreme gall to call a town, a few miles distant, to descend to the depths of filth and indecency indulged in by the loathsome creature who sets the type for an alleged newspaper in that God-forsaken collection of places unworthy to be called human habitations.

While we can only think of that loathsome tramp with shuddering contempt, our loathing is mingled with a certain degree of pity. He of course was not responsible for the fact that he was born a complete degenerate and fitted out with a face that causes children to scream with fright and old, staid farm horses to break their halters and run away when they see him coming toward them. Those who have known him from childhood say that the first sentence he ever uttered was a lie and since then he has never told the truth except on compulsion.

His first known crime was stealing the pennies from the eyes of his dead grandmother and his next was robbing the cup of a blind organ grinder. He is the kind of a man who sleeps on a manure pile from choice and whose breath has been known to turn the stomach of a veteran skunk.

We only indulge in this description of his person in order to satisfy the curiosity of such of our readers as have never had the misfortune to see him, so that they may be spared being nauseated by getting in his vicinity.

The rival editor replied by saying that he could not waste space on a man who disproved the Darwinian theory, because it was impossible that any monkey could have been the ancestor of such a monstrosity and that the only reason this editor had not been hung long ago was that it was impossible to keep the rope from slipping over his head. In fact he did not have a head, his neck had simply grown up and haired over. "There was a tradition," he said, "that at one time he did have what seemed to be a head, but that a wen had grown up beside it. He was taken to have the wen removed. The surgeon being somewhat nearsighted and in a hurry, cut off the head and left the wen and the editor's own folks didn't discover the difference for a month afterward."

Neither of these rival towns had more than 400 bona fide voters but at the county-seat election one town polled 17,000 votes and the other 18,000. The town casting the fewer number of votes started a contest, the editor saying that this was the time to show "whether our boasts about a free ballot and a fair count meant anything, or have the liberties of the people been destroyed by the most unprincipled villains who ever stuffed a ballot box?"

The Ravanna *Chieftain* said:

We too might have resorted to fraud, but our citizens, relying on their constitutional rights and believing that there could not be such shameless villainy in this free land, decided to allow only legal votes to be counted; but the human hyenas shall not prevail. If the courts are too cowardly or too venal to rebuke such outrages then a brave and God-fearing people will rise up in their wrath and smite these polluted lepers hip and thigh.

The late lamented Tom McNeal got into the newspaper business by accident and a bucket full of sorghum molasses. Tom was educated to be a lawyer and was just getting into the practice when a more adventurous brother, who had come to Kansas and settled in Barber county, sent for him to come to the short grass country. Tom came, expecting to be a lawyer and grow up with the country. But instead, he turned editor, forgot the law, except for a term or two in the legislature when he first proposed and successfully accomplished the granting of the right of the mothers of this state to vote in school elections.

M. J. Cochran was the editor of *The Mail* at Medicine Lodge. He was a careless printer, had little command of English and few of the attributes of a decent, respectable editor. Besides those deficiencies his morals were not of the very highest type.

But let Tom tell the story himself:

On a decidedly cool night . . . the regulators took the editor from his humble office, stripped him of his clothing and then administered a punishment which I think was entirely unique and unprecedented in the treatment of editors. There was no tar in the town and not a feather bed to be opened, but an enterprising settler had brought in a sorghum molasses mill the year before and as sorghum generally grew well there, had manufactured a crop into thick, ropy molasses. Owing to the cold weather the molasses was thicker and ropier than usual. The regulators secured a gallon of this, mixed it well with sandburs, . . . and administered this mixture liberally to the nude person of the editor. I do not need to tell my readers who are familiar with the nature of the sandbur, that it is an unpleasant vegetable to have attached to one's person. . . .

Other citizens . . . told the editor that he could remain as long as he wished and they would be responsible for his safety. Cochran expressed his appreciation . . . but confessed to them that the atmosphere of the town did not seem salubrious or congenial to him. . . .¹⁹

Tom's brother, J. W. McNeal, and his brother-in-law, E. W. Iliff, bought *The Mail*²⁰ and shortly thereafter Tom McNeal became an editor and philosopher.

During territorial days and directly following the Civil War, there were many bitter onslaughts upon the integrity of editors by persons offended by editors. Sometimes those persons actively engaged in some activity with which an editor disagreed, did not have a newspaper with which to make reply. So they resorted to handbills, some of them quite large and sometimes the language was not only vigorous but flamboyantly vehement, as witness this handbill, published in what is generally termed as "circus type," meaning the largest type the printing office owned:

Notice!!
To the Public!

I, the undersigned, on my own personal honor and responsibility, do hereby publicly declare G. W. Brown, Editor of the Herald of Freedom, to be a wilful LIAR, a malicious SLANDERER, and a most contemptible COWARD; all of which charges I hold myself in readiness to prove.

RICHARD REALF.

Lawrence, July 14, 1857.²¹

Thirty years ago William Allen White wrote the obituary of the last of the important newspaper rows in Kansas. He closed the era under review in 1907, with these pertinent and pointed remarks:

There is in progress in a small Kansas town, at the present time, a newspaper row that reminds one of the halcyon days when the rag across the street was edited by a lop-eared leper. Unfortunately for the picturesque in journalism, the lop-eared lepers are nearly all dead, or in the poorhouse. We seldom

19. McNeal, T. A., *When Kansas Was Young* (New York, 1922), pp. 80, 81.

20. *The Mail*, Medicine Lodge, March 6, 1879; *Medicine Lodge Cresset*, March 20, 1879.

21. Handbill, Manuscripts vault, Kansas State Historical Society.

hear of them any more, and we sigh for the touch of a vanished hand, and the sound of a voice that is still. . . .

In this Kansas row, one of the editors is described as a hyena that prowls by night. The hyena that prowls by night replies that his antagonist is to all intents and purposes a polecat. The polecat appears slightly dazed by this rebuke, but rallies bravely, and intimates that the hyena would consider it no crime to steal the coppers from a dead man's eyes, although such a charge involves nature faking; for what would a hyena do with coppers—or, for that matter, why should a dead man wear them on his eyes?

The hyena ignores this accusation, and expresses his profound conviction that the polecat would rob a widow's hen roost. And so the cheerful controversy proceeds. It is really refreshing, as viewed from a distance, and it is too bad that the Prominent Business Men . . . are always butting in. They ought to be sending marked copies of the local papers all over the universe.²²

I think now we should consider the fighting editors of Kansas in their political activities, or at least their views upon political questions and the promoters thereof. They had views of personalities and projects and the Kansas editors viewed with alarm and pointed with pride at things that were or ought to be and often pointed the finger of scorn and in no uncertain language told their subscribers about those who would seek positions of honor and trust within the commonwealth.

It might be well, at this point, to point out that the constitution of Kansas established the freedom of the press and the supreme court of this state enunciated the doctrine that a political figure has no rights that anyone is bound to respect. Even before that view was expressed in legal verbiage, the earlier editors assumed the dogma was correct and acted accordingly.

Much can be quoted from the fulminations of various editors of an early day regarding political figures. Suffice it to quote two expressions of editorial opinion about Jim Lane, as somewhat typical of the directness of approach of these editors toward political personalities. First from the *Kansas State Journal*, Lawrence, April 6, 1865:

The grim chieftain of Kansas [Lane] slew his enemies by wagging his jawbone; his prototype—Sampson—killed off the Philistines with a weapon of the same kind.—*Tribune*.

From the White Cloud *Kansas Chief*, April 19, 1860:

MUZZLE THE HOUND!—Jim Lane, the demagogue, whoremonger and murderer, is peregrinating the Territory, for the ostensible purpose of denouncing the issuing of Territorial Claim Bonds, authorized by the late Legislature, but in reality to gratify a personal spite, and abuse Gov. Robinson. In this despicable business he is encouraged by Republicans, and generally makes it con-

22. *Emporia Gazette*, November 6, 1907.

venient to ease himself of his overflowing bile at Republican County Conventions. . . .

Daniel W. Wilder, long-time editor and political figure, engaged in many sharp controversies with Gov. Charles Robinson, first governor of Kansas, a leader of the New England Emigrant Aid Society and directing force of one branch of the Abolition contest. It should be remembered that Robinson believed that Kansas could be won to the Antislavery cause through mere force of numbers. He was bitterly opposed to John Brown, Jim Lane, Wilder, Sam Wood and others who believed in direct action. Brown, Lane and the others held to the doctrine that fire could best be fought with fire, that murder should be avenged with murder, torture with torture and theft with greater thievery. Robinson and his group believed such nefarious activities were entirely unnecessary and that the crusading spirit of the North would send such crowds of Abolitionists into Kansas as to make the doctrine of squatter sovereignty a reality and accomplish the desired result without bloodshed and without plunging the nation into a war over state rights, which had been abrogated when the constitution was written but still was and is sometimes to this day claimed to be somewhat of a political fetish.

Robinson, and many of those who opposed him, carried their political feuds to their graves. Years after the conflict, Robinson wrote a book about the territorial days. A copy came into the hands of Wilder, who wrote a personal letter to Robinson, which said:

I am glad you have written the "Kansas Conflict." You have a personal history well worthy of preservation; the history of a hero. The historian will never leave you out. But I am decidedly on the other side in the main part of your version, or perversion. Your wife's book is better than yours. . . .²³

The late J. K. Hudson, long-time editor of the Topeka *Daily Capital*, engaged in numerous editorial forays against the great and near great in Kansas political affairs and some of these resulted in personal encounters because of the bitterness of the editorial lambastings which Hudson dispensed through the columns of his paper.

A violent encounter between Hudson and Cassius Gaius Foster of the United States district court came about with the adoption by the people of Kansas of constitutional prohibition. The *Capital* supported prohibition and Judge Foster as vigorously assailed the doctrine. Judge Foster was the instigator of some litigation involving political activities of political enemies and also directed against

23. Letter, D. W. Wilder to Gov. Charles Robinson, April 27, 1892, in Robinson Collection, MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

Hudson and the *Capital*. In the course of the long series of lawsuits, Hudson wrote:

The editor of the *Capital* offers no excuses for having stripped the judicial pretender of his dignity, and shown the people the danger of placing the great power of a United States district judgeship for life in the hands of a man who neither appreciates or understands the fact that his office should not be used for political purposes or to protect his narrow, personal prejudices. . . .²⁴

A more modern version of a similar theme can be presented by a study of the long editorial controversy between Clyde M. Reed, former governor and now United States senator, in his *Parsons Sun*, and Judge John C. Pollock of the United States district court of Kansas.

The Farmers Alliance movement, which later grew into the Populist political organization, brought forth from the editorial pens and pencils the most robust initiative, the sharpest criticism and the most vigorous individuality of any modern political period in the history of the state.

It was an agrarian movement, imbued with the feeling that the money changers were in control of the affairs of the government; that the farmers were being denied their just rights; that the mortgage companies were choking the progress of the great farm areas; the railroads were hamstringing the producer of foodstuffs; the people were being exploited by the politicians in the interest of the rich; the farmer was being browbeaten and reduced to peasantry by the machinations of business and its satellites.

It produced William A. Peffer, he of the long whiskers; Elizabeth (better known as Mary Ellen) Lease, who advised the farmers to raise more hell and less corn; Jerry Simpson, better known as "Sockless" Jerry, although he was never caught without those appurtenances for the nether limbs; Annie Diggs; Frank Doster and his doctrine that the rights of the user are paramount to the rights of the owner; Gov. L. D. Lewelling; Gov. John W. Leedy and a host of others, brilliant of mind, quick of wit and a wholesouled determination that their cause was just.

There was nothing anemic about these men and women of vision and determination; and there was no padded bludgeon which they used or which their editorial or political opponents used on them. They struck from the shoulder with all the forceful and colorful language which the dictionary provided. The editorial opposition was not in the least backward, either.

24. *Foster vs. Hudson, the Legal and Political History of the Suits Brought by Hon. Cassius Gaius Foster, Judge of the United States District Court of Kansas, Against Maj. J. K. Hudson, Editor of Daily Capital, . . . From 1889 to . . . 1895 (Topeka, 1895), p. 3.*

Senator Peffer, long-time editor of the *Kansas Farmer*, now one of Senator Capper's 57 varieties, the only Populist ever elected United States senator from Kansas; the man who defeated the erudite Ingalls, was the writing-leader of the group. It may be here noted that nearly all of the projects suggested by the Farmers Alliance and the Populists are now a part of the law of the land, including postal savings; the direct election of senators; regulation of railroad rates and services; women's suffrage; the regulation of bond issues and sales; the recall of public officials and some others. Projects which they favored and not now effective were consolidation of the railroads; direct election of the president; a postal telegraph system; the initiative and referendum; government ownership and control over coal beds and a proposal that the president be limited to a single term.

Peffer's real name was William Alfred. Many commentators referred to him as William Anarchy Peffer. One editor wrote: "Peffer is old enough to quit building castles in his whiskers."

Another wrote:

Senator Peffer is not obliged to spend money for a Christmas tree. He simply puts glass balls, small candles, strings of popcorn and cornucopias in his magnificent whiskers and there you are.

Another comment:

Senator Peffer was a gentle soul who thought in figures and talked the same way. He had no style either in oratory or writing, being dull, prosy, cumbersome and interminable. But he knew a lot of things, or thought he knew them and exuded statistics from every pore to prove them.

The most interesting series of political letters which Kansas has produced was written by "Fightin' Joe" Hudson of the *Capital* at the very beginning of Governor Lewelling's term, the first Populist administration in Kansas.

In this connection, it may be noted that communism, as a political organization or entity, was first brought into Kansas by Hudson in that long debate. In an extensive examination of Kansas papers no mention of communism as we understand the term was found. The French Commune, of course, was well known, but did not have the connotation of the present day, or, as I believe Hudson construed it. Let me quote from an editorial of January 13, 1893:

You and your co-workers of the Populist party . . . have a well-defined plan, after gaining possession of both branches of the Legislature, to impeach Chief Justice Horton and Justice Johnston, of the Supreme Court. Doster, the anarchist, will dishonor the seat so long honored by Judge Horton, and when you control both branches of the Legislature, the executive and the

judiciary, it will be appropriate for you to haul down the stars and stripes that float over the Capitol and run up the appropriate red flag of anarchy and communism. . . .

In another letter, January 15, Hudson wrote:

Permit me to congratulate you that there were no more blunders that could have been made in your first week. You exhausted the supply. . . .

At another point, also on January 15, Hudson wrote:

The most reckless orator of your calamity party never pictured a more defiant executive head than yourself for a revolutionary movement against the tyranny of law and good order. . . . The present revolution was impairing your ability to state facts, while you yet retained the capacity of the average speakers of your party to substitute bombast for reason and threats of lawlessness for patriotism. It is the duty of the press to point out the public officers who endeavor to pass gall for ability and windy bravado for courage. . . .

Again, on January 22:

Your administration . . . for a young thing, has attracted wide attention on account of its brilliant and original character, its defiance of public sentiment, and its reckless disregard of legal forms. Since you read your flamboyant inaugural endorsement of the anarchistic spirit and the treasonable tendency of your party, . . . Kansas has received more ridicule, contempt, and criticism than ever in a dozen years before. . . .

In a campaign after the legislative war, William Allen White wrote what is generally termed his second most powerful editorial, "What's the Matter with Kansas,"²⁵ a document reprinted many times since his death.

It will be impossible to close this narrative of political editorials without reference to a more recent campaign than any of the others. This was the almost single-handed effort of William Allen White to drive the Ku Klux Klan out of Kansas.

He derided, kidded, abused, villified and lambasted the organization and its members and also the politicians who coddled the outfit for political expediency. In the *Gazette* of August 2, 1921, White wrote:

. . . It is an organization of cowards. Not a man in it has the courage of his convictions. It is an organization of traitors to American institutions. Not a man in it has faith enough in American courts, American laws, and American executive officers to trust them to maintain law and order, and it is an organization of lazy butter fingers in politics, or it would get out at the primary and the election and clean up the incompetent officials whom its members think are neglecting to enforce the law.

25. Emporia *Daily Gazette*, August 15, 1896; *Weekly Gazette*, August 20, 1896.

The Ku Klux Klan in this community is a menace to peace and decent neighborly living, and if we find out who is the Imperial Wizard in Emporia we shall guy the life out of him. He is a joke, you may be sure. But a poor joke at that.

When he became a candidate for governor because he had reason to believe the candidates of both the major parties were supported by the Klan, Mr. White announced in the *Gazette* of September 20, 1924:

[The Ku Klux Klan] represents a small minority of the citizenship and it is organized for purposes of terror. Its terror is directed at honest, law-abiding citizens, Negroes, Jews and Catholics. . . . They are entitled to their full constitutional rights; their rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. They menace no one. They are good citizens, law-abiding, God-fearing, prosperous, patriotic. Yet, because of their skin, their race, or their creed, the Ku Klux Klan in Kansas is subjecting them to economic boycott, to social ostracism, to every form of harassment, annoyance and every terror that a bigoted minority can use. . . .

When a governor of Kansas at a public meeting makes his salutation, "Ladies, gentlemen and polecats of the press"; when a governor of our fair state stands in the window of his own office in the Kansas statehouse, remarks, as he watches a reporter amble along a statehouse walk, "If someone will kill that S-O-B I'll meet him at the door of the prison with a pardon," it need not surprise anyone that the editors and reporters replied in harsh words.

To many of the present day the excerpts submitted present a rather sordid picture of Kansas newspaperdom of an early day. But these excerpts are only one facet of the newspapers and their editors of that time. It would not be fair or decent to eliminate these and present only the Pollyanna, the flowery stuff, the material praising politicians and other editors.

Something of the period which brought forth the pistol-packin' editors must be understood to fully grasp the significance of the editorial explosions submitted herewith.

Times have changed. No editor of the present day would offer such fulminations as were common in an earlier day. They don't run newspapers that way these days.

But no record of the early days of Kansas newspapers can leave out the invective and denunciation which appeared so frequently. They were a part of the editorial investiture of those days when name calling was a fine art but doubtful as to its potency or efficacy.

What has been written here has been an attempt to provide not an exhaustive but a representative replica of the verbal assaults by the

editors of Kansas. You would be exhausted long before the available material had been culled from the pages of the newspapers of Kansas.

What has been presented is intended to be, and I believe fairly represents, the typical fulminations of the scribes of Kansas during an earlier day. They may be multiplied many times. Many of them, and others like them not here set down, represent numerous black eyes, some broken noses; a cracked skull or two, some cauliflower ears and numerous abrasions of the scalp, hands and arms.

They preferred a meat ax rather than finesse; direct action rather than deftness, and the record indicates they got the desired results.

They were great characters in those days, intensely interesting to study, gifted with imagination, always partisan, never neutral, and thoroughly imbued with the vision that the function of an editor was to enlighten, educate, interest and entertain, and gosh, how they did it!

Some Notes on the Eighth Kansas Infantry and the Battle of Chickamauga

Letters of Col. John A. Martin

Edited by MARTHA B. CALDWELL

I. INTRODUCTION

THE Eighth Kansas infantry, organized in 1861 to protect settlers from Indians along the western and southern borders and from Confederates along the eastern border, probably saw more service outside the state during the Civil War than any other Kansas regiment. Orders to enlist the regiment were received by Gov. Charles Robinson in July. Although the young state had already supplied six regiments, and a seventh was being recruited, it responded with alacrity and by September six companies had been raised. In October Maj. Henry W. Wessels, of the Sixth United States infantry, having been appointed colonel by Governor Robinson, assumed command and completed the organization. In February, 1862, Colonel Wessels was recalled to his regiment in the regular army and Lt. Col. John A. Martin¹ succeeded him. After a reorganization various elements of the regiment were stationed in Kansas and at Fort Kearny, Neb.

Late in May, 1862, orders were received to send troops to the aid of General Halleck at Corinth, Miss. On May 28, by order of Gen. James G. Blunt, five companies of the Eighth departed for that place by steamer. From that time until the close of the war this regiment served in the campaigns in Tennessee, Georgia and Mississippi, traveled 10,750 miles, and participated in fifteen battles and eighteen skirmishes.

The soldiers of the Eighth, like those of other infantry regiments, suffered greatly from hunger and exposure. The following endorsement on a monthly muster roll by an officer of the regiment is amusing and yet portrays some of the hardships endured:

I make this roll lying flat on my belly on the ground, with a rubber blanket for a desk. If I was at Washington in a comfortable room, supplied with a hundred dollar desk, a gold pen, black, blue, red and purple inks, the latest and best patent rulers, and plenty of "red tape," I could make a more artistic copy. But I have been constantly soaked with rain for seven days and nights; there isn't a bone in my body that doesn't ache; my fingers are as numb as

1. For a biographical sketch of John A. Martin see *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. VII, pp. 410, 411.

though they were frozen, and my clothes are as stiff with Tennessee mud as my fingers are with chill. Under the circumstances this is the best I can do. If any first-class clerk in the department thinks he could do better, let him duck himself in the Potomac every five minutes and wade through mud knee deep for six days, and then try it on. If he succeeds, I will change places with him with great pleasure.²

As a part of the Third brigade, First division, Twentieth Army corps, the soldiers of the Eighth fought in the battle of Chickamauga, September 19, 20, 1863, where they displayed great courage, holding their position "firmly and defiantly" against repeated charges of a superior number of the enemy.³ In the afternoon of the first day the brigade commander, Col. Hans C. Heg, was wounded and Col. John A. Martin of the Eighth Kansas assumed command. This battle on the banks of "Dead Man's River" took heavy toll of the Eighth. Colonel Martin in a telegram to his father stated:

Myself and brother are safe. The Eighth lost fourteen commissioned officers and one hundred and ninety-six men killed and wounded. It fought gallantly. Capt. Graham is safe. John A. Martin Col. Comd'g Brig.⁴

The later official report listed the Eighth as having lost 243 men in killed, wounded and missing. This was about sixty-five per cent of the force that went into battle on the nineteenth and was the largest loss in a single engagement sustained by the regiment.⁵

The Eighth was complimented frequently upon its soldierly appearance, the perfection of its drill, and the neatness and cleanliness of its arms and accoutrements. On June 19, 1863, the inspection officer reported: "The drill, military appearance and dress of the Eighth Kansas Infantry is the best observed in the Division, and that of the Twenty-fifth Illinois next."⁶ The honors received by the Eighth reflected credit upon its commanding officers, particularly upon its colonel, John A. Martin. Martin was only twenty-two years old when he entered the war in 1861 as lieutenant colonel of the Eighth regiment. A year later he was promoted to colonel. He was solicitous for his men and was rewarded by their respect and devotion. At the close of the war he was breveted brigadier general for his gallant and meritorious service.

The Eighth was stationed at Greenville, Tenn., when news came of Lee's surrender. The regiment was ordered to Nashville, and the men expected to be discharged there, but much to their disap-

2. "Military History of the Eighth Kansas Volunteer Infantry," p. 117, in *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, 1861-1865* (Topeka, 1896).

3. *Ibid.*, p. 123.

4. *The Weekly Kansas Tribune*, Lawrence, October 3, 1863.

5. *Report of the Adjutant General, Kansas, 1861-1865*, pp. 130, 164.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

pointment the Fourth corps, of which the Eighth was a part, was sent to Texas. On August 21 the brigade reached the Salado river five miles from San Antonio and on the 23rd the Eighth moved into the city, where it was placed on provost duty. The regiment remained there until November 29, when it was ordered to Fort Leavenworth. Here the men were finally mustered out on January 9, 1866.

In 1895 Kansas erected monuments and tablets on the battle fields of Chickamauga and Chattanooga to commemorate the service of the Kansas troops.⁷

The following letters, written by Colonel Martin to John J. Ingalls shortly after the battle of Chickamauga, throw additional light on the engagement. They were given to the Kansas State Historical Society by Ellsworth Ingalls of Atchison, son of John J. Ingalls.

II. THE LETTERS

Oct. 8th '63.

Messrs Ingalls & Horton:—

I send you accompanying a short letter, and in same mail two rebel papers of latest dates, and a copy of Cincinnati *Commercial* giving account of Battle of Chic[k]amauga.⁸ It is much the best account I have seen. In only one or two particulars is it an error, and the writer is evidently honest. Its account of Sheridan's feat in extricating himself from the enemy when our lines were cut in two is all an error.⁹ As our Division was cut off with Sheridan's, and as Sheridan had command of us until we again joined the main army

7. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. VIII, pp. 271-275.

8. Presumably the same article referred to by Colonel Martin in his letter of October 18, as having been written by Capt. J. W. Miller. See pp. 142, 143.

9. The correspondent's mention of Gen. Philip H. Sheridan in his three-column story of the battle was as follows:

"Where was Sheridan? 'Captured,' you would have been told that night. But I did not believe it. I had seen too much of him and his fighting division to credit that story. At midnight Sunday night Sheridan doffed his hat to Thomas, and reported for duty with more men and more guns than he had carried into the fight originally!

"Even after he was cut off he repelled a desperate charge of the enemy, and one of his regiments—the 51st Illinois—captured the battle flag of the 24th Alabama and the major of the regiment who was carrying it, endeavoring to rally his men. The general is an ardent, practical student of roads, as I had occasion to know while riding with his staff one day, on a march of six miles. I must have gone double that distance before I found that the general was taking his daily lesson in geography. Gathering together his noble brigades, two of whom had lost their beloved leaders, he struck across the Missionary Ridge directly to the west, as the rebels had possession of the country to the north of him, including, for all he knew, every road. Reaching the top of the ridge, he caused the 'assembly' to be blown, and picked up all the stragglers from other divisions he could find. He had lost three pieces of artillery in the fight, but he came across a quantity that other divisions had abandoned, and took it in charge. In this way he saved a whole battery, given up for lost by Johnson.

"With all that was left of his own division, and with a long line of stragglers and additional artillery, he struck the road on top of Missionary Ridge, which he traversed until he found it in possession of the enemy. Quietly breaking off again to the west, he adroitly passed the enemy's flank, regaining the road and turning east through Rossville, and, without halting for a moment, he reinforced Thomas by midnight, as I have already indicated."—"The Battle of Chickamauga," by a correspondent of the Cincinnati *Commercial*, copied in the *Daily Missouri Democrat*, St. Louis, September 30, 1863.

at 4 p. m., (not 12 p. m. as the correspondent says) I *know* this.¹⁰ I had command of our Division during most of this time, as Genl. Davis had been cut off from it by the rebels, and forced to the left.

Truly,

Jno. A. Martin.

Chattanooga, Tenn.,
Oct. 18th, '63.

Dear Ingalls:—

Yours of 4th inst. rec'd yesterday. It was the first letter I have received from you. I have rec'd all the *Champions* published since I left Atchison except one number, but have never rec'd any other papers from you. Our mails are very irregular, and we cannot, for the present, hope for any improvement. The nearest point reached by a R. R. is Stevenson [Ala.], 60 miles distant. The road between here and there is damnable, and much cut up now by the heavy trains passing over it. So I presume our amiable army mail contractors lighten their wagons whenever they desire, by throwing out mail.

I am glad to learn that the *Champion* is paying expenses. Hope it will continue to do so during the time you have charge of it. I do not remember telling father when the material (printing paper, &c.,) was to be paid for, although Judge [Albert H.] Horton & [Frank A.] Root made an invoice of stock on hand, and the Judge said he would pay father, as I requested. I gave father the invoice, price, &c., to collect. I presume he will not hurry you about it. If there is any stuff not used during your term it can be invoiced to me again, and I will pay you for it. Any, however, that you do not need, you need not consider in the account paid father.¹¹

About the Battle [Chickamauga], I presume you have already

10. An article in the Cincinnati *Commercial* by Major Schneider and others on the part taken by General Davis' division in the Battle of Chickamauga, reported:

"J. W. M's' account of Sunday's operations on the right, is substantially correct, but what he says of Sheridan's division should include also the division of General Davis. These divisions gave way almost at the same instant. They were re-formed at the same place, and marched off nearly to Rossville in good order, under command of Major General Sheridan, the officer to whose able management the troops referred to are probably indebted for their extrication. Your correspondent also conveys a wrong impression when he says 'General Sheridan reported to General Thomas at midnight on Sunday.' Both Sheridan and Davis were in a position to communicate with General Thomas long before midnight on Sunday. At 4 P. M., in less than three hours after the right was cut off, and, according to some veracious correspondents, 'disgracefully routed,' Davis and Sheridan, with their divisions decimated by shot and shell, but almost intact so far as concerns stragglers, *marched to within supporting distance of Thomas*, and would again have breasted the storm of battle had they not been ordered back to Rossville."—*Freedom's Champion*, Atchison, November 26, 1863, reprinted from the Cincinnati *Commercial*. See, also, p. 144.

11. When John A. Martin enlisted in the army in 1861, he left his paper, the *Freedom's Champion*, in charge of George I. Stebbins. In September, 1863, he leased it to John J. Ingalls and Albert H. Horton. On January 1, 1865, Colonel Martin, having returned from the army, resumed the control of the paper.—*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. I-II, p. 172.

read more than I could write or say. Whether it was a defeat or victory depends pretty much on what was desired to be accomplished by the campaign. If this was to end by the taking of Chattanooga, it was a great victory for us, for with an army of only 35,000 men we held the rebel army of 120,000¹² at bay for two days, and we yet have Chattanooga—we damaged them as much as they did us, captured as many prisoners (not including wounded) as they did, took from them half as many pieces of artillery as they took from us, brought all our transportation off safe; and hold Chattanooga, so strongly fortified that they cannot take it with 200,000 men. There was bad Generalship on our side (not on "Old Rosey's" part, but by some of his subordinate commanders) and our Right, the second day, was simply *crushed* by overpowering numbers. Our little Division, reduced by the first day's fight to less than 1,200 men, was confronted the second day by at least *two full divisions* of the enemy's army, and both its flanks were left exposed by some one who moved the troops on our left away.¹³ McCook & Crittenden are under the cloud, but whether the errors of that day are attributable to them or not, I cannot say. Certainly it didn't look well to see them in Chattanooga on the evening of the 20th, when their thrice decimated Corps were yet fighting at the front, eight miles from this town.¹⁴

Our Regiment fought magnificently. No more sublime courage was ever witnessed. There was hardly a straggler from it, found in the rear. It has received the highest praise from the Division Commander, Genl. Davis, for its action. But at what a sacrifice!—the whole Regiment does not now look larger than two of our Companies used to.

The best account of the Battle I have seen is the letter of the special correspondent of the *Cincinnati Commercial*, "J. W. M.," understood to be Capt. J. W. Miller, formerly of an Ohio Regiment. With a few exceptions the details of the battle are given with admirable correctness. You will also find in the *Commercial* an ex-

12. Reports of the strength of each side varies. The probably more nearly correct estimate is that of Maj. E. C. Dawes, who after a careful study gave the total Union force as 56,965, and the Confederate force as 71,551.—Nicolay, John G., and Hay, John, *Abraham Lincoln, A History* (New York, 1904), v. VIII, pp. 106, 107.

13. Col. Geo. P. Buell in executing an order from his commander, moved his division to the left, leaving a great gap in the line. Colonel Martin's brigade was ordered to move into it. His small force was inadequate to defend against greatly superior numbers. The Confederates poured in through the gap, routed the divisions and drove them from the field. Brig. Gen. Jefferson C. Davis wrote: "The sudden withdrawal of troops from my left and the absence of any support on my right, just as the attack was being made, made my position little better than an outpost and perfectly untenable against the overwhelming force coming against it."—*The War of the Rebellion*, . . . (Washington, 1890), ser. I, v. XXX, pt. I, p. 500.

14. A court of inquiry held early in 1864 exonerated Maj. Gen. A. McD. McCook and Maj. Gen. T. L. Crittenden from blame.—*Ibid.*, pp. 961, 962, 996, 997.

tended account of the part taken by Genl. Davis' Division, which I wish you would copy.¹⁵ It is a correct and truthful version.

We are in no danger here unless the rebels succeed in cutting off our communications and starving us out. But a great army ought to be massed here. We should be enabled to assume the offensive in a month, and drive the rebels from our front. The d—d silly expeditions the Government seems to be constantly getting up to *occupy territory*, should be denounced by the press of the country in the strongest terms. Annihilate the rebel army, and the territory will need no army of occupation—it will come back itself. Destroy Bragg's and Lee's armies and the war is practically ended—there will be nothing more but guerrilla warfare, which only cavalry can put down. Such nonsense as Sabine Pass Expeditions,¹⁶ Blunt's Arkansas and Indian Country campaigns, &c.,¹⁷ certainly ought, by this time, to be exploded humbugs. In the name of reason what do we want with the Indian Country or Texas now, or why take men there, where they can accomplish no practical good, and let our forces in Tennessee and Virginia constantly confront armies superior to them in numbers.

Respects to all friends,

Yours truly,

Jno. A. Martin.

Chattanooga, Tenn.,

Nov. 6th, 1863.

Dear Ingalls:—

I send enclosed an article from the Cincinnati *Commercial* respecting the part taken by our Division at the Battle of Chickamauga, which I wish you would publish.¹⁸ It is correct in every particular, and was written mainly by Maj. Schneider, assisted by other officers of the Division, who furnished the facts that could not have come under his personal observation.

All well here, and the aspect of affairs unchanged. We are still on half rations, but hope to do better soon. I send you a small ex-

15. This probably referred to the same article that Martin enclosed in his letter to Ingalls on November 6.

16. The critical situation in Mexico induced the Federal government to raise the U. S. flag in Texas. Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks was ordered to conduct an expedition into that region. He set out in September, 1863, to invade the country by way of the Sabine Pass. This expedition failed and in November he occupied the mouth of the Rio Grande and from there took the region along the coast.—Nicolay & Hay, *Abraham Lincoln, A History*, v. VIII, pp. 286, 287.

17. See "General Blunt's Account of His Civil War Experiences," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. I, pp. 211-265.

18. The article was published in the *Freedom's Champion*, Atchison, November 26, 1863. See Footnote 10.

tract from B. F.[?] Taylor's correspondence giving the amusing experiences of one of the Potomac Generals, who imagined Tennessee to be filled with splendid hotels and elegantly furnished restaurants, and whose stomach, filled with the dainty fare of Washington, revolted at the idea of "hard-tack" and "sow-belly." To those who have experienced the discomforts of nearly a two-years' campaign in Tennessee the anecdote is highly amusing and refreshing.

What can be done about bringing our Regiment back to recruit? We have now only 165 men for duty, and only 569 aggregate in the Regiment, present and absent. Most of the men will re-enlist as veteran volunteers, if the Regiment could be brought home for a month or so and recruited to the maximum. I think we could easily do this. Lane and Pomeroy, with Wilder, might bring this about, if they united in the demand, and the chances are greater from the fact that the Regiment was originally raised exclusively for home protection. It has served in the South for over two years now; only ten months remain to complete its three years' enlistment; it has suffered terribly from battle and disease, and is so far reduced as to be of little service here. Will you please make such efforts as your judgment will dictate as best, for the accomplishment of this object. It can only be done through the Secretary of War.

My best respects to all old friends, and to Horton, Root, Holthaus and Tom Murphy particularly.

Truly your friend

Jno. A. Martin.

Hon. Jno. J. Ingalls.

Bypaths of Kansas History

WHEN THE CRY OF "WOLF" SOUNDED IN LAWRENCE

From the *Kansas Free State*, Lawrence, April 7, 1855.

FIRST APRIL FOOL IN LAWRENCE.—The richest thing that ever came off in the way of an April Fool took place here on last Sabbath evening. Mr. Atwood and Mr. Boyer, of the *Free State* office, and Mr. Garrett, of the *Tribune*, concluded that the unnecessary fears of some of the citizens, and especially those of Mr. Brown [editor of the *Herald of Freedom*], should not pass off entirely unfounded, and after getting together, determined to "waive the question" as to the propriety of continuing religious services in such perilous times, and "proceed immediately to develop" the military propensities of the people of Lawrence. Accordingly, they proceeded, about 3 o'clock, P. M., down the road toward Westport, about a mile, and wrote the following letter, purporting to come from Mr. Mendenhall, of the Friends' Mission, and gave a messenger a dollar to carry it, in great haste, to Mr. Brown:

Friends' Mission, }
4th mo., 1st day, 1855. }

FRIEND BROWN—A large party of Missourians, camping at Mill Creek last night, got hold of the second edition of thy *Herald*, read it in camp, and immediately resolved to return to Lawrence, throw thy press into the river, and hang thee and other prominent Free State men. The plan is then to repair to Hickory Point, and hang Kibbee, and perhaps Goodin and others. I do not know their number, but as they have sent runners to inform other delegations coming in from different parts of the Territory, it must be large—not less than six or seven hundred.

The messenger who carries this will repair to Hickory Point and inform the people in that neighborhood.

In great haste,
Thy friend,
R. MENDENHALL.

G. W. Brown, Lawrence.

Mr. Brown read the letter, and, highly excited, rushed into a neighbor's house to give the news, and was soon seen with a bell in one hand, and a small spy-glass in the other, ringing and looking out for Missourians. After the people had gathered, he commenced haranguing them to rally to the defense of himself, his office, and the town generally.

He perceived a species of "nice diplomacy" on the part of the Missourians—that two had called at his office late on Saturday night, and bought two papers, and by some means got hold of the second edition of the *Herald*—and that they would have about time to get to Mill creek—that the messenger was greatly excited, and started off immediately to Hickory Point; and noticed a number of little things that he had said about Missourians that were "rather imprudent," and concluded that there was no doubt that the report from the enemy was all true. He then exhorted all to stand around him and preserve his life.

Great excitement prevailed, the letter was read and re-read, the churches were dismissed, and a number started out to beat up for volunteers. So great was the demand for volunteers, that every male of twelve years and upwards, all who were able to go forth to war, was impressed into service. The three typos above-mentioned came into town shortly afterwards, very much excited at the news, immediately put down their names as volunteers, and shouldering their guns, were ready to go forth to battle.

Every old gun, pistol and knife was called into requisition, and three military companies were formed and put on drill, under experienced commanders. The famous Dr. Robinson was Commander-in-chief of the military forces, and S. N. Wood (who understood the hoax,) was Secretary of War. Brown, after getting the forces in order, contented himself in the capacity of private, and was seen in the drill, behind a little boy, going through the evolutions with all the ease and grace of a green volunteer. The sage of Wall street, in company with another person, proceeded to reconnoitre the Wakarusa bottom. At the usual hour the old soldiers in such campaigns retired to rest, while others kept guard all night. The Commander-in-chief was enraged at the authors of the despatch, and threatened tar and feathers; but the typos rather think he won't try it. Wonder if he is waiting for assistance, in this matter, from the Emigrant Aid Company? Ah! men are very brave when there is no danger.

M.

George W. Brown's version in *The Kansas Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, April 7, 1855.

FORGERY.—On Sunday, the 1st day of April, at a little past noon, a young man, the very picture of affright, galloped up on horseback to the door of the *Herald of Freedom* office, inquired if the editor resided there, and gave the following communication, closely sealed in an envelope, to a compositor who was in the room, with the request that it should be passed to us immediately:

[The purported Mendenhall message was then printed.—See above.]

We read the letter to a couple of friends who were present, and concluded it best to place ourselves in a condition to give the enemy a warm reception, in case he did return; though we strongly suspected the letter was a *forgery*, and that a *hoax* was being practiced on us. Still there appeared to be a crisis in the history of Kansas, and with the unsettled state of the country all were apprehensive it was best to be guarded.

An express was sent down the road for several miles, and returned with the information that nothing was seen in that direction. Our people, in the mean time, anticipated the organization which they had laid out for the morrow, and formed four military companies, determined that they would not be caught napping. A genuine letter was found from Mr. MENDENHALL, and the impression became general that some despicable wretch, who had no regard for the sanctity of the Sabbath, who did not scorn to *lie*, who had descended to act the part of a base *forger*, and in whose heart was concentrated the *genuine essence of meanness*, had practiced a gross imposition upon the public, and had availed himself of the present crisis to work upon their feelings. The villain moved in the crowd, and contributed his share towards exciting the populace. He had his abettors, and they played their part well. They labored in secret, and supposed they were safe from public gaze. An Argus eye was

upon them, and when a few more links to complete the chain of evidence shall be furnished, we pledge ourself to strip the lion's skin from the villainous deceivers, and expose them to the scoffs and sneers of an insulted and outraged populace.—In the meantime they may jeer us as much as they please, but they shall stand before the community with FORGER written on their brow, and *baseness* visible in every lineament.

LATER.—Just as we were going to press we received the *Kansas Free State*, from which we quote the following article—

[The first paragraph of the *Kansas Free State* story was reprinted.]

Then follows a copy of the letter given above, and the assertion that we appeared in the streets with a bell in one hand and a small spy-glass in the other, and that we rang up a crowd and harangued them to rally in defense of ourself, our office, and the town generally. A greater number of falsehoods was never embraced in a more limited space.—The editor has our thanks for connecting the *Free State* and *Tribune* offices with this base outrage. It has saved us some labor which we should have expended in getting the proof. If our citizens are disposed to swallow the insult which these villainous men have practiced upon this community let them do so. If *forgery* and *falsehood* are to be tolerated, and even made a subject of mirth by the press, in whose hands, to a great extent, are the morals of a community, then it is time that *vice* should be respected instead of VIRTUE, and the most brazen and heartless of wretches be held up as examples of imitation.

A year later the Missourians did sack and burn part of Lawrence and the type and presses of the *Herald of Freedom* and the *Kansas Free State* were thrown into the river.

ANTECEDENT OF THE KAW VALLEY POTATO?

From the *Kansas Free State*, Lawrence, April 14, 1855.

STRAWBERRY AND WILD POTATO.—These plants are indigenous here, and are found in great abundance on the bottom lands, especially on those of the Kansas.—In some localities the strawberry is springing up very thickly, and are said to grow very luxuriantly. The potato appears to be a small variety of the Yam. In the loose, rich bottoms the soil is full of them. They are very small and quite inferior for cooking. Probably cultivation might improve them so as to make them valuable. The experiment is at least worth a trial. A root resembling the artichoke is also found in many places.

RULES AND REGULATIONS OF A WAGON TRAIN

The following is a copy of one of several pages—torn from an old record book—which have come into the possession of the Kansas State Historical Society. Possibly the document here reproduced was in the hand of Enoch Painter who was a settler along the South fork of the Nemaha river (in northeastern Kansas) in 1855. The train

obviously was one of the many which crossed the Kansas prairies in 1857 but there is nothing to further identify the outfit or its destination.

June the 20th 1857

Rules and Regulations of Frosts Train

we the members of the above mentioned train do believe it to be our duty to keep good order and decorum in said train by making and entering in to the following Rules and by-laws

Art 1st resolved that one man from each wagon shall rise early at any given signal and attend the stock till breakfast also those who remain at camps to go out as soon as they get their Breakfast and drive up the work cattle

Article 2nd res that when the capt of the train thinks it expedient that all hand will unanimously turn out to mind stock &c.

it is mutually agreed that Elijah Frost is to act in the office of capt of the train and that Jas Frost be assistant and is to act as cpt in the absence or inability of the cpt

we the undersigned jointly and severly bind our selves to stand up to the preceding Rules when not providentially hindered

it is further agreed that Wm Sharp and Alfred Rockholt attend to the waking of the hands in the morning

and also Wm Sharp is wagon master

Elijah Frost cpt

Jas Frost asst

Wm Sharp, wagonmas

Alfred Rockholt w. m.

Loyd Rockholt

Enoch Painter

Thos. Arnold

D. D. Moughlin

Tim Moody

E B Harris

Jacob Green

Jesse Green

John Cain

H. M. Rockholt

N A Guill

E. Froyway

Loyd Rockholt [II?]

Levi McKosksie

Rheuben Rockholt

J. W. Rockholt

Leonard Metz

Clinton Donald

HUMOR OF EMIGRANTS

From *The Kansas News*, Emporia, July 9, 1859.

Notwithstanding the thousands of wagons daily returning from the West, and the thousands of persons who are heart sick, weary and foot sore, a slight tinge of humor is frequently manifested by various devices on the wagon covers.

For instance:

We saw, the other day, a weatherbeaten wagon, on which, however, the following letters stood out in bold relief:

P. P. B. D.

Our curiosity was excited. The cabalistic initials were too much for our comprehension, and we were fain compelled to inquire their meaning.

The teamster responded, in a voice husky with emotion and indignation:

"What does thes 'ere letters mean, eh? Them letters, sir, expresses my sentiments, and means *Pike's Peak be damned.*"

We would have lectured this indignant emigrant on the sinfulness of depravity, but, on a survey of his exterior, came to the conclusion that it would be piety thrown away to no purpose, and let him pass.

Such devices as "D—d Humbug"—"Sold"—"Tuck in"—"Gold for sale by the bushel," &c., &c., are numerous and quaint.

We noticed on one wagon a huge Peak, pictured in yellow paint, on the top of which sat an individual represented as saying: "Here's the place where *gilding* is done." An immense crowd was scampering in the reverse direction.

One emigrant told us that Pike's Peak would be the greatest Ossuary the world had ever seen; and another, that the gold fever would break every Life Insurance Company in the country.—Leavenworth *Times*.



ECHOES OF THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION IN CHICAGO IN 1860
WHEN SEWARD AND LINCOLN WERE THE LEADING CANDIDATES
AND KANSAS SUPPORTED SEWARD

From *Uncollected Letters of Abraham Lincoln* (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917), by Gilbert A. Tracy, p. 141. [Note: According to Albert Beverage's *Abraham Lincoln*, v. III, p. 308, Mark Delahay was married to a "fifth cousin of Lincoln's mother."]

Springfield, Ills.

April 14, 1860.

M[ark]. W. Delahay,

My Dear Sir: Reaching home last night I find your letter of the 7th. You know I was in New England. Some of the acquaintances I made while there, write me since the elections that the close votes in Conn. and the quasi defeat in R. I. are a drawback upon the prospects of Gov. Seward; and Trumbull writes Dubois to the same effect. Do not mention this as coming from me. Both those states are safe enough for us in the fall. I see by the dispatches that since you wrote, Kansas has appointed Delegates and instructed them for Seward. Don't stir them up to anger, but come along to the convention, and I will do as I said about expenses.

Yours as ever,

A. Lincoln.

From Ewing Collection, MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

Leavenworth, Kansas, May 6, 1860.

Dear Sir.

You will probably have observed that the Kansas delegation to Chicago were instructed by the Convention by which they were selected to cast their votes (if they should have any) for Mr. Seward—and that Mr. Wilder, who is for Mr. Seward from choice, was chosen as the delegate from Leavenworth, over Col Delahay who was understood to be strongly in favor of your nomi-

nation. I have desired that you should know how both those things happened—and as I can not be at Chicago, where I had expected to talk the matters over with you or with some of your personal friends, I shall take the liberty explaining them to you directly by letter.

Here as nearly everywhere in the North, Mr. Seward has more ardent, zealous & earnest admirers than any other candidate—and they are in the *radical* wing of the party which has possession of nearly all the presses, and controls all the minor conventions and less important movements of the party. As it was by no means certain that the Kansas delegates would be accorded seats in the National Convention, or the right to vote, the great majority of the party took no interest in the movement—and the meetings called to appoint delegates to the Territorial Convention were scarcely attended at all except by the *managers*. In that convention no interest was taken in any subjects except in selecting the delegates—three of whom are first for Mr. Seward from choice, but all of whom regard you as a highly acceptable and available candidate. The Convention selected men who had done good service for the party and received no honor or reward—and who well merited the compliment of an appointment—none of whom were selected with reference to their preferences among the gentlemen named for the Chicago nomination—

In the apportionment Leavenworth was accorded but one delegate—Wilder, who has done a great deal of hard work for the party here, had announced himself as a candidate for the place more than a year ago—and the place had been accorded to him without dissent, until the time for selecting delegates to the Territorial Convention was near at hand. Col Delahay then, feeling assured that the great majority of the Republicans of Leavenworth favored your nomination, became a candidate in opposition to Wilder— The Colonel was on all hands regarded as one of our best men and as representing truly the preferences of the majority of our republicans—but he had just had one of the best offices of our poor Territory— Wilder had worked as hard, had held no office, and had all along been accorded this place—and as he had a big start, and the most money, the Colonel could not make the race against him.

Our delegation at Chicago will, in perseverance of instructions, if given a vote, cast it for Mr. Seward. Three of them will adhere to him pretty tenaciously. Mr. Seward & Chase dropped, I think you would be the next choice of every man in the delegation—

Yours very truly
Thomas Ewing Jr.

Hon Abraham Lincoln
Springfield Ills.

In the three ballots necessary to nominate Lincoln Kansas regularly cast its six votes for Seward. And like the Kansas delegates to the Democratic convention in Chicago in 1844 who failed to note the trend for Truman for vice president in time to assist with his nomination, Kansas Republicans joined the Lincoln parade too late to do much good except to have their final votes recast with the winner.

JUST MARRIED

From the Leavenworth *Herald*, April 21, 1860.

The following amusing incident took place upon one of the Missouri river steamboats, and was reported to us by an eye-witness. While the boat was lying at Kansas City, just ready to start for Leavenworth, a young man came on board leading a blushing damsel by the hand, and approaching the polite clerk, in a suppressed voice, said:

"I say," he exclaimed, "me and my wife have just got married over at Westport, and I'm looking for accommodations."

"Looking for a berth?" hastily inquired the clerk—passing tickets on to another passenger.

"A *birth!* thunder and lightning, no!" gasped the astonished man, "*we haven't but just got married; we want a place to stay all night, you know, and—and a bed.*"

 THE GOOD OLD DAYS?

From "Record of Members of The Congregational Church, Topeka."

January 4th 1862.— . . . To the Congregational Church of Topeka. We, the undersigned, committee appointed by said church to investigate the charges of attending dancing on the part of some of the members of said church would respectfully report, that on the part of Miss Mary Pickett, (now Mrs Ferguson) one of your committee has called on her, and she was very sorry, and said she should do so no more;

Brother Stringham was spoken to by one of your committee. He said he did wrong in attending public dancing, but private dancing parties, he thought were proper. Brother Mills is absent from town, and your committee do not know how he feels in the matter.

Sister Harriet Cole has been admonished by one of your committee, and gave no evidence that she was sorry, but has continued to attend balls.

E Tefft Ch'n Committee.

Mr Bunker, Mrs Stone, Mrs Scales and Miss Foster were chosen to confer with Mrs Cole and Mr Mills in regard to their action mentioned in the above report. Com. to report at meeting prec— next Prep. Lecture. . . .

March 8th 1862.— . . . The committee appointed Jan 4th, reported that having conferred with Mr Mills and Mrs Cole, and both having expressed sorrow in the opinion of the Com. no further action in these cases is necessary.

Report accepted and committee discharged.

Sherman Bodwell, Clerk.

IT WAS THE WIGWAM THAT WAS LOST

From *The Smoky Hill and Republican Union*, Junction City, September 3, 1864.

A "big injun" having strayed from the camp, found himself lost on trying to return to it. After looking about, he drew himself up and exclaimed, "Injun lost!" but recovering himself, and feeling unwilling to acknowledge such shortsightedness, "No, Injun no lost—wigwam lost—(striking his breast), Injun here!"

ARTEMUS WARD, HUMORIST, BECOMES A MEMBER OF THE LEAVENWORTH TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION

From the *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, May 14, 1865.

The Typographical Union of this city recently elected Artemus Ward [born Charles Farrar Browne] an honorary member of the association, and in response to a letter notifying him of the fact, the corresponding secretary received the following:

Toledo, Ohio,
"On the Wing,"
May 5, 1865.

To the Typographical Union, of Leavenworth:

Dear Sir: I have only time, between trains, to very gratefully acknowledge the receipt of your letter, officially notifying me of my election as an Honorary Member of your Typographical Association.

It is the first time I was ever elected to anything. I once ran for County Clerk in this State, but an ignorant and ruffianly people defeated me by some three thousand five hundred scattering votes. The civil war soon followed. Events since that *there* time are matters of history. I need not speak of them.

I judge that my election was unanimous. If any person voted against me, please hang him higher than Haman, who, by the way, was a "rat" printer.

Printing offices that employ only Union printers always get along harmoniously, whereas offices which employ girls are always in hot water. There is no unity, no harmony among the employees.

It was once remarked by Daniel Webster Wilder, that we knew not what a day might bring forth, adding that we lived in a republican government; and no one could deny that that massive mind was right.

This, however, has nothing to do with my election to your Union—which I quite seriously regard as a marked compliment, and for which, believe me, I am profoundly grateful. I remember with pride and pleasure, my visit to your beautiful and onward city, and I sometime hope to again visit you, and grasp most heartily the hands of my true friends, the printers.

Ever most truly yours,
Artemus Ward.

PERSONAL!

From the Leavenworth *Evening Bulletin*, May 30, 1865.

A fellow living near the Trading Post, who invariably signs his name Seneca Curney, M. D., we believe to be a common liar, and a creature too mean to be contemptible. We never saw the man, and God forbid that we should ever be contaminated by proximity to his carcass.—Mound City *Sentinel*.

This seems rather "personal."

MR. "LO!"

From the Marysville *Enterprise*, July 14, 1866.

BIG INJUN WARM.—We saw a lovely-looking, raw-boned, greasy Otoe Injun walking around the suburbs of our town the other day in a delectable and cool style of dress. He had on his head a cast-off old hat, as full of holes as a pepper-box, through which a lot of innocent little "varmints," commonly called lice, were playing a lively game of "bo peep," while his feet were decked in a pair of buffalo moccasins. The rest of his apparel consisted of a twine string around his waist, while over his head he held an umbrella with which he protected his brown shoulders from the hot rays of the sun. With large drops of perspiration oozing from his ginger colored features, he approached us with a broad smile that looked like the opening of a valise, and said sweetly, "Me Big Injun; very warm!" We thought, "let her warm."

AN INDIAN CHIEF SERVES AN ULTIMATUM ON THE COMMANDING OFFICER AT FORT DODGE

From *The Weekly Free Press*, Atchison, March 16, 1867.

A correspondent under date of Feb. 28th, on Arkansas river, writes as follows:

"A party of three hunters, engaged in strychnining wolves on the Cimarron river, were on the 17th, inst., attacked by Indians and lost all their stock, two mules and four horses. The band, numbering 20 Kiowas, first attempted to get their provisions, but were driven off, then succeeded in stampeding the entire stock. One of the men has just come in, walking ninety miles in thirty-six hours without fire or water, to get help to save their wagon and peltry.

"The names of the hunters are C. C. Baker, P. F. Goodfellow; the other man's name I could not learn. The Indians are very insolent. One of the Kiowa chiefs went to Fort Dodge the other day and ordered the commanding officer to leave the Fort; if he did not in a month, he would scalp the garrison.

"Yours, E. E. SMITHE."

NOT RATIONED, ANYWAY

From *The Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, December 18, 1872.

Oxen are getting quite common. They look like the same ones that used to work for Russell, Majors & Waddell, and as if they had not had a square meal since the old freighting days.—*Lawrence Journal*.

Yes; when the restaurant keepers used to serve up those old oxen to their customers and attempt to pass off the whip lash marks on the sirloins as the effects of broiling. It was pretty "thin" for oldtimers, but Eastern chaps used to get away with it without a murmur, for choice buffalo steak.

BIG GAME HUNTING NEAR OXFORD

From *The Sumner County Press*, Wellington, March 19, 1874.

The Oxford *Enterprise* says: "Frank Simington, a lad of fourteen years of age, living two miles below town, chased a large buck until it took refuge in the river. He kept it in the river until it became stiffened with cold, and then waded in and cut its throat with a butcher knife. A rather hazardous undertaking for a boy of his age, as a full grown deer is more than a match for an able-bodied man."

NOT "IRISH JOHN RILEY!"

From *The Commonwealth*, Topeka, August 4, 1875.

John Riley sends his "card" to the *Paola Spirit*. It reads thus: "Sir—In your report of the commissariat business in the last week's issue of the *Spirit*, I see that one J. Riley has received two bushels of potatoes. Now, whether this is John, James, Joe or Jerry Riley, I know not, but this I do know, that it is not Irish John Riley, of Scott's valley. When he becomes a pauper he will go to the poor house, where all paupers ought to go, but he will not go there while there is the butt end of a cow's tail left."

A "HOTFOOT" HIGHER UP

From the *Dodge City Times*, September 29, 1877.

Judge R. W. Evans held court last Saturday evening. The case was one of great interest, and about two hundred people were present. It was Mr. Brown of Garfield vs. somebody—Mr. Brown could not find out exactly who. But these are the particulars: While Mr. Brown was inoffensively taking a drink at Beatty & Kelly's some one ingeniously set fire to the lower extremities of his coat from behind. Mr. Brown exhibited great presence of mind by shedding his coat as soon as he felt the flames. Suit was brought to find out the guilty party and punish him. Owing to the great crowd the case was tried in Mayor Kelley's hall. But no decision was reached, owing to the fact that eggs were

too freely used to suit His Honor, the Judge. The Judge took his seat with his usual gravity, and was beginning to investigate the case, when an egg struck him somewhere near the back of the head, and as eggs usually do when they strike, it scattered considerably. The Judge immediately adjourned court and proceeded to hunt soap and water. Mr. Brown says he has no faith in Dodge City courts, and will appeal his case to the Governor.

A DAY IN DODGE

From the *Ford County Globe*, Dodge City, September 9, 1879.

It was casually observed several times by several old timers last Friday that Dodge City was redeeming herself. By this remark they intended to convey the idea that we were extricating ourselves from that stupid lethargy which had fallen upon us of late, and were giving vent to our uncurbed hilarity—"getting to the booze joint," as it were, in good shape, and "making a ranikaboo play for ourselves." We speak in the plural number because a large portion of our community were "to the joint" and we cannot mention the pranks of each without overlooking some and causing them to feel slighted. The signal for the tournament to begin was given by a slender young man of handsome external appearance who regaled his friends with a pail of water. The water racket was kept up until it merged into the slop racket, then the potatoe and cucumber racket, and finally the rotten egg racket, with all its magnificent odors. This was continued until the faces, eyes, noses, mouths and shirt bosoms of several of the boys were comfortably filled with the juicy substance of the choicest rotten eggs, compelling them to retire from the field, which they did in a very warlike manner. As the evening shades began to appear the skirmishers were soon actively engaged, and at a little before the usual hour slugging commenced all along the line. One or two "gun plays" were made, but by reason of a lack of execution, were not effective. We cannot indulge our readers with a lengthy description of the scenes of this glorious occasion. It is described by many eyewitnesses as being equal to the famous "Mystery of Gil-Gal," where the inspired poet says:

"They piled the 'stiffs' outside the door,
I reckon there was a cord or more,
And that winter, as a rule,
The girls went alone to spelling-school."

Upon the sidewalks ran streams of the blood of brave men, and the dead and wounded wrestled with each other like butchered whales on harpooning day. The "finest work" and neatest polishes were said to have been executed by Mr. Wyatt Earp, who has been our efficient assistant marshal for the past year.

The finest specimen of a polished head and ornamented eyes was bestowed upon "Crazy Horse." It is said that his head presented the appearance of a clothes basket, and his eyes, like ripe apples, could have been knocked off with a stick. He was last seen walking up the railroad track, on his way to Las Vegas. It was not until towards morning that the smoke cleared away, the din of battle subsided and the bibulous city found a little repose. And such is life in the far, far west.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Kansas historical articles in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* in recent months include: "Action in Port of Kansas City Marks Coast Guard's 153d Anniversary Today," August 4, 1943; "Kansas Remembers Dave Leahy's Feats in Lost Art of the Newspaper Hoax," by Paul I. Wellman, October 11; "Monument Recalls Pioneer Scouts Who Once Lived in Old Westport," by J. P. G., November 17; "Death Valley Pioneers From Illinois Were First To Use Name 'Jayhawker,'" by Paul I. Wellman, November 27, and "Humboldt, Kas., Is Accustomed to Lt. Col. J. B. Crawford in News," December 14.

The history of the Lorraine Union School of Ellsworth county, as told by the late H. L. Steinberg, was published in the Ellsworth *Messenger*, September 9, 1943. The first term of the consolidated school opened in 1898 in a new four-room school building.

Articles of historical interest to Kansans in recent issues of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* were: "The Olathe Naval Air Base Is a Year Old," October 3, 1943; "Food Is Too Rich [At War Prison Camps in Kansas]," by Cecil Howes, October 20; "Flying Is Supreme Interest Of a WASP [Mrs. June Ellington Gorrill of Centerville] From Kansas Farm," by Malvina Stephenson, and "K. State's New 'Prexy' [Milton Stover] Eisenhower Sees Big Job Ahead For His Grads After War," by E. B. Garnett, November 7; "Fairfax Rounds Out Its Development As Center of a Great Naval Command," November 20; "'Perfect Team' of Generals [Lt. Gen. George C. Kenney and Kansas-born Maj. Gen. Ennis C. Whitehead] Commands Yank Fliers in Southwest Pacific," by Edward R. Schauffler, November 21; "A File of Faded Clippings Recalls the Aristocrat [Col. Ike Busby] of Tramp Printers," November 24; "A Mortgaged Kansas Farm Made Two Chapters in Oil History [the Carrie Oswald Well, First in the Fairport Field]," by Leota Motz, December 5; "Three Brigadier Generals [Frank N. Roberts of Oskaloosa, T. B. Wilson of Williamstown, and Julius Holmes of Lawrence] Add to the Kaw River's Fame," December 12, and "Making Bombs and Building Ships, Harry Darby Takes Up the Fight He Saw Left Unfinished in 1918," by Paul I. Wellman, December 26.

The Ellsworth *Messenger* of October 7, 1943, devoted a half-page to a review of the history of the First Presbyterian Church of Ellsworth. The church was organized January 19, 1873, with the

Rev. Levi Sternberg as pastor. Charter members and ministers since 1873 were named in the article.

Some of the experiences and reflections of Dr. A. A. Krugg, long-time Coffeyville physician and surgeon, have been recorded in an eighty-four page booklet, *Facts and Fancies*, recently published by C. C. Drake and printed by the Coffeyville *Journal*.

Articles of interest to Kansas history hobbyists in *The Kansas Magazine*, Manhattan, for 1944, include: A story of Garfield county, "The County That Never Was," by Nelson Antrim Crawford; "Idavale," Capt. Eugene Bartlett Millett's ranch in Ellsworth county, by Floyd Benjamin Streeter; "Dave Leahy, 1858-1943," by Henry Ware Allen; "Early Day Cold Storage," by Maude McFadin, and a story of war prison camps in Kansas, "Prisoners at Work," by Cecil Howes.

Biographical data and pictures of all Clark county citizens serving in World War II are being sought by the Clark County Historical Society. A questionnaire which the society has prepared for families of service people was printed in *The Clark County Clipper*, Ashland, February 17 and 24, 1944. In the "Historical Society Notes," a column appearing regularly in the *Clipper* under the sponsorship of the society and Mrs. R. V. (Dorothy Berryman) Shrewder, historian, the following articles have been featured in recent months: "The Lucas Family," by Minnie (Lucas) Roberts, February 10, and "Bradford Robbins Grimes," by Daisy (Ferguson) Grimes, in the issues dated from April 13 through May 25.

The *Kansas Library Bulletin*, issued by the Kansas Traveling Libraries Commission of Topeka, March-June, 1944, devoted its entire thirty-eight pages to a study "Kansas Public Library Statistics, 1942-1943."

Christian Madsen's life was reviewed by Sheriff Lon Ford of Clark county in a four-column article in *The Clark County Clipper*, Ashland, March 9, 1944, entitled: "The Passing of One of the Southwest's Most Famous Peace Officers and Soldiers."

The history of the Alta mill, on the Little Arkansas river sixteen miles northwest of Newton, was reviewed in the *Mennonite Weekly Review*, Newton, March 9, 1944. The mill dates from 1878 when a brush dam and race were constructed.

Charles L. Rose, editor of the *Almena Plaindealer* for nearly twenty-five years, sketched the paper's history in its issue of March 16, 1944. Dr. W. Taylor founded the paper on February 2, 1888.

Titles and dates of publication of several historical articles prepared by H. Martin Glenn for his *Ellinwood Leader* are: "Captain John R. Ellinwood a Forgotten Man in Town Which Bears His Name," March 16, 1944; "First Issue of Ellinwood's First Newspaper Is Lost [Ellinwood *Express* of April 6, 1878]," March 23; "Ellinwood Incorporated Sixty-Six Years Ago," April 13, and "Early Day [Barton County] Editors Held Bitter Debates," April 20.

Fort Scott's newspaper history was briefly reviewed in the *Fort Scott Tribune*, April 21, 1944.

"[Gen. George Miller] Sternberg and the Fort Harker Cholera Epidemic of 1867," was the title of an article by Dr. Jerome M. Schneck of Topeka in the May, 1944, issue of *The Journal of the Kansas Medical Society*, Topeka. Sternberg was physician at the fort during the epidemic.

The history of the airplane industry in Wichita was briefly reviewed by Charles E. Jones in *Downtown Wichita*, May 6, 1944.

Sixty years of Olathe history were recalled by *The Johnson County Democrat*, Olathe, May 11, 1944, in an article entitled: "Sale of [Sam J.] Kelly Building Brings Memories of Early Days."

A list of cemeteries and burial plots of Ellsworth county, as compiled by Mrs. Gertrude Kunkle and the Smoky Hill chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution of Ellsworth, was printed in the *Ellsworth Reporter*, May 25, 1944. The chapter sent a copy of the list and records copied from tombstones to the Kansas State Historical Society.*

Kinsley's Congregational-Christian Church held special ceremonies May 21, 1944, celebrating the seventieth anniversary of its founding. The history of the church was reviewed in detail in a four-column article in the *Kinsley Mercury*, May 25.

A history of the Grinnell Methodist Church, by J. E. Broah, was printed in the *Grinnell Recorder-Leader*, June 1, 1944. The first Sunday School in the community was established in 1888.

Kansas Historical Notes

The Kansas History Teachers Association and the Kansas Council for the Social Studies held a joint meeting in rooms of the Kansas State Historical Society and Topeka High School April 15, 1944. Featured speakers and their subjects at the morning session in the Memorial building—Prof. A. Bower Sageser, Kansas State College of Manhattan, presiding—were: Prof. John D. Bright, of Washburn University, "Changing Emphases in the Teaching of History"; Miss Elizabeth Cochran, of the Pittsburg State Teachers College, "Handmaidens of History," and Prof. C. M. Correll, of Kansas State College, "Prospects for Permanent Peace." Miss Ruth E. Litchen of the University of Kansas, Lawrence, presided at the afternoon session. Prof. Hilden Gibson, of the University of Kansas, spoke on "The Social Studies and the Postwar World," and Mrs. Elizabeth Ott, Topeka Elementary Schools, Miss Esther Anderson, Junior High School, Kansas City, and Miss Julia Emery, Wichita High School East, spoke on "Beginning a Postwar Program." New officers of the Kansas History Teachers Association are: J. D. Bright, president; Rob Roy MacGregor, Southwestern College of Winfield, vice-president; Miss Della Warden, Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia, secretary-treasurer. The executive board includes the above officers and Professor Sageser, Miss Cochran, Prof. James C. Malin of the University of Kansas, and Miss Jessica Smith of Wichita High School North. New officers of the Kansas Council for the Social Studies are: Miss Ruth E. Litchen, president; Grace Karr, of Winfield High School, vice-president; Miss Robena Pringle, of Topeka High School, secretary-treasurer, and J. C. Mordy, of Manhattan High School, on the board of directors. No meeting was held in 1943. This was the seventeenth annual meeting of the Kansas History Teachers Association.

Complete skeletons of the saber-tooth tiger and giant sloth are among the outstanding exhibits in the museum of McPherson College, McPherson, located on the fourth floor of Harnly hall. Dr. R. E. Mohler is curator.



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Please Note

Due to the absence of several members of the staff in war service, which makes it necessary for the other experienced members to take care of the routine demands on the Society, *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* for a time will be printed with fewer pages.

During this interval it is hoped that the magazine can be returned to its usual publication schedule while still maintaining high quality and accuracy in the articles printed.

Volume XIII, now being published, will consist of eight numbers, covering the years 1944-1945. The index for this volume will appear as part of the November, 1945, issue.

—THE EDITORS.

Contributors

GEORGE A. ROOT and RUSSELL K. HICKMAN are members of the staff of the Kansas State Historical Society.

Biographical mention of JOHN H. PUTNAM will be found on p. 196.

Pike's Peak Express Companies

PART I—SOLOMON AND REPUBLICAN ROUTE

GEORGE A. ROOT and RUSSELL K. HICKMAN

THE discovery of gold in the vicinity of Pike's Peak led to a great rush to the new El Dorado, which by 1859 assumed epic proportions. In the spring of 1850 gold was first found on Ralston creek, near present Denver, by a party of Cherokee Indians.¹ At the time little came of this discovery, but by the middle 1850's rumors of this and other finds began to attain a widespread circulation, notably in the Southwest.² Popular interest in these accounts was sharpened by stories of wealth quickly won in the gold fields of California, while the widespread discussion of suitable routes to the Pacific coast also worked to the same end. In 1858 John Beck, a member of the original Cherokee party of 1849-1850, became a principal promoter of a new expedition to the Rockies, led by William Green Russell.³ In this venture were included Cherokee Indians from the West, a smaller group of experienced prospectors from Georgia, several parties from Missouri, and a group from Lawrence, who had set out by themselves to investigate the rumor of gold in the Pike's Peak region.⁴ After a considerable amount of unsuccessful prospecting the Cherokee and Missouri companies abandoned their search and left for home, with the exception of a small group under Russell who in July found gold in paying quantities on Cherry creek, a branch of the South Platte.⁵ Early in September the Lawrence group joined the Russell "placer camp," and shortly thereafter laid out the towns of Montana City and St. Charles.⁶

The news of the Russell discoveries was soon broadcast far and wide. John Cantrell of Westport, Mo., visited the Cherry Creek

1. Leroy R. Hafen, "Cherokee Goldseekers in Colorado, 1849-50," *The Colorado Magazine*, Denver, v. XV, pp. 101-109. The diary of John Lowery Brown mentions this discovery (*ibid.*, p. 108), but credits one Ralston as the original finder. This whole question, including the possibility that the discovery was made in 1849, rather than 1850, is reviewed by Hafen in the historical introduction of v. IX of the *Southwest Historical Series*, entitled *Pike's Peak Gold Rush Guidebooks of 1859* (Arthur H. Clark Co., Glendale, Cal., 1941), pp. 34-37.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 39-43.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 47 *et seq.*

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 51-58, quoting *The Kansas Magazine*, Topeka, v. I, p. 552 *et seq.* (June, 1872), and *The Trail*, Denver, v. VII, No. 7, p. 7. In the summer of 1857 Fall Leaf, a noted member of the Delaware tribe of Indians, acted as a guide of Col. E. V. Sumner's expedition against the Arapahoe Indians, and discovered gold on the eastern slope of the Rockies. The sample of this precious metal, which he brought back to Lawrence, is credited with being a leading incentive behind the expedition from that city. (See the original account in the Luke Tierney guidebook, copied entire in Hafen, *Pike's Peak Guidebooks*, pp. 91-145.)

5. *Ibid.*, "Introduction," p. 71.

6. Leroy R. Hafen, *Colorado, The Story of a Western Commonwealth* (Denver, 1933), p. 109.

diggings and brought back a bag of the ore to Kansas City. He reported that seven of his party "had made over \$1,000 in ten days," and that at the places visited by Russell's party "the dirt would yield from seventeen to twenty cents to each pan; and he thinks that if properly worked, one man can make from \$20 to \$25 per day. The mines will average with those of California, in which Mr. Cantrell is experienced, having spent several years in them."⁷ This account had a wide circulation in Kansas and Missouri. Other parties returned to Lawrence and Leavenworth with stories that spread like wild-fire, and soon a Pike's Peak gold fever gripped the border country.⁸ A Leavenworth paper reported:

The gold fever has risen in our city to the highest degree of temperature, and in less than thirty days from this date, there will not be less than two hundred persons leave this city for the diggings. Old fogies may attempt to throw cold water on the progressive spirit of Young America, but it will do no good, the boys will go and there's an end on't. . . . We have as much confidence in this "gold news" as we have that we are living. . . .⁹

In the fall of 1858 numerous reports of the discovery of gold seemed to fully substantiate the view that a new El Dorado had really been found.¹⁰ The St. Louis (Mo.) *Republican* conceded the truth of the reports, and believed that "thousands of adventurers from the western states" would soon leave for the West, and by the following spring "the rush will be immense from all parts of the Union."¹¹ The fall migration was well under way before the original party of prospectors had all arrived at their homes for the winter (after leaving a few on the ground to guard their discoveries). The Leavenworth *Times* remarked: "Not a day passes but what a company may be seen starting from our city for Pike's Peak," and

7. Kansas City (Mo.) *Journal of Commerce*, clipped in the *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, September 4, 1858. The *Herald* added that Cantrell brought with him three ounces of gold, which he himself dug.

8. E. V. King returned to Leavenworth with samples of gold he obtained at the diggings worth \$21 per ounce (Leavenworth *Ledger*, clipped in *Herald of Freedom*, September 18, 1858). Robert B. Willis, express messenger between Kansas City and Topeka, gave a most encouraging report of the Lawrence party, alleging that the miners could make from eight to ten dollars a day, with pans and rough washers (Kansas City *Journal of Commerce*, September 11, clipped in the *Herald of Freedom*, September 18, 1858). The *Journal* printed a review of the discovery in a detailed article some weeks later.

9. *Kansas Daily Ledger* of Leavenworth, clipped in the *Herald of Freedom*, September 25, 1858. "Gentlemen of character and standing, whom we know, have been there and have exhibited to our citizens specimens of the gold. . . . All agree (except a few old fogies in our own midst), that we have a new El Dorado within our grasp. . . . Lieut. [G. K.] Warren of the U. S. Topographical Engineers in his report speaks in the most flattering terms. . . ."

10. Some of the reports were greatly exaggerated as to the amount of gold actually found, but these accounts usually bore the outward stamp of truth. Prior to the discovery of the Gregory lode in May, 1859, the "float gold" was usually meager in amount.

11. *Wyandotte Gazette*, September 18, in *Herald of Freedom*, October 9, 1858.

believed that those on hand early would be surer of gaining the prize.¹²

The first company arrived at the gold fields late in October, 1858, and found the remaining members of the Russell and Lawrence parties hard at work erecting cabins.¹³ Despite the lateness of the season, train after train continued to wend its way westward,¹⁴ even though Captain Russell advised against foolish venturing at that time of year by persons inadequately prepared, and pointed out to those planning to go in the spring that many probably would not realize three dollars a day, instead of the ten or fifteen dollars they hoped to obtain.¹⁵

The settlers on Cherry creek founded Auraria, and somewhat later Denver (named for Gov. James W. Denver of Kansas) grew up nearby under the leadership of William Larimer, a very able town promoter.¹⁶ During the winter of 1858-1859 the settlers built cabins and made ready for a busy and successful season during the following summer. All expected a great migration in the spring of 1859. With the opening of the new year the papers on the border ran special gold mine editions,¹⁷ while practically every issue contained numerous articles describing the gold fields, quoting letters of travelers and prospectors, and the advertisements of merchants. Pike's Peak seemed destined to rival California as a goal of migration and settlement. The spirit of the new hegira was aptly phrased by an anonymous writer in the *Kansas Tribune*, Topeka, January 20, 1859:

12. *Leavenworth Times*, September 18, 1858. This paper argued that Leavenworth was a much more suitable port of embarkation for the mines, than was Kansas City. The *Herald of Freedom* counselled caution, and advocated postponement of the trip until the following spring, in view of the probable severity of the winter at such high altitudes.

13. Hafen, *Colorado*, p. 110.

14. Palmetto *Kansan*, in the *Herald of Freedom*, November 6, 1858. "With only a knife and tin pan, men are easily earning from \$10 to \$15 per day. We predict such a rush to these diggings this winter and next spring as California, Australia or any other country never witnessed." A letter of Wm. B. Smedley, dated Richmond, Mo., October 10, 1858, by a member of the Missouri company, maintained that only a little fine gold had been found, and that the whole thing would turn out to be a humbug.—Junction (City) *Sentinel*, in the *Herald of Freedom*, November 13, 1858.

15. Junction (City) *Sentinel*, in *Herald of Freedom*, December 11, 1858.

16. Hafen, *Colorado*, p. 111. From 1854 to January, 1861, a portion of present Colorado east of the summit of the mountains was a part of Kansas territory, and the present city of Denver was in Kansas. Kansas erected county divisions in the region of the discoveries, but the later formation of Colorado territory makes it seem preferable to denominate this region by its final name.

17. *Herald of Freedom*, January 1, 1859; *Kansas Tribune*, Topeka, January 6, 1859. The *Leavenworth Weekly Kansas Herald* described the cost of an "Outfit for the Mines" (issue of January 8), and listed three yoke of oxen, a wagon, and supplies and equipment for mining that would cost \$514.25. The Leavenworth merchants were prepared to outfit over 30,000 persons with cattle, horses and mules—"Any number," since "we have the famous Platte county, Mo., market opposite." For a detailed statement of a proper outfit for the mines, see the article from the *St. Joseph (Mo.) Gazette*, republished in the *New York Daily Tribune*, March 21, 1859, entitled "To and From the Gold Mines," in "Bypaths of Kansas History," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. XII, pp. 319, 320.

A CALL TO THE MINES

BY FLOY

Hurra for Pike's Peak! Hurra for Pike's Peak!
 A rich El Dorado has lately been found,
 Far, far to the Westward, and near Cherry Creek;
 Where gold in abundance is scattered around.
 Ah! hurra for Pike's Peak!

Hurra for Pike's Peak! Hurra for Pike's Peak!
 There's gold in the Mount'n, there's gold in the vale,
 There's plenty for all who are willing to seek—
 Believe me; believe me—'tis no idle tale.
 Come, hurra for Pike's Peak!¹⁸

. . . .

With the prospect of a huge migration to the West, the "jumping off" places on the border began to vie with one another for a share of the business. Kansas City, Leavenworth, Atchison, Westport and St. Joseph each argued its superiority as the best place to outfit emigrants, and each maintained that it was the terminal of the best route across the plains.¹⁹ In this rivalry for the overland trade Kansas City and Leavenworth were pronounced leaders, both being favorably situated with reference to travel up the Missouri river, while Kansas City was especially well located as a gateway to the Southwest via the Santa Fe trail. Fort Leavenworth had long been the chief military depot for supplies bound for the West and the eastern terminus of the Fort Leavenworth military road (also known as the California trail or the Salt Lake road). As a very convenient entrepot of settlers to Kansas, and of emigrants to California and Salt Lake, the town of Leavenworth grew rapidly during the 1850's and the freighting business increased by leaps and bounds.²⁰ In 1855

18. Compare the following salute from the initial number of the *Rocky Mountain News*, Cherry Creek, K. T., April 23, 1859:

"Hurrah for the land where the moor and the mountain
 Are sparkling with treasures no language hath told,
 Where the wave of the river and the spray of the fountain
 Are bright with the glitter of genuine gold."

19. Samuel C. Pomeroy of Atchison wrote to Thaddeus Hyatt of New York, January 17, 1859 (MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society), inquiring as to whether Hyatt still owned the steamer *Lightfoot*, a small vessel built for the Kansas river trade. Pomeroy believed that the Hannibal and St. Joseph and the North Missouri railroads would soon be finished, giving through connections with St. Louis, which would carry the bulk of the traffic from that gateway to St. Joseph and Atchison. The Hockaday and Co. stage line to Cherry Creek would make it possible to sell through tickets from the Atlantic coast to the mines. (The *Lightfoot*, which made regular trips up the Kansas river in 1857, did not return to that locality in 1859, the *Silver Lake*, Col. Gus Linn, *Colona*, and *Star of the West* serving in its stead.—Albert R. Greene, "The Kansas River—Its Navigation," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. IX, pp. 339, 343-350.)

20. George A. Root, "Ft. Leavenworth Military Road," supplement to the Horton *Headlight*, October 29, 1936. Alexander Caldwell, an early-day freighter of Leavenworth, wrote (*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. III, pp. 451-458): "The amount of supplies required annually for the military alone amounted to from thirty-five to fifty million pounds." This required 10,000 wagons, 12,000 men, and 120,000 head of stock, representing an investment of over \$5,000,000. "These prairie schooners, if placed end to end in one continuous line in the ordinary way of freighting, would have formed a column more than 1,000 miles long."

William H. Russell and Alexander Majors, who had been in the freighting business, formed a partnership and established headquarters at Leavenworth City from whence they transported supplies to Forts Laramie and Kearny. Their business enormously expanded during the Mormon troubles of 1857-1858, when they held the contract to supply the federal army in Utah. In 1858, if not earlier, William B. Waddell, a Missouri financier, joined the firm, and Russell, Majors, and Waddell became known as the largest freight contractors for the government in the West.²¹ On his trip to the new gold fields of western Kansas (Colorado) in 1859 Horace Greeley described in flowery language the tremendous business of this organization, with its "acres of wagons . . . pyramids of extra axletrees . . . herds of oxen . . . [and] regiments of drivers and other employees."²²

During the winter of 1859-1860 plans were formulated for the establishment of one of the most noted transportation companies ever to serve the Rocky Mountains. William H. Russell and John S. Jones of the freighting firm of Russell, Majors and Waddell were the moving spirits in the founding of the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express Company. One of the best accounts of this historic event appeared in the *Missouri Republican* of St. Louis,²³ dated Leavenworth City, March 23, 1859:

. . . A number of leading representatives of the business community of this city, concluded in the early part of February last,²⁴ to associate themselves for the purpose of creating a company for the transportation of passengers and freight to the mining districts with the greatest possible safety and dispatch. In due course of time the organization of a company . . . was effected and completed by the subscription and cash payment of stock to the amount of two hundred thousand dollars, and the election of Mr. Wm. H. Russell, the famous

21. J. V. Frederick, *Ben Holladay, The Stagecoach King* (Glendale, Cal., 1940), pp. 37-39; H. Miles Moore, *Early History of Leavenworth City and County* (Leavenworth, 1906), pp. 128, 129; Col. Prentiss Ingraham [editor], *Seventy Years on the Frontier, Alexander Majors' Memoirs of a Lifetime on the Border* (Chicago and New York, 1893), pp. 140-143. It is possible that Waddell, even previous to 1858, was a silent partner of the firm, and contributed a considerable part of the necessary capital. This view is mentioned in an article by Paul I. Wellman, in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, November 22, 1942, entitled: "The Silent Partner Who Made History and Lost Fortunes on the Great Plains." Matters of a financial nature will be treated in more detail in the final installment of this article.

22. Horace Greeley, *An Overland Journey From New York to San Francisco, in the Summer of 1859* (N. Y., 1860), pp. 47, 48; the same author in the *New York Daily Tribune*, June 2, 1859, quoted by Martha Caldwell, "When Horace Greeley Visited Kansas in 1859," in *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. IX, p. 126.

23. Issue of March 28, 1859, quoted in Hafen, *Colorado Gold Rush [Southwest Historical Series, v. X]*, pp. 288, 289.

24. The authors know of no charter issued to the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express, which apparently operated on the basis of a private agreement. Its successor, the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Company, was chartered by the Kansas Territorial Legislature (1860). There were a number of smaller organizations that denominated themselves Pike's Peak express companies—one was incorporated by the legislature of Kansas territory in 1859, and another, which was much advertised, was owned by William Smith of Independence, Mo. Hockaday, Burr & Co., contractors for the Salt Lake mail, announced they would run a regular line of coaches from St. Joseph and Atchison. All of these were of far less importance than the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express.

government freighter as president, and of Mr. John S. Jones, of Pettis county, Missouri, the pioneer government contractor of the west, as superintendent. To the latter gentleman the company, knowing that his ability and experience would be more than equal to the management of . . . so large an enterprise . . . , very wisely delegated discretionary powers. The capital of the company is represented by 40 shares of \$5,000 each, the whole of which is now held by ten individuals. It can be increased as the wants of the company demand it. The company adopted the name of "Leavenworth City and Pike's Peak Exportation [Express] Company." . . .²⁵

At about this time Russell and Jones appear to have spent some time in New York City and the East in order to interest New York capitalists in the venture, and to obtain the supplies needed by the new company.²⁶ Beginning in the issue of February 8, 1859, the New York *Daily Tribune* carried the announcements of the new firm, the following appearing on the front page:

PIKE'S PEAK GOLD MINES

The subscribers propose to transport any given number of pounds from Leavenworth City, or other points on the Missouri that may be agreed upon, to the Gold Mines of Pike's Peak, Cherry Creek and the Platte, during the months of April and May, with dispatch, on favorable terms. [Names and addresses of references follow, concluding with J. B. Simpson of Nos. 5 and 7 Nassau St., who was also their general agent, and could give full particulars.] Early application will meet with favor.

Signed

Russell, Majors & Waddell
Leavenworth City, K. T.
Jan. 28, 1859.

Among the classified advertisements of the *Tribune* at this time appeared the following announcement:

FREIGHTING TO PIKE'S PEAK

TRANSPORTATION OF BAGGAGE, PROVISIONS AND MERCHANDISE

The undersigned, having made arrangements for transporting Freight for emigrants to Pike's Peak, will send out during the season 50 trains of 26 wagons each, from Westport, Mo., and from Atchison, K. T.

The first trains will leave the above points in April, and regularly thereafter.

This will afford an opportunity to merchants and emigrants of having their provisions, merchandise and other freight transported for a stated price per 100 pounds, and at prices much less than private terms, can be had. I will also

25. This correspondent added that the first passenger line would be supplied with at least fifty of the celebrated Concord coaches, and eight hundred mules. From the start, the managers promised a transit in less than twelve days, and later in less than eight days.

26. The Pike's Peak guidebook by James Redpath and Richard J. Hinton, entitled *Handbook to Kansas Territory and the Rocky Mountains Gold Region* (N. Y., J. H. Colton, 1859) remarked (p. 142): "A company is also organized composed chiefly of New York capitalists, with \$200,000 capital, of which Wm. H. Russell, of Leavenworth, is President, and J. S. Jones, of Missouri, is Superintendent. They will run a daily line of Concord coaches, and a daily line of express wagons, from Leavenworth City to Cherry Creek."

carry passengers at a stated price, furnishing board and transporting their baggage. . . . 27

In commenting on these advertisements the *New York Tribune* remarked:

This promises to be an extensive business in a few months. Merchandise, provisions, saw and shingle mills, with all kinds of machinery, will have to be forwarded hundreds of miles by ox team. . . . We take pleasure in calling attention to the advertisement . . . of John J[S]. Jones, who . . . has had ten years' experience of this nature on the plains; was a large sub-contractor of Russell, Majors & Waddell; is full of energy, and of such reputed integrity that we feel safe in saying he will give satisfaction to those who contract with him . . . 28

Despite these "promotional boosts" of a friendly nature,²⁹ the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express Company from the start included elements of uncertainty in its make-up, which made its future problematical. At the time of its foundation it was objected to by Alexander Majors, of the firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell. He stated that "it would be impossible to make such a venture, at such an early period of development of this country, a paying institution, and urgently advised them [W. H. Russell and John S. Jones] to let the enterprise alone. . . . They, however, paid no attention to my protest, and . . . bought 1,000 fine Kentucky mules and a sufficient number of Concord coaches to supply a daily coach each way between the Missouri River and Denver . . . on credit, giving their notes, payable in ninety days. . . ." ³⁰ At this early date Majors refrained from coöperating in a project that appeared so doubtful, leaving his more venturesome colleagues to proceed on their own responsibility. The new company appears to have been launched

27. The advertisement further noted that Messrs. Samuel & Allen were authorized to contract for transportation of men, merchandise, and persons. They would receive freight at St. Louis, while the undersigned (John S. Jones) would do the same at Westport, Mo., and Atchison, K. T. Jones would give full particulars, if addressed at Longwood, Pettis Co., Mo., or at Atchison, K. T. [List of references follows.]

(Dated)—St. Louis, Mo., Jan. 27, 1859
John S. Jones.

28. Issue of February 8, 1859. The *Tribune* of February 24 published a new announcement of the company, stating that their stages would connect with the Eastern lines at St. Louis and Leavenworth, and the first coaches would leave the latter city on April 10. They planned to start two daily passenger coaches, in addition to those needed for express. "To obtain preference of seats, those holding tickets will be required to register at the Company's office in Leavenworth. . . ."

"We do not guarantee an arrival in any given number of days, but feel every confidence that the trip from Leavenworth City to our Depot in the mines of Denver City or its vicinity, will be made inside of twelve days, and after the road is well established, hope to make the trip inside of ten days."

29. The wide circulation of the *New York Tribune*, which was extensively copied by other papers, furnished a great initial impetus to the company. Thus the *National Era* (Washington, D. C.) of February 10 repeated the notice in the *Tribune*, and remarked that "some of the leading capitalists in the country" were in the new organization.

30. Ingraham, *Seventy Years on the Frontier—Alexander Majors' Memoirs of a Lifetime on the Border*, p. 164. Although Majors did not consent to the coach line, he seems at least to have agreed to the extension of freighting business, to be carried on by the firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell.

on borrowed capital, and for a continued existence needed a large income, which under the circumstances was fraught with uncertainty.³¹

The Leavenworth papers were quick to publish accounts of the new company. The *Daily Times* of February 18 copied a dispatch from the Washington (D. C.) *Union*, and remarked that the new organization would begin operations in the near future. "The business in store for it would be of immense dimensions, but the energy and enterprise of those having it in charge is a sure guarantee of its triumphant success." Its wagons and teams would land passengers and freight at the mines a week ahead of all competitors.³² The Leavenworth *Herald* of March 12, 1859, featured a letter of W. H. Russell announcing the new express and coach line—beginning April 10, 1859—as "a daily line of Passenger and Express Coaches, making the trip to Denver City . . . inside of twelve days," also "any given number of Emigrant and Transportation trains, commencing on the first day of April." This was followed by a detailed statement of the terms upon which the new organization would transact business, signed by Russell, Majors & Waddell, and a shorter announcement of the new coach line, signed by Jones & Russell.³³ From the start, it appears that the older firm intended to carry on all matters of a freighting nature, as an extension of its overland business. Two weeks later the Leavenworth *Herald* published the first comprehensive description of the new undertaking (March 26, 1859):

THE GREAT EXPRESS LINE

John S. Jones, W. H. Russell & Co. have established an Express and Transportation line from this place to the gold mines. Mr. Jones is now here, and has his office in the Planter's House, and is actively and energetically engaged in outfitting his companies, hiring his hands, and putting the line into complete and successful operation. He is preëminently qualified for the position he occupies as general superintendent of the whole business. He is a practical man, of great energy and indomitable perseverance. There was a general rush of men at his office on Monday last, from early dawn till night. He hired on that day about 100 hands as drivers of teams.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 165; *Ben Holladay, The Stagecoach King*, pp. 39, 41. Holladay bought equipment for the freighting firm of Russell, Majors & Waddell, and also for the new stagecoach line. From the start, it is probable that the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express Company was heavily in debt to him, making Holladay virtually a silent partner. The interlocking nature of the freighting firm and the stage coach company obliged the former to take over the Pike's Peak Express, when financial troubles of the stage line threatened W. H. Russell, a member of both firms.

32. *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, February 26, 1859 (quoted in Hafen, *Colorado Gold Rush*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 272, 273), carried an advertisement of John S. Jones, stating he would run fifty trains from Westport and Atchison, for the transportation of freight, and would also carry passengers. This clearly refers to the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express Company, about to be launched.

33. The latter advertisement noted that a through ticket would entitle the holder to passage to St. Louis by emigrant cars, from thence to Leavenworth as deck passengers on first class steamboats, and from Leavenworth for provisions only. (Boston—\$100, New York—\$98, Chicago—\$89, St. Louis—\$85.) This advertisement was misleading, as it was the clearly expressed intention of the Company to transport its passengers by coach to the mines (the announcement by Russell in the adjacent column so states).

He sent out an exploring party, about two weeks ago, of nine [seven] men, under charge of Col. Preston and Mr. Smith. They go to Fort Riley, and from thence will look out a route proceeding as near as practicable due west from Leavenworth, between the Republican and Smoky Hill Forks. They will proceed a part of the way up Solomon's Fork, which stream forms a junction with the Smoky Hill Fork. These men will all proceed to a point about half way between Fort Riley and Denver City; a part will then turn back to Fort Riley, where they will meet the first trains and conduct them on to the half-way point. A part of the company of explorers keep on to Denver City, establishing the route, and return to the halfway point and conduct on the first trains through to the gold mines. In this way the route is laid down, and the road made so that those who follow will have no difficulty in knowing the road.

On the route 27 stations will be established, at 25 miles apart, with six men at each station—four drivers and two to remain permanently at the station. Five wagons will be started soon, and kept on the route, hauling forage for the stock, and 25 ox wagons will start, as soon as grass will admit, with provisions for the stations. These supplies will be kept up during the whole year. Drivers are hired for 12 months, and are bound to remain. Half of their wages are reserved at each payment, which is forfeited if the driver leaves before his time expires. Each driver is responsible for losses occurring from his wilful negligence.

Everything is arranged like clock work. It is a giant undertaking, and requires a perfect system, which Mr. Jones has maturely considered. Tents will be furnished at each station for the summer, and for winter good adobe and log houses will be erected.

Passengers going this route may rest assured that everything will be provided for giving them a speedy and comfortable passage across the plains to the gold mines. The known reliability and responsibility of Messrs. Jones, Russell & Co. is a sure guaranty that they will perform what they undertake.

They have completed arrangements with the most reliable express companies in the United States to convey all express goods and packages from St. Louis or this place to the gold region.

This is one of the best companies in the Union, and can be implicitly relied on. We commend it to the patronage of the public.

Before plans had been completed for locating the route of the proposed line, considerable discussion of the subject took place. Each of the major "jumping off" places on the border had its favorite route across the plains, and now praised its advantages, with a weather eye out for the business which would follow in the wake of a great migration to Pike's Peak. Kansas City naturally looked with favor upon the Santa Fe road, which had long been used through this gateway.³⁴ For those who expected to take the overland trail

34. See the guidebook of Gunnison and Gilpin, entitled: *Guide to the Kansas Gold Mines at Pike's Peak, Describing the Routes, Camping Places, Tools, Outfits, etc., From Notes of Capt. J. W. Gunnison* [actual author unknown] . . . (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1859), reviewed in Hafen, *Pike's Peak Guidebooks, loc. cit.*, v. IX, p. 242. This work recommends the Platte river road only for those who come from Nebraska, Iowa, and the country above. "To all east of the Mississippi, and for a hundred miles west of it, the best route by far is the great Santa Fe road, and thence following the Arkansas to Bent's Fort and the mines."

across Iowa and Nebraska, the most convenient route usually led through Omaha and on to the Platte river—the “northern route.” Intermediate points on the border, such as Atchison, St. Joseph, and Leavenworth might make use of a number of off-shoots leading to these major routes, but came to advocate a new or central road to the mines, which would attain a notable saving in distance traversed.³⁵ Early in January, 1859, the Leavenworth *Herald* pointed out that that city enjoyed “the only direct route to the gold mines, whereon a road can be established with wood and water, throughout the whole distance. The valley of the Smoky Hill Fork affords these facilities. It heads within thirty miles of Pike’s Peak, and flows nearly due East, to its confluence with the Kansas river, & the line produced would touch our city. . . . This gives our route an advantage of 120 miles over all others.”³⁶

The Leavenworth *Times* remarked:

Choose your point of outfit and departure and then stick to it. Don’t let the representations of interested parties influence you. . . . If you prefer or think it best to go by the Northern route, why go that way. . . . Or if by Kansas City and the Southern Route, why, bend your steps thitherward. Only remember that the united testimony of the most of those who are disinterested and who for years have traveled more or less all these routes, is strongly and unmistakably in favor of the road from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Riley, and thence by one or two or three roads, as seems most practicable.”³⁷

When other places decried the advantages of Leavenworth, that town replied that “it has been demonstrated a thousand times that the route to the gold mines from our city is the shortest, best supplied with wood, water and grass, and most agreeable to travel. The road is direct and even, camping grounds are scattered at intervals of from five to twenty miles. The streams are all bridged, and supplies at hand.”³⁸

By early March, 1859, the Leavenworth and Pike’s Peak Express

35. The principal routes followed, in addition to the Santa Fe and Platte, were the Arkansas (a variation of the Santa Fe), the Smoky Hill, the route of the Leavenworth and Pike’s Peak Express by way of the Solomon and the forks of the Republican rivers, and the parallel road which ran west from Atchison, somewhat north of the express route, which it joined in present Jewell county.

36. *Weekly Kansas Herald*, January 8, 1859.

37. Issue of February 4, 1859. Each route had its champion, the great majority of whom were far from being “disinterested.” No doubt one of the “central” routes—between the Santa Fe and the Platte, was considerably shorter in distance, but other factors, such as water, fuel, etc., were not to be lost sight of. The above writer argued further for Leavenworth, as “the largest, most flourishing, and the best provided city in the Territory”—the best place to obtain an entire outfit, at a moderate price.

38. Leavenworth *Daily Times*, February 11, 1859. O. B. Gunn’s *New Map and Handbook of Kansas & the Gold Mines* (Pittsburgh, 1859) asserted (p. 40) that the Smoky Hill route was “entirely feasible,” with ample supplies of timber, water and grass, almost the entire distance. “In directness, it is *The* route, beyond a cavil, as it will be 150 miles shorter than either of the present routes, and so centrally located, that all prominent points in Kansas are about equally accessible to it.” The Pike’s Peak guidebook of L. J. Eastin (editor Leavenworth *Herald*) agreed with this viewpoint, but both of these guidebooks “had an axe to grind.”

Company had made arrangements for the survey of a route to the mines, to be directed by Col. William J. Preston. On the 15th of the month a party left Leavenworth with this object in view, which included C. F. Smith, Richard and William Eubank, and E. Downing. A traveler on the plains wrote:

I was fortunate in meeting the party sent out by Messrs. Russell & Co., as I understand, to test the practicability of a wagon road on the table lands between the Smoky Hill and Solomon rivers, on the South, and the Republican, on the North, to the Gold Mines. This party headed by Col. Preston, consists of seven practical, trustworthy men, whose report will be anxiously looked for, as it can be fully relied upon as being correct.³⁹

In its issue of April 30, 1859, the Leavenworth *Times* announced it wished to present important information dealing with the new route and published the following account of two members of the survey party, Eubank⁴⁰ and Downing:

Thursday afternoon Messrs. Eubank and Downing, two experienced mountaineers and old Californians, returned from the *reconnaissance*, upon which they with others, had been dispatched by Messrs. Jones & Russell, of the Overland Express. Their statements are clear and explicit and must effectually put an end to all outside cavilling, as to the wisdom and foresight of the company in adopting a route which they pronounce unequalled for the requirements of travel, and of which the maximum distance is not to exceed five hundred miles from Leavenworth to Denver City.

The locating party left this city on the 15th of March, were several days in Denver City, were obliged to halt at least three days to refresh their animals, and at no time travelled after dark, and yet they have performed the round trip in forty-four days, taking into account all detention which they met with, and the time necessarily consumed in the performance of their duties. They left Denver City on the 9th of April, and were thus only nineteen days on the return journey, two and a half days being lost by necessary stoppages on the road to recruit their animals. Here is their description of the

Route

After leaving Junction City, our party struck out on the divide between the Republican and Solomon's Forks, bearing mostly towards the latter stream; thence the route passes over to the tributaries of the Republican Fork, up that stream until the divide between the Arkansas and South Platte is reached, through extensive pineries, thence to the head waters of Cherry Creek and along

39. F. Patterson to L. J. Eastin, dated Ogden, K. T., March 25, 1859, in the Leavenworth *Herald*, April 9, 1859. Patterson remarked that "C. F. Smith, esq., the Col's [Preston] principal assistant, is a scientific engineer, and will be of great service to him in the discharge of his important trust."

U. S. Deputy Marshal William J. Preston was commissioned by Governor Shannon a lieutenant colonel in the southern division of the Kansas militia. He played an active part in the troubles of 1856, among his "missions" being that of arresting James H. Holmes and certain disturbers of the peace on the Missouri border, and with Col. P. St. George Cooke of taking into custody a large force under Col. S. W. Eldridge, who entered Kansas from the north in the fall of 1856. It was widely rumored that he was too cowardly to arrest John Brown, but there is no substantial basis for this story.—*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. III, pp. 216, 306, 314; v. V, pp. 517, 640, 652; James C. Malin, *John Brown and the Legend of Fifty Six* (Philadelphia, 1942), pp. 591, 661.

40. Probably William Eubank. Richard Eubank went on to the mines, and returned to Leavenworth May 20, 1859.

that stream to Denver City. On this route, *there is no poisonous or alkaline water, nor sage brush*, two peculiarities and disadvantages of the Santa Fe route, there is no sand except in one body of forty miles in extent, and this is along the Republican, with plenty of water, timber and grass close at hand. They further say that the region over which they have just travelled, is *the best grass country in the West, that there is an abundance of water and timber for emigrants*, and that in these essential respects, it is *far superior to the Platte Route*.

The Company have in all, twenty-seven stations, seventeen of which were erected and in full operation when this party returned, and the rest were going up and are undoubtedly ere this completed. They passed the stages which left Leavenworth on the 18th, near the head waters of Solomon's Fork, and are fully convinced, according to the progress which the coaches had made, that they reached Denver City on the 28th inst [they actually arrived May 7, 1859]. . . . The road from Junction City is far better than that from this city to Fort Riley. It is smoother in surface and there are no streams of any magnitude to pass, nor in fact any that may not be readily forded at all times. The Government had located the site for a substantial bridge over the Blue, where there is now an excellent ferry; in short there have been no representations made of the route, which are not more than sustained by the statements of these gentlemen.

A week later the same paper published a much more detailed account of this journey of exploration—the journal of C. F. Smith, which gave a general picture of the overland route to Denver, before the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express Company had actually established a "right of way." The following journal is a verbatim copy of this narrative, as it appeared in the *Times*, May 7, 1859:

JOURNAL OF C. F. SMITH

On the 15th of March, 1859, we left Leavenworth, bound for Denver City—our party numbering seven; Col. William Preston having charge of directing the route. Day fine and a bright sky; we took the Fort Riley route; having started late we made but thirteen miles, and camped at Easton for the night; party in good spirits, and all well.

MARCH 16TH.—A mild and pleasant day; struck camp early and made forty-two miles—traveling through a rather hilly country, but a good road all the way; at night we camped at Indianola, a town situated on the boundary of the Pottawatomie Reserve.

MARCH 17TH.—Day broke upon us rather unpropitious; about 9 o'clock, A. M., a fine drizzling rain began to fall, which soon turned into sleet, accompanied with snow, making our day's travel very disagreeable; passed through St. Mary's Mission, and camped on Vermillion Creek, the western boundary of the [Pottawatomie] Indian Reserve; the road through the Reserve lies along the Kaw river bottom; is remarkably level and is a good road; made thirty-three miles to-day.

MARCH 18TH.—Rose early; a bright day. The road to-day was more elevated and dry, well watered, and wood in abundance. We made Ogden early, and camped. Made 40 miles to-day.

MARCH 19TH.—Day pleasant; started rather late; arrived at Fort Riley, and from thence we crossed the Republican river, and wended our way towards Junction City. This city, situated at the junction of the Smoky Hill and the Republican, may be considered the starting point towards the mines. We spent some few hours here, making changes in our packing wagons, &c.; took dinner—our last in the settlements—and bidding our friends “good-bye,” we struck a due west course for the Peak. Camped on Chapman’s creek for the night. Day’s travel, about 28 miles.

MARCH 20TH.—A bright day; struck camp early. Our journey to-day has been over an undulating country, well watered, but rather scarce of timber, but still sufficient to supply the wants of the emigrants. Made about 30 miles to-day, and camped on the head waters of a creek called by the buffalo hunters, “Hard Crossing.”

MARCH 21ST.—A mild and pleasant day; country very level, well watered and timbered. Crossed Pipe creek ⁴¹ about noon, and bore a little northwest, aiming to strike the Solomon river about 60 miles above its junction with Smoky Hill. Day’s travel, about 30 miles. Camped for the night on a creek emptying into the Solomon.

MARCH 22D.—A fine day; moved camp early; country well watered and timbered; surface gently rolling; made about 25 miles, and camped near the Solomon river; saw a few buffalo and antelope during the day.

MARCH 23D.—A pleasant day, but rather cool; course of the route along the north side of the Solomon river, keeping it 4 or 5 miles to our left; country same description as yesterday, well watered and timbered, affording a good natural road. Day’s travel, about 25 miles. Camped for the night on a creek and near the river.

MARCH 24TH.—Day mild and pleasant; still keeping the same course; country of the same description as yesterday; saw a few straggling buffalo, and numerous herds of antelope; day’s travel about 25 miles; camped on the Solomon river; the party rather disappointed in our distance traveled during the last few days, and as we experience delay in crossing the numerous creeks with the wagons, unanimously decided to pack through to the Peak on the wagon mules.

MARCH 25TH.—A bright day; rose early, and went to making pack saddles for our mules; did not complete our arrangements until about noon; got breakfast, and taking a final farewell of our wagon, started *en route* again for the Peak; came to the conclusion before night that packing was far preferable to hauling a wagon; country to-day slightly rolling, well watered and timbered; day’s travel, about 25 miles.

MARCH 26TH.—A pleasant day; party all well and in good spirits; same course we have been following all along, keeping north side of Solomon river; country well watered and timbered; made about 30 miles, and camped on Solomon river.

MARCH 27TH.—Bright and clear day; concluded it would be best to send two of our party back to pilot the “express trains” out to this point. Mr. Cranmer and Alonzo were the ones to return; having packed up and bid “good-bye,”

41. Apparently some eight miles north and a little east of present Minneapolis. The mileage figures given in this journal cannot be relied on to serve as a basis for locating places of encampment, since Smith often seems to overstate the actual number of miles.

the balance of us, Cal [Col.] Preston, Messrs. R. and M. [W] Ewbanks, Dowry [Downing?] and myself, started to explore the remainder of the route; day's travel about 30 miles; camped on the river. Towards night the sky became overcast, threatening to snow.

MARCH 28TH.—Snow fell last night to the depth of about six inches; day looking unpropitious for traveling, but "pack up" is the word, and in ten minutes we are *en route* again. Having traveled up the Solomon about 15 miles, we conclude to bear northwest, and strike the Prairie Day [Dog] Creek, which after a few hours' ride we made. Prairie Day [Dog] Creek empties into the Republican, is well wooded, and contains excellent water; ⁴² pitched camp for the night; made about 25 miles; retarded somewhat on account of the snow. During the day saw signs of the Indians for the first time.

MARCH 29TH.—Cold and disagreeable day; traveled until 3 o'clock P. M.; got supper, and then resumed our journey until late at night; camped in a ravine, without wood or water; day's travel about 30 miles; country rolling, well watered and timbered, affording an excellent road.

MARCH 30TH.—Struck camp early—and after traveling four or five miles, camped on a creek and got breakfast; cooked fast, ate fast, and on our route again; course northwest, bearing towards the Republican; crossed Tappa [Sappa] creek ⁴³ and struck the Republican about 12 o'clock. The country up to this point from Fort Riley is well watered and timbered, and gives an excellent road. The land is good for farming purposes, and offers every inducement for the emigrant to settle. To-day a body of the Cheyenne Indians met us at the Ari Kari Fork of the Republican, or as some call it, the "White Man's Fork." ⁴⁴ Twenty-three of their warriors crossed the river and came over to us. They proved to be quite friendly, and gave us a good deal of information concerning the route. Camped on the Republican; day's travel about 35 miles.

MARCH 31ST.—A cold and cloudy day; struck camp early and traveled fast along the south side of the Republican. The route along the Republican is not quite as good as that previously traveled. The bottom along the river is quite sandy, but on the ridge, a distance of from a mile to two miles from the river, a good road can be made. Wood is rather scarce, but an occasional clump of cotton wood trees is to be met with along the river. Day's travel about 25 miles. Camped on the Republican, without wood, and went to sleep supperless.

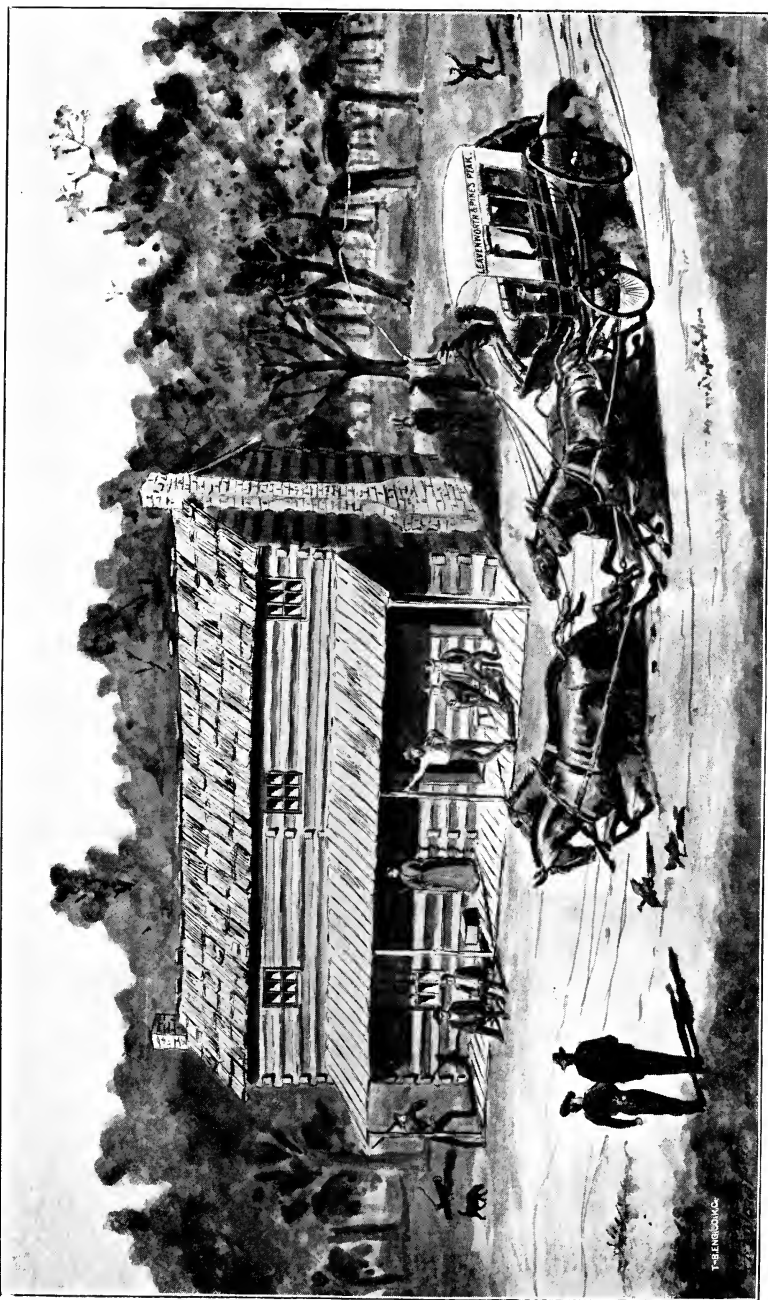
APRIL 1ST.—Bright day; made about 10 miles and camped for breakfast; traveling all day along south side of the Republican; towards night struck a grove of willows and camped; day's travel about 25 miles.

APRIL 2ND.—Snow fell last night, completely covering us, as we slept on the ground without tent or covering, save our blankets. An early start and a brisk ride brought us to a clump of willows; here we unpacked and cooked breakfast; that over, in a few minutes we were ready for our day's journey. The river began to grow less in its width, and the volume of water not larger than a small

42. Prairie Dog creek roughly parallels the North Fork of the Solomon, in northwestern Kansas.

43. Smith's use of the term "Sappa creek" is confusing, because today's stream of that name is much further removed from the Republican. It is probable that the various branches of Sappa creek of pioneer days included what is now called Beaver creek, which is considerably closer to the Republican.

44. The Arickaree Fork of the Republican joins the main stream near present Benkelman, Neb.



LEAVENWORTH & PIKE'S PEAK EXPRESS PASSING THE MILL HOUSE IN OLD INDIANOLA

From *The Overland Stage to California*, by Frank A. Root and W. E. Connelley. Indianola, a defunct town of northern Shawnee county, was located west of the present State Industrial School for Boys. The Goodyear Rubber Co. is now erecting a large plant on the site.

creek. Towards night headed the river and camped; ⁴⁵ day's travel about 25 miles; the road about the same all along the river; wood scarce, but plenty of water.

APRIL 3RD.—Cold, windy and disagreeable day; packed up and struck a due west course for Beaver creek, which creek empties into the South Platte; traveled all day without anything to satisfy our hunger (which I may say is rather ravenous on the prairies,) and camped at night in a deep ravine; the road good, but no timber or water; snow on the ground about 3 inches deep; day's travel about 35 miles.

APRIL 4TH.—Cold and windy, very disagreeable; made about 10 miles and camped, determined to get something to eat if possible; collected weeds, and while one would feed the fire, another would hold the coffee-pot over the blaze to boil; after an hour's labor, managed to get a cup of coffee and a show for bread. Packed up and traveled all the rest of the day; towards night, struck a clump of willows and camped, went to sleep supperless; mules beginning to look badly; day's travel 25 miles; road good, but no wood or water.

APRIL 5TH.—Struck camp late, detained by cooking breakfast; day promises to be fair, but cool; traveled until 3 o'clock, when we struck Bijou creek; camped and got supper; our last two days' travel have been over a barren and sandy country, good for a road in itself, but not timber or water sufficient; camped a few miles beyond Beaver creek,⁴⁶ on one of its branches; obtained first view of the Rocky Mountains to-day; day's travel about 30 miles.

APRIL 6TH.—Rose early, bright day, packed up and started; party in hopes of striking Kiowa creek soon; about 1 o'clock saw timber in the distance and headed for it; arrived at Kiowa about 3 o'clock, P. M., camped for supper, and after eating a hearty meal, resumed our journey; course during the day north-west; traveled until late at night, and camped near a creek among some willows; during the day the mountains have been visible for a distance of 50 miles on either side of us, Long's Peak lying directly in front of us, and Pike's Peak more to the southward; day's travel about 30 miles.

APRIL 7TH.—Rose early, and were astonished to find ourselves in close proximity to an old adobe fort, or something of the sort; immediately despatched three of our party to ascertain if it was inhabited, and to acquire all the information they could as to our whereabouts; they soon returned with the welcome news that we were on the South Platte,⁴⁷ and but 20 miles from Denver City; packed up immediately; traveled along the South Platte on a well beaten road, and arrived in Denver City about 10 o'clock, P. [A.] M., upon entering the town we were met by Gen. Larimer, who kindly proffered his services in procuring us a resting place; after some little delay we managed to procure a house, or rather cabin, of which we took immediate possession; the rest of the day was passed in hearing Pike's Peak news from the inhabitants, and giving an account of our journey in return.

APRIL 8TH.—Remained at Denver City inquiring the news all the day, and trying to ascertain what amount of gold the claims produced. The pleasure of

45. The South Fork of the Republican rises near the present Lincoln-Kit Carson county line, in Colorado.

46. This probably should read Bijou creek, which was crossed in present Elbert county, Colorado.

47. Probably Cherry creek, a tributary of the South Platte river.

our stay was marred by the law being enforced upon a man who was found guilty (and acknowledged his guilt) of murdering his brother-in-law. Spent a pleasant day, listening to all the reports given us by the inhabitants concerning the mines. Denver has about 250 cabins in it; is well situated, at the junction of Cherry Creek and the South Platte. Auraria, on the opposite side of the creek, contains some 100 cabins. The population of both places was estimated at about 500 inhabitants. The population of all the towns, and including the persons in the mines, is estimated at about 2,000.

APRIL 9TH.—To-day is set apart for our homeward journey; we take a different route from Denver, until we strike the Republican, the outward route proving impracticable from the head of the Republican to Denver City;⁴⁸ rather late in getting off; at last we bid "good bye" and start, taking a course up Cherry Creek, on a hard beaten road, and very level, which we follow for twenty miles, leaving Rupellville [Russellville] to our right about six or eight miles; from thence we strike off nearly due East, through what are called the "Pineries"; made about twenty-five miles, and camped on Rogers' claim; an excellent route to this point from Denver, good road, and well watered; wood abundant.

APRIL 10TH.—A bright day; racked [packed] up, got breakfast and struck a due East course for Kiowa creek; arrived and forded Kiowa about noon, and made Bijou Creek, upon which we camped for the night; a good high and dry road; well watered and timbered at regular intervals; day's travel about thirty miles.

APRIL 11TH.—A cold and windy day; got breakfast, packed up and started; course during the day due East; crossed Beaver creek about 2 o'clock p. m.; got supper, and renewed our journey towards Republican river; a mule gave out in the evening, and, finding it impossible to get it along, we were reluctantly obliged to leave it; camped for the night in a deep ravine, with some little wood and water; the route to-day has been on a high divide; is well watered, and wood is abundant; day's travel about twenty-five miles.

APRIL 12TH.—Cold and rainy day; struck the Cherokee trail about 10 o'clock, a. m., and camped; after breakfast packed up and started again; crossed the Cherokee trail, and bore due East, for the head of the Republican; during the evening snow fell, which made it very disagreeable for both men and mules; towards night struck head of Republican, on which we camped; day's travel about twenty-five miles; the road from Denver City to this point is a remarkably good one; wood and water is abundant all along the route, and the soil hard and firm.

APRIL 13TH.—Rose rather later than usual; got breakfast, and started down the Republican; a cloudy day, and cold; struck an Indian trail, fresh and indicating very recent travel, of perhaps but a few hours; this trail follows the course of the river for the distance of about twenty-five miles; at about the distance of fifteen miles from the head of the Republican the water disappears in the sand which forms the bed of the river, and does not show itself again for some twelve miles; this is the longest stretch on the route without wood or water; the road is located on the ridge, and proves to be good; towards night, struck into the hills and camped, day's travel about twenty-five miles.

48. This leg of the return journey was by a route somewhat further north.

APRIL 14TH.—A cold but bright day; rose early, got breakfast and started; a few minutes' ride brought us to the point we left on our outward trip, supposing it, at the time, to be the head of the river; ⁴⁹ it may be necessary here to mention that the road adopted by the Express Company, from this point to Denver City, is the one we traveled on our return; the first route having proved impracticable on account of the scarcity of wood and water; struck our old trail, and followed it during the day, until we crossed the South Fork of the Republican; from thence, in order to explore a Northern route—which, should it prove practicable, would shorten the distance considerable—we bore due East, and traveled until late; another mule gave out to-day, but we managed to get it along until we camped; a violent hail storm struck us whilst on a high divide; we were obliged to stand it all, and finally, striking a deep ravine, camped for the night; road excellent, but a scarcity of wood and water; our mules hold out better than we expected, but look badly.

APRIL 15TH.—A clear day, but windy and cold; struck camp early, and traveled until 10 o'clock, when we stopped to get breakfast; wood there was none, but by substituting the *Cache du Vache* for it, succeeded in getting a breakfast. Resumed our travel after packing up; route on a high divide, lying between the South Fork of the Solomon and the Republican.⁵⁰ It does not answer for a route to be traveled, owing to the total absence of water; occasionally water is found in a buffalo roll; day's travel, 25 miles; camped in a ravine for the night.

APRIL 16TH.—Struck camp early; course all day due East; about 10 o'clock struck several deep ravines, which we supposed to be the head waters of Prairie Day [Dog] Creek; stopped for an hour to graze our mules, then followed down the ravine in search of water; traveled the remainder of the day, but did not succeed in finding any; camped in ravine for the night; party pronounce this route impracticable; day's travel 25 miles.

APRIL 17TH.—Rose early; bright day; packed up and started, expecting to strike the head of the Solomon by night; course northeast; traveled all day without a halt; struck a creek about 3 o'clock P. M.; creek well timbered, but perfectly dry; not finding water, kept on our course, traveling east; towards night struck a large ravine, bearing east; followed it down about 12 miles, and finding water, camped; made about 30 miles.

APRIL 18TH.—Struck camp early, got breakfast, and followed down ravine; after a ride of a few hours found water in a buffalo roll; gathered chips and got breakfast; resumed travel after breakfast; course due east; traveled all day and at night struck South Fork of the Solomon and camped; day's travel, about 25 miles.

APRIL 19TH.—A pleasant day; made about 10 miles and camped for breakfast; course along north side of river; mule gave out and obliged to leave it; resumed journey after breakfast; camped about 4 o'clock, P. M. for supper; after supper traveled till late and camped for the night on the Solomon; day's travel about 20 miles; mules completely fagged out, cannot go out of a walk.

49. In view of the many "dry" streams and seasonal washes of Colorado, it is very difficult to locate any route in this region that is described in terms of the prevailing water courses.—See Margaret Long, "The Route of the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express," *The Colorado Magazine*, v. XII, No. 5 (September, 1935), pp. 186-194.

50. The location of this divide is questionable. It probably lies between the North Fork of the Smoky Hill, and several tributaries of the Republican, in present Sherman county.

APRIL 20TH.—A bright day; made 7 or 8 miles and stopped for breakfast; during the day kept along the river, obliged to do so on account of the grass being better for our mules; provisions getting short, and on an allowance of one meal a day; coffee and sugar gone entirely; day's travel 20 miles; camped on river for the night.

APRIL 21ST.—Owing to a storm accompanied with lightning, turned into sleet and snow before morning, spent a disagreeable night; day cold and snowy; moved camp a quarter of a mile down the river, built a fire in a large pile of drift wood and laid up for the day; mules gone under entirely; employed during the day drying blankets, &c.

APRIL 22ND.—Bright and pleasant day; camped about 10 o'clock for breakfast; resumed travel, and towards night crossed the South Fork of the Solomon at its junction with the North Fork;⁵¹ camped for the night; day's travel about 20 miles.

APRIL 23RD.—Bright and clear day; immediately struck across the country in order to ascertain if Mr. Williams had passed with the trains; found the trail about 6 miles from the river; at this point Col. Preston and Mr. Ewbanks left us to overtake Mr. Williams, in order to pilot him through to the Peak; the rest of us returning to Leavenworth, camped at station No. 10 for the night;⁵² our homeward journey has been slow, owing to the condition of our mules; our trip throughout has been one to which we were necessarily exposed to great varieties of weather and encountered many hardships; but, with the exception of Col. Preston, who had the chills, not one of the party experienced a day of sickness.

William J. Preston, who was in charge of the survey, made a brief report in which he endorsed the journal of C. F. Smith as "substantially correct."⁵³

Myself and party left here, in accordance with your instructions, on the 15th of March, selecting a route between the waters of Solomon Fork and the Republican. Striking up the Republican, we followed that stream to its head waters, and took a course 20° N. of W., passing Beaver Lake, the forks of the Kiowa and Cherry Creek: the last names[d] being tributaries of the South Platte. [Comments on Denver and the mines follow.] . . .

I will only add, that the country through which it passed is beautifully diversified with streams and gentle undulations; the soil is highly fertile, and well adapted for agricultural purposes; the face of the country lying along the whole route, and its characteristics, differ very little from the Western prairie country generally. The lands about Denver and Auraria will teem with busy tillers of the soil by thousands and tens of thousands. . . .⁵⁴

51. About a mile from present Cawker City.

52. Near present Glasco, Cloud county.

53. This report to John S. Jones, general superintendent of the express company, is dated Leavenworth, May 11, 1859, and is in the Leavenworth *Weekly Times* of May 14. Preston sent his journal of the trip to B. D. Williams, but so far as is known, it was not published.

54. At the close of this "meagre report," Preston thanked C. F. Smith, William and Richard Eubank and E. Downing for their prompt discharge of duty and "valuable assistance" which had been rendered "throughout the entire survey." The glowing conclusion smacks of the typical boomer account.

A few weeks later E. D. Boyd published a reply to these comments of Preston, in a description of "The Great Central Route to the Gold Mines of Western Kansas—Notes of Travel." The Atchison and Cherry Creek Bridge and Ferry Company (F. G. Adams, president) wished to establish a direct route from Atchison to the mines, and with this in view, laid out the "Parallel Road" to the west, closely following the first standard parallel across Kansas (approximately latitude 39° 40' north). The road extended 172 miles across the state, from Atchison to a point on Limestone creek, Jewell county, where it joined the Pike's Peak express road at Station No. 11.⁵⁵ Boyd acted as civil engineer of the company, and did the actual surveying under the personal supervision of Judge F. G. Adams. Henry Kuhn, later of Leavenworth and Marion, was an active promoter of the Atchison road, and accompanied Judge Adams to the junction with the express road on the Limestone. East of the junction point the road was "carefully selected," and ferries were promised across the Blue at the mouth of Elm creek, and across the Republican at a point some miles north of the standard parallel. In this section of the route the characteristics of the country remained much the same, there being "no interval of ten miles . . . without wood, and water is still more frequent. The soil is rich, and grass luxuriant till we cross the Republican, where it becomes shorter though still thick and nutritious."⁵⁶ This route was 65 miles shorter than that of the express company from Leavenworth, "and the road will be much better as it avoids most of the streams falling into the Kansas river this side of Fort Riley."

West of the point of intersection the road followed the route of the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak express. Late in May, 1859, E. D. Boyd wrote to F. G. Adams, giving a description of the new "right of way," which appeared in the *Freedom's Champion* of Atchison.⁵⁷ A week later his detailed field notes of the survey were published in the same paper. The first part of the letter of May 31, 1859, giving

55. Starting from Atchison the road ran west to the Grasshopper at Muscotah, and then to America City. It passed along the parallel to Clear creek (a branch of the Red Vermillion), thence bore to the northwest, and crossed the Black Vermillion near Barrett's mills, and the Big Blue at the mouth of Elm creek, near Blue Rapids. It then passed Marble Falls, the Big and Little Blue rivers, and followed a divide between the Little Blue and the branches of the Republican. After crossing that stream near present Norway, Republic county, it ran west to Station 11, on Limestone creek, Jewell county, near the site of the present village of Ionia.—F. A. Root and W. E. Connelley, *Overland Stage*, p. 302; introduction to "The Great Central Route to the Gold Mines of Western Kansas—Notes of Travel," by E. D. Boyd. *Freedom's Champion*, Atchison, June 25, 1859. (These travel notes are published entire in "Appendix A" of *Overland Routes to the Goldfields, 1859*, cited above. Henceforth they are referred to as "Boyd's Notes.")

56. *Ibid.*

57. Issue of June 18, 1859.

Boyd's description of the "Great Central Route to the Gold Mines," follows:

Denver City, May 31, 1859

F. G. Adams, Esq.—Dear Sir:—

We arrived here yesterday afternoon.

I wrote you on the 6th inst., by Colonel Preston. I had been but one day on the road after you left, and the information I was able to give you was but limited; as far as it was from my own observation it was correct. But that which I obtained from Col. P. was entirely erroneous. He must have strangely misunderstood me, or I him.⁵⁸ From that camp (49 miles from our ferry over the Republican) our course was nearly due west for 73 miles, at which distance we crossed the "divide" between Solomon's Fork and Republican Fork, latitude 39° 48'; longitude 99° 47'.⁵⁹ Thence our course was North of West till we reached station 18 on the Republican, 221 miles from Republican ferry—latitude 40° 8'; longitude 101° 17'.⁶⁰ From 100 miles to the last named point I found by the map that the road followed Fremont's trail of 1843.⁶¹ Thence the road runs in a southwest direction, parallel with the Republican to 366 miles, in latitude 39° 8', longitude 103° 27', eight miles east of station 24.⁶² Thence northeast [northwest] to this place [Denver], latitude 39° 49', longitude 105° 7', leaving the Republican at 391 miles, crossing the "divide" between it and the waters of the Platte at 396 miles, and the first creek⁶³ running into the Platte at 401 miles. The distance to this place from our ferry on the Republican is 469 miles, making the total distance from Atchison not more than 620 miles,⁶⁴ while the distance from Leavenworth by the Express Route is 685 miles.

The above will furnish you with an idea of the general character of the route. I send you a list of the distances, omitting the courses, as they will be shown on the map which I shall send you as soon as I can prepare it.

Very poor judgment has been displayed, in my opinion, in the location of the stage road.⁶⁵ As I said in my last, a much better road could have been made nearer the top of the divide, between [the] Solomon and [the] Republican; I mean to where we cross it. Up to that point it is a constant succes-

58. Boyd apparently refers to a more detailed statement of Preston than the brief mis- sive quoted above, probably based on the journal Preston sent to B. D. Williams of the express company.

59. A few miles southeast of the site of present Norton. Boyd's mileage figures closely approach the actual distance.

60. Near Benkelman, Neb. The authors believe the latter figure should read 101° 27'. Boyd's field notes of his survey, to be incorporated in the second installment of this article, quote the longitude a mile distant as 101° 27', which would place Station 18 very close to Benkelman, Neb. However, his longitude reading nine miles farther southwest is exactly the same, pointing to at least two errors in these computations.

61. See map accompanying the *Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842, and to Oregon and North California in the Years 1843-44*, by Brev. Capt. J. C. Fremont, published in *Sen. Doc. 174*, 28 Cong., 2 Sess. This map bears out the observation of Boyd. Further east, Fremont's route was closer to the Republican, than to the express route, which closely followed the Solomon river.

62. Probably a few miles east of Hugo, Lincoln county, Colo.

63. Apparently East Bijou creek, southeast of Denver, in Elbert county, Colorado.

64. Such seemingly exact mileages are to be treated "with a grain of salt," because of the usual inexact methods of estimating distances used at that time, but Boyd's computations are far more exact than those of most writers.

65. See Boyd's letter of July 20, 1859, quoted later, in which he refers to the abandonment of the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak express route in favor of the road by way of the Platte.

sion of ascents and descents and is very crooked. No time was taken to examine routes, and consequently the best has not been selected. Even the *general* route where it already is, can be improved somewhat, and shortened perhaps fifty miles between station 11 and this point. The road appears to follow a temporary wagon trail; does not go out of the way to avoid bridges, but does to find less precipitous banks. The bridges are like the one you saw at Station 11. The drivers are making small "cut offs" as they become acquainted with the roads.

Col. Preston could not tell the latitude of any point on the road; did not know the magnetic variation, and said the road did not touch Nebraska. The men employed at Station 18 and 19 supposed that they were in Arapahoe county, Kansas, till I told them differently.

On March 28 and April 1, 1859, an advance train in two sections left Leavenworth to locate stations at suitable points some twenty-five miles apart along the route to the mines. This preliminary work was under the general supervision of Beverly D. Williams, who had entire management of the trains and stations.⁶⁶ When this advance expedition reached Junction City, then on the outer fringe of settlement, a border paper wrote the following graphic account:

On Tuesday of this week, the advance train, consisting of twenty wagons, drawn by four and eight mule teams, arrived in town; this being their seventh station from Leavenworth, the twentieth [twenty-seventh] being at Denver City, and each being twenty-five miles apart. Yesterday (Friday) morning 20 more wagons, mostly eight mules to the wagon, arrived, accompanied by numerous families, &c, &c, to be located along the road at various stations. The wagons are heavily laden, some carrying 5,000 lbs., but at this point their freight is being shifted, invoiced and reloaded, preparatory to their final departure, today, for the plains.

Mr. Williams, the gentlemanly and energetic partner of Jones, Russell & Co., to whom is confided the entire management of the trains and stations, is in town, giving his attention to the above arrangements, etc. A person inexperienced in these matters, cannot imagine the necessary labors attending the enterprise of the magnitude of this concern. Four hundred and fifty mules; one hundred and twenty men and women; and forty wagons constitutes this advance train and many more on the road, followed by thousands of emigrants! 'So they come and so depart.'⁶⁷

66. Account of the arrival of the first express in Denver, *Rocky Mountain News*, Cherry Creek, K. T., May 14, 1859, copied in "Bypaths of Kansas History," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. VI, pp. 394, 395. In the *Reminiscences of General William Larimer and of His Son William H. H. Larimer* (Herman S. Davis [editor], Lancaster, Pa., 1918, p. 172), it is stated that Nelson Sargent, route agent on the western division, had charge of one of the sections of this expedition. John M. Fox, general agent of the company in charge of express business, and Martin Fields, who directed the postoffice branch, also went either at this time or with the initial coaches.

Wm. H. H. Larimer, who later was employed as an assistant to Fields in the company postoffice at Denver, with his father were intimates of Wm. H. Russell, and were very influential in getting the express company to locate in Denver, rather than Auraria. The elder Larimer had been a leading industrialist of Pittsburgh, Pa., who because of business reverses emigrated to Nebraska, and later to Leavenworth, Kansas. He now became one of the founders and leading spirits in the new town of Denver.

67. Junction [City] *Sentinel*, in the Leavenworth *Herald*, April 16, 1859. The Platte City *Atlas* (*Argus*) remarked [Leavenworth *Herald*, April 9]: "The outskirts of Leavenworth City are covered with camps of the numerous companies destined for Pike's Peak. . . ."

The stations beyond the seventh at Junction City were constructed in a temporary manner, evidently with the intention of making more permanent improvements later, and when referred to more recent maps and centers of settlement, were not much more than indefinite locations on the plains, designated by numbers only. As one account said: "Each station is supplied with tents (soon to be replaced by houses) sufficient to accommodate all the employees and passengers, and occupied by a man and his family—a new feature, and a decided improvement over most stage stations on the plains."⁶⁸ After supervising this work, Beverly D. Williams boarded the first stage over the new route, which arrived in Denver, May 7, 1859. John M. Fox accompanied him on this trip, and after arriving at their destination, both men wrote detailed accounts of the trip, which appeared in the *Leavenworth papers*. Williams remarked:⁶⁹

The road which we have just laid out between the 39th and 40th parallel of latitude from Leavenworth City to Denver City, is 689 miles in length by the roadometer [odometer], which will be reduced to 500 when properly straightened out, passing over the most beautiful and fertile country in the Territory. After leaving Junction City our course was along the tributaries of the Solomon, about ten miles from its north bank, crossing beautiful streams of never failing water every six to ten miles. Leaving the waters of the Solomon, we struck over to those of the Republican, and struck Prairie Dog, Sappa, and Cranmer's Creek, near their head,⁷⁰ then traveling a long divide of twenty-six miles we reached the main Republican, just above the mouth of Rock Creek, and made station No. 18,⁷¹ in a beautiful grove of cottonwoods. Up to this point, wood and water is in abundance; also grass in the proper seasons. After leaving No. 18, we kept up on the southern side of the Republican to near its head, when we crossed the main prong to the middle prong,⁷² which we followed to its head. Along this portion of our route, wood is scarce and hard to get; grass and water plenty. We then kept our course, and struck what we think is the most southern branch of the Republican, on which we established

Jones, Russell & Co. dispatched their second train on Tuesday, for Pike's Peak. We understand that several companies, of one hundred each, have started within the last week. It is said that in one week's time over one thousand persons had disembarked at Leavenworth, of whom the greater portion were destined for the mines."

In same issue: "A contract has been effected with the Pike's Peak Express Company from this place, to carry the mail daily to Denver City. The General Superintendent has gone to Denver City."

68. *Rocky Mountain News*, Denver, May 14, 1859, cited above. This report was obtained from B. D. Williams, of the express company.

69. Beverly D. Williams to John S. Jones, dated Denver, May 9, 1859, in *Leavenworth Herald*, May 28, 1859.

70. The route cut through the present counties of Norton, Decatur and Rawlins. "Cranmer's Creek" probably is present Beaver creek.

71. Near Benkelman, Neb., but the mileage figures do not agree with the description in the text. Rock creek empties into the Arickaree Fork about nine miles west of Benkelman. Williams may have erred in placing this stream *before* instead of *after* Station 18.

72. Probably the branches of the South Fork of the Republican, near its head. The description is confusing, when referred to a map of Lincoln and Kit Carson counties, Colorado

station No. 24,⁷³ where another road comes in from the southeast. We traveled up this road about fifteen miles, when it bore off to the south. We continued our course due west, and struck Bear creek, with wood and water, and made station No. 25.⁷⁴ Continued west, and in ten miles reached the pine forest. Continuing our course through high prairie, we passed large forests of pine, crossing the Bryou [Bijou] and two Kioways, and reached Cherry Creek twenty-two miles above its mouth, and then travelled down one of the most beautiful vallies I ever saw, and very fertile, until we reached Denver City, when the people all flocked together to look at the stages, etc.⁷⁵

In his letter of about the same time, John M. Fox commented at length upon developments in the new diggings and added further sidelights upon the newly surveyed route of the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak express:

Our tedious march is at last ended, and we are now snugly located in Denver City, the much talked of Golden City of the mountains. Our progress from Junction [City] to this place, was necessarily slow, inasmuch as we had to open a new road through a country about which none knew but little, to contend with the severity of the weather, the fatigue and complete exhaustion of many of the mules, and the many obstacles incident to an enterprise of this magnitude. I can truly say, Sir, that I believe our road is the best *in all respects*, that can possibly be made, from Leavenworth City to the mines. Wood and water in abundance over the entire route, excepting about 150 miles upon the Republican, where there is some scarcity of timber—in fact, a *great scarcity* for emi-

73. Dr. Margaret Long, who has made a special study of the express route through Colorado, points out the confusion of names referring to the South Fork of the Republican, and places this station on the Big Sandy.—“The Route of the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express,” *loc. cit.*, p. 191. This location was probably close to present Hugo, Colo.

A letter of N. Sargent to J. S. Jones, dated Denver City, May 9, 1859 (*Weekly Kansas Herald*, May 28, 1859), remarked: “The express coaches and wagons arrived here all safe, distance about 600 miles by the roadometer [odometer]; but this can be shortened very much. The stations all have wood and water, except three or four, where they have to go three or four miles for wood.

“Our course from Junction City was generally northwest until we left the head waters of Solomon's Fork, then our course was W. and N. W. until we came to the Republican, thence S. W. and S. W. by W. until we left station 23, thence due west 10 degrees S. most of the time until we left station 26, thence west to Cherry Creek, twenty miles south of Denver City.

“The whole road, with but few exceptions, is first rate; sand on the Republican is the worst.”

74. Probably East Bijou creek, in eastern Elbert county, Colorado.

75. The article in the *Rocky Mountain News*, May 14, 1859 (cited above), by the same author, is interesting to compare at this point.

“The road, after passing Fort Riley, follows an entirely new route, all the way, keeping along the divide between the Republican and the Solomon's forks of Kansas river, crossing the heads of the tributaries of the later named fork for some distance, then bearing a little northward, crossing the heads of Prairie Dog, Sappa and Cram[n?]mer creeks, tributaries of the Republican, and striking that river near the mouth of Rock creek, between longitude 101 and 102 degrees; it then follows the south side of the Republican to a point near its source, thence striking due west it crosses the heads of Beaver, Bijou and Kiowa creeks, tributaries of the Platte, passing through a beautiful pine country for sixty miles, and striking Cherry creek twenty miles above its mouth.

“The whole length of the road is 687 miles by odometer measurement, but it will probably be shortened 75 miles by cut-offs in various places—one very considerable one at this end, terminating the road directly at the mouth of Cherry creek. The road throughout its whole length is good when broken and traveled, but the coaches that have just arrived made the first track over it. Water is found at convenient intervals throughout the whole distance; also abundance of wood, except for about 150 miles along the Republican, where it is somewhat scarce. The road throughout its whole length is between latitude 39 degrees 30 minutes and 40 degrees north.”

grants⁷⁶—but our station can be readily supplied from the pineries, lying some thirty miles distant from Cherry creek.

Nearly all the station-keepers, men and employees upon the road, express themselves satisfied with this location. Some one or two swear they will not stay—Murphy (at 19) among them.

We have had two desertions only. Our nearest station to this place is forty-three miles. An intermediate station must, of necessity, be made, until Mr. Williams returns and shortens the road, which he expects to do—saving a distance of fifty miles or over.

Much of the country over which we passed is eminently adapted for agricultural pursuits, and a great deal of it almost or wholly worthless.

Permit me to say, that I think Colonel Preston missed the *chute*, both in going back and coming out—being too far north on his outward trip, and a great deal too far south when he returned.⁷⁷

This criticism of the survey which had been conducted by Col. Preston and party was replied to by a letter signed "S," which was apparently written by C. F. Smith, of the exploring party. In his reply Smith pointed out that the route followed by Fox was not that of Preston and the survey party, and that the work of these "pathfinders" was more to explore than to actually survey the road.

The persons sent back by Col. P[reston], to pilot the trains on the route had directions given them to correct all errors that had been made through necessity. . . . Persons understanding the severities and hardships to be encountered by a party of explorers, undertaking the exploration at the time of the year we did, will readily perceive that the company who started us did not expect us to *survey* the route, but to *explore* it. In other words, to ascertain if *wood, water* and grass was in sufficient quantities to warrant a train to proceed on the route we went. From the letter of Mr. Fox, according to his own statement, we would, if we had taken *his* route, pronounced it impracticable, for the simple reason—as he himself says—"wood and water are deficient on the route for a distance of 150 miles; in fact, a *great scarcity* of both for emigrants." This is not the route Col. Preston took, as you will see by referring to my report to Mr. Jones.⁷⁸ Mr. Fox has certainly made a mistake in the route in regard to Col. P. being too far either North or South. Any person looking over my report will perceive that the only "stretch" we had was but the short distance of 25 or 30 miles without wood, and without water, a distance of be-

76. Most accounts agree that there was a marked scarcity of timber along the Republican and its tributaries, in extreme western Kansas and eastern Colorado. The shortage of water was not as serious, but was an additional drawback in this region. Both of these factors reflected upon the desirability of this route, since the older trail by way of the Platte, although longer, was far superior in these respects. The whole problem will be treated in more detail later.

77. John M. Fox to John S. Jones, dated Denver City, May 8, 1859, in *Leavenworth Daily Times*, May 21, 1859. Fox commented further on the suffering endured by the emigrants who chose the Smoky Hill route, which was notably worse than the new express road.

78. See the journal of C. F. Smith, quoted above. The problem of accurately locating these routes, particularly in extreme western Kansas and eastern Colorado, makes any categorical answer to this difficult. It does seem clear, however, that there were important variations in route, between the survey party and the later group that located stations. Smith's accounts seem trustworthy, but his return journey appears to have been more "lucky" as to wood and water, than were the trips of later travelers along the upper Republican.

t[ween] 15 or 18.⁷⁹ True, wood was scarce, but still sufficient for the route. The work, in the start, demanded, for its successful accomplishment, constant and self-denying agents, and such I will venture to say were engaged for the undertaking; and I believe the route chosen by Col. P. (and I have it from those who piloted the trains) is the one adopted, and which Mr. Fox ascribes to himself.

[Signed]

S.⁸⁰

The high praise of this route leads one to believe that the element of advertising was a large factor in these accounts of the new express road and that the lack of a dependable supply of wood, the scarcity of water at some points, and the remoteness of the route from any well established lane of travel, like that of the Platte, were negative factors not to be ignored.⁸¹

The departure of the first express coach was postponed beyond the time originally proposed—April 10, 1859, because of unfavorable weather and, what was still more important—the nonarrival from the manufacturers of Concord, N. H., of the coaches intended for this service. These vehicles were built by Abbot, Downing & Company, and were said to have been the first of this make received in Kansas.⁸² The delay in beginning the coach service furnished an excuse for rival cities to denounce the whole venture of the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express. The Kansas City (Mo.) *Journal of Commerce* termed the project "a humbug—one of those well con-

79. On the trip west, Smith pointed out in his journal that wood was very scarce, and water not plentiful, from the head of the Republican to Denver. This road "proving impracticable," a different route was taken when the party returned, which proved much better. "The road from Denver City to this point [head of the Republican] is a remarkably good one; wood and water is abundant all along the route, and the soil hard and firm." The next day was the only one on this route in which the scarcity of wood and water was a serious objection. Smith later pointed out "that the road adopted by the Express Company, from this point to Denver City, is the one we traveled on our return."

80. Dated Leavenworth, May 21, 1859, in the Leavenworth *Daily Times*, May 24.

81. The route was clearly better than the Smoky Hill, upon which there was much suffering, and was decidedly shorter than the Platte, but lacked the "improvements" of this older road. One writer remarked: "The new route thus laid out via Republican Fork of Kansas river, seems to be a good one, according to the report of the stage company, though about the same length as the old Ft. Kearny and Arkansas routes, hilly and sandy on this end, and destitute of timber for fuel, for an equal distance with the others, or some 100 to 160 miles. I think it quite probable this express line will do a good thing in opening up this region of the far west, but from present appearances, however, the company owning it will not enrich themselves, at least not in the legitimate way of carrying mail matter and passengers."—Clarendon Davison, previously a reporter of the *Chicago Press and Tribune*, and member of the Chicago company, dated Denver, May 9, from the *Missouri Democrat* of May 25, in Hafen, *Colorado Gold Rush*, pp. 347-349.

82. Frank A. Root and William Elsey Connelley, *The Overland Stage to California* [hereafter termed *Overland Stage*] (Topeka, 1901), p. 155. Over fifty coaches were reported to have been ordered, but after reading the article by Edwin G. Burgum, entitled "The Concord Coach" (*Colorado Magazine*, v. XVI, pp. 173-180), one doubts that the number could have been that high. Frank A. Root says in the *Overland Stage* (pp. 153, 154): "I saw all the coaches at Leavenworth a few days after their arrival in Kansas direct from the manufactory in the 'Old Granite State.' They were brought up the Missouri river by steamboat and were unloaded on the levee, between Shawnee and Choctaw streets. These stages were the first Concord coaches shipped to Kansas." Each coach was drawn by four mules, which were regarded better than horses for the hard service on the plains, and of which about 800 were purchased for the line. The stations en route to which these animals were distributed had a working force of 108 men—an aggregate "army" of men and animals that entailed an operating expense of about \$1,000 a day.

ceived schemes, got up by a few speculators to make a little money out of the sale of city lots, etc., and which, in the end, is calculated to do *the West* a serious injury. . . ." This paper conceded that there was such an express company, but there was "no such route, and no such facilities for taking emigrants to the mines" as claimed by that organization.⁸³ The St. Joseph (Mo.) *Gazette* agreed in this general view, probably from like motives, and asserted that the venture was in a class of "shameless and barefaced deceptions . . . attempted to palm off on emigrants to the gold mines. . . ." To run coaches over a route until recently "absolutely unexplored," which "had no stations upon its course," was a "very remote" probability.⁸⁴ In reply the Leavenworth *Herald* pointed out that the project was really under way, and would include the use of "sixty Concord ambulances, seventy-five wagons, eight hundred mules, three hundred oxen and four hundred men."⁸⁵

Early Monday morning, April 18, 1859, a large crowd assembled to witness the departure of the first coach, and to wish the fortunate travelers *bon voyage*. The *Daily Times* of the following morning heralded the historic event with a suitable article in its columns, entitled "The Overland Express":

About 8 o'clock Monday morning, we observed two of the new coaches of Messrs. Jones & Russell's Express, each with four splendid mules attached, drawn up in front of their headquarters under the Planter's House. The street was soon occupied by a throng of people discussing the merits of the vehicles and animals, as well as the great enterprise which the day inaugurated. The crowd continued to increase, and soon blocked the entire space in front of the Planter's, and was particularly dense in the immediate vicinity of the coaches themselves.

The employees were meanwhile busily engaged in stowing the baggage and mails securely, for their long jaunt across the plains of Kansas. The fortunate individuals who were to take passage in the stages were receiving the congratulations of, and making their adieus to their friends. Punctually at the appointed hour, the conductors shouted their "all aboard," the drivers flourished their whips, making the air resound with a succession of reports, and the vehicles moved off at a spanking pace.

83. *Daily Journal of Commerce*, April 13, 1859. From the start this paper termed the whole venture pure humbug, apparently in order to retain as much of the overland business as possible for Kansas City, by way of the Santa Fe trail, and favored the "Kansas City Gold Hunters Express Transportation Company," operated by the firm of Irwin, Porter & Co., which proposed to use this route. The "humbug" theme will be discussed in more detail later.

84. St. Joseph *Gazette*, clipped in the Leavenworth *Daily Times*, April 22, 1859. "That a daily line of comfortable passenger vehicles can be put through is a thorough impossibility. . . . There may ultimately be a road established upon the line indicated . . . but . . . this is an enterprise yet to be consummated . . . there are serious doubts of the practicability of this new route." As indicative of the extreme rivalry between towns for the overland business, both the St. Joseph and Kansas City papers made misstatements of fact.

85. *Weekly Kansas Herald*, April 23, 1859. "On Sunday last six of the coaches arrived. Two of them started out on Tuesday, two on Thursday, and two will leave Saturday (today)." The remaining coaches were looked for every day—upon their arrival, one would leave each day. They had already sold at least 2,000 tickets, it was announced.

Two coaches will now leave daily, and the line being fairly under way, we may be permitted to toss up our hat and shout a *viva!*

Among the articles shipped by the Express Company yesterday, we noticed several flasks of Quicksilver.⁸⁶

In an editorial of praise the Leavenworth *Times* hailed this event as a great one in the annals of the city—a local enterprise, unsupported by government appropriations or patronage, whose launching augured well for the future of their community.

We believe we can see in the establishment of this great thoroughfare westward, a glimpse of future enterprises still more glorious and important. It will do much to enforce our claims as the most proper *point d' appui* for a railroad to the Pacific, and the more we do ourselves, to foster and protect the initiatory step, the nearer we are to the object to be obtained. Why shall not Leavenworth eventually become what of right belongs to her position, the great focus of all travel, to Utah, California, and New Mexico, as well as to the mineral regions on our western confines?⁸⁷

The initial journey of the coaches proved uneventful, and was completed in good time. Colonel Preston of the survey party, in accordance with original instructions, delegated two members of that group, Messrs. Cranmer and Alonzo, to return and act as pilots of the first train of coaches, and at the same time to correct errors made by the survey party, thereby establishing a permanent route to the mountains.⁸⁸ B. D. Williams, who had had general charge of the survey, accompanied the coaches on the first trip, and apparently was joined later by John M. Fox, who had also been engaged in the initial work of preparation.⁸⁹ As the coaches traveled along the Solomon, in the vicinity of present Glasco, Cloud county, Colonel Preston and one of the two Eubanks appear to have joined the party and acted as copilots to the mountains.⁹⁰ When they reached the headwaters of the Solomon the party met several of the survey group on the return trip from Denver, who reported that all was well.⁹¹ John M. Fox of the express company commented:

86. Leavenworth *Daily Times*, April 19, 1859. The previous day this paper announced that the first through train of the express company would leave that afternoon for Denver, which carried, by authority of the Post Office Department, the through mail. Martin Fields was in charge of the forwarding of correspondence. Later that same day a train of thirteen wagons left Fort Leavenworth for Fort Riley, loaded with commissary and quartermaster's stores for the force of cavalry that had been detailed to patrol the new route to the mines, in the interest of safety from Indian attack.

87. Leavenworth *Daily Times*, April 19, 1859—an editorial review of the whole enterprise.

88. Journal of C. F. Smith, quoted above—entry of March 27, 1859; letter by the same author, signed "S" and dated May 21, 1859, in the *Times*, May 21, 1859.

89. Smith's journal; *Rocky Mountain News*, May 14, 1859, quoted above; B. D. Williams to John S. Jones, dated Denver, May 9, 1859, in Leavenworth *Herald*, May 28, 1859. Because of the absence of any detailed narrative of this trip, it is difficult to construct a satisfactory account from the scattered comments of the participants. There were nine *through* passengers, from Leavenworth to Denver, and in addition, several company officials apparently boarded the coaches, along the route.

90. Journal of C. F. Smith, closing entry, dated April 23, 1859.

91. Account of Eubank and Downing, Leavenworth *Times*, April 30, quoted above; St. Louis dispatch, dated April 29, of the New York *Daily Tribune*, May 2, 1859.

It is proper to remark that, during our trip, the utmost harmony and good feeling existed throughout the entire train. We met several bands of Indians, in all cases perfectly friendly. We treated them uniformly with kindness. . . .

We reached Denver City yesterday, (Saturday,) May 7th. Gen. Larimer received us, and has treated us with extreme courtesy and hospitality. The city is situated at the mouth of Cherry creek, and contains a population so floating that I can scarcely estimate the number of inhabitants. I think I am safe in setting the number at three hundred. About one hundred and fifty houses have been erected—built chiefly of pine and cottonwood logs, with thatched roofs. We have secured one of them temporarily for our office. The people were much gratified at our arrival.

Auraria, opposite to this, is about the same in size, population, &c. The town opposite Denver is rather desirable, I think. The citizens had begun to grow very despondent in consequence of so much emigration returning almost as soon as arriving. Our entry, however, has re-animated them.⁹²

The arrival of the stages in Denver on May 7 brought a revival of hope to the people of the new diggings, many of whom had become despondent of the failure to discover rich deposits of gold. The miners received the coaches with demonstrations of joy, and unanimously voted Leavenworth "the greatest city in the East." The *Rocky Mountain News* published an extra in honor of the event, which paid a handsome tribute to the new express line and its managers.⁹³ Soon after this came the news of the rich finds in Gregory Gulch, which placed the future of the region on a solid basis. A directory of Denver and Auraria, issued some months later, remarked:

The arrival, in the second week of May, of the officers of the Pike's Peak and Leavenworth City Express Company, and of the first through coaches with passengers, produced an universal sensation of joy and hopefulness. The establishment of an office of so powerful, energetic, and responsible a company—the certainty of enjoying henceforth a sure and speedy means of communication with the States—the practical demonstration of implicit faith in the permanency of the gold resources of the country, implied in the investment of an enormous capital in an apparently hazardous enterprise, jointly proved a source of deep gratification to the people of both Denver and Auraria, and at least transitorily brightened up their countenance with the light of renewed confidence.⁹⁴

92. John M. Fox to John S. Jones, dated Denver City, May 8, 1859, in *Leavenworth Daily Times*, May 21, 1859. "That there is gold here, the dust which I send with this letter is sufficient evidence. As to the quantity, no man can form any idea." Also Wm. Larimer, Jr., to John Larimer, dated Denver City, K. T., May 9 to 12, 1859, and quoted in *Larimer Reminiscences* (op. cit.), pp. 174, 175:

"Russell's train changes the whole face of matters here. They are locating in Denver City. Denver is all O. K. Since writing the above the Denver City Company met and donated nine original interests to the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express Company. . . . Wm. H. Russell now holds one original share in Denver City, so you see we are now all right, if not before. . . . Wm. H. Russell & Co. also owns two shares in the Express Company and now two shares in Denver. This is fine; their monied influence will make this now the certain point. . . . The Express Company is going right to work to building and so is everyone. . . ."

93. Quoted at length in the *Leavenworth Daily Times*, May 25, 1859.

94. *Denver City and Auraria, The Commercial Emporium of the Pike's Peak Gold Regions in 1859*, p. 10. This facsimile reproduction of the first directory of Denver contains a good account of the early settlements along Cherry creek.

On May 10, 1859, the stages began the return trip from Denver to Leavenworth. Some days before they arrived at their destination, elaborate preparations were begun at Leavenworth for a proper celebration of so historic an occasion. The event would "settle the actuality of the gold deposits, demonstrate the plausibility and superiority of the great route from our city, and, let us hope, compensate those who have conceived and carried out the project of establishing such a medium of intercourse and communication."⁹⁵ In order to stage a grand reception a meeting was held in mid-May and committees were appointed to make detailed arrangements. A few days later the "order of the day" was publicly announced, which included the precise order in which the various organizations would take part in the parade.⁹⁶ The actual arrival of the coaches was delayed by an "unparalleled rise in the streams." When they reached Salt creek they were met by an assemblage of ladies and gentlemen who distributed "roses of bouquets" to the drivers and coaches. The journey from Denver to Leavenworth was completed May 20, 1859, when the coaches reached their destination, after a trip of approximately ten days from the mountains. The incident was hailed by the Leavenworth *Times* as a great event, which announced:

NINE CHEERS FOR LEAVENWORTH
 The City in a Tumult!!
 Arrival of Express Coaches From the Mines.
 THROUGH IN NINE DAYS!!
 LOTS OF "THE DUST!!"
 QUICKEST TIME ON RECORD.
 THE MINERS REJOICING.
 LEAVENWORTH THE POINT.

"It is with a satisfaction words can illy express that we are enabled this morning to announce the complete success of Jones & Russell's Express Coaches, the superiority of the route from Leavenworth, and the settled richness of the new El Dorado."⁹⁷ In an editorial salute to the great occasion, this same paper remarked:

Bring out the flags, and let the cannon roar!
 We celebrate today one of the most glorious achievements of the age.

^{95.} *Leavenworth Daily Times*, May 16, 1859. The committee of arrangements included an executive committee, a committee on invitation, and a committee on dinner and toasts. The *Times* printed a detailed account of the meeting at the Renick House, at which these tentative plans were drawn up. Cyrus F. Currier was chairman of the committee of arrangements.

^{96.} *Ibid.*, May 18, which announced the make-up and order of the parade in honor of the occasion. Col. A. J. Isacks was to act as president of the celebration, and Gen. G. W. McLane, chief marshal.

^{97.} *Ibid.*, May 21, 1859.

Peace hath its victories as well as war.

A giant Empire springs, Minerva-like, from the bosom of a wilderness, and the genius of man tames the rugged and oceanic plains to the uses of civilization.

Leavenworth extends the hand of fellowship to the Rocky Mountains, and establishes a perpetual bond of union till you may hear the responsive heart-beat.

Honor to the noble men who have conceived and executed the grand project of uniting regions half a thousand miles apart. . . .

A mammoth enterprise—one of our own—has been crowned with success. The golden fields of the West loom up in majestic proportions. Our pioneer friends and brothers are now our neighbors as well, and our city has demonstrated to the world the superiority of her position, and the indomitable enterprise of her people. . . .⁹⁸

The great celebration of May 21, 1859, lasted for about twelve hours, during which there "was naught but marching and feasting and enthusiastic acclaims." The parade began to assemble about 2 P. M., at the corner of Main and Shawnee streets, where a mammoth flag was suspended between the Planter's Hotel and the office of Smoot & Russell.

The balcony of the Renick House and Waverly [House] and the rooms of the Planter's were thronged with ladies, while the streets were filled with horses, wagons, and crowds of enthusiastic people. The other streets of the city echoed with the music of bells and the "gathering of the clans," in their bright uniforms, as they marched and countermarched, lent a life and animation to the scene that words can but faintly picture.

Between two and three o'clock . . . the great procession moved off in the following order:

1st—Chief Marshal, with Aid de Camps, handsomely mounted and accoutred.

2d—Brass Band (Union) in an open wagon, discoursing elegant music.

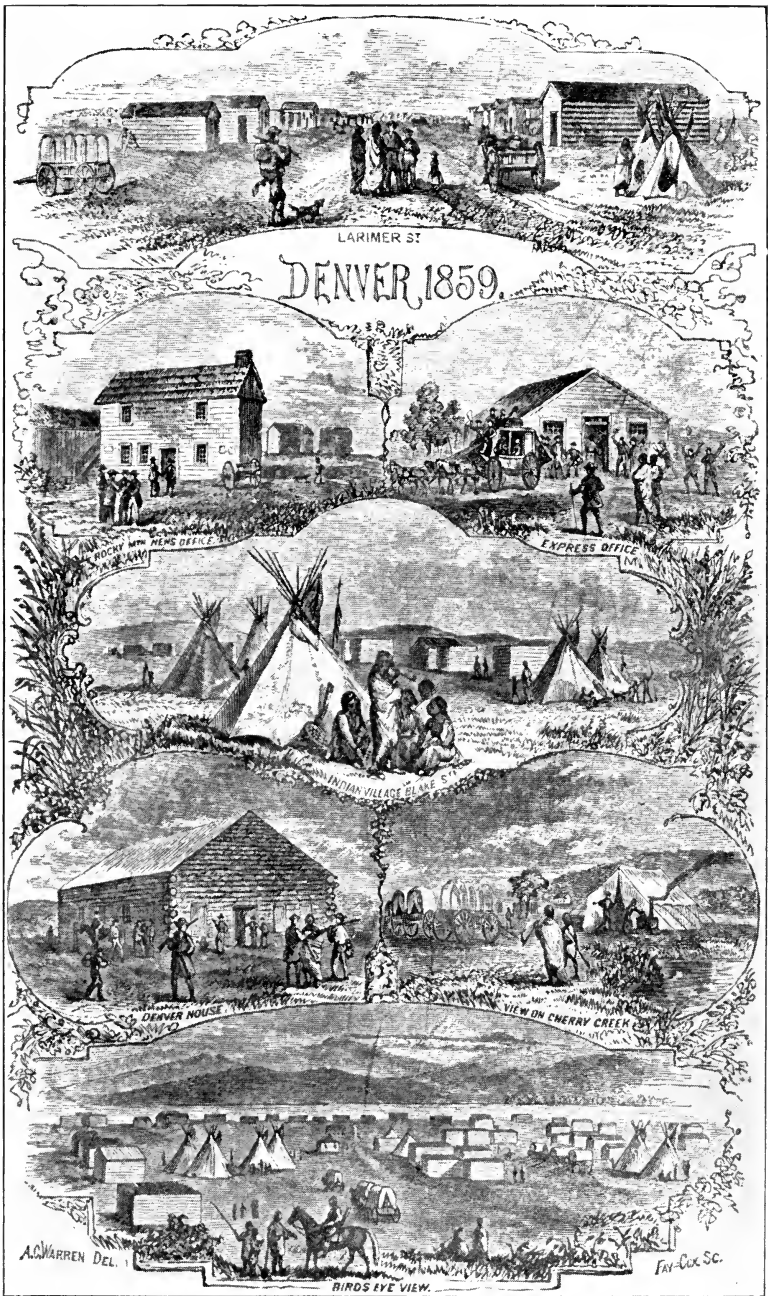
3d—Committee of Arrangements, on all kinds of horses, from a *mule* and an Indian *pony* up to Arabian coursers.

4th—Some of the Express Coaches, handsomely fitted up and drawn by two pairs of mules, containing some of the Express proprietors and a number of citizens.

5th—The Shield's Guards, Capt. Wm. H. Stanley, with their handsome uniform[s] and burnished muskets, keeping time to martial music. They presented a fine appearance and were much admired.

6th—Pioneer Hook and Ladder Company—Mr. Middleton, Foreman—in the following uniform: Red shirt and black pants, with a handsome patent leather belt, bearing the device of a hook and ladder raised in white letters, together with the splendid firemen's New York uniform hat. Their apparatus was gaily decked, and they bore beautiful flags, the folds of which swelled gracefully with the breeze.

7th—Eagle Fire Company No. 1—Amos Graff, Foreman—turned out about thirty-five strong, with the following uniform: Red shirt, blue cape with velvet



DENVER IN 1859

From Richardson's *Beyond the Mississippi* as reprinted in *The Overland Stage to California*.

cuffs, blue cap with eagle for device and black pants. Their hose cart was handsomely decorated with flags and streamers, tastefully arranged, and numerous floral devices. They carried the splendid flag presented to them by the National Theatre, and attracted general praise.

8th—Neptune Fire Company—James Duffy, Foreman—had for a uniform red shirts with blue lapels, black glazed caps (No. 2 painted in front) and black pants. Their hose cart was also most happily ornamented with emblematical devices, floral designs, flags, and streamers, and their presence added greatly to the appearance of the procession.

Without partiality or arbitrary distinctions, we must compliment the Firemen, as a body, on their gallant bearing and pleasing uniforms. They are a body of men who reflect credit upon the city.

The Pioneer Hook and Ladder Company gave the *Times* three rousers in passing our office, which we beg to return with compound interest, together with our warmest thanks.

9th—The Leavenworth Brass Band, in a covered carriage. Their music was truly inspiring, and they were followed by an immense crowd of citizens on foot, horseback, and in carriages.

With bands playing, flags flying, bells ringing, men shouting, and "Old Kickapoo" roaring, the procession moved up Shawnee to Broadway, greeted by the waving of handkerchiefs and every other evidence of enthusiasm.

Arriving at Government Lane, there stood the two well tried coaches, with their trusty drivers, who had so successfully solved the great problem of "the main route to the mines." They were both gaily bedecked and looked like triumphal chariots as they were. On the sides of the first coach was the following inscribed by the miners:

"THE GOLD MINES OF KANSAS SEND GREETINGS TO LEAVENWORTH, THE COMMERCIAL METROPOLIS."

On the other coach appeared the following:

"LEAVENWORTH CATCHES THE GOLDEN ECHO FROM HER MINERAL MOUNTAINS AND SENDS IT ON THE WINGS OF LIGHTNING TO A LISTENING WORLD."

At sight of the coaches cheer followed cheer till the welkin rang, and they were instantly surrounded by an eager and expectant throng.

After the excitement had somewhat abated, the coaches took the post of honor in the van, the bands struck up, the companies fell in rank, the roaring "Kickapoo" was heard, and the procession, about a mile in length, moved toward the city, passing down Fifth to Shawnee, up Shawnee to Sixth, down Sixth to Delaware, along Delaware to Main, down Main to Cherokee, up Cherokee to Third, up Third to Shawnee, and down Shawnee to the starting point.

After several pleasing and skillful manœuvres by the horsemen, footmen, firemen, carriages, &c., which excited much applause and some merriment, a general "resting spell" ensued and speaking commenced.

Col. Isaacs [Isacks] opened the ball. He paid worthy tribute to the celebration and to the Express Company, predicted a great future for Leavenworth and great results from the mines.

While yet speaking "the boys" were bringing down old Kickapoo; the cannon got the start of them at the steep descent above the Renick, and dashed furiously toward the crowd. A regular fright and stampede ensued. For

a moment, in the midst of rearing horses, rush of wagons, and fright of men, it seemed as though frightful consequences must ensue. The cannon, however, was checked by a milk wagon, the contents of which watered the earth, and the crowd re-collected with merry laughter.

One or two persons were hurt, but not seriously, and the main damage was to "shins," "corns," and "window panes." Quiet restored, Col. Isaacs [Isacks] closed his speech, and was followed by Capt. Perry, Gen. Eastin and McLane, and then the order was given to disband.

Thus ended the celebration of one of the most notable events in our history, a remembrance of which we will ever cherish with pride and gratification.⁹⁹

In describing the speeches delivered on the occasion, the Leavenworth *Weekly Herald* pointed out that the eloquent address of Col. A. J. Isaacs [Isacks] received much applause. Mr. Jones of the express company was not accustomed to making speeches, but thanked the audience in a happy manner for the demonstration accorded him and his company. Captain Perry made a "characteristically eloquent, humorous and sensible" address, in which he pointed out that "the route established by the company, introducing, as it did, civilization, cultivation, and refinement upon what has been styled the 'American Desert,'—linking the Atlantic States with the mineral and agricultural wealth of the mountains . . . it could not but become the channel through which the iron arteries of inland commerce would run and over which the iron horse would yet snort on his road to the Pacific."¹⁰⁰

The following night a supper was given at the Planter's Hotel in honor of the arrival of the express coaches. It was said to have been "full of fun and frolic, toasts, speeches and the like. The supper was bountiful and excellent and the company did not disperse till the wee sma' hours. Altogether it was a happy and satisfactory affair. . . ." ¹⁰¹ The next day Dr. Renick, the proprietor of the Renick House, gave a grand ball at his hotel in tribute to the Pike's Peak Express Company.

99. *Ibid.*, May 23. "Old Kickapoo" was one of the most famous pieces of artillery that entered into the troubles of "Bleeding Kansas." Captured by Gen. A. W. Doniphan during the Mexican War, this cannon was taken by the Proslavery party from the arsenal at Liberty, to Weston, Mo., and later to Kickapoo, Leavenworth county, from whence it derived its name. The scandals associated with the elections on the Lecompton constitution so aroused the Free-State men of Leavenworth that they recruited a force, and removed the gun from its resting place at Kickapoo (January, 1858). It was taken to Lawrence, and deposited beside the Free-State cannon at the Eldridge House; thereafter it came into possession of the Leavenworth Turnverein. While being used to blow out the wreckage in a Leavenworth coal shaft, the cannon exploded, and was sold to a junk dealer. It was finally purchased by the Kansas State Historical Society (1884) and is still on exhibition in the state museum at Topeka. (Account derived chiefly from a manuscript of H. C. Fields, MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society, copied in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. VII, pp. 350, 351.)

100. Leavenworth *Weekly Herald*, May 28, 1859.

101. Leavenworth *Daily Times*, May 22, 1859.

The completion of the first trip marked the successful inauguration of the new company. A new route had been opened to the Rockies and the residents of the new diggings had been given a frequent and dependable means of communication, the permanent value of which was yet to be proven.

(Part II to be Published in the November Issue)

A Trip To the End of the Union Pacific in 1868

I. INTRODUCTION

IN early August, 1868, Maj. Thomas J. Anderson, Topeka ticket agent of the Union Pacific railroad, Eastern division, organized a three-day expedition to the western end of the road.

On August 5, 1868, the following item appeared in the *Topeka Daily Kansas State Record*:

The Topeka Excursionists will leave the Depot on Thursday morning the 6th inst., at 6 o'clock SHARP, and run to the end of the track. Everybody is expected to take along their own eatables, and occupy as small a space for the same as possible, as the baggage car will not accommodate large boxes or trunks. Mr. Pape will furnish the refreshments, consisting of Ice Cream, Lemonade, Sherry Cobbler, Mint Julips, Wines, etc. A general good time is expected. All are expected to provide their own mode of conveyance to the Depot.

The Topeka party, numbering some 200 persons, left Topeka as scheduled. Only a very few members of the group are mentioned in contemporaneous newspaper accounts: Deacon [John W.] Farnsworth, Hi [H. T.] Beman, Archie [A. L.] Williams, George Wilmarth, Enoch Chase, Sam Hall, Jerry Logan, T. J. Anderson, Dr. [E.] Tefft, [W. W. H.] Lawrence, Jake [Jacob] Smith.

One of the excursionists, however, wrote a long letter describing the journey. He was John H. Putnam¹ and his letter follows:

II. THE LETTER

Topeka, Aug. 22nd 1868.

Dear K—

Your last has been awaiting an answer a long time, and in doing my duty towards you I can think of nothing better than to give you a hasty account of an Excursion Trip of recent date "all of which I saw and part of which I was," in the language of an ancient Somebody.

Mr. Charles Shewry, some time of Columbus, whom I would most heartily commend to your . . . attention if you should ever meet him, has long been a partner of my bed and board, and formed one of our crowd on this Excursion.

1. John H. Putnam was born and reared in Gambier, Ohio. He attended Kenyon College. At the beginning of the Civil War he entered government service as a clerk in the quartermaster's department. In 1864 he came to Topeka and read law in John Martin's office. He practiced law in Topeka after his admission to the bar in 1868. He was a justice of the peace and twice held the office of police judge. At one time he was in partnership with A. H. Case, and at his death he was a partner of A. L. Williams. He died March 18, 1879, at the age of 35, of consumption.—*The Commonwealth*, Topeka, March 19, 20, 1879.

Along the Line of the Union Pacific in 1868

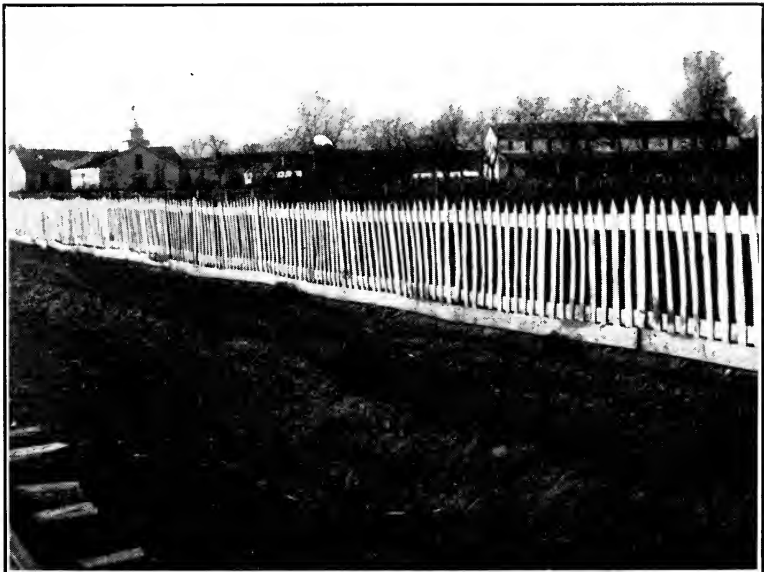
Photos by Alexander Gardner



KANSAS AVENUE, TOPEKA

[Looking north.] Three-story building on left is the Tefft House, northwest corner of 7th and Kansas.

[This and succeeding pictures were selected from 150 Gardner photographs in the collections of the Historical Society. For an account of Gardner's visit to the state and a catalogue of his Kansas pictures see Robert Taft's "A Photographic History of Early Kansas," in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. III, p. 3-14.]



ST. MARY'S MISSION

Early upon the morning of August 6th there came a vigorous knocking at the door of my office, house and castle and a gruff voice proclaimed the death of sleep and summoned us to action. I pulled my eyes and mought open by one herculean effort and "Prophet, said I, thing of evil" come in and get a drink. (I did not say, but of course meant, water.) But he *comed* not. Then came a hasty, dreamy[?] toilet; a rush to the hotel, a strangling over hot coffee, a rally on the stable, and in the dim haze of the morning we were soon urging two lazy steeds out into the suburbs where high up above Kaw river, . . . in a vine clad cottage, where the morning air is loaded with perfume, and the song of the birds makes music all the day, were the ladies whose smiles were to make the journey pleasant for us, *already waiting for us*. Think of this, . . . girls of the 19th Century ready and waiting "at 5 o'clock in the morning." Among the languid beauties which the effete society of the East produces were such a thing possible? No sir! But in this land of pure air, and glowing health, the fair damsels rise, fresh as Venus from the Sea, "at 5 o'clock in the morning." Before 6 o'clock we were at the Depot. Then I made a most beautiful charge on the town and my office for our forgotten tickets, and returned in time to save from desertion and loss a large box sitting on the platform, marked "John Putnam, His Box." A box like the Pickwickian Hampers suggestive of what Mr. "Samivel Veller" called "weak fiz" and cold punch. As we steamed up the Valley in the cool morning the complacency of having got through the trouble well, of having three days rations, and no enemy to make afraid, settled down upon the undersigned "like a sweet dream of youth" as "Trine" used to say. We thought of L. Browne far away among the fire eaters of Alabama when we passed Wamego, and mused upon the future glory of this land as in rail road fashion we called out the localities as we passed, for the benefit of the ladies—Silver Lake—Cross Creek—Big Aleck's—St. Mary's Mission—Lost Creek—the Vermillion—Wamego—St. George—The Blue River—Manhattan—Ogden—Fort Riley—The Republican River—Junction City—Abilene²—Solomon City—Salina. You can see them on the maps. So far the scenery has not changed. Here the Kaw river, already dwindled by the loss of several large streams, divides into the Saline and the Smoky Hill Forks. Our route is through the country of the Smoky. The road however here cuts across a great bend and after

2. Among the newspaper items sent by one of the excursionists was this humorous note concerning Abilene: "Cars stopped to put on more cow catchers on the rear end of the train. Texas cattle crowding around and climbing on the platform. . . ."—*Daily Kansas State Record*, Topeka, August 7, 1868.

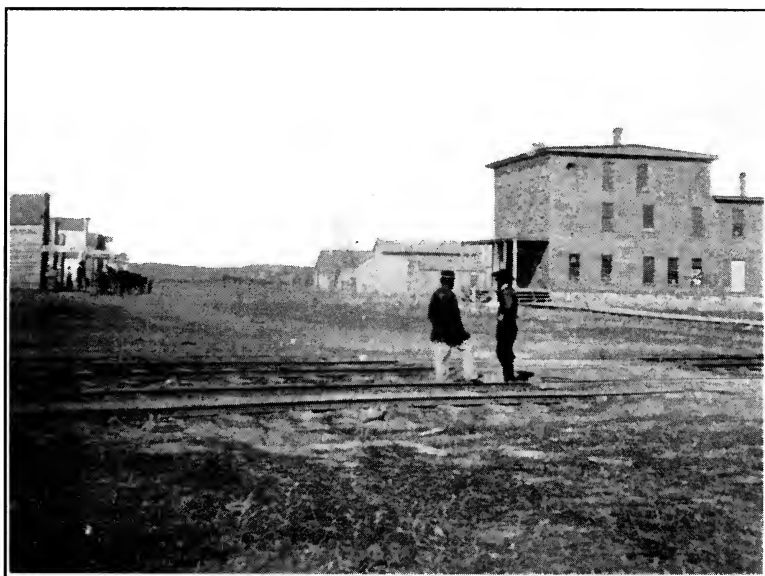
a seventy five miles ride through a rough, uninhabited, and almost uninhabitable country, which shows many signs of volcanic action, we again strike the Smoky at Ellsworth—one hundred and sixty five miles from Topeka—

We are now, . . . *in the West*. Here is *life*. The fine spun theories, the moon-eyed inventions, the old time manners, and obsolete customs of the East are unknown. The houses here are alternately Beer Houses, Whiskey Shops, Gambling houses, Dance houses and Restaurants. There is little difference however as the Beer houses sell whiskey, and the whiskey houses retail beer, while the Club rooms and Restaurants all dispense the lightning (here sweetly called "Tarantula juice"). The dance houses combine the worship of Bacchus with terpsichorean amusements of a very high order. They used to "have a man for breakfast here every morning" as they pleasantly spoke when chronicling the nightly murders in the town, but, as they pensively admit, "business is very dull now." From Ellsworth to Hays City is nearly a hundred miles. This is part of the "Plains," what on the old maps is called "The Great American Desert." There are no signs of human life except at the wood and water stations of the rail road, where are generally one or two little sod houses, and a few negro soldiers loafing about. Now we begin to make acquaintance with the denizens of the Plains.

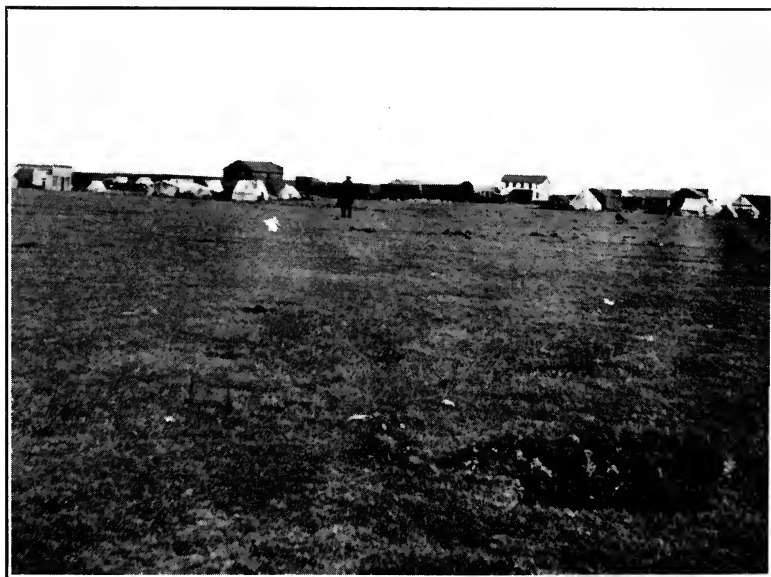
First come the Prairie Dogs. They are gregarious wild animals, . . . living in villages and having well regulated forms of government, but as they seem to have each a separate house it is probable that they are unhappy in their domestic relations. They sit at the doors of their burrows and when alarmed they fling themselves in the air with a gay nimbleness beautiful to see, flip a summer sault, and present to the admiring gaze of the traveller two furry heels and a short furry tail as they make their exit from the stage of action. We see a skulking wolf or two, and a timid antelope or two, and elk in the distance. Then Buffalo— singly— in couples— in groups— in countless herds. They are great awkward creatures with hair hanging over their eyes, with shambling but still rapid gait. There we come on a herd. The cars stop. Now the fun begins. Every body runs out and commences shooting—Nothing hurt. Though I expect in the reckless firing to see somebody hit, and have as many fears as the melancholy game keeper out with Mr. Winkle, although differing from him in having no wife and children to support. With the same result this performance is repeated again and again—the stopping of the train— the brave charge— the ignominious return.

Along the Line of the Union Pacific in 1868

Photos by Alexander Gardner



LINCOLN AVENUE, WAMEGO



HAYS CITY

We failed to bag a buffalo. I did not shoot having ill defined ideas as to hunting rifles, which end you put the load in and which end you let it out at. (I never hunted any game with guns except *men*, you know.) But I rushed out with the rest— yelled promiscuously— “Buffalo”— “Stop the train”— “let me out”— “there they are”— “Whoop-hey”— “Give ’em thunder”— “no go”— “Come back”— “drive on”— So you see I helped a good deal. We got through to Fort Hays and Hays City in the evening lively as crickets, and perfectly capable of enduring the fatigues of a cup of coffee and a sandwich. Here we met some acquaintances— among them “Wild Bill” [Hickok] the great scout, a romantic but not o’er true history of whom you may find in *Harper’s Monthly* of about a year ago. He said there were some hundreds of Cheyenne warriors camped a few miles out. Soon some of the braves came in. Clad mostly in red paint, feathers and bear-claw necklaces. Pleasant looking gentlemen these, . . . pleasant images for dreams. The girls wondered if they would like some scalps of *foreign hair*.

Most of the ladies proposed to remain in the cars. Our ladies had an invitation to accept beds *at a nice house in town*. And against our advice, *gently offered*, conclude to accept. Behold the scene. Eleven o’clock at night, or after, in the wildest of all wild western frontier towns. A small procession moves up the middle of the street to prevent interruption— Seeking a house no one knows— A nice quiet residence— A specimen of which does not exist within a radius of two hundred miles. We ask “where does Mr. Joyce³ live?” Answer— “Just around the Corner”— Between

3. Probably Judge Marcellus E. Joyce. Years later Henry Inman wrote of Hays City and Judge Joyce as follows: “When Fort Hays was established in 1867 on Big creek, in what is now Ellis county, Hays City, a wild, ‘wooly,’ mushroom hamlet sprung up almost in a night, like that edible fungus, because of the proximity of the United States military post only a mile distant. This was immediately after the war and there congregated, of course, the renegades from both armies; men, who, steeped in crime, and fugitives from justice, lived under assumed names, but safe in their remoteness from the operations of law. Society there was such as frequently characterizes extreme pioneer civilization when first aggregating in towns. There, too, settled some of the truest people, comparable to the best who have built up our Western empire, the effect of whose presence and efforts is visible in the beautiful, moral and cultured Hays City of to-day.

“During the early period of the struggling town’s existence, it had, for its justice of the peace, a stubby, red-headed little Irishman, with a most pronounced brogue. He was a man of some education and good-hearted, who loved his whisky, which frequently ‘laid him out,’ and who made many friends, but whose construction of the power in his official capacity, delegated by the constitution, was widely at variance with the facts.

“His office was a rickety, tumble-down shell of boards on the main street, furnished with an ordinary pine table and a few rough benches. It had one door, and four windows on each side with broad sills, elevated about three feet above the floor. This stern conservator of the public peace always commenced business with the stereotyped sentence:

“‘Hats off, now! this court’s in session!’

“One time an Irishman was brought before him for some infringement of the municipal regulations. He mulcted the unfortunate delinquent in the enormous sum of forty dollars, but discovered, to his disgust, that his victim was penniless. Here was a dilemma; he did not care to commit the man to jail in Saline county, over one hundred miles away; it was the money he was after, and, finding that a brother of the accused, a recent importation from Ireland, was present, he called him up, asked him if he had any cash, and being answered in the affirmative, said: ‘Well, the fine’s on you, thin.’ And he collected it, too.

“Once, when a verdant young lawyer fresh from the East took exception to some of his

the "Eldorado Club rooms," and "Pat. Murphy's Saloon," opposite the "Prairie Flower Dance House." A nice neighborhood surely. Find it with the help of "Wild Bill"— A little wooden shanty used for a justice's office— Locked— No key. Visible through the dirty window— one tallow candle burning low, two deal chairs much whittled, one bench worse whittled, and the "nice clean beds" promised, three dirty blankets thrown on a floor mapped off like the devil's wild land with tobacco juice. We are informed that the proprietor is on a bit of a spree over our arrival— and that having pledged us in the flowing bowl to his heart's content, and having trod a measure or two in the mazy dance he would doubtless return to welcome us. Having considered the matter at some length the ladies concluded that after all perhaps it would not be best to trouble this pleasant little man who had such pleasant little ways. And our procession filed back again to the train. We made the ladies as comfortable as possible on the train, cautioned them to say their little hymns and left them for the open air. With a prostrate telegraph pole for pillow and "the starry decked heavens" for roof we courted the syren[?] sleep. But in vain. The wind began to blow a perfect gale. You may think them are winds from the lake at Cleveland, my boy, but it is a mistake. Here the gale sweeps over a smooth level surface, hard and stationary, for hundreds of miles, without the least obstacle, and it gets down to the ground like a race horse and *gets up* a rate of speed "fearful for to feel."

rulings and proposed to appeal the case, the judge grew furious and said: 'I'll have you to know there's no higher court than this! There's no appale from my court, and I'll fine yees fer contempt av yees talk av an appale!' The young man consequently subsided.

"At another time a cowboy was brought before him charged with murder, who, 'as the legend hath it,' had contrived, through a friend, to quietly slip five hundred dollars into the hands of the judge. When the man was called into court and was asked: 'Are yees guilty or not guilty?' he replied: 'Guilty!' 'Well, yees are a big fool to plade that way, and I discharge yees for want of ividence,' so discharged he was.

"He had a case before him during the latter days of his reign in which the ownership of a heifer was in controversy, the evidence hinging upon a certain brand supposed to be somewhere on the animal. It was after four o'clock, and both 'coort' and jury were in a condition their frequent 'rounds' to the saloons during the day would naturally leave them in at that late hour.

"As the trial waxed warm, the judge became satisfied that the jury must have ocular proof of the existence of marks or brands on the animal in controversy, so he ordered the acting sheriff to 'bring the baste to the door where the jury could see it.'

"The heifer, after some delay, arrived at the front of the building, notice of which was promptly conveyed to 'his honor.' But the majority of the jury, who had become somewhat obstreperous by this time, swore they wouldn't go outside to look at any 'd—d heifer; if the judge wanted them to view her, let the sheriff bring her inside.'

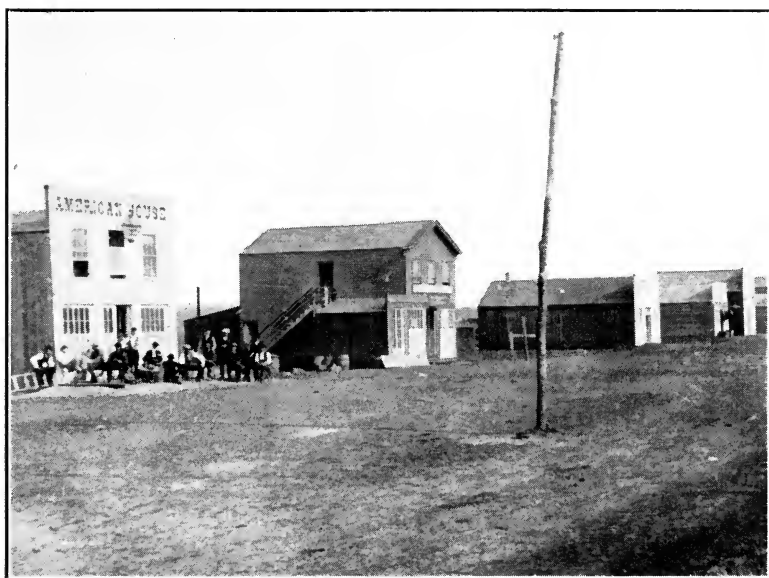
"The order was given, but the unruly animal objected decidedly to the mandate of the court, and refused to enter after several abortive attempts to compel her. At last the sheriff, worked up to a degree of desperation, with the aid of a few idle loungers, friends of his, got the brute's head fairly pointed at the door, and dexterously twisted her tail, cowboy fashion. The now enraged beast, with horns lowered and bawling with pain, incontinently rushed into the presence of the 'coort' regardless of the sanctity of the place.

"It did not take a moment for the spectators at the trial to make good their escape by the door as the infuriated creature made a break for the little redheaded judge, who, the moment he saw the state affairs had assumed, got down prone upon the floor close to the wall, where the table under which he had crept shielded him from the horns of the heifer, who made several attempts to 'get at his fat little person.' The jury, suddenly sobered at the apparition of the maddened beast, took refuge on the broad sills of the windows, where they remained while the heifer tore around and demolished everything loose within her reach, after which she rushed out and down the prairie, which ended the proceedings of that trial for all time.

...—Topeka State Journal, June 20, 1890.

Along the Line of the Union Pacific in 1868

Photos by Alexander Gardner



NORTH SIDE OF MAIN STREET, ELLSWORTH

[For another Gardner view of Ellsworth see *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. III, opposite p. 6.]



SOUTH SIDE OF MAIN STREET, ELLSWORTH

I'd as soon think of sleeping in the crater of Vesuvius or in the vortex of the Maelstrom as in the open air in such a wind. We crawled into one of those great wagons which freighters use on the plains, called a prairie Schooner. The experiences of that night will cling to the undersigned for many a day. Unable to sleep I lay on my back between two friends regardless of the gale, regardless of the shouts of our *lively friends* in the towns, gazing up at the stars from this out look on the desert, thinking of home and friends and the "days that are dead." Fearful of the effects of the chill blast and night damp upon my feeble organization I had recourse for warmth to the contents of a huge flask, part of the outfit of the Expedition. And it would have amused a cold ghost to have seen me there in the dead of night between two sleeping companions, lying perfectly straight, raising that long black bottle across the face of my friend Shewry, at just sufficient elevation to produce a downward current into my capacious mouth, and as the rich fluid from Bourbon county gurgled gently in my throat Shewry would sigh in his dreams to think it were not he. At length "tired nature's sweet restorer, balmy sleep," came and we all slept.

When Apollo with his burning car was about to climb the Eastern horizon we were up, washed at the pump, ate a bite of breakfast and once more went rushing "out into the West," one hundred miles further to Monument⁴ the last station. The principal *productions* of this place are Negro soldiers and mud shanties. You may get a glass of beer for 50[?] cents, and a poor Cigar for the same money, the whiskey you would not taste unless you wanted to "shuffle off this mortal coil." We now turned our faces toward home and the haunts of civilization and ran clear through without leaving the train. We made the round trip of near seven hundred miles in less than forty-five hours. A little too fast for pleasure in this climate. I wish you could have been with us. The people are worth seeing. There are men from every nation under heaven in their natural state, and then mixed with every style of American—Yankee, Westerner, Southerner, Negro, Mexican, and "Injun," with all imaginable crosses and mongrels of the same, presenting a conglomerate of human nature more curious than beautiful to see.

But the physical conformation of the Country is even more interesting to notice. Starting from Topeka we pass gradually from one extreme of fertility to the other. From rich farming lands rolling in native wealth we come to a region where we lose sight of man and

4. In present Monument township, Logan county.

beast and vegetable life; to dreary reaches of level sand where there are no hills, no water! not a tree, nor a bush, nor a blade of grass; not a green herb, not a living thing, not one trace of any one of the multifarious forms of life with which God has filled the Earth appears to break the unending monotony of the dreary Expanse. There is not one barrier to break the force of the dry, hot wind, for the traveller, nothing to protect his head from the broiling heat of the sun. That most beautiful simile of the Bible that God is "the shadow of a Great rock in a weary land" where one may find safety, peace, and comfort, must have been prompted by looking upon such desert scenes. I shall not attempt to picture to you our return. The journey was not particularly interesting.⁵ The party had that drooping, withered, squeezed-lemon appearance which the morning after the Fair always brings. There were many interesting pictures in the cars which must have been seen to amuse. There were the usual crumpled dresses, loose hanging and wayward curls, and ringlets, and *possibly* soiled hands and faces, which reduces the fair sex from that state of perfect immaculateness, and brings us nearer to them by teaching that they are only common clay like ourselves after all, although clay seven times purified in the fire, and polished and embellished (not to say enamelled and painted) in the most beautiful manner. With song and story we chased the gliding hours until our homes received us once again, weary and sleepy, like the pilgrim going home to his death after the toils and turmoils of his Earthly journey—

"Post jucundum juventutem

[After delightful youth

"Post molestam senectatam

[After troublesome age

"Nos hababit humos."

[The soil will have us.]

I have not seen the young ladies since we left them at their door in the dim morning twilight of our return.⁶ The fatigue and exposure of the journey so aggravated my rheumatism that I have been confined to my room closely since returning, and it is much to help destroy the monotony of my imprisonment that I am writing you this longest of letters. I state this in spite of the story you refer to in your last. I've found the whole verse which runs some how

5. "The Excursion train came from Monument to Topeka, 318 miles, in 14½ hours. The last 16 miles was run in 20 minutes. George Abbott was the engineer. . . ."—*Daily Kansas State Record*, Topeka, August 9, 1868.

6. "The Excursionists reached home two and a half o'clock Saturday morning. . . ."—*Ibid.*

thusly—after the young man stating to the young lady that he had called just *because* “*he’d nothing else to do*” the story runs—

But before the day was over, I’d some how made up my mind,
That I’d pop the question to her, if to me her heart inclined,
So I whispered “Sweet, my darling, will you have me, Yes, or No?”
“Well,” said she, “perhaps I may, dear, *when I’ve nothing else to do.*”

I had gathered some Cactus, and some other little mementoes of the trip but in the hasty and dreamy disembarkation, they were all forgotten and I have now left to remind me of the trip, beside some pleasant reminiscences, only, two very rheumatic limbs, one very stiff neck, and one very much dilapidated moral character.

In token of all which, and of “the joys when you and I were boys”

I remain
Yours rheumatically
J[ohn] P[utnam].

Bypaths of Kansas History

A BLENDED WHISKY

From the *Kansas Free State*, Lawrence, April 7, 1855.

An Indian had gone to Westport [now a part of Kansas City, Mo.] one cold winter's day, and got very drunk. On his way home, he became completely overcome, laid down, and was frozen to death. His tribe was at that time much disposed to imitate the habits of white men, and accordingly held an inquest over the dead body. After a long pow-wow, they finally agreed to the verdict, that the deceased came to his death "by mixing too much water in his whisky, which had frozen in him and killed him!"

"TRAILER HOUSES" OF 1859

From the *Emporia News*, October 22, 1859.

CAMP-WAGONS FOR HOUSES.—We have before referred to the limited amount of surplus room which our building capacities at present afford, and the fact that immigrants were still pouring in upon us. The past week has added several more families, who, being determined to remain, have taken to camp life until they can either build or find room. We admire their courage. If some others who have come here and gone away for this reason had possessed such resolution, they would not now have cause for regret.

SUNDAY LAWS

From the *Leavenworth Evening Bulletin* (D. R. Anthony, publisher), May 23, 1865.

This morning, C. R. Morehead & Co. were arrested and brought before the recorder for a violation of the Sunday laws, in permitting trains to be loaded from their warehouse on Sunday. The goods did not belong to them, but were left on storage by a Mexican trader. The mayor was applied to, and gave *written* permission to the Mexicans to load the teams, and also "*ordered the policemen not to interfere, or to arrest the parties.*" The city attorney *refused* to prosecute the case, and moved that a nolle pros. be returned, which was granted by the court.

We do not find fault with this course, only in this: it is making fish of one and flesh of another. The German is hauled up for practising an innocent game on Sunday, roundly fined, and threatened with an iron jacket, if he dare drink his glass of lager or pitch a game of quoits on Sunday.

We were hauled up before his Honor, charged with carrying concealed weapons. We proved that we had a permit from the acting mayor, and that it was custom, usage, and in accordance with the charter. A fine of ten dollars was imposed. The city attorney did not move a nolle pros. in our case.

O ye gods, and the good people of Leavenworth! look out for these men "*who strain at a gnat and swallow a camel.*"

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Victor Murdock has featured the following Kansas historical subjects in his column regularly appearing in the *Wichita (Evening) Eagle*: "Changes in Local Custom Showing in Celebration of the First Day of the Year," January 1, 1944; "Fabrics To Be Found on the Early Prairie in Wool and in Cotton," January 4; "Spot Where Wichita Is Gave a Hint of Future To Some Wayfarers Here," January 5; "Lively Wichita Debate in the Frontier Time Over the Ox and Mule," January 6; "Experience of a Pioneer Whose Wagon Mired Down To the Hubs in the Middle of Main Street [Wichita] Seventy-Four Years Ago," January 7; "Wichita's Sister City Across the Red River—Denison, North Texas," January 8; "Among the Innovations Marking Community's Infancy Were the Reaper, the Sewing Machine, the Breech-Loading Gun and the Carbon Light," January 10; "Lost on the Prairies [in Haskell County] Four Days and Nights During Blinding Storm," January 11; "Episode Up the River From Site of Wichita an International Event [Dispute Involving Mexico, Texas and the United States in 1843]," January 12; "Colcohoun Who Waited For Seven Long Years To Thank His Benefactor," January 13; "Old Memorandum Book of Mr. [T. J.] Peter Who Built the First Railroad [Santa Fe] Here," January 14; "Four Tests of Wichita That Came To Community in Its Very First Era," January 15; "Letter From Mr. Lincoln To Old Friend in Kansas Previous to Nomination," January 17; "Fondness Lincoln Felt For Railroad Travel Shown in Kansas Trip," January 18; "First Railroad Plan For Covering Kansas Missed Site of Wichita," January 20; "Old [Santa Fe] Time-Table Folder That Was Brightened Up With Touches of Humor," January 21; "Brother of Tecumseh, Prophet of Shawnees, Who Died in Kansas," January 22; "Switch From Coal Oil That Came To Country With Coming of Kerosene," January 24; "Early Knowledge Here of Refining Processes With Crude Petroleum," January 25; "Terms in Oil Industry Prairie People Owed To the Pennsylvanians," January 26, and "Experience of Pioneer [T. C. Henry] Handling Winter Wheat in the Early Seventies," January 31.

The history of the Anthony schools was reviewed in a three-column article in a special school edition of the *Anthony Republican*, August 24, 1944. The public school system was inaugurated in Anthony in 1879.

Kansas Historical Notes

Fred W. Brinkerhoff of Pittsburg, president of the Kansas State Historical Society, was honor guest at a meeting of the Crawford County Historical Society at Pittsburg June 7, 1944, and spoke briefly of the organization and work of the State Historical Society.

Dr. Ralph H. Smith, president of the Crawford county society, announced the following chairmen of committees for the work of the county society: Mrs. Lena Martin Smith, Pittsburg—Catalogue articles of historical interest and keep file of items or information gathered by various committees; Mrs. Clark M. Paris, Pittsburg—Keep a clipping record of historic events and file in archives; Frank Dorsey, Pittsburg—Secure rolls and rosters of service men and arrange for present selective service records when local boards are through with them; Dr. Elizabeth Cochran, Pittsburg—Letter collection; C. C. Wheeler, Pittsburg—Locate important genealogy in Crawford county and make record with location; Mrs. F. A. Gerken, Girard—List War Dads, Navy Mothers, D. A. R., American Legion and auxiliary and any other patriotic and historical group, and enlist their interest in building collection; Mrs. O. P. Dellinger, Pittsburg—Gather pioneer stories of county; George F. Beezley, Girard—Make record of historic buildings and sites in Crawford county; Ralph J. Shideler, Girard—Collect and record writing, painting, sculpture, design and music composition for creative artists' "Who's who"; H. A. Holzer, Pittsburg—Make list with brief sketch of each of the leaders in Crawford county for industrial and professional "Who's who"; Mrs. Harry Price, Cherokee—Locate and list homes, furniture, costumes and collections of art and books of historical significance; J. E. Needham, Girard—Make sketches of pioneer churches and schools in the county, and R. E. Mangrum, Pittsburg—Civic war activities.

Gov. Andrew F. Schoepel has announced the appointment of Harry C. Blaker and Donald F. Ellis of Pleasanton to the board of trustees of the Marais des Cygnes Massacre Memorial Park. Members reappointed were E. A. Hoag, Pleasanton, chairman; James Martin, of Boicourt, and Kirke Mechem, of Topeka.

Historical Societies in the United States and Canada is the title of a 261-page handbook edited by Christopher Crittenden and issued this summer by the American Association for State and Local His-

tory of Washington, D. C. Names of the president and secretary of each society, the date of its organization, number on staff, membership, dues, total income, kind of collections, and the hours each is open, were printed. The booklet gave detailed information on twenty-four active historical societies in Kansas, and named twelve others for which there was insufficient record to list among the active organizations.

Dr. James C. Malin's articles on the "Beginnings of Winter Wheat Production in the Upper Kansas and Lower Smoky Hill River Valleys," printed in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* of August, 1941, and "The Soft Winter Wheat Boom and the Agricultural Development of the Upper Kansas River Valley," in three parts in the *Quarterly* of November, 1942, and February and May, 1943, have been revised and republished with a new section, "The Emergence of the Hard Winter Wheat Regime, 1883-1902," in a book, *Winter Wheat in the Golden Belt of Kansas*, issued in August, 1944, from the University of Kansas Press.

Dr. Malin's well-documented book carries the raising of wheat in Kansas through its spring and soft winter eras to the 1900's when several varieties of hard winter wheat, through constant development and improvement, were beginning to make Kansas the banner wheat state of the nation.

The introduction of hard winter wheat to the state was not in itself an event that gave cause for immediate rejoicing. Even after it was established here new varieties were necessary before Kansans could partially overcome major obstacles provided by insects, weather and milling. Dr. Malin has emphasized the part played by improved machinery, and particularly the adaptation of lister tillage, in the raising of wheat.

In years of extensive study of documents, letters and newspaper files Dr. Malin was unable to locate contemporaneous records which would fully substantiate the tradition that the Mennonites, in the middle 1870's, were the first to introduce Turkey red hard winter wheat to Kansas. They brought winter wheat, he agrees, but there is a question that they were the first and only ones to introduce it. To him, "the strangest aspect of the whole situation is . . . the absence of any [contemporary] reference to Russian wheat during the first years of this [Mennonite] migration." He recognizes, however, "that there must be a substantial volume of contemporary correspondence in the hands of Mennonite families that should

clarify the rôle of that sect in the introductions made by them," but to date the beginnings remain clouded.

"According to recent Mennonite historians it was . . . [the Gnadenau, Marion county] colony of twenty-four families, of whom [Jacob A.] Wiebe was one, that is credited with the introduction of Turkey hard winter wheat, each family of whom had brought about a peck of it, planting it in the fall of 1874 and harvesting it in 1875." However, in an autobiographical statement, Wiebe's only reference to wheat preparations for the first fall of 1874 was to the purchase of some American seed for the first crop.

"If the Wiebe group brought a remarkable new wheat," Malin continued, "and no other Mennonites did, he did not realize its significance. . . . In view of the extensiveness of the migration, it would seem more probable that many families brought wheat with them from Russia. Furthermore, it is probable that more than one variety or strain of Russian wheat was included in the impedimenta of these German Mennonites in their transit to America. . . ."

In summing up the Mennonite contribution Dr. Malin believes it "falls largely into the category of the accidents of history and there is no evidence yet available to demonstrate that they understood even remotely at the time the significance of what they were doing, and it was years afterwards before they knew anything unusual had been done. Beyond the fact of bringing hard winter wheat from Russia, their positive contribution lies largely in the high quality of their farming and their shrewdness in adjusting successfully their traditional agricultural system to the new American crops, machinery and environment. The spread of the hard winter wheat throughout Kansas was almost entirely, if not altogether, a folk phenomenon, the common people following their instincts even against the advice of experts in agriculture and the discriminations of technicians of the milling and baking trades. . . ."



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Please Note

Due to the absence of several members of the staff in war service, which makes it necessary for the other experienced members to take care of the routine demands on the Society, *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* for a time will be printed with fewer pages.

During this interval it is hoped that the magazine can be returned to its usual publication schedule while still maintaining high quality and accuracy in the articles printed.

Volume XIII, now being published, will consist of eight numbers, covering the years 1944-1945. The index for this volume will appear as part of the November, 1945, issue.

—THE EDITORS.

Contributors

GEORGE A. ROOT and RUSSELL K. HICKMAN are members of the staff of the Kansas State Historical Society.

Biographical mention of WILLIAM HILL will be found on p. 243.

Pike's Peak Express Companies

PART II—SOLOMON AND REPUBLICAN ROUTE—Concluded

GEORGE A. ROOT and RUSSELL K. HICKMAN

THE early months of operation of the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express Company were much complicated by the fluctuations of migration to the new gold fields. This was due in part to the widespread exodus of many who were either ignorant of the hardships of mining in a remote and mountainous country or who were unwilling to undergo privation. Many without adequate supplies thoughtlessly joined the mad rush and still more who had no knowledge of prospecting and mining. As in all great migrations, there were many "floaters" who speedily moved on when they discovered that chunks of gold were not scattered promiscuously about the landscape. A stronger cause for discouragement, however, which for a time threatened the future of the region as a mineral empire, lay in the fact that the early discoveries of flake gold were inadequate to sustain the number that had migrated.

Since winter had largely halted mining and prospecting, the scarcity of gold was not fully realized until the warm weather of May, 1859. But even before this disappointed pilgrims were heading eastward over the Platte route, telling the westbound emigrants that "Pike's Peak was a humbug," "gold would never be found in paying quantities," "provisions and merchandise were scarce and high," "the country [was] without law of any kind," etc.¹⁰²

A stampede of returning emigrants took place, which at times approached panic proportions. Hundreds of wagons were soon on the back track; the roads were strewn with culinary utensils, camp fixtures, and other "impedimenta"; and oxen, teams and wagons were sold for a song. Some even made use of the Platte and Missouri rivers as a convenient way to return.¹⁰³ An observer on Big Sandy

102. J. E. Bromley, route agent from Kearny to Laramie on the Platte river stage line of J. M. Hockaday and company, wrote to his employers as follows (April 28, in St. Joseph, Mo., *Weekly West*, May 8, 1859): "We are in a very tight place here [Cotton Wood Springs, Louisa Station]. On the road from the crossing down, we have five stations that are crammed full of wagons from morning till night. . . . Pike's Peak has turned out to be a humbug, and the road is lined with starving men; and God knows we have got to give them something to eat as long as we have it. . . . If you could do something to keep the poor deluded devils from starving, you would be doing a kindness to humanity. . . ."

103. *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, May 20, 1859, which remarked that "skiffs loaded with Pike's Peakers, who have had their eye teeth cut, may be seen going down the river [Missouri] at almost any hour of the day."

creek, west of the Big Blue river, wrote a graphic account of this event for the New York *Tribune*:

We had already heard a faint murmur of a retrograde movement from the Peak, and no sooner did we arrive on top of the divide than we beheld the advance guard of the retreating columns. Such a stampede of human beings was never before seen. Mule teams, horse, cow and ox teams, hand-carts, men with carpet sacks, riders and runners, with every imaginable conveyance, loaded with every species of articles, from steam saw mills to blankets, all coming back in a hurry, as if flying from danger; some swearing lustily at Pike's Peak, at themselves, and the rest of mankind. Some were laughing at their folly, and at us. Some wore faces as long as the Peak they sought. The prairies, as well as the road, seemed alive with the masses. We no doubt met a thousand men per day, with saw mills, quartz mills, and whole trains of store goods. Outfits amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars are returning. And still, in the face of all this, thousands were pushing on as if nothing had happened.¹⁰⁴

This stampede was in great measure limited to the Platte route and appears to have started in April and May, 1859, even before the season had opened in the mountains. The situation was well described by a Denver correspondent of the Leavenworth *Herald*:

The first emigration that arrived here was of that excitable class who, deceived by the false and exaggerated tales of the Missouri River papers, rushed, totally unprepared—without tools, provisions or any proper outfit—to this place, expecting to pick up gold as they would potatoes. Winter was still upon us, and digging had not commenced. . . . Disappointed in finding what they expected they turned back, and determined that no others should come. They have, by the most unblushing lies and extraordinary stretch of fiction, contrived to turn back almost all of the emigration by the South Platte. By the Arkansas and Republican we are filling up fast enough. . . .¹⁰⁵

In their bitter disappointment some of the more unfortunate gave voice to a stinging rebuke of the whole "Pike's Peak humbug," and directed a storm of abuse against the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express Company. The Kansas City (Mo.) *Journal of Commerce*

104. Dispatch dated May 14, in the New York *Daily Tribune*, May 31, 1859. This movement appears to have been an outstanding example of mob hysteria, which might afford interesting data on the working of the "mass mind." It seems to have been motivated by a wild, unreasoning desire to escape the evils that threatened—a feeling which was greatly intensified by flight. Like the mob that accompanies a lynching, the individuals seem to have abandoned all pretense of considering the subject in an objective, reasonable manner.

105. Denver City correspondence, dated May 9, of the Leavenworth *Weekly Herald*, May 28, 1859. A letter of D. D. Cook, dated Auraria, May 11, 1859, in the same issue of this paper, remarked: "I was quite amused at a little incident the other day. . . . A large four-horse wagon drove down to Cherry creek, where teams cross from Denver City to Auraria. On its arrival at the Creek one of the party jumped from the wagon and waded in the Creek, rolled up his sleeves, and pulled a handful of sand. After washing the sand and examining it, and not finding the color just as he expected, he turned immediately around and started for the States. Since their departure we have heard from them on more than one occasion. They report the two cities—Denver and Auraria—at war; that houseburning, horse stealing, murder and plunder is the order of the day; that there is no gold in the country, and that it is a humbug. The consequence is that their *lies* have turned an immense number back on the Platte route."

had made repeated exposures of "this grand humbug,"¹⁰⁶ and now rang the changes with growing fervor. The *Weekly Journal of Commerce* branded as false everything the express company claimed to have accomplished. They asserted that

there has never been an attempt to open a route from Leavenworth by the Smoky Hill—that Jones & Russell never sent a coach that way—that their exploring party has just returned *from the Republican*—that no daily line has been established at all—that Jones & Russell have not advertised an express line as in operation, in any paper either in Leavenworth or in America. That their gold news is "gas," that their receipts of gold dust are "gassier," and that their "painted wagon," is "gassiest." In short, that the whole thing is buckram, from beginning to end. . . .¹⁰⁷

The White Cloud *Kansas Chief* had long held a similar belief and in its issue of April 21, 1859, remarked: "The rival 'outfitting points' are becoming so jealous of each other, that they are compelled to expose their own humbuggery." A few weeks later (May 5) it asserted that they had "heard any amount of unfavorable news. Hundreds, and some say thousands, are getting back home as fast as they can, perfectly satisfied with their sight of the 'elephant.'" Soon thereafter came the "explosion," but they believed that "our skirts are perfectly clear of this swindling affair."¹⁰⁸ The *St. Joseph (Mo.) Weekly West* could "hardly resist" calling the whole Pike's Peak proposition a humbug, although it attempted to present the news of all kinds in an objective manner. In its issue of May 18, 1859, it gave an adverse statement by George B. Throop, G. W. Price, and Job Sears, but pointed out that none of these men had actually been at the mines. In its issue of June 12, however, on the basis of very unfavorable reports from Leavenworth, this paper conceded that the whole affair was a hoax, and blamed the editors of the border papers. It asserted "that [to] the credulity of the emigrant, the unmitigated villainy of the shareholders of townsites in the region

106. The issue of April 13, reviewed the whole "humbug," and concluded that there was "no such route, and no such facilities for taking emigrants to the mines." There was such a company, but they "have no stock on their route, and as yet have made no arrangements at all to transport passengers or anything else," having merely "sent out a company to *explore* the route over which they *propose* to run this great express!!"

107. Issue of May 21, 1859. The obvious unfairness of these assertions is apparent. The *Kansas City* paper wrongly assigns the Smoky Hill route to the express company, a mistake more or less common, but typical of this publication, which could see no good in Leavenworth. The whole subject should be viewed with due regard to the intense rivalry between towns which characterized the period.

108. The *Kansas Chief* of May 26, 1859, which gives an extended review of the whole "swindle," with their repeated condemnation. They blamed the Pike's Peak publicity campaign, and apparently did not condemn the express company, as did the *Kansas City Journal of Commerce*. The issue of June 2 described a trial on the plains of a "peaker" who was alleged to have circulated a false report of gold at the mines. As late as June 30 this paper was decrying the reports of gold and believed that when things "exploded" at Denver those interested at that point sent men into the mountains to bring back reports of great discoveries.

of Cherry Creek, and of letter writers in the mines, is to be attributed all the disaster which has ensued. . . ." ¹⁰⁹ The *St. Joseph Gazette* for a time subscribed to the view that the Pike's Peak express company of Jones & Russell was "an arrant humbug," ¹¹⁰ but later spoke in much more hopeful terms of the prospects for gold—"we are satisfied that the gold of the South Platte extends over a vast range of country, and that there are many places where it can be obtained in paying quantities." ¹¹¹ In general, however, the border papers did not blame the Pike's Peak Express Company.

The initial trips of the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak express were made with this background of uncertainty regarding the future of the mines. The company being the chief means of carrying mail to the diggings, the arrival of the express coaches was awaited with the greatest interest by the public. On May 12, 1859, two coaches arrived in Denver for the second time, after a journey of 19 days from Leavenworth. ¹¹² Among the passengers was Daniel Blue, who had been given free passage from Station 25, where he had been left by the first stage coach after a grueling experience on the Smoky Hill route. ¹¹³ The most noted passenger on this trip was Henry Villard, a correspondent of the Cincinnati (Ohio) *Daily Commercial*, who wrote a graphic account of the journey to his paper. ¹¹⁴ Villard found the Cherry creek diggings in a state of depression, many miners were without funds and consequently the cry of the auctioneer was a very familiar sound. Many had struck for the mountains, and others, disgusted, had returned to the "States." The prevailing "depression of mind," however, was giving way to a more hopeful attitude, he wrote, adding that the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express Company had shipped during the last week about a thousand dollars worth of scale gold. ¹¹⁵ B. D. Williams of the express company returned to Leavenworth on the second return trip from Den-

109. In a more or less modified form the suspicion of fraud persisted, probably encouraged by the fact that many failed at the mines, or at least failed to discover paying deposits.

110. Leavenworth *Weekly Herald*, April 30, 1859, which charged that the *Gazette* was alarmed for fear the emigrants would leave St. Joseph.

111. *St. Joseph Gazette*, clipped in the *Achison Freedom's Champion*, May 21, 1859.

112. *Rocky Mountain News*, May 14, in *Leavenworth Weekly Herald*, June 4, 1859.

113. See his signed statement, dated Denver City, May 12, 1859, in Henry Villard, "To the Pike's Peak Country in 1859 and Cannibalism on the Smoky Hill Route," in the *Colorado Magazine*, Denver, v. VIII, No. 6 (November, 1931), pp. 232, 233. Blue was the sole survivor of a party of four, who were forced to resort to human flesh as a means of subsistence. A friendly Indian took him to an express station, and he rested at Station 25 until able to complete the journey to Denver.

114. *Ibid.*, pp. 225-236; also a reprint by the same author, entitled *The Past and Present of the Pike's Peak Gold Regions* (Princeton, 1932).

115. Villard, "To the Pike's Peak Country in 1859 and Cannibalism on the Smoky Hill Route," *loc cit.*, p. 234.

ver and brought further details of the more favorable news from the mountains, where many were prospecting.¹¹⁶

The third trip of the express coaches was completed the following morning (May 28), after a journey of nine days and a few hours from Denver, which would have been reduced a full day had it not been for high water. This forced them to swim the Wildcat, near Manhattan, and delayed them a day at Rock creek,¹¹⁷ where they met the westbound coach with its illustrious passenger, Horace Greeley, and his journalist companion, Albert D. Richardson. The passengers on the third coach reported a great hegira from the settlements to the mountains, and the prevalence of a feeling of confidence that gold would be found in considerable quantities.¹¹⁸

The journey of Horace Greeley and Albert D. Richardson by Pike's Peak express to the gold mines of Colorado has been chronicled by a number of writers.¹¹⁹ Richardson left Leavenworth on the stage of May 25, 1859, and wrote an interesting account of the Concord coach which, like the "wonderful one-hoss shay," was made so that it "don't break down, but only wears out."

It is covered with duck or canvas, the driver sitting in front, at a slight elevation above the passengers. Bearing no weight upon the roof, it is less top-heavy than the old-fashioned stage-coach for mud holes and mountain-sides, where to preserve the center of gravity becomes, with Falstaff's instinct, 'a great matter.' Like human travelers on life's highway, it goes best under a heavy load. Empty, it jolts and pitches like a ship in a raging sea; filled with passengers and balanced by a proper distribution of baggage in the 'boot' behind, and under the driver's feet before, its motion is easy and elastic. Excelling every other in durability and strength, this hack is used all over our continent and throughout South America.

116. Leavenworth *Weekly Herald*, May 28, 1859 (the coaches left Denver May 13). Williams prophesied much more favorable news in ten days. He reported meeting about 800 persons bound for the mines, and none returning by the express road, although about 4,000 had left by way of the Platte.

117. Leavenworth *Daily Times*, May 30, 1859. The third coach carried J. Heywood, T. A. J. Withrow, W. W. Thompson, Capt. Fickland [Benj. F. Ficklin], and J. H. McEwen, four of whom bore gold dust. The trip was said to have been pleasant, although at a lay-over station the stage drivers refused to accede to Captain Fickland's request for night driving until after much persuasion.

118. Leavenworth *Weekly Herald*, June 4, 1859. Both Greeley in his *Overland Journey* (p. 71) and Richardson in his *Beyond the Mississippi* (Hartford, 1875, p. 160), describe the wait at Rock creek, where a number of express coaches and wagons were congregated, until the high waters subsided. The Leavenworth *Daily Times* believed the mines "comparatively unprofitable," and in its issue of June 4 printed a letter of C. Davison, a special newspaper correspondent, who had returned on the last stage with news that Denver City and Auraria were about half empty. "Of the gold . . . I need say little, further than it is now the general belief that failure has been the lot of most if not all, so far, that have sought it. . . . That some have made fair wages on some leads, for a little time, is true; but their success was of short duration; and it is certainly true that it has been a losing business as a general thing. . . ."

119. The trip is described in Greeley's *Overland Journey*, pp. 71-114, with a further chapter on the "Kansas Gold-Diggings" (pp. 115-127); Albert D. Richardson, *Beyond the Mississippi*, pp. 159-192; and Martha B. Caldwell, "When Horace Greeley Visited Kansas in 1859," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. XI, pp. 115-150.

Two coaches, each drawn by four mules, leave Leavenworth daily¹²⁰ and make the entire trip together, for protection in case of danger from Indians. A crowd gathered in front of the Planters' House to see our equipages start. Amid confused ejaculations of 'Good-by, old boy.' 'Write as soon as you get there.' 'Better have your hair cut, so that the Arapahoes can't scalp you.' 'Tell John to send me an ounce of the dust.' 'Be sure and give Smith that letter from his wife.' 'Do write the facts about the gold,' the whips cracked and the two stages rolled merrily away.¹²¹

After he had concluded a brief tour of the principal settlements Greeley boarded an express coach bound for the mines. Wherever he went he aroused the interest of the people, even though he encountered, every now and then, one who had been "born and raised in Missouri," who had never heard of Greeley and the New York *Tribune*.¹²² The trip was completed without incident of importance, although shortly before arriving at Station 17 the coach was overturned and Greeley suffered injuries which proved more painful than serious.

Descending an abrupt hill, our mules, terrified by meeting three savages, broke a line, ran down a precipitous bank, upsetting the coach which was hurled upon the ground with a tremendous crash, and galloped away with the fore-wheels. I sprang out in time to escape being overturned. From a mass of cushions, carpet-sacks and blankets soon emerged my companion, his head rising above the side of the vehicle like that of an advertising boy from his frame of pasteboard. Blood was flowing profusely from cuts in his cheek, arm and leg; but his face was serene and benignant as a May morning. He was soon rescued from his cage, and taken to Station Seventeen, a few yards beyond, where the good woman dressed his galling wounds.¹²³

At Station 23, nearly 600 miles from Leavenworth, B. D. Williams of the express company overtook the coach containing Greeley and Richardson and proceeded with them to Denver.¹²⁴ The sight of the mountains towering in the west gave the travelers new hope, and the

120. Although it was first announced that a coach would leave daily, in actual practice the business of the company was far less than would have been required for so frequent service. A departure of one or several coaches at the same time was more nearly a weekly event. The presence of several vehicles traveling together across the plains also made for added safety. At about the time that more favorable news began to come from the mines, the Leavenworth *Daily Times* announced (June 9, 1859) that thereafter Jones & Russell would run a weekly express to the diggings, starting every Tuesday. A few weeks later the company announced that an express would leave daily "when coaches are full of passengers," but none would leave, except on Tuesdays, unless there were six passengers. "One, Two or Three Coaches Will Start Every Day if there are passengers enough to justify."—*Daily Times*, June 21, *et seq.*

121. *Beyond the Mississippi*, p. 159.

122. *Ibid.*, p. 170.

123. *Ibid.*, p. 173. As usual they slept that night in the coach, although the next morning Greeley "awoke so stiff and sore that he could not move a muscle without suffering." However, they continued their journey as usual, up the "sandy valley of the Republican, destitute of tree and shrub and barren as Sahara."—*Ibid.*, p. 175. Greeley's lameness remained with him for several days, even after the completion of the trip at Denver, but he attached no blame to the express company for this accident.

124. Leavenworth *Weekly Herald*, June 25, 1859—a detailed article on the gold region.

reappearance of trees in abundance was even more cheering.¹²⁵ Early in the morning of June 6 the coach arrived at Denver City, after a journey of eleven days from Leavenworth. Even though a trip by stage was much superior to other methods of transportation Greeley could not fail to note the humbling influence of the experience, and remarked:

A true picture of gold-seekers setting out from home, trim and jolly, for Pike's Peak, and of those same gold-seekers, sober as judges, and slow-moving as their own weary oxen, dropping into Denver, would convey a salutary lesson to many a sanguine soul. Nay, I have in my mind's eye an individual who rolled out of Leavenworth, barely thirteen days ago, in a satisfactory rig, and a spirit of adequate self-complacency, but who—though his hardships have been nothing to theirs—dropped into Denver this morning in a sobered and thoughtful frame of mind, in dust-begrimed and tattered habiliments, with a patch on his cheek, a bandage on his leg, and a limp in his gait, altogether constituting a spectacle most rueful to behold.¹²⁶

The next day (June 7) Greeley, Richardson and Henry Villard set forth on an expedition into the mountains to investigate the new mines. B. D. Williams, superintendent of the express company, placed one of the coaches at their disposal and personally accompanied them on the trip.¹²⁷ It was clearly to the interest of the express company as well as the press to place the truth before the people of the country and end if possible the oft-repeated charge of humbug. After visiting the principal mines Greeley, Villard and Richardson issued a combined statement which described the operations on the leading claims, the amounts of gold being produced and future prospects. The manifesto portrayed the region as very promising, but closed with a warning of the grave difficulties involved

125. Greeley, *Overland Journey*, pp. 111, 112. "And it was a pleasure to see, last evening, the many parties of way-worn gold-seekers encamped beside our way, after their long journey through a woodless region, surrounding great, ruddy, leaping fires of the dead pitch-wood, and solacing themselves for their long privation by the amplest allowance of blaze and warmth. . . . Be the day ever so warm in the sun's softened glare, the night that follows is sure to be chill and piercing, driving the musketoes and buffalo-gnats to their hiding-places directly after sunset."

126. *Ibid.*, p. 114. Concerning Denver, Richardson termed it "a most forlorn and desolate-looking metropolis." He further asserted that there were only "five women in the whole gold region. . . . The men who gathered about our coach on its arrival were attired in slouched hats, tattered woolen shirts, buckskin pantaloons and moccasins; and had knives and revolvers suspended from their belts." Greeley and Richardson lodged at the Denver House, whose occupants demanded a speech. "On one side the tipplers at the bar silently sipped their grog, on the other the gamblers respectfully suspended the shuffling of cards and the counting of money from their huge piles of coin, while Mr. Greeley standing between them, made a strong anti-drinking and anti-gambling address, which was received with perfect good humor."—*Beyond the Mississippi*, pp. 177, 178.

127. Special correspondence of the Leavenworth *Daily Times* of June 21 (Henry Villard), dated Denver, June 10, 1859. Martin Field, in charge of the Denver mail office of the express company, also accompanied the party.—Letter of Frederick Kershaw, dated Denver City, June 10, in Hannibal, Mo., *Messenger*, June 26, 1859, copied in Hafen, Le Roy R., *Colorado Gold Rush, Southwest Historical Series*, v. X, p. 372. The trip is described by Richardson in his *Beyond the Mississippi*, pp. 179-203; also by Greeley in his *Overland Journey*, pp. 115-127, and 145-148, and by Villard in his *The Past and Present of the Pike's Peak Gold Regions*, pp. 40-52.

and the possibility that emigrants might come away empty handed and be forced to endure privation, particularly late in the season.

"Greeley's Report" was given the widest publicity throughout the country,¹²⁸ and was very effective in stilling the cry of hoax and placing the future of the region on a firm basis, although for a time there were allegations that even this was humbug. Richardson asserted that he had "absolute confidence in the permanency, extent and richness of these diggings," but he warned that a great many would fail in the undertaking.¹²⁹ On the second day of the trip Greeley addressed a mass meeting of the miners of Ralston valley, which embraced the rich Gregory diggings. He spoke hopefully of the mines, advocated the formation of a state government and placed himself on record in favor of temperance.

Mr. Williams, the Superintendent of the Express Company, succeeded him in some eloquent and logical remarks, in the course of which he took occasion to refer to the willingness of the Company he represented to facilitate the intercourse of the miners with the States at the lowest possible rates. He explained the arrangements made by the Company for the shipment of dust, transportation of mails, etc., all of which were received with evident gratification by the audience. . . .

There is a very cordial feeling here towards your city [Leavenworth], and the warmest gratitude is felt towards the Express Company. . . .

The emigration can now start on a certain basis. Everything looks well for Kansas and the Great West.

Three cheers for Pike's Peak and Leavenworth.¹³⁰

The dispatches from the mines during the month of June, 1859, were a barometer of the great change that was taking place. The coaches that had taken Greeley and Richardson to the mountains returned too soon to bring the good news of their joint report but did carry the welcome message that emigration *from* the mines had entirely ceased and that business had greatly revived. James M. Fox of the express company wrote from Denver on May 30, asking

128. It is published entire in the *Colorado Gold Rush*, pp. 376-382. The border papers as a rule copied the manifesto, even though in some cases it ran counter to their own beliefs. Some questioned its authenticity, in particular doubting the signature of Greeley, whose name carried great weight the country over. Such charges seem to have been the last refuge of those "sold" on the humbug charge, like the *Kansas City Journal of Commerce*. The report did not appear in the Leavenworth *Daily Times* until the issue of June 21, when it was made a part of "Our Gold Budget."

129. *Beyond the Mississippi*, p. 201. Villard estimated the output of gold as "at least \$3,500 per day" (letter cited above).

130. Special correspondence of the Leavenworth *Daily Times* of June 21, dated Denver City, June 10, 1859. Richardson gives a very graphic picture of this gathering of some fifteen hundred people (*Beyond the Mississippi*, p. 183), which he termed "the first mass meeting ever held in the Rocky Mountains." A detailed account of this same event was published in the Leavenworth *Weekly Herald*, June 25, 1859: "He [Greeley] was followed by Mr. Williams, who spoke of the high character, objects and designs of Jones & Russell's Express Company—of its ability to fulfill all engagements, and appealed to the people to know whether they would sustain a company, that had remained faithful through evil and good reports, whilst all others had abandoned the field. He was answered by a universal shout, 'We will! We will!'"

vincing to most people.¹³⁵ The Leavenworth *Daily Times* asserted that all conclusions be suspended until he could get the report of Martin Field and Henry Villard, whom he had sent into the mountains, and said, "I think it is the richest country in the world."¹³¹ The next day he wrote in a much more positive manner, confirming in full the richness and extent of the discoveries, stating, "You can set down the unparalleled richness of this country as a fixed fact."¹³² The express coaches that arrived on June 13 were too early to carry the "Greeley Report" but did bring over a thousand letters from the mines, addressed to every part of the country. The Leavenworth *Daily Times*¹³³ remarked:

A number of private letters to our citizens have been shown to us, and we have yet to see one that gives us a discouraging account of the mines or those who are there.

The excitement in our city relative to the matter is as general as intense.

Knots and groups of men at every corner are seen discussing the propriety of "taking a start." "Pike's Peak" is again a household word, and the gold fever is turning into a regular epidemic.

Thus wags the world. Up and down. Down and up. A few weeks since and everybody declared—"I always knew and always said Pike's Peak was a humbug." Now the song goes—"Just as I predicted and always maintained, Pike's Peak is *all gold*."¹³⁴

The express that arrived on the night of June 19 brought to Leavenworth conclusive tidings of great riches in the Western mountains. It carried \$2,500 in gold, of which a thousand dollars was consigned to the Leavenworth firm of Smoot & Russell, and the rest to Eastern customers. The express also brought the "Greeley Report" on the mines and mining operations in the West, which substantiated the claims of rich discoveries and made the news convincing to most people.¹³⁵ The Leavenworth *Daily Times* asserted

131. Leavenworth *Daily Times*, June 10, 1859. A copy of the *Rocky Mountain News* seemed to substantiate reports of the discovery. Two coaches arrived on the previous day, after a trip of eleven days, with four passengers and \$229 in dust. Barring the above letter of an "insider," however, the news was still of a discouraging nature—provisions were not to be had, money was a thing "unknown," and emigrants were arriving and departing in about equal numbers, all of which prompted more "humbug" comments in the border papers.

132. Letter dated May 31, 1859, in *Colorado Gold Rush*, pp. 364-366. Four days later he wrote to Jones & Russell that he was forwarding by express a sum of gold amounting to over \$400, and added as his "firm belief that in two weeks I will be able to ship you as *purchasers* on consignments from five to ten thousand dollars [of gold]," and described the mines as "surprisingly rich."—Leavenworth *Weekly Herald*, June 18.

133. Issue of June 14, 1859—an article entitled "Pike's Peak Redivivus."

134. In another column the *Times* pointed out that an express was about to leave for Denver, which would take "a number of passengers and an immense amount of mail matter. The reaction has already commenced. The tide is again turning *towards* the mines, and in a few weeks we may expect an emigration even larger than . . . early this year." Despite all this, the *Kansas City Journal of Commerce* was still continuing its tirades against Leavenworth, which it now asserted lay "helpless and deserted," the victim of a "false system" which made it a parasite upon its neighbors. The Leavenworth *Times* replied (June 16): "The dirty little paper, in the dirty little town aforesaid, is ever aping the frog in the fable. The frog insisted on swelling to ox-ish dimensions, and burst."

135. *Ibid.*, June 21. The White Cloud *Kansas Chief* of June 30 still believed the golden bubble would finally burst, and rejected the numerous dispatches of the arrival of gold at Leavenworth as largely "bunk." It believed the Greeley report written at the request of B. D. Williams in order to boost the business of the express company.

that its position "from first to last, [was] sustained and vindicated." Those desiring to emigrate "should start at once, and those who can should take Jones & Russell's Express."¹³⁶ Beginning June 21 the *Times* ran a new advertisement of improved service by the express company:

JONES, RUSSELL & Co.'s
EXPRESS TO THE GOLD MINES
WILL LEAVE EVERY DAY

When coaches are full of passengers. No coach will leave except on Tuesdays, unless there are six passengers.

One, two or three coaches will start every day, if there are passengers enough to justify. Fare \$125, including 20 lbs. baggage. Extra baggage will be charged express rates.

JOHN S. JONES, Supt.

FREIGHT FOR THE MINES

I have on hand a large number of oxen and wagons, and will contract with parties to deliver in Denver City any quantity of freight. Will start a train next week, and at least two or three a week during the summer, or as often as freight offers. Apply at my office, under the Planter's Hotel.

June 20th, 1859.

JOHN S. JONES.¹³⁷

The coaches that arrived at Leavenworth on June 19 would have made the trip in seven days from Denver had they not been delayed a day by an accident which took place near Station 12. The vehicles were moving at a fast pace while thousands of buffalo were swarming on the plains and in the road. A herd passed directly in front of the mules, which took fright and ran. The driver dropped the reins and jumped for the animals. He caught the harness, but was dragged along like a feather. B. D. Williams, who was in the coach, tried to catch the reins, but when the mules dashed for a precipice he hastily jumped out. He was caught by the wheels, which passed over his legs and one arm, inflicting painful but not

136. Issue of June 21. This paper had published "thousands" of an extra edition of June 20, which sold in an "unparalleled" manner.

137. June 3, 1859, the first supply train sent out by Jones & Russell arrived in Denver, loaded principally with groceries. Twenty-five wagons, each drawn by six splendid mules that appeared as sleek as when they left Leavenworth, made up the train. "It is a real God-send in view of the general scarcity of almost all articles of trade in this place."—Special correspondence of the *Leavenworth Times*, dated Denver City, June 3, copied in the *New York Daily Tribune*, June 20. A letter dated Denver, June 14, asserted that these goods were sold mainly at wholesale (chiefly to retailers of Denver, Auraria, and elsewhere). Owing to these large shipments, prices at Denver went down considerably—sugar was then only 25¢, coffee 35¢, and flour 15¢ per pound—much cheaper than the exorbitant prices previously in effect.—*Daily Times*, July 4.

serious injuries. In a few moments mules, coach and all rolled over the declivity. Marvelous to state, neither animals nor coach were injured, although two of the mules escaped for a day.¹³⁸

The trips of late June were affected by plans for a change-over to the Platte route to the mines. On May 11, 1859, Jones, Russell & Co. purchased the mail contract of John M. Hockaday & Co., who since 1858 had held a government contract to transport the mail from St. Joseph, Mo., to Salt Lake City. In the transfer were included all the stations, livestock and equipment of the Hockaday firm. Since the contract provided for mail service by way of Forts Kearny and Laramie, it was necessary that the route of the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express be moved to the Platte if its coaches were to transport the overland mail. The press remained very quiet concerning the change. Since the Pike's Peak firm had been accorded much praise (and some blame) for its pioneering in establishing a new and shorter route, it is possible that the company frowned on all publicity in the matter. Late in June the service by way of the old route was interrupted, and mail and passengers from Denver were brought to the junction point on the South Platte, where connections were made with the overland mail to Utah and California.¹³⁹ Shortly thereafter the outbound coaches followed the new route, the first express for Denver by way of the Platte leaving Leavenworth July 2, 1859.

INITIAL ROUTE BY THE SOLOMON AND REPUBLICAN VALLEYS

The route of the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express from the Missouri river to the Rockies was an indefinite "right of way," the exact location of which is difficult or even impossible to establish with certainty. Since it was laid out before the region west of eastern Kansas had been surveyed the precise station locations are often questionable, particularly those in extreme western Kansas and Nebraska and present-day eastern Colorado which in 1859 constituted a part of Kansas and Nebraska. The following table of stations and intervening locations is based upon the available sources, particularly the detailed field notes of E. D. Boyd as they appeared

138. *Ibid.*, June 21, 1859. At Station 26 they met fifteen of Jones & Russell's express wagons, loaded with corn and provisions for Denver, and at Station 16 Downing's train of 27 wagons, also loaded with provisions for the same place.

139. *Ibid.*, June 24, 1859. The transfer of contract and related matters is treated in some detail in 36 Cong., 1 Sess., *Senate Reports*, v. 2 (Serial 1040), No. 259, which concerns the relief of John M. Hockaday and William Liggitt. The change of route to the Platte will be discussed in more detail in the next and final installment of this article.

in *Freedom's Champion* of Atchison, June 25, 1859;¹⁴⁰ Horace Greeley's *Overland Journey*; Albert D. Richardson's *Beyond the Mississippi*; and Henry Villard's account as published in the *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*.¹⁴¹ The mileage figures are largely based upon "Boyd's Notes" and although believed to be fairly reliable should be regarded more as estimates than exact computations.

STATION 1.—Basement of the Planter's House, Leavenworth.

STATION 2.—Easton, Leavenworth county, which Greeley described as "a village of thirty to fifty houses."¹⁴²

STATION 3.—Osawkie, Jefferson county, at the crossing of Grasshopper creek. Greeley described the town in 1859 as in "a state of dilapidation and decay, like a good many Kansas cities which figure largely on the map."¹⁴³

STATION 4.—Silver Lake, Shawnee county, on the Pottawatomie Indian reservation. Richardson points out (p. 160) that this station was kept by a half-breed Indian¹⁴⁴ with whom he passed the night after a day's journey of 68 miles from Leavenworth.

STATION 5.—St. Mary's Catholic Mission.

Richardson:

Passed St. Mary's Catholic Mission—a pleasant, home-like group of log-houses, and a little frame church, bearing aloft the cross—among shade and fruit trees, in a picturesque valley. The mission has been

140. "The Great Central Route to the Gold Mines of Western Kansas—Notes of Travel," which are referred to in this article as "Boyd's Notes." This original narrative is here republished in part, with further comments by Greeley, Richardson, and Villard. The reader is also referred to the documents included under the heading, "Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express Route," which accompany "Boyd's Notes" in the publication *Overland Routes to the Goldfields, 1859*, particularly the annotated diary of Richardson; also the article by Dr. Margaret Long in *The Colorado Magazine* entitled "The Route of the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express," v. XII, pp. 186-194, and the more recent book by the same author, entitled *The Smoky Hill Trail* (Denver, 1943). See, also, the chart accompanying this installment.

141. Reprinted in *The Colorado Magazine*, v. VIII, pp. 225-236, and entitled: "To the Pike's Peak Country in 1859 and Cannibalism on the Smoky Hill Route." (Hereafter referred to as "Pike's Peak Country.")

142. *Overland Journey*, p. 50. Richardson points out in his *Beyond the Mississippi* (p. 160): "Beyond Easton and Hickory Point we passed hundreds of freight and emigrant wagons stalled in the mud. William H. Russell the chief freighter of the plains, owns many of them. Last year he employed twenty-five thousand oxen and two thousand wagons, chiefly in transporting supplies for our army in Utah. He stipulates that any one of his teamsters who whips cattle unmercifully or utters an oath, shall forfeit his wages. Of course the precaution proves ineffective, for there is a logical connection between mud-holes and profanity." This oath is commonly attributed to Alexander Majors of the firm of Russell, Majors & Waddell.

143. *Overland Journey*, p. 51; also Martha B. Caldwell, "When Horace Greeley Visited Kansas in 1859," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. IX, p. 127.

144. This station was at the log store of Sloan & Beaubien, which also served as the residence of Madore R. Beaubien, pioneer settler of this community. The son of Jean Baptiste Beaubien, famous French-Indian trader and business man of Detroit and Chicago, Madore came to Kansas in 1847 and settled on the Pottawatomie reserve, passing most of his later life at Silver Lake. He was a leading member of the Pottawatomie tribe, until it was naturalized, and also had a prominent career as a business man.—Unpublished manuscript of Mrs. Emma C. Reichert, a resident of Silver Lake. For an account of the elder Beaubien and son, who were among the founders of Chicago, see A. T. Andreas, *History of Chicago* (3 vols., Chicago, 1884), v. I, pp. 84-86.

in operation twelve years. In the school-room we saw sixty Indian boys at their lessons.¹⁴⁵

STATION 6.—Manhattan. At this point Greeley joined Richardson, both bound for the gold mines. Because of high water their express coach was delayed a day at Manhattan.

Richardson:

Beyond the three houses which compose the town of Pittsburg, we crossed the Big Blue river and reached Manhattan—a flourishing Yankee settlement of two or three hundred people in a smooth and beautiful valley. . . .

Thus far I had been the solitary passenger. But at Manhattan Horace Greeley after a tour through the interior to gratify the clamorous settlers with speeches, joined me for the rest of the journey. . . .¹⁴⁶

Villard:

The high, well timbered bluffs of the Kaw River began to serve as a background to the scenery as we approached Manhattan. . . .

A short distance this side of Fort Riley we came upon the ruins of Pawnee and Riley cities, consisting of two or three storehouses on both banks of the Kaw, which were considered but a few years ago as the beginning of surely great cities. It was here that Gov. Reeder wanted to locate the state capital, for the purpose of subserving the land interest he owned in this vicinity. But in this, as is well known, he signally failed, and the aforementioned edifices will stand as monuments of a speculation that overleaped itself.

Fort Riley is the best military post I have seen upon my extensive travels through the West. Officers' quarters, sutlers' establishments, stables, etc., all have an appearance of solidity and cleanliness which differ greatly, and pleasingly to the eye, from the rudely constructed cabins of which the towns we had passed consisted.¹⁴⁷

STATION 7.—Junction City. In 1859 the "jumping off" place on the frontier where travelers for the West bade good bye to most of the remaining amenities of civilization.

Richardson:

We stopped for the night at Junction City, (Station Seven,) the frontier post-office and settlement of Kansas.¹⁴⁸

145. *Beyond the Mississippi*, p. 160. Because of the swollen state of Rock creek, Richardson was forced to remain an afternoon and night at Louisville, "a city of three houses. Its hotel affords the inevitable fat pork, hot biscuits and muddy coffee. The landlady is a half-breed; and her two daughters with oval faces, olive complexions and bright black eyes the only pretty Indian girls I have ever seen."

146. *Ibid.*, p. 161.

147. "Pike's Peak Country," p. 226. Richardson agreed with Villard in this conclusion, terming Fort Riley "one of our most beautiful military posts," and added: "All the buildings are two stories high, of light limestone resembling marble."—*Beyond the Mississippi*, p. 161. Greeley also praised its location, but lamented the "two millions of Uncle Sam's money" that had been used in its improvement. "The barracks are comfortable, the hospital large and well placed, the officers' quarters spacious and elegant, and the stables most extensive and admirable."—*Overland Journey*, p. 72.

148. *Beyond the Mississippi*, p. 161.

Villard:

. . . Junction City, which is a combination of about two dozen frame and log houses, which derives its name from being at the Junction of the Kaw [Smoky Hill] and Republican rivers, . . .

During my stay at Junction City I paid a visit to the "Sentinel" office, the most westerly located newspaper establishment of eastern Kansas. Its office is a most original institution. It serves the purposes of a printing house, law office, land agency, and tailor shop, and the followers of these different avocations appear to live, and sometimes to starve together in unbroken harmony.

From Leavenworth to Junction City, which represents Station No. 7, the express route is in the very best working order. I came through in 22 riding hours, which is better time than even the oldest stage lines are able to make, and fared as well on the way as though I was making a pleasure excursion along a highway of eastern travel.

After leaving Junction City we at once entered upon the unmodified wilderness of the seemingly endless prairies that intervene between the waters of the Missouri and the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains.¹⁴⁹

Villard also wrote a good description of the express route from this point westward:

From Junction City to the last mentioned place [Denver] the route is divided into four divisions of five stations each, so that Denver City figures as Station No. 27. The distance between the several stations averages 25 miles. Care has been taken to locate the stations on creeks, in order to furnish the necessary supply of wood and water. From 18 to 24 mules, under the charge of a station-keeper, his assistant and four drivers, are kept at each of them, to furnish relays for the coaches from the East as well as the West. From two to three stages are made a day by the latter. Passengers obtain three meals a day and plenty of sleep in tents, which will soon give away to log and frame houses.

The road is an excellent one. . . . Water, grass and timber, the indispensable necessities of the navigators . . . [of the plains] are plentiful throughout with the exception of the valley of the Republican, the extremely sandy character of which renders it destitute of timber. For the 125 miles that the road follows its course, grass and water is, however, ample. . . .¹⁵⁰

149. "Pike's Peak Country," pp. 226, 227. While at this place Villard "fell in with some officers from the Fort" who were "celebrating" Easter, and proceeded to "enjoy" the "very last spree for some time to come." Greeley remarked that "Junction has a store, two hotels, and some thirty or forty dwellings, one of which is distinguished for its age, having been erected so long ago as 1858." The following morning: "A mile or two of progress carried us beyond any road but that traced only this spring for the Pike's Peak expresses; for ten miles onward, no house, no field, no sign of human agency. . . ."—*Overland Journey*, pp. 73, 74.

150. "Pike's Peak Country," pp. 227, 228. In reality the region along the upper Republican approached a desert area, but of course Villard traversed it early in the season when water and grass were probably at their best. His detailed account follows: "The express route keeps along the divide of the Republican and Solomon's Fork of Kansas River, crossing the heads of the tributaries of the latter named fork for some distance, then bearing a little northward, crossing the heads of Prairie Dog, Sappa and Cranmer creeks, tributaries of the Republican, and striking that river between the 101 and 102 degrees of western longitude, it follows the south side of the Republican to a point near its source; thence striking due west it crosses the heads of Beaver, Bijou and Kiowa creeks, tributaries of the Platte, passing through a beautiful pine country for sixty miles, and striking Cherry Creek and the Santa Fe Trail twenty miles below [above] the former's mouth, and running alongside of it to Denver City, its western terminus."—*Ibid.*, p. 227.

STATION 8.—Located on the west side of Chapman's creek near the present Clay-Dickinson county line.

Richardson:

Dined at Chapman's creek, in a station of poles covered with sail cloth, but where the host superior to daily drenchings, gave us an admirable meal upon a snowy table-cloth.¹⁵¹

Greeley:

Our road bore hence north of west, up the left bank of Chapman's Creek, on which, twenty-three miles from Junction, we halted at "Station 8," at 11 A. M., to change mules and dine. . . . There is of course, no house here, but two small tents and a brush arbor furnish accommodations for six to fifteen persons, as the case may be. A score of mules are picketed about on the rich grass; there is a rail-pen for the two cows. . . . She [the station-keeper's wife] gave us an excellent dinner of bacon and greens, good bread, apple-sauce and pie, . . . The water was too muddy . . . [to] permit me to drink it. . . .¹⁵²

STATION 9.—On Pipe creek, probably northeast of present Minneapolis, Ottawa county.

Richardson:

Stopped for the night at Station Nine, consisting of two tents. In the evening wrote newspaper letters in the coach by a lantern. . . . At ten o'clock composed ourselves to sleep in the carriage to the music of howling wolves and heavy thunder.—Days' travel sixty-eight miles [Greeley estimated it as 58 miles].¹⁵³

Greeley:

We rose early from our wagon-bed this morning, had breakfast at six, and soon bade adieu to Pipe Creek, with its fringe of low elms and cotton-woods, such as thinly streak all the streams we have passed to-day. . . . We have crossed many streams to-day, all making south for Solomon's Fork, which has throughout been from two to six miles from us on our left. . . . The route has been from fifty to two hundred feet above the bed of the Fork, keeping out of all bottoms and marshes, but continually cut by water-

151. *Beyond the Mississippi*, p. 163. "Timber disappearing; only straggling fringes remain along the creek. . . . Began journeying now among the buffalo grass. . . . Met thirty Cheyenne Indians on a begging and stealing expedition, who asked for whisky and tobacco. . . ."

152. *Overland Journey*, p. 75; also Martha B. Caldwell, "When Horace Greeley Visited Kansas in 1859," cited above, pp. 132, 133. Some distance below this they "passed the last settler on our road to Pike's Peak," who was located in a valley of "gloriously rich prairie," and already cultivating seventy-five acres of land, with splendid results.

Among the "equipment" furnished the keepers of the several "home" or "eating" stations on the line was one or more milk cows. The *Leavenworth Times*, May 8, 1859, pointed out that eighty such animals had been started west early that month, and added: "We are told that some of these stations are beautifully located in spots of choice fertility. Truly, in the case of the Express route, cultivation and improvement follows closely upon the footsteps of the pioneer."

153. *Beyond the Mississippi*, p. 163.

courses . . . in one of which . . . we stalled until an extra span of mules was sent from the other wagon to our aid.¹⁵⁴

STATION 10.—Near the Solomon river and close to or a little west of present Glasco, Cloud county.

Richardson:

Dined at Station Ten sitting upon billets of wood, carpet-sacks, and nail-kegs, while the meal was served upon a box. It consisted of fresh buffalo meat, which tastes like ordinary beef though of coarser fiber, and sometimes with a strong, unpleasant flavor. When cut from calves or young cows it is tender and toothsome. . . .

Six weeks ago not a track had been made upon this route. Now it resembles a long-used turnpike. We meet many returning emigrants, who declare the mines a humbug; but pass hundreds of undismayed gold-seekers still pressing on."¹⁵⁵

STATION 11.—Located on Limestone creek, Jewell county, probably a little south of the present village of Ionia. At this place the "Parallel Road" west from Atchison joined the express road, at a point 172 miles west of that city, at latitude 39° 42' north and longitude 98° 12' west. From this point of intersection, which seems to have been a branch of Limestone creek (termed "Dog creek" by Boyd), the Parallel road made use of the "right of way" of the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak express. The field notes of E. D. Boyd give a table of distances from the crossing of the Republican (near Scandia, Republic county), and provide a more exact picture of much of the route of the express company.¹⁵⁶

Boyd's Notes:

From the crossing [of] the Republican the course is due west, crossing five branches of Dog [probably Limestone] creek at inter-

154. *Overland Journey*, pp. 80, 81. Greeley was impressed by the great herds of buffalo he saw in this vicinity, along the Solomon river. Richardson described the large numbers of antelope, which he regarded as the exact opposite of the buffalo. "The antelope gallops airily over the hills, with an elasticity surpassing the fleetest race-horse. . . . Miles away, when his earth-colored body is quite indistinguishable, one sees his white tail fluttering in the breeze like a shred of linen—a perpetual flag of truce to human enemies. Here he ventures near us, but on the older roads, rifles and shot-guns have made him shy and difficult to approach. . . . From a close view his liquid eyes suggest infinite pathos and more than human tenderness."—*Beyond the Mississippi*, pp. 163, 165.

155. *Ibid.*, pp. 165, 166. "Hundreds of deep buffalo trails cross our road; and through the whole afternoon the prairies for miles and miles away, quite black with the huge animals, look like bushes covered with ripe whortleberries, or like wood-land afar off." The next day Richardson gave a still more detailed account of these animals (pp. 166-168). He later asserted he had seen forty thousand buffalo from one vantage point and estimated that he had observed a total of a half million on the trip. Greeley thought he had seen a million in one day.—*Overland Journey*, p. 87.

156. This and succeeding quotations from "Boyd's Notes" is from the *Freedom's Champion* of Atchison, June 25, 1859, cited above. A brief account of the Parallel road was included in the first installment of this article (Footnote 55 gives a brief resume of the route from Atchison to Station 11), while Boyd's narrative, as found in *Overland Routes to the Goldfields, 1859* (*loc. cit.*, pp. 285-297), gives further details upon the eastern section. (See the map accompanying this installment.)

vals of three to six miles until we reach Station No. 11, 31 miles beyond the Republican, from which point the distances set down hereafter are computed.¹⁵⁷ Station No. 11 is 172 miles west from Atchison and ten miles north. Latitude 39 deg. 42 min., Longitude 98 deg. 12 min.

Creek ten ft. wide, runs south; oak and elm.....	32½
Creek ten ft. wide, runs S. Oak and elm.....	35½
Creek ten ft. wide, runs S. Scattering burr oak and elm.....	38½
Creek ten ft. w. runs S. E. oak and elm.....	39½
Creek six ft. w. runs S. W. scattering.....	45½
Creek eight ft. w. runs S. timber.....	46½
Creek ten ft. w. runs S. timber.....	48½
Creek ten ft. w. runs S. timber, outcrop of white limestone....	49½
Creek eight ft. w. runs south-east; scattering timber and limestone	50
Creek ten ft. w. runs south-east; scattering timber; chalk cliffs..	53
Creek 10 ft. w. runs S. scattering timber.....	59

Richardson:

Spent the night at Station Eleven, occupied by two men who gave us bread and buffalo meat like granite.—Day's travel fifty-six miles.¹⁵⁸

STATION 12.—In Smith county, probably a little south of the forks of Beaver creek, about seven miles southwest of present Smith Center.

Boyd's Notes:

Station No. 12—creek 20 ft. w. runs S. elm, &c; forks into three parts above	63½
Creek 10 ft. w. runs south; scattering elm and cottonwood.....	71
Creek 10 ft. w. runs south-east; abundance of timber, principally elm	74½
Creek 10 ft. w. runs south-east; elm, high, steep bank on east side	76½
Small creek runs south; no timber.....	79
Creek 8 ft. w. runs south; scattering cottonwood and elm.....	81½
Delaware creek, 10 ft. w. runs south-east; cottonwood and elm..	84

Richardson:

At Station Twelve where we dined, the carcasses of seven buffaloes were half submerged in the creek. Yesterday a herd of three thousand crossed the stream, leaping down the steep banks. A few broke their necks by the fall; others were trampled to death by those pressing on from behind.¹⁵⁹

157. This statement is very confusing but it is clear that the table of mileages was computed with the crossing of the Republican as the place of beginning and not Station 11. The longitude reading for this station appears to be too far east.

158. *Beyond the Mississippi*, p. 166. At about this point both Greeley and Richardson describe the large number of disillusioned "Peakers," who were returning with humbug stories.

159. *Beyond the Mississippi*, p. 169.

STATION 13.—Located close to Kirwin, Phillips county, near the junction of Deer creek and the Solomon.

Boyd's Notes:

Station No. 13—creek 10 ft. w. runs south-east; scattering cottonwood	86
Creek 10 ft. w. runs south; scattering cottonwood, &c.....	90
Creek 10 ft. w. runs south; cottonwood	93½
Creek 10 ft. w. runs south; cottonwood and willow.....	94½
Creek 10 ft. w. runs south; Cottonwood and elm.....	86¼ [96¼]
Creek 10 ft. w. runs south-east for many miles; cottonwood.....	98
Creek, pools of standing water; runs N. into last creek; white, yellow and slate color chalk cliffs; yellow ochre.....	100
Lat. 39 deg. 42 min. Long. 99 deg. 25 min. ¹⁶⁰	103½
A dry creek runs north into creek at 98 miles.....	104½
A table mountain with monuments, a conspicuous landmark, half a mile to N.	
Creek, pools of standing water; scattering cottonwood and willow,	112½
Creek 8 ft. w. runs south; cottonwood and elm.....	113½

Richardson:

After being mired in the same creek [probably a branch of Cedar creek] for two hours, our own vehicle was drawn out by the oxen of friendly emigrants. Spent the night at Station Thirteen. Day's travel, fifty-six miles.¹⁶¹

Greeley:

[Dated at Station 13, on "Reisinger's Creek."] I write in the station-tent (having been driven from our wagon by the operation of greasing its wheels, which was found to interfere with the steadiness of my hastily-improvised table), with the buffalo visible on the ridges south and every way but north of us.¹⁶²

STATION 14.—About 12 miles southeast of present Norton and about four miles north of the North Fork of the Solomon river.

Boyd's Notes:

Station 14—Last 15 miles rough and rolling, road crooked. No water for 13 miles. The soil is porous and does not retain it. Timber at intervals, a mile either side.	
Limestone	119
Timber and water one mile north.....	122
Divide between Solomon and Republ'n.....	125½
Creek runs north-east into Prairie Dog creek; cottonwood and	

160. Located southwest of present Phillipsburg.

161. *Beyond the Mississippi*, p. 170.

162. *Overland Journey*, p. 89. This entire letter of Greeley's was devoted to the buffalo that "darkened the earth around us." He noted that "a party of our drivers, who went back seven miles on mules last evening, to help get our rear wagon out of a gully in which it had mired and stuck fast . . . report that they found the road absolutely dangerous on the crowds of buffalo feeding on either side, and running across it. . . . Greeley stated that the division superintendent, Mr. Fuller, had a narrow escape from the buffalo a few days before, when they knocked down his mule, and very nearly trampled its rider to death.

elm; water $\frac{1}{8}$ of a mile above road. No water or wood for the last 17 miles 127 $\frac{1}{2}$

Prairie Dog creek, 10 ft. w., runs north-east; cottonwood, elm and ash; very large prairie dog town west of creek..... 128 $\frac{1}{2}$

Greeley:

As we left Station 14 this morning, and rose from the creek-bottom to the high prairie, a great herd of buffalo were seen in and around our road. . . . 163

Richardson did not mention this station, but remarked:

To-day we have been among prairie-dog towns, passing one more than a mile long. Some of their settlements are said to be twenty miles in length, containing a larger population than any metropolis on the globe. . . . This evening we supped on his flesh, and found it very palatable, resembling that of the squirrel." 164

STATION 15.—On the 100th meridian at approximately the point where it crosses the Prairie Dog, about five miles southwest of present Norton.

Boyd's Notes:

Station 15 on north bank of Prairie Dog creek, runs east then south-east 139

Creek 10 ft. w. runs south-east; Prairie Dog creek close to road, separating at this point 140

Spring near road 144

Lat. 39 deg. 52 min. Long. 100 deg. 07 min.¹⁶⁵..... 149

Creek 10 ft. w. runs north into Sappa creek; elm and ash..... 159

Creek 10 ft. w. runs east; elm and ash..... 161

Richardson:

We spent the night at Station Fifteen, kept by an ex-Cincinnati lawyer, who with his wife, formerly an actress at the Bowery Theater, is now cooking meals and making beds for stage passengers on the great desert three hundred miles beyond civilization. . . .

Our road, following the valley of the Republican river, is here two thousand three hundred feet above sea-level. . . . Day's travel fifty-six miles.¹⁶⁶

Greeley:

[Dated Station 15, Prairie Dog creek.] We have made fifty-six miles since we started about nine this morning, and our present encampment is on a creek running to the Republican, so that we have bidden a final adieu to Solomon's Fork, and all other affluents of the Smoky Hill branch of the Kansas. We traveled on the "divide" between this and the northern branch of the Kansas for some miles today, and finally came over to the waters of that stream (the Republican), which we are to strike some eighty miles further on. We

163. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

164. *Beyond the Mississippi*, pp. 170, 171.

165. A trifle east of Norcatur, near the present Norton-Decatur county line.

166. *Beyond the Mississippi*, p. 171.

are now just half way from Leavenworth to Denver, and our coach has been a week making this distance; so that with equal good fortune we may expect to reach the land of gold in another week.¹⁶⁷

STATION 16.—Probably northeast of present Oberlin.¹⁶⁸

Boyd's Notes:

Station 16—Timber 1½ mile to north, on Sappa creek.....	170
Timber one mile to north, on Sappa creek.....	174
Timber and limestone ½ mile to north on branch.....	176
Sappa creek 20 ft. w. runs north-east then east; cottonwood....	179½
Creek 5 ft. w. runs south into Sappa creek which is close to road,	181½

Richardson:

Dined at Station Sixteen, kept by a Vermont boy who has roamed over twenty-seven States of the Union. Near it was encamped a party of Arapahoes, with thirty or forty children playing upon the grass. Those under four or five years were entirely naked. The older boys wore breech-clouts of buffalo skin, and the girls were wrapped in robes or blankets. All were muscular and well developed.¹⁶⁹

STATION 17.—Probably on Beaver creek, near present Ludell, Rawlins county.¹⁷⁰ A less probable location is on Driftwood creek, north of Ludell, near the present Kansas-Nebraska boundary. (See the map accompanying this installment.)

Boyd's Notes:

Station 17—on N. bank of Sappa creek.....	187½
Creek 6 ft. w. runs south-east into Sappa creek which is close to road; ash	191½
Dry branch; high and very steep banks.....	193
Leave Sappa creek. Road parallel with it for the last 15 miles..	195
Dry creek runs south-east; scattering timber. Water ½ mile below	197½
Republican about 4 miles north ¹⁷¹	201
Timber on Republican 1 mile to north.....	217
Cottonwood and water south of road.....	220½

167. *Overland Journey*, p. 91. That night they met the eastbound coaches, a week out from Denver. These coaches had been delayed a day by the begging and stealing propensities of the Arapahoe Indians who were at war with the Pawnees and were encamped along the express company route.

168. Boyd's assertion that there was "timber 1½ miles to north, on Sappa creek," would place this station northeast of Oberlin, although his mileage figures do not check as closely as to be desired.

169. *Beyond the Mississippi*, p. 172. Pages 172-175 contain comments upon the Indians of western Kansas. Greeley did not mention Station 16.

170. Boyd's table of mileages, along with his astronomical observation near present Norcatour, and Greeley's estimate of mileage east from the forks of the Republican near Benkelman, Neb., are the basis for this location. Boyd's repeated reference to Sappa creek over a distance of some thirty-five miles cannot be entirely correct. His later allusions to this stream probably should read Beaver creek, which is much closer to the Republican. The Sappa creek of pioneer days may have included Beaver creek of today, of which the latter is tributary.

171. In this locality the Republican is far more distant from the north fork of the Sappa than ten miles. Even Beaver creek is a good deal farther from this river than Boyd's estimate for Sappa creek would place it.

South bank of Republican Fork runs east; 200 yards w. and very shoal, sandy bottom; banks 3 to 6 ft. high. No timber at this point; no water or timber on road for the last 26 miles. Lat. 40 deg. 08 min. Long. 101 deg. 27 min. [one mile below Station 18]..... 221

Richardson:

Descending an abrupt hill, our mules, terrified by meeting three savages, broke a line, ran down a precipitous bank, upsetting the coach. . . . He [Greeley] was soon rescued from his cage, and taken to Station Seventeen, a few yards beyond, where the good woman dressed his galling wounds.¹⁷²

Greeley:

We left this morning Station 17, on a little creek entitled Gouler,¹⁷³ at least thirty miles back [from Station 18], and did not see a tree and but one bunch of low shrubs in a dry water-course throughout our dreary morning ride, till we came in sight of the Republican, which has a little—a very little—scrubby cotton-wood nested in and along its bluffs just here. . . . Of grass there is little, and that little of miserable quality. . . . Soil there is none but an inch or so of intermittent grass-root tangle. . . .

The dearth of water is fearful. Although the whole region is deeply seamed and gullied by water-courses—now dry, but in rainy weather mill streams—no springs burst from their steep sides. We have not passed a drop of living water in all our morning's ride. . . . Even the animals have deserted us.¹⁷⁴

STATION 18.—Probably just below the forks of the Republican river, near present Benkelman, Neb.¹⁷⁵

Boyd's letter of May 31, 1859 (*Freedom's Champion*, Atchison, June 18, quoted in first installment):

172. *Beyond the Mississippi*, p. 173. Richardson's description of the accident to Greeley has already been quoted in his account of the trip to the mines. (See p. 216.)

173. This comment of Greeley throws some doubt upon the proper location of Station 17. The authors are unable to identify "Gouler Creek," but if Boyd's description could be disregarded they would be tempted to locate this station upon Driftwood creek, which more nearly fits the description of Greeley.

174. *Overland Journey*, pp. 98, 99. Christian L. Long of Selinsgrove, Pa., made the trip to the Pike's Peak region in 1859 and kept a diary of his trip. He left Leavenworth over the military road and passed through Easton, Winchester, Osawkie, Indianola, Silver Lake, Cross Creek, Eldon, Louisville, Pittsburg, Manhattan, Ogden and Junction City. He spoke of taking the "cut off" at Station 17.—MS. diary, Manuscripts division, Kansas State Historical Society. Boyd later refers to a cut-off between Stations 17 and 21.

175. In the article entitled "Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express Route," which contains the travel diary of Albert D. Richardson, with added notes and interpretations, the editor of *Overland Routes to the Gold Fields, 1859* (Le Roy R. Hafen) has given data contributed by E. S. Sutton, of Benkelman, Neb. Mr. Sutton states that the field notes of the survey of the fortieth parallel (the Kansas-Nebraska boundary), made in August, 1859, definitely locate the point where the express road left Nebraska, on the South Fork of the Republican. They quote the precise point where the road entered that state, about ten miles west of present Cornell, Neb. On the basis of these notes, the Nebraska surveys of 1869 and 1872 and a further study of the terrain, Messrs. Sutton and Arthur Carmody locate Station 18 about four miles west of Stratton, Neb. After a study of the descriptions of Boyd, Greeley and Williams, the authors of this article favor the Benkelman location, with the express road entering Nebraska considerably farther west. It must be conceded, however, that it is difficult to make the details of mileage and astronomical reading agree in this locality. It is even possible that the point of entrance was near Cornell, Neb., the express road making a curve toward the Republican, with Station 18 still located near the forks of that river. On their map of the express route the authors have charted an alternate road farther east as another possibility.

From that camp (49 miles from our ferry over the Republican) our course was nearly due west for 73 miles, at which distance we crossed the "divide" between Solomon's Fork and Republican Fork; latitude 39° 48'; longitude 99° 47' [southeast of present Norton]. Thence our course was North of West till we reached station 18 on the Republican, 221 miles from Republican ferry—latitude 40° 8'; longitude 101° 17'. . . .¹⁷⁶ Thence the road runs in a south-west direction, parallel with the Republican to 366 miles, in latitude 39° 8', longitude 103° 27', eight miles east of station 24 [a few miles east of present Hugo, Colo.]

Boyd's Notes:

Station 18 on south bank of Republican; scattering cottonwood,	222
Branch runs north; timber and water.....	224
Soda over surface of ground.....	228
Latitude 40 deg. 05½ min. Long. 101 deg. 27 min. ¹⁷⁷	230
Scattering cottonwood on bank of Republican north of road; soda.	
Republican 150 yards wide	237½
Good water in slough	244

Letter of Beverly D. Williams to John S. Jones, dated Denver, May 9, 1859, in *Leavenworth Herald*, May 28, 1859:

Leaving the waters of the Solomon, we struck over to those of the Republican, and struck Prairie Dog, Sappa, and Cranmer's creek, near their head, then traveling a long divide of twenty-six miles we reached the main Republican, just above the mouth of Rock Creek, and made Station No. 18 in a beautiful grove of cotton-woods. . . .¹⁷⁸ After leaving No. 18 we kept up on the southern side of the Republican to near its head. . . .

Greeley (dated Station 18, June 2):

For more than a hundred miles back, the soil has been steadily degenerating, until here, where we strike the Republican, which has been far to the north of us since we left it at Fort Riley, three hundred miles back, we seem to have reached the acme of barrenness and desolation.

I would match this station and its surroundings against any other scene on our continent for desolation. From the high prairie over which we approach it, you overlook a grand sweep of treeless desert, through . . . which flows the Republican. . . .¹⁷⁹

176. The reader will note that Boyd's longitude reading for a mile below this point is 101° 27', which is very close to present Benkelman, Neb. However, his longitude reading for a point nine miles farther southwest is exactly the same, indicating at least two errors by him in this locality. It seems probable that Boyd first struck the Republican in the vicinity of Benkelman, after traveling in a northwesterly direction from "Sappa" (probably Beaver) creek.

177. It is very clear that there must be an error either here or at Station 18, although the turn of the Republican to the south apparently lessens its importance.

178. Rock creek empties into Arickaree Fork about nine miles west of Benkelman, Neb. This location of Station 18 so far west does not agree with the chief accounts. It is possible that Williams made the error of placing Rock creek *before*, instead of *after* Station 18. In another account Williams stated that he struck the Republican "near the mouth of Rock creek," which was true, in a general way. It is certain that the main route of the express company crossed northwestern Kansas very close to the southern bank of the Republican.

179. *Overland Journey*, pp. 98, 100.

The same author, dated Station 21:

Since I wrote the foregoing [quoted above], we have traveled ninety miles up the south branch of the Republican (which forks just above Station 18) and have thus pursued a course somewhat south of west. In all these ninety miles, we have passed just two live streams making in from the south—both together running scarcely water enough to turn a grind-stone. In all these ninety miles, we have not seen wood enough to make a decent pigpen.¹⁸⁰

STATION 19.—On the South Fork of the Republican in Cheyenne county, probably a few miles northeast of present St. Francis.¹⁸¹

Boyd's Notes:

Station 19 on south bank of Republican; no timber; Lat. 40 deg. 00 min. Long. 101 deg. 43 min. ¹⁸²	248
Water slightly alkaline in slough.....	249
Lat. 39 deg. 46½ min. Long. 101 deg. 52 min.....	265
Dry branch runs north-west.....	269
Dry branch. runs north-west.....	270

Richardson (entry of June 2):

. . . we continued on by the sandy valley of the Republican, destitute of tree and shrub and barren as Sahara. Spent the night at Station Nineteen. Day's travel sixty-four miles.¹⁸³

Greeley:

A large Cheyenne village is encamped around Station 19, where we stopped last night; and we have been meeting squads of these and other tribes several times a day. The Kioways are camped some eight miles from this spot. They all profess to be friendly, though the Cheyennes have twice stopped and delayed the express-wagons on pretence of claiming payment for the injury done them in cutting wood, eating grass, scaring away game, etc. They would all like to beg, and many of them are deemed not disinclined to steal.¹⁸⁴

STATION 20.—On the South Fork of the Republican in Cheyenne county, probably near the present Colorado line and

180. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

181. Sutton and Carmody place this station about twelve miles northeast of St. Francis, where they have found the remains of an earth enclosure that resembles the station ruins.—*Overland Routes to the Gold Fields, 1859*, p. 258. If the Benkelman location is adopted for Station 18, however, the next stopping point probably would be much closer to St. Francis, perhaps a few miles northeast.

182. This reading is located on the Arickaree Fork of the Republican, which might lead one to believe that for a brief time this station was located in this locality and was later moved to the South Fork, when Williams straightened the route. The chief accounts agree that the express road went down the South Fork of the Republican, which makes it unreasonable to assume that a diversion up the Arickaree could have been a permanent arrangement. Copies of the original plats of the federal township surveys are on file in the office of the Auditor of State, Statehouse, Topeka. These plats show the "Jones & Russell Express road," (or simply "express road,") closely following the south bank of the South Fork from Nebraska to the Colorado line.

183. *Beyond the Mississippi*, p. 175. Richardson also mentions Indian villages in this locality.

184. *Overland Journey*, pp. 104, 105.

some eight miles northeast of what is now Hale, Colo. Neither Greeley nor Richardson mentions this station although the former describes this semi-desert region in his account of Station 21.

Boyd's Notes:

Station 20 on bank of Republican; no timber.....	271
White sandy limestone	274
Branch runs north; good water; a few cottonwood.....	279½
A little timber to right	281
Lat. 39 deg. 40½ min. Long. 102 deg. 12 min. ¹⁸⁵	285
A few small trees to right.....	288
Creek 6 ft. w. plenty of very good water.....	289
Republican 1 mile to north.....	290
Republican ½ mile to north.....	293
Republican ½ mile to north.....	295
Small quantity of timber one mile north on other side of Republican	296½
At bank of Republican, 50 yds. wide.....	298

STATION 21.—On the South Fork of the Republican, near present Tuttle, Kit Carson county, Colo. (Probably below the Tuttle ranch.)

Boyd's Notes:

Station 21 on bank of Republican. No timber; sandy limestone. Lat. 39 deg. 33½ min. Long. 102 deg. 26 min.¹⁸⁶

NOTE.—(Something has been said about making a cut-off from station 17 to 21. It is thought that water and perhaps timber can be found at no great distance apart. The branches which we cross, though dry at the Republican have water in them above.)

Creek 6 ft. w. runs north; good water; Republican ¾ mile north. It is nothing, above here, but a wide, dry, sandy bed. Water springs from the bed at this point and continues below.....

Cross dry sandy bed of Republican, 50 yds. w. runs north-east..

North bank of Republican, dry; hole dug in bed six feet deep, but no water. Yellow conglomerate bluff to north; has the appearance of Castle William, Governor's Island, N. Y.....

Cross Republican. Dry, deep, sandy bed, 100 yards wide; runs east

Lat. 39 deg. 23 min. Long. 102 deg. 49 min. Dug 3 feet deep in bed of Republican; no water¹⁸⁷.....

Greeley:

The bottom of the river is perhaps half a mile in average width.

. . . Water is obtained from the apology for a river, or by digging

185. Located in southeastern Yuma county, northwest of the present town of Hale, Colo. The latitude mentioned above seems to be slightly too far north.

186. The chief basis for locating Station 21 at the above point. Dr. Long points out that there is water in the Republican at this place, below the junction with Spring creek, but none above for about twenty miles, until in the vicinity of Station 22 (*loc. cit.*, p. 189).

187. About six miles southwest of Carey, Kit Carson county, Colo.

in the sand by its side; in default of wood, *corrals* (cattle-pens) are formed at the stations by laying up a heavy wall of clayey earth flanked by sods, and thus excavating a deep ditch on the inner side, except at the portal, which is closed at night by running a wagon into it. The tents are sodded at their bases; houses of sods are to be constructed so soon as may be. Such are the shifts of human ingenuity in a country which has probably not a cord of growing wood to each township of land.¹⁸⁸

Six miles farther up, the stream disappears in the deep, thirsty sands of its wide bed, and is not seen again for twenty-five miles.¹⁸⁹

Richardson:

At Station Twenty-one where we spent the night, we first encountered fresh fish upon our table. Here the enormous cat-fish of Missouri and Kansas has dwindled to the little horned-pout of New England, lost its strong taste and regained its legitimate flavor. Day's travel fifty-nine miles.

June 4.—We still follow the Republican which at one point, sinks abruptly into the earth, running under ground for twenty miles and then gushing up again. We saw one thirsty emigrant digging in the dry bed for water. At the depth of four or five feet he found it.

. . . 190

STATION 22.—About 5½ miles northwest of Seibert, Colo., at the junction of the express road and a branch of the Smoky Hill trail to Denver (by way of the Platte river).¹⁹¹

Boyd's Notes:

Station 22 on south bank of Republican; large spring in bed of river which sinks immediately below. 329½

Since first striking Republ'n our course has been parallel with it and our road nearly level. For the last 23 miles there is no wood or water, but the grass is good. In that distance there are some five miles (not more in all) of deep sandy road—Smoky Hill route comes in from S. E.—South Fork Republican comes in from south-west.

Conglomerate Bluff to right. N. Fork Republican ¾ mile north. South Fork Republican 1½ mile south. 233¼ [333¼]

Leave road to left and take "cut-off"¹⁹². 342

Cross North Fork of Republican; dry, sandy bed 30 yards wide, with occasionally a spring; runs north-east; good grass. For the

188. *Overland Journey*, p. 103.

189. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

190. *Beyond the Mississippi*, p. 175. Villard also mentions "the sudden sinking of the Republican between 21 and 22 into a dry bed of sand, under which it continues its course subterraneously to its sources."—"Pike's Peak Country," p. 229.

191. The authors have charted this route, which passed through Station 22 in a north-westerly direction, on the basis of the following accounts. It seems probable that this trail to Denver by a round-about detour to the Platte was the road in chief use in early 1859.

192. Evidently Boyd attempted to save time by deviating from or "shortening" the express road. Such minor changes appear to have been of frequent occurrence. Dr. Margaret Long points out in her article on the express road that Boyd's "North Fork" was really the South Fork of the Republican, and his "South Fork" is now called the Big Sandy (*loc. cit.*, p. 190).

last 13 miles high rolling prairie, little grass and no water; good hard road. Lat. 39 deg. 15 min. Long. 103 deg. 06 min.¹⁹³ 343
 Strike main road; runs parallel with Fork from 343 miles 346

Richardson:

After riding twenty-five miles without seeing a drop of water, at Station Twenty-two we crossed the Smoky Hill route which from a point far south of ours, abruptly turns northward across the Republican to the Platte. Emigrants who have come by the Smoky Hill tell us they have suffered intensely, one traveling seventy-five miles without water. Some burned their wagons, killed their famishing cattle and continued on foot.

We are still on the desert with its soil white with alkali, its stunted shrubs, withered grass, and brackish waters often poisonous to both cattle and men. Day's travel forty-eight miles.¹⁹⁴

Greeley:

[After describing the subterranean course of the Republican, above Station 21]—At the head of this "sink," the stream disappears in like manner to that of its emergence. Here is Station 22, and here are a so-called spring, and one or two considerable pools, not visibly connected with the sinking river, but doubtless sustained by it. And here the thirsty men and teams which have been twenty-five miles without water on the Express Company's road, are met by those which have come up the longer and more southerly route by the Smoky Hill, and which have traveled *sixty* miles since they last found water or shade. . . . The Pike's Peakers from the Smoky Hill whom I met here, had driven their ox-teams through the sixty miles at one stretch, the time required being two days and the intervening night. From this point westward, the original Smoky Hill route is abandoned for that we had been traveling, which follows the Republican some twenty-five miles further. . . .

The bluffs are usually low, and the dry creeks which separate them are often wide reaches of heavy sand. . . . There is little grass on the rolling prairie above the bluffs. . . . Some of the dry-creek valleys have a little that is green but thin, while the river bottom—often half a mile wide—is sometimes tolerably grassed, and sometimes sandy and sterile. Of wood, there is none for stretches of forty or fifty miles: the *corrals* are made of earth, and consist of a trench and a mud or turf wall; one or two station-houses are to be built of turf if ever built at all; and at one station the fuel is brought sixty miles from the pineries further west.¹⁹⁵

Extract from special correspondence of the St. Louis *Missouri Republican*, June 7, 1859:

Denver City, May 20, 1859.

. . . At the latter point [Station 22] a branch of the Smoky Hill route crosses the Express route, and I found a whole city of canvass, inhabited by weary emigrants who wanted to give them-

193. South of Saugus, Colo., near the Lincoln-Kit Carson county line.

194. *Beyond the Mississippi*, pp. 175, 176.

195. *Overland Journey*, pp. 107-109.

selves and stock a few day's rest, at and about the junction of the two roads. I conversed freely with such as had come via the Smoky Hill route, and they were all unanimous in their denunciations of the same. The Indians had burned off all the early grass, and were themselves congregated in large numbers along the road and very overbearing and troublesome.

The travelers had an absolute desert of one hundred and fifty miles to cross. . . . [Details of the suffering on this route follow.]

. . . I found every one of the western stations of the Express company beset by gangs of half-starved men—mostly of the hand-cart and walking gentry—that had consumed their last, days ago, and were now driven to appeal to the feelings of compassion of the employes of the Express company. And heartily and humanely was this appeal responded to in most cases. Otherwise, the road would be covered with the bleaching bones of such as had breathed their last in the merciless wilderness, for want of the means of physical subsistence.¹⁹⁶

STATION 23.—On the South Fork of the Republican, about 16 miles east and a little north of present Hugo, Colo.¹⁹⁷ Neither Greeley nor Richardson mentions this station.

Boyd's Notes:

Station 23 on N. bank of N. [S.] Fork of Republican; springs in bed; limestone and conglomerate crop out of bluff on south side of Fork for the last 15 miles.

Pike's Peak in view, bears south about 70 deg. W. distance about 120 miles	350½
Spring in North [S.] Fork of Republican; a mere ravine at this place	352½
Water in same	353½
Lat. 39 deg. 00 min. Long. 103 deg. 20 min. ¹⁹⁸	358
Head of N. [S.] Fork of Republican.....	359½
Top of divide; fine view of Pike's Peak; bears south; 70 deg. west; specimens of selenite	360
Dry ravine runs south; spring.....	367
Dry ravine runs south; pools of water.....	368½

Villard:

. . . and last, but not least, a full aspect of the veritable snow-browed Pike's Peak, which becomes already visible at station 13 [23]—a distance of 100 miles. It first looks like a cloud, but, as one comes nearer, assumes clearer and greater dimensions, and when arriving on the last ridge before running down into the Cherry

196. *Overland Routes to the Gold Fields, 1859, loc. cit.*, pp. 272, 273.

197. Dr. Long places this station on the Ketchem and Pugsley (K. P.) ranch (*loc. cit.*, pp. 190, 191). This conforms with Boyd's astronomical reading, but not so well with his mileage figures. It seems possible that this station could have been some nine miles farther north, on the north branch of the South Fork, which might explain Boyd's reference to the "North Fork" of the Republican.

198. The latitude quoted in this reading is clearly too far south. In her article on the express route Dr. Long identifies many of the streams mentioned by Boyd.

Creek valley, its eastern front is completely revealed to the eye, together with a long chain of peaks, partly covered with snow and partly with pine, and extending in a northward direction as far as Long's Peak. I have seen the Alps of Switzerland and Tyrol, the Pyrenees and Appenines, yet their attractions appear to dwindle into nothing when compared with the at once grotesque and sublime beauty of the mountain scenery upon which my eyes feasted before descending into the valley above referred to.¹⁹⁹

STATION 24.—About seven miles northwest of Hugo, Colo., on the Big Sandy (not the South Fork of the Republican, as claimed by Boyd and B. D. Williams).

Boyd's Notes:

Station 24 on north bank of south Fork of Republican [Big Sandy]; runs south-east for some distance; dry sandy bed 80 yds. wide with pools of water at this point; no timber.....	373½
Cross same fork, runs south then south-east; dry sandy bed 100 yards wide; water by digging two feet; willow bushes.....	377
Cross same fork; runs north-east then east; dry sandy bed 100 yards wide; large branch comes in from north-west with large pools of water; shrub willow	380
Small cottonwood and water at Fork to left.....	383
Lat. 39 deg. 18 min. Long. 103 deg. 49 min. ²⁰⁰	389
Leave south Fork of Republican which runs from south-west towards south-east	391
Top of Divide Ferruginous sand stone.....	396

Greeley:

A ride over a rolling "divide" of some twenty miles, brought us to the "Big Sandy," running south-west to become tributary (when it has anything to contribute) to the Arkansas. Like the Republican, it is sometimes a running stream, sometimes a succession of shallow pools, sometimes a waste of deep, scorching sand. A few paltry cotton-woods, a few bunches of low willow, may have graced its banks or those of some dry creek running into it, in the course of the twenty miles or so that we followed up its northern bank. . . . I recollect only that the grass at intervals along its narrow bottoms seemed a little better than on the upper course of the Republican. One peculiarity of the Big Sandy I had not before observed—that of a thin, alkaline incrustation—mainly of soda, I believe—covering many acres of the smoother sands in its dry bed.²⁰¹

STATION 25.—Located on the west bank of East Bijou creek about five miles southwest of Godfrey, Elbert county, Colo.

199. "Pike's Peak Country," p. 229. Richardson's entry for June 5 seems to be a description of the same distant view of Pike's Peak as obtained from Station 23: "At daylight Pike's Peak more than a hundred miles away, appeared dim and hazy on the horizon and we began to feel the inspiring breath of the mountains. Most emigrants were encamping out of respect for the Sabbath, and the sore feet of their cattle, which they carefully bandaged."—*Beyond the Mississippi*, p. 176.

200. Located near Riverbend, Colo., where the Big Sandy makes an abrupt turn to the southwest.

201. *Overland Journey*, pp. 109, 110.

Boyd's Notes:

Creek, dry sandy bed 60 yds. wide; runs north into South Fork of Platte, water by digging two feet; a few willows and cottonwood—Station 25 on west bank	401
Top of hill, sand stone; fine view of Long's Peak as well as Pike's Peak; former bears N. 80 W., latter S. 60 W.....	403
Dry branch runs N. pools of good water.....	404
Beaver creek, sandy bottom 12 yds. wide runs north; very good water; a few scattering, small cottonwood and willows.....	407
Small grove of Norway (long leaved or yellow) pine to left with spring	409
Scattering groves of Norway pine; Lat. 39 deg. 24 min. Long. 104 deg. 10 min. ²⁰²	
Creek 5 ft. w. runs N. good water, pine.....	411½
Top of hill; magnificent view of the whole range of mountains from Long's Peak to Pike's Peak; deep broad valley immediately to west	414
Descend 300 feet	418½
Bijou creek, 30 yds. w. bluff banks 6 to 10 ft. high, bottom sandy, very shoal, runs east of north; scattering willow and cottonwood; pine one mile east and west.	
Top of hill; Ferruginous sand stone, yellow ochre, bright red trap etc., on eastern slope; pine and cedar. No more pine for several miles	422
Creek, dry sandy bed 100 yds. w.; water by digging one foot; runs north; bushes; a few cottonwoods one mile north.....	423½
Dry ravine runs N. pools of water.....	425
Creek, sandy bed 15 yards wide; good water runs north.....	426
Top of ridge bears north and south.....	427½

Richardson:

At our dining station, Twenty-five, I met several old Kansas acquaintances, so dust-covered and sunburnt that for several minutes I did not know them. . . . Toward evening, Pike's Peak loomed up grandly in the southwest, wrapt in its ghostly mantle of snow and streaked by deep-cut gorges shining in the rays of a blazing sunset—

'The seal of God

Upon the close of day.'

In the northwest Long's Peak was sharply defined against a mass of ominous black clouds which rising slowly left behind them a scattered trail, dark and wild as the locks of the storm-god.²⁰³

Greeley:

At length we crossed its deep, trying sand and left it behind us [Big Sandy], passing over a high "divide" much cut up by gullies through which the water of the wet seasons tears its way to the Arkansas on the south or the Platte on the north, until we struck,

202. Near the west fork of Bijou creek in northern Elbert county, Colo.

203. *Beyond the Mississippi*, pp. 176, 177.

at five last evening, the first living tributary to the Platte—a little creek called Beaver [probably East Bijou], which I have not seen on any map. It is about ten miles east of the Bijou, with which it probably unites before reaching the Platte.

After leaving the valley of Big Sandy, the grass of the uplands becomes better, and is no longer confined to the water-courses. . . .

At Beaver Creek we saw, for the first time in many weary days—for more than two hundred miles at the least—a clump of low but sturdy cotton-woods, thirty or forty in number. . . . And, six or seven miles further, just as night was falling, we came in sight of pines, giving double assurance that the mountains were at hand.

. . . 204

STATION 26.—Probably on Kiowa creek about ten miles north of present Kiowa, Colo.²⁰⁵

Boyd's Notes:

Station 26 on Kioway creek, 10 ft. wide sandy bed, very shoal, good water, runs north; willow bushes; Lat. 39 deg. 29 min. Long. 104 deg. 29 min. ²⁰⁶	429
Creek 10 ft. wide; very shoal; sandy bottom, runs north-east; good water; willow bushes	430½
Take cut off, leaving road to left.....	433
Dry branch bears N. W. Pools of water; willow bushes.....	433½
Dry branch, sandy bed, runs N. two or three trees and some bushes; pools of water	434½
Creek 20 yds. wide, sandy bottom; very shoal, runs north; a few bushes	436½
Dry branch runs N. pools of water; a few bushes.....	439
Dry branch runs N. E.; bushes	439½
Creek, dry sandy bed, 10 yds. w. runs N. E.; pools of fine water; scattering cottonwood and pine	441
Scattering pine	443½
Groves of pine	444
Creek, bluff banks 3 to 8 ft. high; sand bed 12 yds. w. runs N. W.; good water; scattering pine above; leave pine. Lat. 39 deg. 36 min. Long. 104 deg. 48 min. ²⁰⁷	446½
Top of hill, Pike's Peak bears S. 10 deg. W.; splendid view of the mountains; a wide valley in the foreground; the lower (black) mountains in the middle, and the high mountains covered with snow in the background	449
Pine ½ mile to north. ²⁰⁸	
Strike old road at Cherry Creek, on road from Santa Fe; creek 10 yds. w.; runs N. W.; sandy banks and bottom; scattering cottonwood; thence parallel with Cherry Creek into Denver City.....	454

204. *Overland Journey*, pp. 110, 111.

205. See the comments of Dr. Long, *loc. cit.*, p. 193.

206. About ten miles north of Kiowa, Colo.

207. Southeast of Denver near the present Arapahoe-Douglas (Colo.) county line.

208. Villard calls attention to the "beautiful pine groves from 24 up to 27."—"Pike's Peak Country," p. 229.

Richardson:

Supping at Station Twenty-six we made a comfortable bed in the coach, and rolling on at the rate of seven miles an hour, slept quietly through the night.²⁰⁹

STATION 27.—Denver.

Boyd's Notes:

Latitude 39 deg. 49 min.; Longitude 105 deg. 07 min.²¹⁰..... 469

Richardson (entry of June 6, 1859):

Woke at five, still in motion, and obtained a glorious view of the mountains, their hoary peaks covered with snow and their base, thirty miles across the valley into which we were descending, seeming not more than two miles away.

At last we struck the old trail from Santa Fe to Salt Lake, rode a mile along the dry bed of Cherry Creek, and at eight this eleventh morning reached Denver City. . . . During our journey from Leavenworth we have doubtless passed ten thousand emigrants.²¹¹

Greeley:

From the Bijou to Cherry Creek—some forty miles—I can say little of the country, save that it is high rolling prairie, deeply cut by several streams, which run north-easterly to join the Platte, or one of its tributaries just named. We passed it in the night, hurrying on to reach Denver, and at sunrise this morning stopped to change mules on the bank of Cherry Creek. . . .

As to gold, Denver is crazy. She has been low in the valley of humiliation, and is suddenly exalted to the summit of glory.

. . .²¹²

DENVER EXPRESS OFFICE.

The following Denver dispatch (dated June 4) of the *St. Louis Missouri Republican*²¹³ gives an account of the Denver office of the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express Company:

For the first two weeks after the opening of the express office in this place, it occupied a log cabin of a rather primeval description. A few days ago, however, the headquarters were removed, to a more civilized abode, consisting of frame, and affording a plentiful supply of light, of which the former windowless haunt had been entirely destitute.

209. *Beyond the Mississippi*, p. 177.

210. The longitude reading for Denver is incorrect, being too far west.

211. *Beyond the Mississippi*, p. 177.

212. *Overland Journey*, pp. 112, 114. Both Greeley and Richardson lodged at the Denver House, which the latter described as "a long low one-story edifice, one hundred and thirty feet by thirty-six, with log walls and windows and roof of white sheeting. In its spacious saloon, the whole width of the building, the earth was well sprinkled to keep down dust. The room was always crowded with swarthy men armed and in rough costumes. The bar sold enormous quantities of cigars and liquors. At half a dozen tables the gamblers were always busy, day and evening. One in woolen shirt and jockey cap drove a thriving business at three-card monte, which netted him about one hundred dollars per day. . . ."—Richardson quotes the gambler's "spiel," *Beyond the Mississippi*, p. 187.

213. Issue of June 15, 1859, quoted in *Colorado Gold Rush*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 369, 370.

The express company carries, as you are undoubtedly already aware, the United States mail, and their mail department is a branch of their business, of great importance, extent and profit. It is under the superintendency of Mr. Martin Field, formerly of the St. Louis, and lately of the Leavenworth City post office. Although but recently arrived, he has already succeeded in systematizing the discharge of his onerous duties, and his office now presents that perfect mechanism that alone is apt to secure satisfaction to the public in mail matters.

The post office is, of course, a place of general rendezvous, crowds of emigrants and immigrants, diggers, traders, mountaineers, etc., can always be seen in and about it, retelling their hopes and disappointments. . . .²¹⁴

²¹⁴. In particular see the *Reminiscences of General William Larimer*, previously cited, p. 172 *et seq.* The mail business of the Pike's Peak Express companies will be treated in more detail in the final installment of this article.

(Part III—The Platte Route—To Be Published in an Early Issue)

Neodesha in 1873

From a Letter of William Hill, Pioneer Banker

I. INTRODUCTION

ON March 28, 1873, William Hill¹ of Baraboo, Wis., arrived in Neodesha² with the intention of making a home there. The town was three years old, and after a mushroom growth of two years was at a standstill. Its frontier appearance greatly disappointed Hill and raised doubts about the advisability of bringing his wife and small children to such surroundings. However he saw possibilities of development, and in the letter to his wife here printed he seems to be making a conscientious effort to balance the good points with bad ones. Of this letter his son, Irving, wrote:

To me, my father seems to be describing carefully the setting into which he proposes to bring his young family, keeping in his mind that mother was well along in music, literature, and culture. He later supplied music and instruments for a family orchestra of seven and both did a first-class job of raising a family in Kansas."³

II. THE LETTER

Neodesha, March 31, 1873

Dear Nellie,

We (Pierce⁴ and I) arrived here on Friday evening after a tedious drive across from the Mission,⁵ 32 miles, in the face of a wind that to use Pierce's expression, would have taken the hair off my dogskin gloves had I not kept them under the buffalo robe,—he driving.

1. William Hill was born October 18, 1831, near Glasgow, Scotland, and at the age of twelve came with his parents to this country. After living for a time in Ashtabula county, Ohio, the family moved to Sauk county, Wisconsin, where William learned the printer's trade. He did newspaper work in Wisconsin and other points until the outbreak of the Civil War when he joined the Union army, serving three years, first as a member and later as captain of Company B, Eighth Missouri Volunteer infantry. Returning to Baraboo, Wis., at the close of the war, he became publisher of the *Baraboo Republic*, and on January 7, 1865, he was married to Ellen Clark Maxwell, a teacher and an accomplished musician of Baraboo. When Captain Hill located in Neodesha in 1873 he gave up journalism and entered the Neodesha Savings Bank as cashier, a position he held for forty years. On the death of Dugald Stewart, president of the bank, on February 4, 1913, Hill succeeded him and continued as president until his death on August 6, 1918.—*Neodesha Daily Sun*, February 6, 1913, August 6-8, 1918.

2. The townsite of Neodesha on the Osage diminished reserve was surveyed in July, 1869, and late in December the frame of the first building was erected. Because of the liberal policy of the town company, lots being given freely to all who would build on them, two hundred houses were built the first year, and the population at the end of eighteen months had reached one thousand. In March, 1871, the town was incorporated as a city of the third class.—Andreas, A. T., and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 904.

3. Irving Hill, of Lawrence, to Kirke Mechem, March 23, 1942, Kansas State Historical Society.

4. Probably J. V. Pierce, William Hill's brother-in-law, who was president of the Neosho County Savings Bank at Osage Mission, and the Neodesha Savings Bank of which Hill became cashier.—*Neodesha Daily Sun*, August 7, 1918; *Neodesha Citizen*, November 22, 1872; Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 833.

5. Osage Mission, now St. Paul, in the eastern part of Neosho county.

According to promise I give you my first impressions of Neodesha. I was disappointed in it, and still feel that disappointment, though feeling also that if I can provide here a pleasant home for you, and establish myself in a moderately successful business, all else will be of minor consequence. The natural situation of Neodesha is beautiful, but the buildings are poor and the town is dirty. The schoolhouse is a model of tasteful architecture, a really creditable and handsome building.⁶ The new City Hall⁷ in some respects surpasses the brick block in Baraboo comprising the bank; the corners are of cut stone, as are also the arched window caps, but the brick work is coarsely done, the brick inferior in quality and appearance, and the cornice is not in harmony with the proportions of the building, giving a squat look to its "sky line." There is one other brick building, a store near the City Hall, and corresponding to it in its style of front. There are two other brick buildings in course of erection—a Methodist Church and a Gothic cottage; there is a very neat (but small) frame church (Congregational) and a few frame cottages that will compare with (say) Howard's, and another number of houses as roomy, but less attractive. The balance of the town is largely made of one story buildings, some little more than shanties, all measurably destitute of the relief of trees or even grass, the houses here and there huddled very thickly together, the town having been laid off in 25 feet lots (frontage). The business portion of the town is concentrated on that portion of Fourth and Main streets extending for one block south (on Fourth) and west (on Main), . . .

The business portion thus described is very poorly built, many of the stores being of but one story, poorly finished, poorly painted, and looking old and dirty already, although but a few years built. The east side of the Square in Baraboo looks well and even the blacksmith's row from the new post office to Mills' has a respectably dirty look beside these buildings. You will scarcely have as favorable a prepossession of Neodesha after this account of it as from Mr. Scott's sketch and passages in my previous letters, but this is true. Nor is there much to boast of here, so far as I can judge, in the way of cultivated society, but there is a very genuine good will and hospitality towards newcomers.

6. The schoolhouse was a four-room brick structure built in 1872 at a cost of \$15,000.—Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 905.

7. Bonds were voted for the city hall on August 5, 1872, and the building was erected within five or six months. It was originally meant to house the county offices had Neodesha become the county seat.—Neodesha *Daily Sun*, October 5, 1936; Neodesha *Citizen*, August 23, November 22, 1872.

The site of the town is not as I supposed immediately at the junction of the two rivers. It is a mile distant from the junction (possibly more) a mile from Fall River, and half-a-mile from the Verdigris. The valley broadens as it recedes, and presents an extended view. Near to the river banks is a wide belt of bottom lands, and beyond this, on the first swelling ground Neodesha is situated. In the rear of the town the land again slopes slightly until the interval meets the up-sloping bases of a half-encircling rim of hills in the back ground. Through these hills the Fall river valley affords an easy outlet to the country beyond in that direction, though in no place is there any formidable obstacle to communication with the country back. On the brow of the northern segment of this rim of bluffs, cut in two by the Fall River, is the grave of Little Bear,⁸ overlooking the two valleys. I attempted this (Sunday) morning to induce Pierce to walk out with me to it; it was too windy to ride comfortably; but he put it off until now he asserts we shall not have time before dinner, (We are invited to dinner at Mrs. Sutherland's,⁹ the lady concerning whom I wrote you), and I avail myself of the interval to commence my letter to you.

I yesterday looked at the two houses which Howard thought I might rent or buy, for they are still for sale. Either of them would do well enough, but I wish to rent rather than buy, and I shall make further inquiries before deciding—the more that the best of these two houses will be rented only subject to sale. The other one cannot be rented; the man for whom it was built has left the country, and the property is to be sold to pay the liens on it. The liens can be bought at 50 cents on the dollar, but the buyer will then need to expend \$350 in finishing the house, (the inside being unfinished, the floors yet to be lay [*sic*], lathing and plastering to be done, etc.) so that it would cost from \$650 to \$700 for the house completed; and I am offered the other building for \$800 (\$200 less than was asked for it when Howard was here) and am inclined to think the last property the cheapest of the two. Still a third property has been offered if I wish to buy for the same price (\$800) which I like best of all so far as the exterior is concerned, and which if I have to buy I will buy; but I want to rent.—All property here

8. Little Bear, head chief of the Little Osages, died in the early part of 1867 or 1868, and was buried on the summit of a high mound bearing his name about a mile north of Neodesha. Two or three years later the grave was mysteriously robbed and the body removed.—L. Wallace Duncan, *History of Neosho and Wilson Counties* (Fort Scott, 1902), p. 842; *Wilson County Citizen*, Fredonia, September 23, 1941.

9. Before her marriage Mrs. Sutherland was Miss E. A. Raymond, "an accomplished lady" and a native of Conneaut, Ashtabula county, Ohio. On December 30, 1871, she was married at Atchison to J. V. Sutherland, a young lawyer who had recently located at Neodesha.—Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 906.

is sold far below cost. For instance one property was sold just before my arrival here, a two-story house with an L. The house cost \$1,400, not being fully finished inside, though outside presenting a good appearance,—well built. With this house went an old barn, etc., and twelve 25 feet lots, and the whole sold for \$1,000. Any property that is for sale can be bought at about half what it cost the owner. From this you will very readily infer that the town has come to a stand still, and such is the fact. But its advantages are such that it cannot go back any, and I think that as in the case of Baraboo there will be a gradual advance in the character of the buildings and people, even though the population may remain at a standstill. There is a country around here to maintain a large trade, and a large trade is done. Neodesha has to-day as many stores as Baraboo, and all appear to have a fair trade. There is also a little start in manufacturing—of Studebaker wagons and black walnut furniture,¹⁰ etc., and the flouring mill here is one of the best in Southern Kansas—a large and well finished building, costing \$22,000.¹¹ Brick is made within the corporate limits, and magnificent building stone quarried, and aside from the water spoken of in my last letter there is a cheap and easily improved waterpower obtainable on Fall River a mile east of the village. There are three steam sawmills.

Evening.—Well we have visited Mrs. Sutherland's, had an excellent dinner, and quite a chat after it. To my surprise I found her to be quite a young lady—younger perhaps than yourself—the talk of her being an invalid, having given up singing, &c., having led me to conclude that she had passed the flush of youth. The house, two rooms, is one of the cosiest I venture to say in Neodesha, the front room, (actually papered,) hung with pictures, a few choice books in their little library, and quite a number of objects of interest. But its crowning recommendation to me was the family bed in one corner of the room! Kitchen and dining room in one—a little too small for comfort, so that Mrs. Sutherland refused to sit at the small round table for fear of crowding us. But everything was very nice; the meal was well prepared, the knives were silver-plated, the coffee excellent, salt cellars and little butter plates extra, and the butter itself was *from Illinois!* To judge from a large photograph of her father's house, Mrs. Sutherland was brought up

10. The Neodesha *Citizen* of November 18, 1870, listed a flouring mill, three sawmills and two wagon shops in the town.

11. "Futhey & Keys' flouring mill was completed the spring of 1871."—Duncan, *op. cit.*, p. 907.

in a home of luxury and comfort, and can scarcely speak of it without regret. She will I think gladly welcome your coming, as an acquisition to society here! Mr. Sutherland¹² is a young lawyer, scarcely far enough ahead in practice yet to justify him in any other than an economical expenditure, but is making his way in the world.

After dinner, the wind having gone down, we (Pierce and I) got a carriage, and drove up to Little Bear's Grave. As we ascended the hill, Pierce requested me to keep my eyes on the floor cloth on the bottom of the carriage until having reached the right point of observation, he should bid me look around. You know how I have stood up for Baraboo scenery in every letter. Well, the view from Little Bear's Grave surpasses that from the bluff at Dorward's Gorge, or that from the Ebenezer Hill, or that from the bluff looking down on Sauk Prairie, or any view that there is in Sauk County. It surpasses anything I ever saw! The belts of forest skirting Fall and Verdigris Rivers, Chetopa and Dry and Little Washington Creeks¹³ and other streams, the lines of hills, the valleys, pockets, prairies, Neodesha and Thayer,¹⁴ the one at hand, the other visible at a distance of sixteen miles, all give such diversity to the scenery as makes the whole vast extent on every side seem such as I might imagine the planner of Fairmount Park desiring to reproduce were you to give him a circuit of sixty miles. The monument itself is but a square built pile of thin layers of limestone, as roughly laid up (without mortar) as a stone fence. The scene at his burial could be worked up into an interesting magazine sketch. I can only hit it off to-night hurriedly. Delegations of Indians congregated from different tribes to do honor to his funeral ceremonies. The "howlers" were out in force. These fellows, next to the medicine men in the standing accorded to them by the tribes, hold themselves in readiness to "howl" on the occasion of the death of any member of the tribe—for a consideration! For a small pony they will "howl" for twenty-four hours; for a steer four days! On the death of Little Bear their services were *volunteered*, and the hills and woods rang with their melancholy, piercing wailings for days during which no food passed their lips. The braves congregated in all the pomp of

12. J. V. Sutherland came to Neodesha from McHenry county, Illinois, June 1, 1870. In addition to his law practice he sold real estate in Neodesha.—Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 906; *Neodesha Citizen*, November 18, 1870.

13. Chetopa, Dry and Washington creeks are eastern tributaries of the Verdigris river in Wilson county. Chetopa creek joins the Verdigris just north of Neodesha, and Dry and Little Washington creeks unite before flowing into it a short distance below its junction with Fall river.

14. Thayer, a town in the southwestern part of Neosho county.

their most impressive paint and costume.¹⁵ The place of his burial was one of their favorite resorts, and Neodesha, like Baraboo, boasts of having been of the haunts of the tribes, from which they were last and loathest to depart.

From Little Bear's Grave we drove across Fall River, fording it twice. It is *nearly* as clear and rapid and beautiful a stream as I had anticipated. The Verdigris is less so. We passed the Cramer place,¹⁶ and a number of magnificent farms, all of them on the bank of the river having the advantage of prairie, bottom land and timber. After driving through the bottoms and along the river, and after the view from the mound, the statement that there are 13,000 acres of timber within a radius of five miles from Neodesha seems within the range of credibility at least. We passed a number of peach orchards and little vineyards, and I imagine that there is no scarcity of either grapes or peaches in season. Drove of cattle were sheltered in the bottoms, but will soon be grazing upon a "thousand hills" or less. Sheep already are nibbling the short shoots of the young grass.

I spoke of the absence of grass from the dooryards in the village. The native grasses are quickly tramped out, and when the ground is not re-seeded with tame grass it becomes as bare as a trodden piece of plowed land. But with the yards seeded, and the grass kept well cut, a sward will form as rich and velvety as in the north, and all trees and shrubs and vines grow luxuriantly. I saw yesterday some lemon trees turning green out of doors, and one of the prettiest young shade trees I have seen is a mulberry, transplanted from the river bottom. Yesterday at Mrs. Sutherland's there were a few wildflowers on the table and the handsomest verbena I have seen. Her hyacinths had already bloomed, and were set out for young bulbs.

Monday Morning.—To-day the Bank is to be moved into the new City Hall. There is no mail until evening, and I could add much to my letter, but in the bustle of removal I shall have little opportunity for writing. There was almost as much confusion in the office yesterday and last evening, and hence the horrid and hurried

15. In contrast, A. R. Greene reports the burial of Little Bear thus: "He died in his wigwam, a mile southwest of town, on Fall river, and was hauled in an old lumber wagon to the mound, where the grave of a former chief was emptied out and he was emptied in.

"Less than a score of people attended, no women, not even his wife, being among the number. Dissolute habits led to his death.

"A quack doctor stole his bones and took them to Colorado."—A. R. Greene, "The Truth of History," in *Wilson County Citizen*, Fredonia, July 21, 1876; also in "Wilson County Clippings," v. 1, pp. 50, 51, in Library of the Kansas State Historical Society.

16. The Cramer family came to Kansas from Ohio in 1869 and settled on a farm just south of Neodesha on the south side of Fall river.—Neodesha *Daily Sun*, October 13, 1936, and in "Wilson County Clippings," v. II, p. 49.

scratching off of this letter. In the new Hall, the Bank will have as fine an office as could be wished for. Everything seems to move steadily forward in the line of the programme indicated by Howard, and next week I shall enter the Bank to commence work, and on the first of May assume my position as Cashier. I am making the acquaintance of our business men under circumstances that seem to me to be as favorable as could be desired, and have already a fair idea of the routine of the business. The re-organization of the bank is also being adjusted in a way altogether satisfactory.¹⁷

As soon as the Directors have an understanding of the change in the management of the Bank, I shall notify you, so that you may then commence preparations for removing. I looked in, by the way, yesterday at the furniture store, and while I found very nice black walnut furniture, and some of it very cheap, I found no bureau like ours that could be bought for less than \$32, and I am half inclined to think it might be well to bring that. But let Ed take the card table. However, it will be time enough for me to advise you on these matters when the time comes, and I am now fairly crowded from the desk, so must close.

I have not received a letter now due me, which doubtless awaits my return to the Mission. But I pray that you and the children are well, and with much love I remain

Your Affectionate Husband

Wm. Hill.

17. The Neodesha Savings Bank was organized in 1872 and reorganized and chartered on April 1, 1873. On August 17, 1903, it became the First National Bank of Neodesha.—Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 905; *Neodesha Register*, August 14, 1903.

Bypaths of Kansas History

WHEN WOLVES WERE VENERATED

From the *Kansas Free State*, Lawrence, April 7, 1855.

Our attention was attracted the other day by some strange and hideous sounds close to our office, when upon opening the door to see the cause, we discovered an old squaw making a great noise over a dead wolf.—She had it fastened with a lariat, and some white scoundrel in town shot it. She was lamenting the death of it in a very pitiful manner, saying a great many things and pointing in the direction of the person who killed it, but we could understand nothing she said. There were other Indians about, but she could not, with all her entreaties, get them to take much interest in the matter. At last she threw the wolf on her shoulder and started off.

They have a peculiar veneration for wolves, and think that they were the dogs of their forefathers, and many of them therefore never kill a wolf.

THE FIRST WARSHIP TO BE NAMED KANSAS?

From the *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, April 18, 1863.

By Telegraph.

New York, April 16.

A new gunboat is ordered at the Philadelphia navy yard to suit the machinery captured in the steamer *Princess Royal*, to be named the *Kansas*.

GUNBOAT KANSAS.—As will be seen by the dispatches this morning, a new gunboat has been ordered, to be named the "*Kansas*." It's the best name in the business, and the craft that bears it will fight whether there is any crew on it or not. We look forward to a speedy close of the war as soon as this jayhawking craft is completed. There's rebel mortality in that name.

HAZARDS OF SHIPPING IN KANSAS

From *The Weekly Free Press*, Atchison, November 10, 1866.

The ferry boats *Pomeroy* and *Osborn* collided in the fog this morning. The *Pomeroy* had her guards somewhat injured, the *Osborn* escaped unharmed.

MOVING THE HARD WAY

From the *Marysville Enterprise*, June 15, 1867.

PLUCKY!—Two men passed through our town last Monday evening, en route for Colorado. They had all their "grub" and effects packed in a wheelbarrow, and seemed determined to make the trip in good order. Both are stout, hale fellows, and every mile or so they "change posish"—one walking along leisurely, and the other giving motive power to the wheelbarrow. If *they* don't succeed and make their "pile," then there is no virtue in perseverance.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Kansas in 1860 was not as dry as people would have one believe, according to records of Federal Meteorologist S. D. Flora printed in the *Topeka State Journal*, January 15, 1944. Leavenworth and Manhattan had rain. Therefore the statement that "not a shower fell" for sixteen months is misleading. "Maybe it just 'seemed that way' to them," wrote Mr. Flora.

Articles of historical interest to Kansans in Victor Murdock's column in the *Wichita (Evening) Eagle*, include: "Ventures by Pioneers [in Allen County] in Feeding of Cattle Had Promise of Profit . . . Seventy Years Ago," February 1, 1944; "Growth of Gun in the First Century of the Country's History as It Was Seen in the Days of Wichita's Youth," February 2; "Evidence in Wichita in the First Days Here of Railroad Evolution," February 3; "Providing Dining Room For Their Passengers Once Task of Railroads," February 4; "Horse That Drew Overland Concord Into Interior Was a Herald To Communities Announcing the Coming of His Iron Competitor," February 5; "Bringing Track Gauge of Initial Railroads To a Single Standard," February 7; "Three Good Rifle Shots Fired From a Spencer by John Helms, Pioneer . . . in Southern Kansas in 1871," February 8; "Fixation of the Gauge of the Railroad Track at Prevailing Standard . . . of Four Feet Eight and One-Half Inches," February 9; "First Locomotive Here in Form Seeming Fixed, Subject To Big Changes," February 10; "Development in the United States Preceding the Conception of This City Which Made Its Growth Possible," February 11; "People in This Area Were Quick To Abandon the Old-Fashioned Covered Wooden Bridge Which Looked Like an Elongated Barn," February 12; "One Traveler, Who Was a Mathematician, Left an Account of the Operation of Chuck-a-Luck Which He Witnessed," February 14; "Echo Here in Wichita of Early Day Struggle of Locomotive Vs. Horse," February 15; "First Two Railroads To Make an Entrance Into Indian Territory," February 16; "Wichitans Had a Choice in Pronouncing Name of Neighbor—Oklahoma," February 17; "One Mining Excitement [San Juan in Colorado] Came at the Same Time With Start of Wichita," February 18; "Picturesque Figure Presented by the Scout of the Prairie Country Who Pursued His Profession Before the Railroads Arrived," February 19; "Part Played Around Wichita by the

Absence Here of the Need of Tile Drainage and Commercial Fertilization," February 21; "Travelers [Isaac McCoy and Maj. Clifton Wharton] Easily Lost by Their Companions on Early Day Prairies," February 22; "Black Bear Cub Market Here But Not Impressive in Wichita's First Days," February 23; "Husband and Wife Went To Church Ahorseback For Protracted Period," February 24; "Lines First Proposed For [Rail]Roads Southbound Into Oklahoma Country," February 25; "Passenger Car Changes Seen on the Railroads Through Course of Years," February 26; "How Good the Grasses Looked To the Pioneers Whose Ancestors Had Struggled To Keep Cattle Alive Through the Winter," February 29; "Railroad War on Weeds as Early Stages of It Were Seen in Wichita," March 1; "Quotations of Food Products Found in the Records of the First Period in Populating the Prairies Reveal Struggle of Farmers To Survive Economically," March 2; "City of Wichita's Experience With Certain Expressions Used in Conversation From Its Earliest Frontier Days," March 3; "Impressions of Animals Gathered by the Youth in Former Times Here," March 4; "Switch in This Region in Production of Wheat Feature of Early Days," March 6; "Memory of Wichitans of the Territorial Days at Start of Oklahoma," March 7; "Chapter in the History of Wheat Production and Harvesting Which Engrossed Attention of Country and City," March 8; "Events Before Opening of Original Oklahoma Found Wichitans Alert," March 9; "Points That Appeared in the Proclamation That Opened Oklahoma," March 10; "Reluctance That Arose in Presidential Mind in Opening Oklahoma," March 11; "One Holiday [Centennial on April 30, 1889, of the Formal Organization of the Republic] That Came During Wichita's Youth and History It Marked," March 13; "Advent of Soda Water in Wichita's First Days Part of Big Development," March 18; "Name [Samuel Colt] That Was Familiar To the Frontier Here Was Found on Gun Barrel," March 20; "Struggle Wichita Made When Community Neared Its Twentieth Year," March 21; "Three Openings of Land That Rang Up Curtain on the Oklahoma Drama," March 24; "Last of the Big Runs, That of Cherokee Outlet, and Its Wide Publicity," March 25; "Rise, Decline and Fall of the Osage Orange Nurseries Which Used To Distinguish the Prairies Hereabout," March 27; "Appearance of 'Pacific' in Names of Railroads With 'Central' on Wane," March 28, and "Arrival of Barbed Wire a Simultaneous Event With Birth of Wichita," March 29.

Kansas Historical Notes

Oregon trail markers have been placed along the 2,000-mile route of that famous emigrant road in recent months in observance of the centennial of the forming of Oregon's provisional government. The marking program is sponsored by the Oregon council of the American Pioneer Trails Association. Kansas received forty markers. These are being placed in schoolyards, towns and along the highways of the counties of northeastern Kansas which were crossed by the trail and its feeders. The markers are cedar posts, three and one-half inches square and six feet long, branded with the words "Oregon Trail." Most of them are being centered in pyramids of native stones set in cement. John G. Ellenbecker of Marysville, Kansas chairman of the Pioneer Trails Association, has directed the work in this state. Among those assisting him are: Leo Dieker, Hanover, Washington county; C. E. Hedrix and D. W. Conger, Marysville, Marshall county; William E. Smith, Wamego, Pottawatomie county; George A. Root, Topeka, Shawnee county; Sen. Robert C. Rankin, Lawrence, Douglas county, and the commissioners of Johnson county. It is hoped these temporary markers can be replaced in postwar days by something more enduring. Mr. Ellenbecker reviewed the story of the trail and discussed the importance of the marking program in a four-column article published in the *Marshall County News*, of Marysville, September 7 and 14, 1944. The article has also been issued as a reprint.

"Space and History—Reflections on the Closed Space-Doctrines of Turner and Mackinder and the Challenge of Those Ideas by the Air Age," was the subject of Dr. James C. Malin's address before the Agricultural History Society in Washington, D. C., February 14, 1944. Dr. Malin was the retiring president of the society. His study was published in the April and July numbers of the society's magazine, *Agricultural History*, and was later reissued as a reprint.

The Hollenberg Ranch State Park near Hanover has been considerably improved during the past year by the Washington County Oregon Trail Memorial Association, the organization designated by the state to manage the property. The building, which once served as a pony express station, has been repaired and the six rooms have been replastered. Brush has been cleared from the 7½ acres in the park area. The driveways have been graded, brome grass planted,

and 185 cottonwood and 75 native cedar trees have been set out. A decorative rock retaining wall has been built along the crest of a slope in front of the building. Leo E. Dieker, of Hanover, president of the Washington County Oregon Trail Memorial Association, is supervising the restoration. He has been assisted by the other officers, all of Hanover, including Edward J. Flaherty, secretary, John Merk, Jr., treasurer, and Dugald Spence, Henry Brockmeyer and Fred Brockmeyer, trustees. The building is not yet being opened at stated hours, but it may be inspected at any time on application at one of several downtown places in Hanover where keys are kept.

Mrs. Medora Hays Flick, Manhattan, secretary of the Riley County Historical Society, reports the following new officers: Walter McKeen, president; Mrs. Gertrude B. Failyer, vice-president; Mrs. Flick, secretary; Mrs. Caroline Abbott Smith, treasurer, and F. I. Burt, curator. Directors are Miss Mary Lee, Mrs. Florence Fox Harrop, Mrs. Loyal Payne, Mrs. Flick, Mr. McKeen, Joe Haines, Sam Charlson, F. R. Smith and Mr. Burt. The organization has celebrated its thirtieth anniversary with one charter member, Mrs. Smith, still active. The log cabin museum is open on Sunday afternoons.

The annual business meeting of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society of northeast Johnson county was held September 27, 1944. Newly-elected officers are Mrs. C. V. Scoville, president; Mrs. A. M. Meyers, vice-president; Mrs. K. S. Browne, recording secretary; Mrs. John Barkley, corresponding secretary; Mrs. F. B. Belinder, treasurer; Mrs. M. Y. Griffin, historian, and Mrs. A. E. Wedd, curator. During the year the society assisted the Pioneer Trails Association in dedicating an Oregon trail marker at Old Shawnee Mission. Mrs. Percy L. Miller was the retiring president.

At the annual business meeting of the Crawford County Historical Society at Pittsburg, September 29, 1944, the following officers were elected: George F. Beezley, Girard, president; S. L. Householder, Pittsburg, vice-president; Mrs. Eula Paris, Pittsburg, recording secretary; Mrs. Ralph Shideler, Girard, corresponding secretary; Mrs. George Elliott, Pittsburg, treasurer, and Charles Grandle, Cherokee, J. F. Fowler, Arcadia, and F. W. Brinkerhoff, Pittsburg, directors for three years. Dr. Ralph H. Smith was the retiring president.

The twelfth annual old settlers' reunion of the Kiowa County Historical Society was held at Greensburg October 3, 1944. The oldest

person in attendance was Washington Kennedy of Mullinville, now 95, who went to present Kiowa county in 1878. Officers of the society are: Frank Dowell, Wellsford, president; A. S. Barnes, Mullinville, Herbert Parkin, Greensburg, and Mrs. Sam Booth, Wilmore, vice-presidents; Mrs. Benj. O. Weaver, Mullinville, secretary, and Mrs. Charles T. Johnson, Greensburg, treasurer. Mrs. Weaver, who has been secretary of the society since its organization, reports a membership of 500.

Although Volume II of *Chase County Historical Sketches* will not be published until after the war the Chase County Historical Society continues to collect manuscripts, according to Mrs. Helen Austin, of Cottonwood Falls, secretary. Volume I contained 448 pages and was published in 1941.

Records of twenty-nine rural cemeteries of Douglas county with tombstone inscriptions, 1854-1940, have been collected during recent years as a major project of the Douglas County Historical Society. Typed copies of the completed work and an index of the 3,200 names have been placed in the city library at Lawrence and the Historical Society at Topeka. Sen. Robert C. Rankin, retiring president of the Douglas County Society, paid tribute to the late William Hastie who directed much of the work at a meeting of the county society at Lawrence, October 12, 1944. The compilation was indexed by the Betty Washington Chapter of the D. A. R., of Lawrence, under the chairmanship of Mrs. H. E. Chandler. The newly-elected officers of the Douglas County Historical Society are: John F. Akers, president; Elmer Riggs, first vice-president; Miss Ida Lindell, second vice-president; Miss Ida Lyons, secretary; Walter Varnum, treasurer, and Dr. Edward Bumgardner, historian. Senator Rankin and Mrs. William Hastie were chosen to fill two vacancies on the board of directors, the other members of the board being reëlected.

The Dickinson County Historical Society meets annually each autumn in different parts of the county. The fall meeting of 1944 was held on October 25 at Pearl. At the morning business session the following officers were reëlected to serve for two years: Fred Ramsey, Solomon, second vice-president, and Walter Wilkins, Chapman, treasurer. The early history of the Pearl community was reviewed in several family histories featured at the afternoon session. Some of these sketches are being published in Dickinson county newspapers. The society's history file now fills thirty looseleaf volumes with enough other material to fill five or six more. Copies of a part

of this collection have been filed with the State Historical Society. Included among the society's active officers are Mrs. Carl Peterson, Enterprise, president; Mrs. A. B. Seelye, Abilene, librarian, and Mrs. H. M. (Georgie Nichols) Howard, secretary.

A paper, "How To Organize a Local Historical Society," by Bertha L. Heilbron of the Minnesota Historical Society, has been printed as Vol. I, No. 9 (November, 1944) of the *Bulletins of the American Association for State and Local History*. The thirty-page booklet discusses the leadership, plans and organization of a historical society and includes model constitutions and bylaws. The *Bulletins* are distributed by the secretary of the American Association for State and Local History, Box 6101, Washington, D. C.

The Iowa, Sac and Fox mission building east of Highland, recently restored by the state under the supervision of the Northeast Kansas Historical Society, is open every Sunday afternoon from one to six, according to Mrs. C. C. Webb, of Highland, president of the society. A museum has been started for relics and antiques from northeast Kansas. The society is in need of an antique pulpit for the chapel, writes Mrs. Webb, and anyone knowing where one may be secured is asked to get in touch with her.

Local History: How To Gather It, Write It, and Publish It is the title of a 186-page book by Donald Dean Parker and Bertha E. Josephson which was recently issued by the Social Science Research Council. The book discusses sources of information for local history; explains the technique of gathering and organizing local historical material; provides a model outline; explains details in composition for historical writing, and tells how to make a bibliography and an index. Various methods of publishing local history are discussed. In an appendix, Lester J. Cappon of the University of Virginia outlines a method of writing the war history of communities. The book is a handy guide for semi-professional historians as well as beginners and may be purchased for one dollar from the Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue 17, New York.

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Please Note

Due to the absence of several members of the staff in war service, which makes it necessary for the other experienced members to take care of the routine demands on the Society, *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* for a time will be printed with fewer pages.

Volume XIII, now being published, will consist of eight numbers, covering the years 1944-1945. The index for this volume will appear as part of the November, 1945, issue. —THE EDITORS.

Contributors

ALBERTA PANTLE is a member of the Library staff of the Kansas State Historical Society.

FRED W. BRINKERHOFF, editor of the *Pittsburg Sun and Headlight*, was president of the Kansas State Historical Society for the year ending in October, 1944.

Settlement of the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren at Gnadenu, Marion County

ALBERTA PANTLE

IN 1870 the Mennonite colonists¹ in South Russia were faced with the alternative of giving up certain special privileges which they had enjoyed for nearly a century or founding new homes in other lands. These privileges, promised by Catherine the Great in a manifest issued July 22, 1763, included the right of freedom of worship, settlement in closed communities, establishment of schools in the German language, almost complete local autonomy in political and economic affairs,² and exemption from military service. These guarantees had been respected by each succeeding emperor until 1870 when Czar Alexander II decided to abolish them. The terms of his decision gave the Mennonites ten years in which to emigrate or to conform as bona fide Russian citizens.

Despite their long years in Russia the Mennonites were a separate and distinct group, a virtual state within a state. Held together in their compact villages by ties of race, religion and language, there had not been any need or inclination for contact with their Russian neighbors. Because of this voluntary isolation and lack of interest in affairs of the world few of the Mennonites had kept pace with changing conditions in Europe. They did not realize that the growing nationalism and democracy of the age precluded further favoring of minorities. Consequently the revoking of the privileges came as a complete surprise and many felt that it was a breach of faith on the part of the Russian government. A compulsory military law passed early in 1871 caused even greater concern because it threatened one of the fundamentals of their belief.

1. The Mennonite population of South Russia in 1870 was approximately forty-five thousand. Some were Germanic, Swiss or Polish in origin but many were Dutch. Driven from Holland by religious intolerance they had settled in Danish Prussia and along the Delta of the Vistula as early as the middle of the sixteenth century. Here they had adopted the use of the German language and acquired a German culture, both of which remained virtually intact during their residence in Russia. They also prospered materially and this prosperity fostered intolerance and jealousy among the non-Mennonite inhabitants. By the latter part of the eighteenth century the situation had become critical, and when Catherine issued a general invitation to the Mennonites to settle in South Russia in 1786, many families migrated. The two principal colonies were Chortitz with eighteen villages and Molotschna with forty-six. Several independent colonies were established. As the original settlements outgrew their land allotments, daughter colonies were founded. The Crimean colony at Karassan with which this paper is concerned was founded in 1862 by settlers from the Molotschna colony.—Smith, C. Henry, *The Story of the Mennonites* (Berne, Ind., Mennonite Book Concern, 1941), pp. 383-403.

2. Contact between the Russian government and the Mennonite colonists was exercised through a supervisory commission (Fuersorge Komitee) organized in 1818. This commission, usually headed by a German, had consistently maintained a liberal policy toward the Mennonites.—*Ibid.*, p. 413.

Almost immediately steps were taken to protect their established rights. Leading men were chosen by the various colonies to go to St. Petersburg for an audience with the Czar. Several delegations were sent during the next two years but none was successful. Interviews with certain high officials gave them no promise of a repeal of the hated decree, only the intimation that some sort of noncombatant service might be substituted for actual military duty. As time went on hopes faded, and determined against compromise with the government, a few of the Mennonites began active plans for emigration.

One of these men was Cornelius Jansen,³ a merchant of Berdiansk⁴ and formerly Prussian consul at that place. He wrote John F. Funk,⁵ editor of the Mennonite newspaper, *Herald der Wahrheit*, at Elkhart, Ind., asking for information about conditions for settlement in the Middle West of the United States. He also made inquiries of the British consul at Berdiansk concerning the availability of land in Canada. These later inquiries led to an exchange of communications between British and Canadian officials with the result that Canada soon began an active campaign to secure the Mennonites as settlers. The government promised the prospective colonists practically all the privileges they had had in Russia including exemption from military service.⁶ Large tracts of land in Manitoba were offered for settlement. In the United States little official recognition was given to the Russian Mennonite migration.

Several independent parties of Mennonites "scouted" this country in 1872. The next year congregations in South Russia and Prussia where conditions were very similar sent twelve representatives who arrived in May and spent much of the summer visiting the Middle West of the United States and Canada.⁷ Some of them immediately decided on recommending settlement in Canada. Others were im-

3. Because of his activities in behalf of the migration movement, Cornelius Jansen was exiled from Russia in 1873. He came to America and located temporarily in Iowa. In 1874, with a group of other Mennonites, he purchased 20,000 acres of land in Jefferson county, Nebraska. His son, Peter Jansen, has taken a prominent part in state and national affairs.

4. Berdiansk, a thriving city on the Sea of Azov, was one of the principal ports for the exportation of products from the Mennonite colonies in South Russia.

5. John Fretz Funk, born April 6, 1835, in Bucks county, Pennsylvania, was the great, great grandson of Bishop Heinrich Funk who settled in America in 1717. He became interested in the work of the church at an early age and was ordained into the ministry in 1865. In addition to publishing the *Herald der Wahrheit* for many years, he sponsored many institutions of benefit to the Mennonites in America.—Kolb, Aaron C., "John Fretz Funk, 1835-1930; an Appreciation," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, Scottsdale, Pa., July, October, 1932 (v. VI, Nos. 3, 4).

6. 31 Vict., c. 40, Sect. 17, approved May 22, 1868.

7. The delegation was composed of Jacob Buller, Leonhard Suderman, Jacob Peters, Heinrich Wiebe, Cornelius Buhr, Cornelius Toews, David Klaasen, Paul and Lorenz Tschetter representing congregations in South Russia, William Ewert of West Prussia, and Tobias Unruh and Andreas Schrag of Poland.—Smith, C. Henry, *The Coming of the Russian Mennonites* (Berne, Ind., Mennonite Book Concern, 1927), pp. 51, 52.

pressed with tracts of cheap government land in the Dakotas. Two of the delegation, William Ewert and Jacob Buller, accompanied by Christian Krehbiel⁸ of Summerfield, Ill., inspected land in Kansas. They were especially pleased with the Arkansas river valley between Newton and Hutchinson.

Most of the delegates did not seem concerned with the question of special rights in the United States. But two, a bit more cautious than the others, addressed a petition to President Grant. They asked for exemption from military service for a period of fifty years, excuse from jury duty, judgeship and voting, the right of establishing schools in the German language and the privilege of settling in closed communities.⁹ The President replied, through the Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish, that certain of the privileges asked for were matters for the individual states to decide. He gave them no encouragement in regard to military duty, although it was very certain, he said, that the United States would not be engaged in a major foreign war during the next fifty years. President Grant, in his annual address to congress on December 1, 1873, spoke highly of the Russian Mennonites as prospective settlers and suggested favorable action in their behalf.

During the following months several bills were introduced into each house of congress and lengthy debates ensued. There was no objection to the Mennonites as a people but there was much opposition to the idea of passing special legislation in favor of any one group. Said Sen. Powell Clayton of Arkansas,

. . . it seems to me that under our system of Government we ought not to depart from the general rule which we make applicable to all people. We have certain advantages here of our own. We are not selfish in those advantages. We are willing that persons from abroad may come here, and by becoming citizens of this country share with us in those advantages. That applies to Germans and to men of all other nationalities.¹⁰

No action was then or at any time taken by the federal government,

8. Christian Krehbiel, son of John and Katherine Krehbiel, was born in Germany, October 18, 1832. He came to America at the age of eighteen and settled in Ohio. He was married, March 14, 1858, to Susanna Ruth. They came to Halstead, Kan., in 1879, and for a number of years conducted an Indian school for pupils from the Arapahoe and Cheyenne agency in the Indian territory. After the school was discontinued the Krehbiel home was turned into an orphanage. Mr. Krehbiel died in 1909.—Moundridge *Journal*, "Golden Jubilee Edition," October 7, 1937, p. 22.

9. The petition, dated July 26, 1873, was prepared and presented by Paul and Lorenz Tschetter, representatives of the Hutterites. An interesting account of the tour and the circumstances connected with the presentation of the petition is found in "The Diary of Paul Tschetter, 1873," translated and edited by J. M. Hofer.—*The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, April, July, 1931 (v. V, Nos. 2, 8). Efforts to obtain legislation in the United States congress favorable to the Mennonites are discussed in Leibbrandt, Georg, "The Emigration of the German Mennonites From Russia To the United States and Canada in 1873-1880," in *ibid.*, October, 1932; January, 1933 (v. VI, No. 4; v. VII, No. 1).

10. *Congressional Record: Containing the Proceedings and Debates of the Forty-Third Congress, First Session* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1874), v. II, Pt. 4, p. 3056. Senator Clayton was a former resident of Leavenworth.

but three of the states, Kansas, Minnesota and Nebraska, passed laws exempting the Mennonites from serving in the state militias.¹¹

In contrast to the irresolute policy of the government toward the Mennonites were the determined efforts of the prominent Mennonites already living in this country, the agents in the state land offices and the land departments of the various railroads to induce them to come here to settle. To encourage railroad building during the 1850's and 1860's the federal government had made liberal grants of land to the transcontinental lines and other strategic roads west of the Mississippi river. Cheap lands and scarcity of cash characterized the West at this period and it was difficult for the railroads to turn their land into money badly needed in the construction of new lines.

An act of congress in 1863 gave the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company 6,400 acres of land for each mile of road satisfactorily constructed.¹² This amounted to some 3,000,000 acres in the state of Kansas. The land was in alternate sections only and extended approximately ten miles on either side of the tracks. A Santa Fe land and immigration department was established. The land was surveyed and local sales agents were appointed in all the larger towns along the line west of Florence.¹³ Fortunately for the Mennonites, the foreign immigration department was under the management of C. B. Schmidt.¹⁴ A German himself, he was able to deal directly and successfully with the Russian Mennonites.

In July, 1873, the delegation of twelve returned to Europe favorably impressed with the United States. Already several Mennonite families from the Crimea had left for America.¹⁵ Soon a number of colonists had decided upon emigration. One of the first groups to begin active preparations was the entire congregation of the Krimmer

11. *Laws of Kansas, 1874*, Ch. LXXXV, March 19, 1874; *General Laws of Minnesota for 1877*, Ch. XVI, March 2, 1877; *Laws . . . of the State of Nebraska for 1877* (February 14, 1877), p. 48. None of the laws specifically names the Mennonites. The Kansas law reads: "Section 2. That the following persons are exempted from enrollment in the militia of the state: . . . all persons who shall, on or before the first day of May of each year, make and file with the county clerk of their county an affidavit that they are members of any religious society or organization by whose creed or discipline the bearing of arms is forbidden." The laws of the other two states mentioned are similar. These laws did not apply to service in the federal army.

12. *Public Laws of the United States of America, Passed at the Third Session of the Thirty-Seventh Congress, 1862-1863* (Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1863), pp. 772-774.

13. Bradley, Glenn Danford, *The Story of the Santa Fe* (Boston, Richard G. Badger, 1920), pp. 107-113.

14. For a biographical sketch of Carl Bernhard Schmidt, see *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. IX, p. 485. His activities as foreign immigration agent of the Santa Fe are described in his "Reminiscences of Foreign Immigration Work for Kansas," *ibid.*, pp. 485-497.

15. Several families of Mennonites from the Crimea came to America in 1873. The largest group consisting of twenty-seven families arrived in New York in July at the time the delegation of twelve were sailing for Europe. In this party were Jacob Funk, Johann Fast and Heinrich Flaming who settled near Marion Centre, Kan. The remainder settled in Minnesota and Dakota.—Smith, *The Coming of the Russian Mennonites*, pp. 92, 132.

Mennonite Brethren at Anfeld, near Simferopol, under the leadership of their founder and elder, Jacob A. Wiebe.¹⁶

As with other Mennonites bent on emigration, the Krimmer Brethren encountered many difficulties. Land and other property had to be disposed of in a short time and the market was flooded. Buyers were wary and many fine farms sold for much less than their actual value.

The Russian government, by this time alarmed over the prospective loss of thousands of its ablest farmers, made a strong effort to induce them to stay. General von Todtleben was sent as a special emissary of the Czar to meet with the various congregations. He now promised the Mennonites noncombatant duties in lieu of military service¹⁷ and spoke at length of the difficulties they would encounter in establishing new homes in America. Through his efforts many of the more liberal Mennonites were persuaded to stay in Russia.¹⁸ The Krimmer Mennonite Brethren, having disposed of their land and being convinced that they were right in their determination to emigrate, went ahead with their plans. Elder Wiebe addressed a petition to the general in which he thanked His Majesty for favors that had been granted to his people in the past and asked for permission to leave the empire. This request was readily granted by General von Todtleben.

Passports were applied for, as Elder Wiebe later said, "because we wanted to emigrate from Russia as honest people."¹⁹ Records do not show that this particular group had any difficulty in obtaining them although some of the Mennonites had to wait many tedious months and pay heavily in fees and gratuities to unscrupulous government officials.

The Inman Steamship Line on which the Anfeld congregation had chosen to travel allowed only twenty cubic feet of baggage free for each adult ticket from Hamburg to New York.²⁰ Some families

16. Certain divisions had occurred within the Mennonite church in Russia although they were fundamentally the same in belief. Organization of new groups had come about as a rule because of the religious zeal of leaders who believed that the church had become too worldly. One such group was the Kleine Gemeinde founded by Claas Reimer in the early part of the nineteenth century. A small faction of the Kleine Gemeinde migrated to the Crimea about 1860, and in 1869, under the leadership of Jacob A. Wiebe, had organized a church which became known as the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren.

17. Noncombatant services included duty in hospitals, munition factories and forestry service.

18. It has been estimated that less than one-third of the total Mennonite population left Russia at that time. By 1883 approximately eighteen thousand had settled in the United States and Canada with some five thousand in Kansas.—Smith, *The Coming of the Russian Mennonites*, pp. 129, 130.

19. Letter of Jacob A. Wiebe in Bradley, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

20. Various Mennonite organizations made contracts with steamship and railroad companies for the transportation of immigrants. A joint contract was made with the Inman line and the Erie railroad by the Mennonite Board of Guardians (see Footnote 21). The original document is in the Mennonite Historical Library, Goshen, Ind. In return for low fares, wholesome and adequate food, comfortable accommodations, prompt service, lay-over privileges, etc., the board agreed to use their influence to have all of the Mennonites choose the said Inman line and Erie railroad on their route from Europe to their new homes in America.—Leibbrandt, Georg, "The Emigration of the German Mennonites from Russia to the United States and Canada, 1873-1880," *loc. cit.*, January, 1933 (v. VII, No. 1), pp. 29-31.

could afford to pay excess baggage, but many could not; in fact some had to borrow passage money. In addition to personal effects it was thought necessary to bring furniture, tools, agricultural implements and grains and seeds for planting. Since space was so limited careful selection and packing was necessary. Nearly every family planned to bring several varieties of fruit, sunflower seeds, watermelon seeds and a peck or two of wheat, oats or other grain. Thus they would be able to grow some of the crops in America to which they were accustomed in Russia.

Elder Wiebe and his congregation left Anfeld on May 30, 1874. They traveled the usual emigrant route by way of Odessa, Lemberg and Breslau to Hamburg. Here they embarked for America on the Inman line steamship *City of Brooklyn*. They stopped en route at Liverpool and sailed from there on July 2. After a stormy crossing they reached New York on July 15. Here they were met by Bernard Warkentin, representative of the newly organized Mennonite Board of Guardians.²¹ He directed them to Elkhart, Ind., where John F. Funk gave them further assistance. Arriving in Elkhart on Saturday afternoon, part of the group were quartered in an empty building which Elder Funk had provided and the rest were allowed to stay in the Mennonite church.

On Sunday afternoon Elder Wiebe preached, by invitation, to a large audience. Members of the Elkhart church generously donated food and other necessities for the poorer families among the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren and work was found for some of the men. As soon as his people were settled, Elder Wiebe, accompanied by Franz Janzen, started west to look for a place of settlement. They traveled over much of Nebraska and then came down into Kansas. Here C. B. Schmidt showed them all the available land the Santa Fe had to offer as far west as Great Bend. Much of the land they looked at in both Nebraska and Kansas was satisfactory and a decision was difficult to make. According to Elder Wiebe, "In Nebraska we were afraid of the deep wells which had to be drilled and cost much money, our people did not have much money

21. When the Russian Mennonite migration to America began the Mennonites in this country made plans to help the immigrants. The Mennonite Board of Guardians was organized for this purpose. They gave advice, rendered valuable assistance in problems of transportation and settlement and collected money for the immigrant poor. The first officers of the board were: Christian Krehbiel, president, John F. Funk, treasurer, David Goertz, secretary, and Bernard Warkentin, agent. David Goertz and Bernard Warkentin spent many months in New York meeting the immigrants and helping them arrange for their transportation west. All the men named above with the exception of John F. Funk later made their homes in Kansas. A sketch of Christian Krehbiel is given in Footnote 8. David Goertz settled in Halstead in 1875 and established a publishing house. He was instrumental in founding Bethel College at Newton, and acted as business administrator of that school for a number of years. For a sketch of the life of Bernard Warkentin, see *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XI, p. 151.



WELL OF MENNONITES IN GNADENAU

The well was located southeast of Gnadenu schoolhouse, District 11. Note the style of dress of the early settlers. [This and succeeding cuts courtesy of The Mennonite Brethren Publishing House of Hillsboro.]

and were used to dug wells, so we decided for Kansas where we found the wells shallow." ²²

One hot day in August the three men were eating their dinner on the banks of the south branch of the Cottonwood river in Risley township, Marion county. After they had eaten Schmidt said that while he hoped they would decide to settle on Santa Fe land in Kansas he had no more land to show them. He believed he had done his part. Because the land suited them as well as any other or perhaps because they were influenced by the presence of other Mennonite settlers in Marion county,²³ a decision was soon reached by Elder Wiebe and Mr. Janzen. They contracted for twelve sections in the northeast corner of Risley township. The land, of course, lay in alternate sections and was not in one large tract.

The site chosen was eight miles west of Marion Centre ²⁴ and about fourteen miles northwest of Peabody, the nearest point on the main line of the Santa Fe. The population of Marion county at that time was between four and five thousand people with the greater part living in the eastern half. The three towns, Peabody, Florence and Marion Centre, had a combined population of eleven hundred. The western half was very sparsely settled, the only settlement of any size being centered around Durham Park, the shorthorn ranch of Albert Crane.²⁵

Mr. Schmidt offered to go to Elkhart to arrange for the transportation of the colony to Kansas while the two Krimmer Brethren stayed in Peabody to prepare for their arrival. Elder Wiebe rented an empty store building to house the party when they came. For himself he bought a stove, a table, two horses and a wagon. During the long days of waiting he began to feel the weight of his responsibility. His people were poor and it would be a year before they could expect any return from the soil, provisions would have to be bought and houses built before winter, which would soon be upon them. The summer of 1874 had been dry and hot. On August 6 the grasshoppers had swept through Marion county destroying crops

22. Letter of Jacob A. Wiebe in Bradley, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

23. The first Mennonite settlement in Marion county was made in 1870 by a group from Pennsylvania under the leadership of M. W. Keim. In the fall of 1873 the Crimean families, mentioned in Footnote 15, settled along the Cottonwood river west of Marion. Early in 1874 the Prussian representative in the delegation of twelve, William Ewert, together with Franz Funk and Cornelius Jantz settled near by. The community, known as Bruderthal, was a short distance northwest of the land chosen for the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren settlement.

24. The name *Marion Centre* was changed to *Marion* in January, 1882.—*Peabody Gazette*, January 26, 1882.

25. The Crane ranch was founded in 1872 and became one of the most noted shorthorn ranches in the West. The ranch house stood near the site of the old Cottonwood crossing of the Santa Fe trail where Moore's ranch, tavern and trading-post had been established in 1859.—Day, David I., "Memories of the Crane Ranch," *Milking Shorthorn Journal*, Chicago, May, June, 1941 (v. XXII, Nos. 5, 6).

and stripping trees and shrubs of their leaves.²⁶ It was not strange that the elder doubted whether they would be able to make a living in such a place.

The colony arrived in Peabody late Saturday night or early Sunday morning, August 16. Jacob G. Barkman,²⁷ then a lad of five, writes that "Everybody slept because of the long and tiresome journey, . . . except my mother, who was troubled with her little boy, that called for an early breakfast." She saw the door of the car open and Elder Wiebe came in. His call "all asleep" aroused every one.

As nearly as can be determined the colonists left Peabody on the day of their arrival.²⁸ John Fast, Jr., who had come to the county the year before, sent a team and wagon, and William Ewert, Mrs. Peter Funk, John Ratzloff and possibly others sent teams. Elder Wiebe loaded some lumber and household goods into his own wagon, and with his family on top of the load, led the way to the site he had chosen for the settlement.

The country northwest of Peabody is a rolling prairie. At that time it was covered with grass three feet high. There were no roads, no trees except a fringe along the creek banks, and no sign of habitation except an occasional settler's shanty. Many of these were deserted because of the drought and grasshopper invasion of the preceding weeks. The hot, dry winds sweeping over the prairies and the parched grass made the countryside seem even more desolate and uninviting than it would have been in a normal season. Mrs. Wiebe burst into tears when she saw where they were to live. Probably her discouragement was shared by many other mothers in the colony that first day.

Elder Wiebe and his family lived for a few days at the home of John Risley²⁹ who had settled in the township in 1870. Mrs. Funk cleared her large barn and fourteen families found shelter there. On

26. *Marion County Record*, Marion, August 8, 1874.

27. Letter of the Reverend Jacob G. Barkman to Alberta Pantle, dated June 7, 1944. Mr. Barkman, the son of Peter M. (1845-1904) and Anna Barkman (1843-1910), was born in the Crimea January 9, 1870. Since coming to America in 1874 the family has been closely associated with the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren settlement. Mr. Barkman still lives near the site of his first home in Kansas. Information furnished by him was very helpful in the compilation of this paper. His parents are buried in the cemetery of the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren church south of Hillsboro.

28. In many accounts of this colony the date of settlement is given as Sunday, August 17. This is incorrect inasmuch as August 17 in 1874 was on Monday. It seems likely that the day of the week rather than the date of the month would be remembered by those relating the story in later years.

29. John M. Risley and his brother West settled on a section of land eight miles west of Marion Centre in 1870. He was postmaster of the station which bore his name for many years, the mail being delivered from Peabody. John M. Risley was prominent in county politics during the early period.—Writers' program of the Work Projects Administration in Kansas, *A Guide to Hillsboro, Kansas* (Hillsboro, The Mennonite Brethren Publishing House, 1940), pp. 85, 86.

Sunday night a long table the length of the barn was laid and the entire congregation sat down to their first love-feast in America. Some of the men turned their wagon boxes upside down and slept under them until they could get their houses built. They built light board shanties at first and dug wells. Before they were settled one of their number, Mrs. Abraham Cornelson, died. This was the first death in the colony in Kansas.

Accustomed to village communities in Russia, the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren planned the same type of settlement in America. The village was named *Gnadenau* meaning Meadow of Grace.³⁰ It was destined to become the most perfect of the few communal villages organized by the Mennonites in Kansas. Even here the system lasted only two or three years. Conditions in America differed very greatly from conditions in Russia and many factors entered into the breakdown of the closed community.³¹

The village proper of Gnadenau occupied section 11. A street was cut through the center of the section from east to west. To-day this street is a public thoroughfare, one of the few roads in Marion county located midway between section lines. Each half of the section was divided into twenty strips of equal width and a little less than half of a mile in length. The dwellings were to be built on either side of the street, although in reality very few buildings were ever erected on the south side. Noble L. Prentis in describing a trip to Gnadenau in August, 1875, remarked that, "The houses of Gnadenau present every variety of architecture, but each house is determined on one thing, to keep on the north side of the one street of the town and face to the south."³² E. W. Hoch, proprietor of the *Marion County Record*, visited the village a year later and made this observation: "It is all or most all of it on one side of the street."³³

At first it was planned that the villagers would farm only five sections, section 11 and the sections adjoining it at the four corners, namely: sections 1, 3, 13 and 15. Land lying at a greater distance

30. No accurate list of the original colony has been found. The heads of families in Gnadenau, as compiled from the Kansas state census of 1875, included: Jacob Friesen, John Keck, Francis Janzen, Jacob Cornelson, Abraham Cornelson, Andrew Pankratz, Peter Berg, Gerhard Wohlegemuth, Martin Friesen, Gerhard Cornelson, Peter Wohlegemuth, Frank Groening, Aaron Shellenberg, Jacob Wiebe, David Block, Henry Block, Isaac Friesen, Peter Barkman, Abraham Goossen, John Harder, Cornelius Friesen, Francis Hine, Anna F. Harms, Abraham Coop, Jacob Harms, Peter Janzen, Cornelius Enns, Abraham Becker.

Several of this group became members of the Gnadenau settlement between August, 1874, and March, 1875, when the census was taken.

31. Factors contributing to the breakdown of the village system included: Absence of the necessity for banding together for safety as they had been forced to do along the Turkish border in South Russia; improved agricultural machinery which made "strip" farming impracticable; the spirit of the American frontier which tolerated no barriers; close contact with non-Mennonite neighbors; confusion which arose over the allocation of taxes.

32. *The Commonwealth*, Topeka, August 20, 1875.

33. *Marion County Record*, Marion, August 11, 1876.

from the townsite was to be used for grazing at first and later for farming. The strips in the village proper were numbered from one to ten thus making four sets of numbering in the square mile. The four strips in the center of the mile were to be reserved for community buildings, church, school, etc. The four outlying sections were divided into twenty strips of equal width and one mile in length and numbered in the same way that the strips in the village were numbered. The residents of each quarter of the townsite farmed in the section nearest their homes, each being responsible for the farming of the land in the strips bearing the same number as that on which he lived. In this way the distance traveled by each farmer in reaching his land was equalized. The farming of these narrow strips became a nuisance after the use of American farm machinery was adopted. In Russia it was customary for those in charge of the village to designate the crops to be sown in each field and to plan a systematic rotation of crops. Probably this plan would also have been followed in Gnadenau had the village system continued for a longer period of time.

Following the Russian custom the village was to be governed by a committee of three men. They served without pay, meeting once a week to transact the business of the village. They settled disputes between members, although in the case of an actual crime the laws of the state governed. The committee designated work to be done and planned public improvements. Another of its tasks was the appointing of the village herdsmen.

The Santa Fe, in advertising grant land, offered several plans for payment. The most liberal terms allowed eleven years' time with specified dates for payment on the principal and interest at seven percent. Generous discounts were given in shorter term offers and for cash purchases. As soon as the payments were completed a warranty deed was given to the purchaser.³⁴

Elder Wiebe, in discussing the purchase of the land at Gnadenau, says:

We originally bought 12 sections of land of the railroad company in Risley township, later Liberty township, on ten years' credit; we had to pay down some, and the dear friend and general agent C. B. Schmidt, and Case and Billings,³⁵ have treated us nicely and faithfully. We were all poor people,

34. The schedule of terms is described in a pamphlet in the files of the Library of the Kansas State Historical Society. It is entitled *How and Where To Get a Living; a Sketch of "The Garden of the West," Presenting Facts Worth Knowing Concerning the Lands of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad Co., in Southwestern Kansas* (Boston, Published by the Company, 1876). This is but one of the numerous pamphlets issued by the railroad in its efforts to interest prospective settlers in its grant lands.

35. The real estate firm of Alex E. Case and Levi Billings in Marion Centre. They were the authorized agents for the Santa Fe grant lands.

many families owed their traveling expenses. They had to go in debt for land, oxen, plow, farmer's wagon and even their sod house; they had to have provisions for a year; there was no chance of earning something, so they had to go in debt for that too, so there was no other way than to borrow money, but where? We were strangers, had no friends here, only Bernard Warkentin of Halstead knew us from Russia, and he helped us through Elder Christian Krehbiel with a loan of a thousand dollars, when those were distributed, it was said, "Brother Wiebe, we also need oxen and a plow to break prairie." Then Cornelius Jansen, of Nebraska, the well-known Consul Jansen, loaned us one thousand dollars; when these were distributed, it was said, "Brother Wiebe, we have to buy provisions for a year, and some lumber to build little houses," then the Elder Wilhelm Ewart loaned us one thousand dollars. Then the time of payment for the land came, so Jacob Funk loaned us one thousand dollars.³⁶

Notwithstanding the scarcity of money during the first few years, the people of Gnadenu prospered. A survey of the records in the office of the register of deeds at Marion shows that practically all the land in the original five sections comprising the original colony was paid for and warranty deeds issued to the owners by 1879, only five years after settlement.³⁷

Soon after their arrival the villagers began breaking sod in preparation for the planting of crops the next year. In the fall of 1874 they were able to rent some plowed ground from English neighbors in sections 12 and 14. Farmers in the vicinity were discouraged because of the drought and grasshopper plague of the preceding summer and a few had deserted their land. Not a very encouraging prospect for the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren, but they planted a little wheat and were rewarded with a good harvest in the summer of 1875. According to some former members of the village they had brought some seed wheat with them.³⁸ This was apparently augmented by American grown wheat because Elder Wiebe speaks of having paid 70 cents a bushel for it.

Two crops grown in abundance by the farmers of Gnadenu were not common on the American farm. They were Russian sunflowers, the seeds of which were used for food, and watermelons, another favorite item in their diet. Noble L. Prentis wrote, after a visit to Gnadenu in 1875: "Of course we visited the watermelon fields,

36. Letter of Jacob A. Wiebe in Bradley, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

37. The deeds for the railroad grant lands are found in "Deed Book V."

38. Several writers in recent years have given sole credit to the Mennonites at Gnadenu for the introduction of Turkey Red wheat into this country. This claim would be difficult to prove and is, perhaps, of less importance than has been attached to it. Even though the Krimmer Brethren brought some of this variety of wheat and planted it in the fall of 1874, the same thing could have been done at Bruderthal founded in the fall of 1873 or in Morris county where Jacob Remple and four other families settled in the spring of 1874. Other Mennonite colonies were founded too late in the fall of 1874 to have been able to get wheat planted. James C. Malin, as a result of his research on wheat growing in Kansas, believes this group cannot be given entire credit for introducing hard winter wheat.—Malin, James C., *Winter Wheat in the Golden Belt of Kansas* (Lawrence, University of Kansas Press, 1944), p. 250.

which, in the aggregate, seemed about a quarter section. Mr. Wiebe insisted on donating a hundred pounds or so of the fruit, fearing we might get hungry on the road."³⁹ Other visitors have commented on the immensity of the watermelon patches and the remarkable success of the Mennonites in raising melons.

Early Gnadenau presented an unusual appearance to the non-Mennonite residents of the county. W. J. Groat visited the village on January 7, 1875, just five months after its settlement. From him we get our first description of the place:

Approaching it from the east you ascend a gentle raise of table-land of one-half mile, and at the summit of this gentle slope is where this peculiar people have built their strange village. At a distance, to a casual observer, it has the appearance of a group of hay-ricks, but on drawing nearer you will perceive human beings passing in and out. Driving past the school house—which is the first building in town, and is a snug frame house, neatly painted; and we understand both the English and German dialects are taught within its walls—we pulled up at what we would call an adobe hut, or wigwam; being constructed of prairie sod, cut in brick form and dried in the sun. The majority of these "fix-ups" have no side walls whatsoever, the roof starting from the ground, and only the gables are laid up with these brick. The roof is simply composed of poles thatched, or shingled, with prairie grass; with an adobe chimney, projecting twelve or sixteen inches only above this dry hay. We were not in the fire insurance business or we would not have halted. We were met at the door and invited in, and following, we were in the rear, and closing the door behind us, which darkened the room, we started in their wake; but what was our astonishment to find ourself plank upon the heels of a horse, but we were soon relieved by our hostess throwing open another door on the opposite side of the stable (for such it proved to be) revealing a small passage between a horse and a cow leading into the presence of the family; each one coming forward and saying "welcome," at the same time giving us a hearty shake of the hand. From the appearance of these buildings on the exterior, and in some instances having to pass through a stable to get in, we were not a little surprised at the neat appearance of the interior. Instead of a stove they have a large brick furnace, which will, they assured us, keep the room comfortable for a whole day with only one heating. The furniture consists principally of bedding, of which they seem to have an abundant supply, and of the warmest material. Nearly every family has an old fashioned German time-piece, reaching from the ceiling to the floor, the weights and pendulum of polished brass, and apparently heavy enough to run a small engine; but we noticed they all kept the same time. They have as yet but little use for the improved chair system, as they use their trunks and chests for that purpose. Still it will be remembered that these people have all moved in in the last six months, and a few have neat frame houses. . . .⁴⁰

Practically all the furniture in use at this time had been brought

39. *The Commonwealth, Topeka*, August 20, 1875.

40. *Marion County Record, Marion*, January 16, 1875.

from Russia. During the first few years it was supplemented by other pieces made by the villagers themselves and still later by furniture purchased in the stores. The beds they brought with them are of special interest. They were divided lengthwise, and during the daytime could be pushed together somewhat like a modern-day studio couch. This not only conserved space but with the covers piled on top made a very good seat. Several pieces of the furniture brought to America by members of the Gnadenu community are on display in the Tabor College Museum at Hillsboro. Many of the tools and some of the house furnishings in the museum were made by Jacob Friesen, Sr., who must have been a very fine carpenter and machinist.

The ovens or stoves mentioned by Mr. Groat created considerable interest among the Americans living nearby. Within a few years one of their neighbors had installed one in his home and others planned to do so.⁴¹ An early visitor to Gnadenu aptly describes the stoves.

The perhaps greatest curiosity about their houses, is their oven fire-places, and with one of which the whole house is well heated and the cooking done for twenty-four hours, the coldest seasons of the year, and all from the burning of four good-sized arm-fulls of straw. The oven (will call it such) is built of the brick of their own make, and is generally 7 feet high, 7 feet long, and about two feet wide, and situated about equally in each of the three lower rooms. The door of the oven is in the kitchen, as is also a door through which to allow the smoke to escape in the chimney, both of which are opened and closed at will; otherwise the oven is perfectly air tight. The blaze from the straw passes from the front to the rear and then back again to the front of the oven, the smoke passing out through another smaller door near the top of the oven and into the chimney. In its circuit through the oven the blaze passes around a couple of smaller ones conveniently opened into from the sitting rooms, constructed of iron, inside of the large oven. They also have doors to them, and in these each family can do nearly all their cooking, as they are each large enough to hold half a dozen good-sized vessels. Their bread is generally baked in large bread pans placed upon iron stools in the front of the large oven after the fire has gone out, something after the manner of our bakers. The chimney is good-sized and located just in front of the large oven, and goes straight through the top of the house. In some of the chimneys places are fixed to hang meat upon to be smoked. Besides the ovens there are small fire-places built on each side of a passageway which leads to the door of the oven, and are provided with places for cooking and are intended to be used only in warm weather, or when the rooms are too warm to admit of the oven being reheated. The smoke from these passes up the same chimney. The large oven is heated up twice a day during cold weather, with about two arm-fulls of straw each time, or a proportional amount of dry manure, or such other fuel as they may choose to use, excepting coal, which cannot be used in them. In a country like

41. *Ibid.*, November 16, 1877.

this, where fuel is so scarce and expensive, and straw and its likes so plenty, we can but look upon these ovens as among the grandest things in use for this country, and might with a sense of economy, neatness and practicability be adapted into every house where it is possible to do so. By so doing, it would save the expense of stoves and of fuel, . . . and at the same time put to good use all the straw and other refuse about the premises.⁴²

One of the first frame houses in Gnadenau was the residence of Elder Jacob A. Wiebe. This house at the east end of the village street was painted red with board window shutters painted green. A contemporary account says: "Mr. Wiebe has built a house more nearly on the Russian model. He took us over the structure, a maze of small rooms and passages, the stable being under the same roof with the people, and the granaries over all, the great wheat stacks being located at the back door."⁴³

The houses were set back from the street to allow for the planting of trees and flower beds. E. W. Hoch, during his visit to Gnadenau in 1876, was particularly impressed with the beauty of the yards. He wrote: "Their yards are immense bouquets. Every other town in the county might well imitate Gnadenau in this matter."⁴⁴

Rows of fruit trees were planted near the houses and shade trees lined the village street. Noble L. Prentis, when he visited the Menonite settlements a second time in 1882, was amazed at the number of trees he saw. In describing the three villages of New Alexanderwohl, Hoffnungsthal and Gnadenau, he wrote:

The most surprising thing about these places is the growth of the trees. I left bare prairie; I returned to find a score of miniature forests in sight from any point of view. The wheat and corn fields were unfenced, of course, but several acres around every house were set in hedges, orchards, lanes, and alleys of trees; trees in lines, trees in groups, and trees all alone. In many cases the houses were hardly visible from the road, and in a few years will be entirely hidden in the cool shade. Where the houses were only a few hundred yards apart, as was frequently the case, a path ran from one to the other between two lines of poplars or cottonwoods. . . .⁴⁵

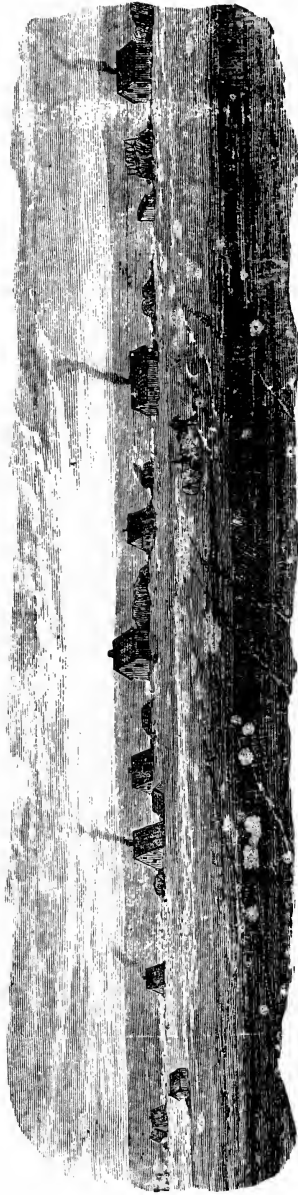
For their first supplies the people of Gnadenau had to go either to Peabody or Marion Centre. It is likely that most of their trading was done at the former because it was on the railroad. Grain and livestock had to be hauled there for shipment for several years after the founding of the colony. At least one Marion Centre merchant made a determined bid for their business. He was a young German, John C. Mehl, who had started a store in Marion Centre shortly

42. *The Commonwealth*, Topeka, December 19, 1875. This is an extract from the *Newton Kansan* of December 9.

43. *The Commonwealth*, Topeka, August 20, 1875.

44. *Marion County Record*, Marion, August 11, 1876.

45. *The Atchison Daily Champion*, May 4, 1882.



MENNONITE SETTLEMENT, GNADENAU, MARION COUNTY



GNADENAU FROM THE EAST

before the arrival of the Mennonites. He ran this advertisement in the *Marion County Record* dated August 15, 1874, though the paper probably was actually published two or three days later:

About thirty families of Russians have just arrived in Marion County and are settling six miles west of Marion Centre. They want to buy thirty or forty span of work horses, milch cows, poultry, and everything necessary for the opening up of their farms and to live on, for which they will pay cash.

Have your stock and other articles at Marion Centre, Thursday morning, August 20th, and they will meet you with the money.

For further information call on J. C. Mehl, opposite the postoffice.

A month later the *Record* reported that, "One of the liveliest business men in town is our German friend, Mr. J. C. Mehl. He is doing a good work for Marion Centre, as well as himself, by attracting and retaining, by fair and honorable dealing, the trade of our newly acquired Russian citizens."⁴⁶ Sometimes the Mennonites were not dealt with "fair and honorably" during the first months before they had some knowledge of English and the value of American money.

Later Mr. Mehl instituted a "sales day," at which time the farmers brought in stock and other property which they wished to sell. This was a further effort to retain the Mennonite trade.

As in the case of the other inland towns of the county, a store was soon opened at Gnadenau. The first store building stood on the south side of the street and later was moved to the north side. The storekeeper was forbidden, by the rules of the village, to sell either intoxicating drinks or tobacco. The first storekeeper was a Russian named Edward Dolgorouki.⁴⁷ Little is known of him except that after a short time, possibly only a few months, he was arrested for larceny and taken to the county seat for trial. There is no record of another storekeeper for several years.

On August 10, 1877, the Risley reporter for the *Marion County Record* wrote: "Our Gnadenau friends want some one to open a general grocery store there." It was not until March of the following year that they were successful. The building was not in the village but was located about a quarter of a mile south of the east end of the village street in section 12. The owner was Thomas Holcomb. In less than a month he had taken a partner, a young

46. *Marion County Record*, Marion, September 19, 1874.

47. Little is known of Edward Dolgorouki. He is reputed to have been an exile from Russia. His name appears frequently in the *Marion County Record* during the first months of 1874 but no trace of him is found after his trial for grand larceny. Many years later, Victor Murdock, editor of the *Wichita Eagle*, wrote of him: "Edward Dolgorouki, a name which Kansas should remember and does not. Dolgorouki and other strong men like himself pictured the Kansas prairies as paradise. Dolgorouki himself came to Marion county."—*Wichita (Evening) Eagle*, July 19, 1937.

man from Illinois whose name is unknown. On March 22, several weeks after the opening of the store, Mr. Holcomb reported a brisk business and said that he was receiving from one to two hundred eggs a week. Evidently Mr. Holcomb sold quite a variety of merchandise because the Risley correspondent for the *Peabody Gazette* sent in this news item in August: "T. J. Holcomb has an agency for somebody's wheat drills, at Gnadenau. Tom's store seems to be a success."⁴⁸

In spite of his apparent success Mr. Holcomb did not stay in business in Gnadenau very long. In June, 1879, a heavy wind blew the building down and damaged about \$200 worth of merchandise.⁴⁹ During August he moved his family and what was left of his stock of goods to the new town of Hillsboro.⁵⁰

There was some talk in March, 1875, of building a water grist mill on the south branch of the Cottonwood in section 13 but the plan did not materialize.⁵¹ During the latter part of 1876, however, a grist mill operated by a large Dutch windmill was erected just west of the village. In March, 1877, we find that: "The grist mill at Gnadenau is running night and day when there is wind. They grind corn, rye, barley and wheat, but do not bolt any."⁵² We have no record of the length of time this mill was in operation but the building itself stood until about twenty-five years ago. In the later years it was used as a granary. The mill was built and operated by Jacob Friesen, Sr., and his son, Jacob J. Friesen. Later Jacob J. Friesen moved to Hillsboro and became a grain and coal dealer. He died there April 13, 1940, at the age of eighty-seven.

Several sorghum mills were located near Gnadenau. As early as September 20, 1878, one was operated by C. A. Flippin and a Mr. Hine of Gnadenau. Sorghum mills did a good business among Mennonites because sorghum molasses was one of the staple articles of their diet. A former resident of the village states that some of the families used as much as a hundred gallons a year.⁵³ Considering the fact that there were ten and twelve and even more children to feed in many families this does not seem exaggerated.

48. *Peabody Gazette*, August 9, 1878.

49. *Ibid.*, July 4, 1879.

50. *Ibid.*, August 15, 1879.

51. *Marion County Record*, Marion, March 20, 1875.

52. *Ibid.*, March 16, 1877.

53. Janzen, C. C., "Americanization of the Russian Mennonites in Central Kansas," a thesis submitted to the department of sociology and the graduate faculty of the University of Kansas, . . . June 1, 1914 (copy in the Kansas State Historical Society Library), p. 73. This thesis together with his dissertation, "A Social Study of the Mennonite Settlements in the Counties of Marion, McPherson, Harvey, Reno and Butler, Kansas" (Chicago, Ill., September, 1926), contain much valuable source material for a study of the Mennonites in Kansas.

There were two blacksmith shops in Gnadenu during the early years. One was located at the west end of the street and the other at the east near the Holcomb store. Two of the blacksmiths were Franz Janzen and Gerhard Cornelson. The Cornelson shop was moved to Hillsboro in 1881.

In addition to these established businesses at or near Gnadenu, many services were performed by various individuals in the village. J. J. Friesen is listed in the 1875 census as a machinist. In the same census we find: John Keck, carpenter; Aaron Shellenberg, shoemaker; Jacob Harms, painter. Evidently Jacob Harms was somewhat more than an ordinary painter because in June, 1877, he did some fancy counter-painting in the Wand Drug Store at Marion Centre. The editor of the *Marion County Record* speaks of him as being "a truly artistic painter" and says, "We have seen floral paintings by him, which looked so natural that we could scarcely refrain from attempting to pluck the flowery beauties."⁵⁴ The names of Jacob Harms and John Keck appear in a business directory for 1878 as well as the following: Buller, Rev. Jacob (Mennonite); Bushman, G., tailor; Bushman, Henry, carpenter; Fast, John, grocery; Flaming, A., schoolteacher; Harder, Rev. John (Baptist); Schenkofsky, C., blacksmith; Wedel, Rev. C. (Mennonite); Wiebe, Rev. Jacob (Baptist).⁵⁵

Gnadenu never had a post office but there was one in nearby Risley and John Fast, of the village, was the postmaster at least two different periods of time. After the founding of Gnadenu, Risley lost its identity as a town, if indeed it was ever more than a postal station. The two names were used interchangeably while Gnadenu was still in Risley township. After the township was divided the original settlement of Risley was in Liberty township⁵⁶ and the whole community became known as Gnadenu.

The Marion & McPherson branch of the Santa Fe railroad was built along the north edge of the settlement in 1879 and Hillsboro⁵⁷ was established two miles west of Gnadenu. Gradually the need for business houses and tradesmen diminished and Hillsboro became their trading center. The coming of the railroad was received with no little opposition in Gnadenu. The chief factor in this opposition was the anticipated rise in taxes but there was also a strong feeling

54. *Marion County Record*, Marion, June 22, 1877.

55. *Kansas State Gazetteer and Business Directory* . . . 1878 (Detroit, Mich., R. L. Polk & Co., and A. C. Danser), pp. 662, 663.

56. Liberty township was formed November 8, 1879.—"Records of Proceedings of the County Commissioners," Book 3, p. 269, MS. volume in courthouse, Marion.

57. Hillsboro was named for John G. Hill who homesteaded near the site of the future Gnadenu in 1871. The town was laid out June 24, 1879.

that the new railroad would bring new non-German settlers whose presence would endanger the entity of the Mennonite community. At an election in Risley township on December 16, 1878, the railroad bonds carried by a vote of 77 to 43. It was charged that the Marion Centre political ring had invaded the township on election day, and by fair means and foul had exerted pressure to influence the vote. There was a feeling in Peabody that the "poor foreigners" in Risley township had been tricked. On the other hand the people in Marion believed or pretended to believe that the Peabody politicians had worked against the bonds because they feared loss of trade to the towns located along the route of the proposed railroad. For several weeks the controversy occupied considerable space in the columns of the local newspapers. Just how large a part the Mennonites at Gnadenau took in the election is not known. Probably little, since it was still very much against their belief to take part in elections although they must have been vitally interested in the outcome.⁵⁸

Because of their unusual habits of living and dress, the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren were a source of curiosity to the American settlers of the county. This was true throughout the state wherever there were Mennonite settlements, but probably to a greater extent in Gnadenau because of the reluctance of the people there to adopt American institutions. The men and boys dressed much alike and the little girls, in their long full skirts and white aprons, looked like miniatures of their mothers. Clothing could be, and usually was, made of the finest materials but no lace or other ornamentation was allowed. Mr. Hoch, in his visit to Gnadenau in 1876, observed that the favorite color was blue. "Probably," he said, "because the color yields less readily than any other to the bleaching rays of the sun. We noticed several strangely constructed dye houses, made from bottom to top of adobe, at which operatives were engaged coloring garments."⁵⁹ Another author has suggested that they chose blue because that seemed a more modest color than any other. For many years the women were not allowed to wear hats to church but tied a kerchief or shawl over their heads or, perhaps, wore a bonnet. The women inevitably wore white aprons to church. New and shiny vehicles were looked upon as a vanity and there were cases in which

58. Very few of these people had declared their intention of becoming citizens and so could not have voted at this time. A survey of the naturalization records in the office of clerk of the court at Marion shows that less than a dozen men from the Gnadenau community had begun naturalization proceedings before this date. Strangely enough the papers of four more are dated December 16, 1878, the date of the railroad bond election. Older people among the Mennonites were loath to become citizens because they felt that they would then be obligated to the duties of voting, serving on juries, etc., against the belief of the church.

59. *Marion County Record*, Marion, August 11, 1876.

the owner of a new buggy or carriage daubed cheap paint over its bright, glossy surface to show his humility. While the village system functioned it was comparatively easy to safeguard the old established habits and customs. After it had failed, the church for many years sought to prevent the adoption of innovations in dress and manners. At one time or another the church fathers banned the wearing of ties, detachable collars, hats with trimming on them and other "Americanisms." Gradually the church became more liberal in its attitude and since 1900 the people of Gnadenu have dressed much like the other residents of the county.

Only necessary work was done on Sunday. In fact religious services left no time for labor. Church began at ten o'clock in the morning and lasted several hours. A second church service was held in the evening. Sunday school, to keep the young people occupied and out of temptation's way, took up most of Sunday afternoon. Carefully chaperoned hymn practices were held in the evenings during the week and revivals were frequent. These usually began as a series of Bible meetings where different phases of religious life were discussed. Even when these meetings assumed the proportions of a revival there was little preaching. Singing and praying and the giving of testimonials usually resulted in the conversion of a number of young people. After the revival these converts were baptised in the south branch of the Cottonwood, conveniently located a short distance south of the village. The Krimmer Mennonite Brethren differed from other branches of the Mennonite church who practiced immersion in their form of baptism. Instead of laying the person back into the water the Krimmer Brethren had the applicant kneel and he was dipped into the water face forward. Insistence upon this procedure was one of the factors which kept other Mennonites from uniting with the Gnadenu church.⁶⁰

The first church building was erected in the fall of 1874 on the south side of the street near the center of the village. It was made of adobe with thatched roof similar to the first houses. The cemetery was in the rear of the church. The walls of this first church soon crumbled and a frame building was constructed across the street. This is probably the building referred to in an item in the *Marion County Record* for March 2, 1877, "Quite a large though plain church house has been erected in Gnadenu." Records show

60. Two families of Mennonite Brethren settled south of Gnadenu in 1875. It was believed that they might join the Gnadenu congregation for worship but the plan did not work because of the extreme conservatism of the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren. These two families were joined by others from Russia and founded the Ebenfeld church which became the nucleus of quite a large community.

that a certificate of incorporation of the Gnadenau Mennonite church of Gnadenau, Marion county, was filed with the secretary of state February 5, 1877. The trustees named in this certificate were: Jacob Wiebe, Johann Harder, John Goossen, Peter Barkman, Aaron Shellenberg, Franz Groening and Gerhard Buschman.⁶¹ On March 30, 1899, some of the provisions of the charter were altered and the name of the church was changed to The Gnadenau Crimean Mennonite Brethren Church. This document was signed by: Heinrich Wiebe, John Berg, John A. Flaming, Peter M. Barkman, Deitrich Wiebe, Abram Groening, John Peters and John J. Friesen.⁶² There is no record that the name was ever changed from Crimean to Krimmer but it is doubtful whether Crimean was ever used very much. Krimmer Mennonite Brethren is the name most commonly used and the one preferred by the members of the church at Gnadenau.

By 1895 many of the members of the church had settled on farms west and south of the village and the church was no longer conveniently located. The old building was torn down and a new one erected two and one-half miles south of Hillsboro on highway 15. This is the location of the present church. Many members of the original colony are buried in the cemetery adjacent to the church. In a plot on the side nearest the church are the graves of Elder Jacob A. Wiebe⁶³ and his wife, Elizabeth Friesen Wiebe.

For many years the ministers of the Gnadenau church served without pay, but I believe this is no longer true. Jacob A. Wiebe was pastor of the church from 1869 to 1900. He was succeeded by his brother, Henry Wiebe, who served from 1900 to 1910, and by John J. Friesen, 1910 to 1937. In 1937 the present pastor, the Reverend Frank V. Wiebe, assumed the charge. There have been periods when the Gnadenau church has lost heavily in membership. One of these periods followed the resignation of Jacob A. Wiebe in 1900. Some of the members married outside the church, and for that reason or for other reasons joined Mennonite or Mennonite Brethren churches nearby. Some members moved away from the neighborhood, and of necessity joined other congregations. At times the younger people in particular have felt that the Gnadenau church

61. "Corporations," v. VII, p. 371.—Official copybook from office of secretary of state, now in the Archives division of the Kansas State Historical Society.

62. *Ibid.*, v. A2, p. 309.

63. Jacob A. Wiebe was born August 6, 1836. He was married to Justina Friesen, daughter of Johann Friesen, at Petershagen, Russia, April 11, 1857. In 1869 he founded the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren church and served as elder, in Russia and America, until 1900. After his retirement he moved to Lehigh, Kan., where he ministered to the poor and ill until his death June 23, 1921.

was too conservative and have rebelled at the restrictions put upon the church members.

Always deeply religious in nature and strict in church and personal conduct, the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren have accepted changes less rapidly, and on the whole have been less liberal than the other branches of the Mennonite church⁶⁴ in America. For many years the church officials at Gnadenu sought to maintain the beliefs and practices of the congregation as it was organized in 1869. They sought, also, to regulate the daily conduct of the members. Sermons had to be delivered in German, although today some are in English. As one of the members expresses it, "For many years our people had the idea, if we should lose our language we would lose our religion. But this has changed in the last 20 years. If the language must go, then the religion can be switched over into English. . . . Now, a minister that cannot preach in English is out of date."⁶⁵

Until a comparatively recent date musical instruments were forbidden in the church. The hymns used in the service were very simple and part singing was not approved. There were many special religious gatherings, but except for these social life was practically non-existent. Various taboos in dress have already been mentioned. In addition many other things, including bicycle riding, purchasing of life and property insurance, excessive buying of land, voting at elections other than school elections, serving on juries, having photographs taken, have at some time fallen under the ban of the church. In the early days an occasional member was excommunicated if he persisted in ignoring the regulations but he usually repented and came back in a short time.

A charter was filed with the secretary of state July 12, 1917, incorporating the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren Church of North America at Hillsboro. The certificate of incorporation was signed by John Esau and Cornelius Thiessen of Inman, Peter A. Wiebe of Lehigh, and John J. Friesen and David E. Harder of Hillsboro.⁶⁶ The last named men were at one time members of the congregation at Gnadenu. The church is one of the smaller branches of the

64. Branches of the Mennonite church represented in Kansas according to the latest census of religious bodies were: Old Order Amish Mennonites; Church of God in Christ (Mennonites); Reformed Mennonites; General Conference of the Mennonite Church of North America; Evangelical Mennonite Brethren Conference; Mennonite Brethren in Christ; Mennonite Brethren Church of North America; Krimmer Mennonite Brethren; Central Conference of Mennonites; Conference of the Defenseless Mennonites, and Unaffiliated Mennonites.—U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies: 1936* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1941), v. II, Pt. 2, pp. 1002-1081.

65. Letter of the Reverend Jacob G. Barkman dated June 7, 1944.

66. "Corporations," v. 98, p. 252.

Mennonite church, numbering about sixteen hundred members in the United States. At present there are only three congregations in Kansas. They are the Gnadenau church at Hillsboro, the Springfield church at Lehigh and the Zoar church at Inman. Churches have been started in Butler county and at Lyons in Rice county but they did not exist very long.⁶⁷

Evangelistic work has been stressed by the church and missions have been established by the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren conference. Since 1898 they have supported a mission among the colored people at Elk Park, N. C.

On September 15, 1890, the Krimmer Brethren were granted a charter for The Industrial School and Hygienic Home for Friendless Persons. Its purpose was "to maintain and educate friendless persons, to provide and maintain a home for such persons, and to provide homes in Christian families for homeless and friendless children."⁶⁸ This home, organized largely through the efforts of the congregation at Gnadenau, was to be located just north of the site of the old village. The first officers were: Elder Jacob A. Wiebe, president; the Reverend Abraham Harms, vice-president; the Reverend J. A. Flaming, secretary, and John Regehr, treasurer. Mrs. Amanda Dohner was chosen matron. The building committee, consisting of Frank Groening, Peter Barkman, John Goossen, John J. Friesen, Jacob Prieb and Tobias Martin, was appointed at a conference at Inman on October 23, 1893. Its members supervised the building of a four-story stone structure, erected cornerwise with the world so that sunshine would reach all the rooms at least part of the day.

The orphanage operated, not too successfully, for about twenty years. It was then converted into the Salem Home for the Aged and Helpless. The third floor was equipped as a hospital. In a short time the hospital space proved inadequate, and in 1918 the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren united with the Mennonite Brethren to establish the Salem Hospital in Hillsboro. The Salem home has been very successful in its operation. The building was destroyed by lightning April 29, 1944, but plans are under way for the erection of a new one.

School District No. 11 in which Gnadenau was located was a very large district organized in 1871. It was referred to at that time as the Risley school. The village children did not attend the public school, however, for at least two years. Having been accustomed

67. Letter of the Reverend J. G. Barkman to Alberta Pantle, July 19, 1944.

68. "Corporations," v. 42, p. 142.

to their own church schools in Russia, they built a schoolhouse in the village in the fall of 1874. After about 1876 the pupils attended the public school when it was in session and attended the church school a different period of time. At first the usual division was four months in the public school and three months at Gnadenu. As time went on the term in the public school tended to become longer.

The first German schoolhouse in Gnadenu was made of sod and a few boards and thatched with long grass. It was located near the center of the village on the south side of the street. This building served as a meetinghouse as well as a schoolhouse. After a short time the walls crumbled and school was moved to the home of the teacher, the Reverend Johann Harder.⁶⁹ One or two rooms in his house were used exclusively by the family and at night the Harder children slept in the schoolroom. The desks were pushed aside and the benches pushed together to serve as beds.

According to Mr. Harder, the Mennonites wished to establish their own schools "for the purpose of teaching the children the most essential things in life."⁷⁰ Very essential things at that time, according to their belief, were a thorough acquaintance with the Bible and a knowledge of the German language.

There were no graded classes, but a division of the pupils was made into the A. B. C. or chart class and advanced students. The chart class was "heard" by some of the older pupils. There were few books except the Bible, which was used as a textbook in reading and in Bible history.

H. P. Peters, in his book, *History and Development of Education Among the Mennonites in Kansas*, gives the following curriculum as observed by Mr. Harder:

The first hour on Monday, Wednesday and Friday, Bible history. Second hour: Reading, two classes, one in the Old Testament and one in the New Testament. One "Buchstabier" or A. B. C. class. Third hour: Penmanship, advanced classes. The A. B. C. class was heard by one of the advanced pupils during this hour.

69. The Reverend Johann Harder was born August 20, 1836, in the village of Blumstein, Molotschna colony, South Russia. He was married November 28, 1858, to Elizabeth Fast, daughter of Johann Fast, then of Schanan, South Russia, but later of Gnadenu. They moved to the Crimea in 1865 and joined the Krimmer Mennonite Brethren church when it was organized in 1869. Harder became a minister in 1871 and served nearly fifty years in this capacity. Also he was a school teacher in Russia for seven years and taught four more years after coming to America. He lived in or near Hillsboro until his death February 23, 1930. —Hillsboro Star, March 14, 1930.

In reading of the Mennonites in Kansas, one is impressed with the unusual number of ministers in each small community. Until recent years few of them had any formal theological training. They were chosen from the laity and usually were farmers who preached when called upon to do so.

70. Peters, H. P., *History and Development of Education Among the Mennonites in Kansas* (a thesis submitted to the faculty of the college of liberal arts . . ., Bluffton College, 1925), p. 22.

The first hour in the afternoon on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays he had arithmetic, both mental (Kopfrechnen) and written (Tafelrechnen). After arithmetic there was another hour in reading. The third hour there were singing exercises or geography.

On Tuesday and Thursday there was German grammar the first hour in the morning. Then followed construction of sentences, arithmetic and penmanship. In the afternoon again arithmetic, dictation exercises and reading each one hour.⁷¹

Every morning and afternoon session opened and closed with prayer. The singing of religious songs was also a part of the program every day.

During the first year or two Mr. Harder received no salary but made an agreement with each family having children in school to bring a load of building material, either rocks or lumber, to be used in the construction of a house. After he began teaching in his own home he was paid a certain amount for each pupil. The last year he taught the school was held in the meeting house and he received a salary of \$30 a month. Public funds could not be used in the maintenance of church schools. One writer says, however, that a Marion county superintendent of schools once visited the German school at Gnadenu and was so impressed with Mr. Harder's conduct of the classes that she allotted him a portion of the school fund. Because of a complaint by other residents of the county the money was later returned to the county treasury.⁷²

The second German teacher was Andreas Flaming,⁷³ a resident of the community but not a member of the original colony. There was an effort, at one time, to engage two teachers, one German and one English, for the regular district school. Mr. Flaming took the teacher's examination in order to qualify for the position as German teacher. As far as can be ascertained the plan did not materialize because of the opposition of the non-German residents of the district.

Concerning the public school which the children of Gnadenu began attending about 1876, David Harrison, the county superintendent, reported: "District No. 11 includes Gnadenu, and in number of pupils, stands fourth in the county. Miss Thompson is teaching the school, and appears to be doing well. The school is furnished with books, and the house is neat enough, but too small for so large a number of pupils."⁷⁴ This was in June of 1877. At the end

71. *Ibid.*, pp. 36, 37.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 31. Andreas Flaming came to Kansas in 1874 but settled first on a farm near Florence. He moved to Gnadenu in 1876.

74. *Marion County Record*, Marion, June 29, 1877.

of the next winter term of school on February 15, 1878, Miss Thompson arranged an entertainment in the form of a school exhibition. Part of the music on the program was furnished by a choir of German boys who sang, with flute accompaniment, in their native tongue. One of the audience wrote, "As a whole, the exhibition was very good, especially as some of the Germans who took part had been studying our language but a short time. Despite the diabolical state of the roads, the audience, from whatever distance they came, felt well repaid for being present."⁷⁵

On April 1, 1878, Willie Groat commenced a term of school at Gnadenu. In August of that year he was employed to teach the Gnadenu school for another term of six months and possibly three months longer. At various intervals during the winter there were "spelling matches," presumably attended by the people of Gnadenu since the greater part of the students came from the village.

The first public schoolhouse in District No. 11 was located in section 12 east of the village. Since the district was so large a second schoolhouse was built, a few years later, west of town on land donated by John J. Friesen. For about ten years the community maintained two schoolhouses, paying the expenses out of a common treasury. Finally the two schools were incorporated into one and a large brick schoolhouse was erected on almost the same location as the first German school built in 1874. This is the location of the present Gnadenu schoolhouse.

The early years at Gnadenu were filled with hardships and dangers. Prairie fires were common. In the first fall a fire, which was reported to have swept down from fifty miles north, threatened the village itself. Unused to such a spectacle the Mennonites did not know what to do. Mr. Risley, their neighbor to the east, brought his plow and helped plow protective furrows around the entire section. Prairie fires at or near Gnadenu were frequently reported in the local newspapers. In the *Marion County Record* for April 13, 1877, we find, "It [Gnadenu] comes very near being the banner town for prairie fires. One sees them day and night. One ran against John G. Hill's farm last week, destroying his hedge which was six years old, besides killing between five and six thousand fine peach trees and some shrubbery. . . ."

Grasshoppers destroyed some of the crops in July, 1876, and again in September, 1877, when they were so bad that the people were reminded of the dreadful plague of 1874. Some years the crops suf-

75. Groat, W. J., "Festivities in Gnadenu," in *ibid.*, February 22, 1878.

ferred from lack of rain. Horse thieves were frequently reported at Gnadenau as late as 1879. The reluctance of the Mennonites to prosecute or take any part in court proceedings may have been the reason why so many horses were stolen from them.

E. W. Hoch remarked once that the people of Gnadenau looked healthy and surmised that doctors dispensed few pills and powders there but childhood diseases struck hard in the village. One winter twenty-four children died of diphtheria in Liberty township and most of them were from the families of Mennonites at Gnadenau.⁷⁶

Gnadenau, in its early years, was enough of a novelty on the Kansas prairies to attract a great many visitors. W. J. Groat, a frequent visitor at the village, once wrote that the person living within the limits of Marion county who had never visited one of the Russian towns was to be compared with people who, living in the vicinity of Niagara Falls or Kentucky's great cave, would not visit them.⁷⁷ Several visits have already been described. Another seems worthy of mention. This was the visit of a group of noted foreign correspondents and artists in September, 1876.⁷⁸ This group of men had come to America to visit the Centennial exposition in Philadelphia. Desirous of seeing the country they were taken on a tour of the Middle West as guests of the Santa Fe railroad. They were in Topeka for the week-end and on Sunday, September 3, went to Florence, where they were to spend the night. On Monday the party drove out to the Russian settlement, visited Gnadenau, called on the bishop and brought back a large number of prairie chickens. The correspondents were delighted with the country and sent reports to their papers at regular intervals.

In 1875 C. B. Schmidt made a trip to Russia in the interests of Kansas and the Santa Fe railroad. He carried with him hundreds of letters of introduction, many of which were written by the people of Gnadenau. Perhaps for this reason a great number of immigrants came directly to the village and stayed until they could select permanent homes. One wonders that they could accommodate so many visitors. The *Marion County Record* reported on August 4, 1876, "About three hundred persons are expected in Gnadenau this week"; November 3, 1876, "One hundred and fifty or two hundred more German-Russians are expected in Gnadenau soon"; June 22, 1877,

76. *Peabody Gazette*, November 2, 1882.

77. *Marion County Record*, Marion, February 22, 1878.

78. *Peabody Gazette*, September 8, 1876.

"Several families arrived in Gnadenu last week from Russia. More are expected every day." This continued until about 1880 when the Mennonite immigration declined sharply.

Today Gnadenu lives only in the memory of the few remaining members of the original settlement in 1874. The name itself has been perpetuated in the Gnadenu school. There is little else to remind the casual visitor that the public road through the center of section 11, Liberty township, was once a village street.

The Annual Meeting

THE sixty-ninth annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society and board of directors was held in the rooms of the Society on October 17, 1944.

The annual meeting of the directors was called to order by President Fred W. Brinkerhoff at 10:25 a. m. First business was the reading of the annual report by the secretary.

SECRETARY'S REPORT, YEAR ENDING OCTOBER 17, 1944

Although the war has reduced the number of persons who come to the Society from other states to do research there has been little falling off in the work of most departments. There were fifteen hundred more visitors to the museum than in 1943, probably because of new signs which were erected on the lawns outside the building. Assistance was given to more than 3,000 Kansans who needed evidence of place and date of birth for war jobs. Three members of the staff of the Society are still on leave in the service. Lt. Edgar Langsdorf is now in France. Ens. Josephine Louise Barry, U. S. N. R., is in Denver. G. R. Gaeddert is doing historical research with the American Red Cross in Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

President Fred W. Brinkerhoff reappointed Sen. Robert C. Rankin, Charles M. Correll and Gen. Milton R. McLean to the executive committee. The members holding over were Chief Justice John S. Dawson and T. M. Lillard. Since last year's meeting four members of the board of directors have died. They are C. Q. Chandler, Wichita; Mrs. Laura P. V. Doerr, Larned; William Allen White, Emporia, and Sam F. Woolard, Wichita.

Mr. Chandler, who was chairman of the board of the First National Bank in Wichita, was much interested in the history of southwest Kansas and had presented a number of pictures and maps to the Society. Mrs. Doerr was well known as a student of the history of the Sante Fe trail and the Plains Indians. William Allen White was a past president of the Society and a director for many years. Mr. Woolard was also a past president and during his many terms as director probably enrolled more new members than any other officer.

LIBRARY

During the year 1,700 persons did research in the library. Of these more than 600 worked on Kansas subjects, 500 on genealogy and 500 on general subjects. Numerous inquiries were answered by letter and there were many requests for loans by mail from the loan file on Kansas subjects. Attendance and requests for information decreased, although in this department there were more writers engaged in extensive research than in the previous year. There were many out-of-state patrons using the genealogical books. More than 68,000 cards were filed in the Library of Congress depository catalog.

Some of the government publications are of special interest at this time.

Pamphlets on Latin-American countries and their relations with the United States are issued by the Office of the Coördinator of Inter-American Affairs. Similar to these pamphlets are those in the war background studies series of the Smithsonian Institution. Somewhat wider in scope, they cover such subjects as *Peoples of India; Polynesians—Explorers of the Pacific; The Natural-History Background of Camouflage, and Island Peoples of the Western Pacific*. Each subject is treated by an authority and illustrated with photographs. The Office of War Information issues some similar material but many of its publications are on the home-front problems of food rationing, price control, labor problems and state-absentee voting and registration laws.

Filling a need in the literature of the First World War is a series of summaries of operations of United States divisions. These books, issued by the American battle movements commission, are published with large-scale maps.

Despite newsprint cuts, the volume of clipping did not decrease. Clippings on war, defense, post-war problems, Red Cross, U.S.O., and the many Kansans in the limelight of the war theater, together with those on general subjects, totaled 450 biographical cards and 3,321 sheets. In addition there were 1,540 old clippings that came in to be mounted. These were from the J. C. Ruppenthal collection of papers covering various Kansas subjects, clippings on the First World War and on woman suffrage. To take care of these clippings, which numbered 5,212, the clipping clerk worked full time for three months instead of the usual half time.

PICTURE COLLECTION

During the year 282 pictures were classified and cataloged and added to the picture collection. Nearly all were gifts.

STATE AND FEDERAL ARCHIVES

The largest accession of state archives was a collection of 505 volumes of records from the ad valorem division of the Department of Revenue and Taxation. Although these records were primarily for tax purposes, they offer valuable information about state-wide operation of railroads, pipe line companies, utility organizations, etc., and show growth and decline of activities.

Also added to state archives were 22 bound volumes containing records of county officers from the office of the Secretary of State.

An important addition to the microfilm copies of the records of the Office of Indian Affairs reported last year were 25 new reels of microfilm representing the outgoing letters of that office from 1861 to 1869.

PRIVATE MANUSCRIPTS

Three manuscript volumes, three reels of microfilm and 49,911 individual manuscripts were received during the year.

The largest single accession was approximately 48,000 manuscripts of the late Sen. Joseph L. Bristow. These came from Frank H. Bristow, administrator of his father's estate. Senator Bristow died in August at his home in Virginia. The papers supplement the important collection previously received. They have not yet been organized.

Mrs. Lillian Ross Leis presented letters and miscellaneous papers of Edmund G. Ross, her father. The correspondence dates from 1856 to 1933 and includes letters of Ross to his wife while he was in the Civil War. Ross will be remembered as the Kansas senator whose vote saved President Andrew Johnson from conviction on impeachment charges.

Herman Newman of Newton, Pa., gave a collection of papers on the Friends church in Kansas. There are 43 letters, dating from 1859 to 1909, reminiscences, historical documents, and a diary, which give valuable information on the early history of that church.

Records of divorces filed in the 23rd Judicial district, 1909-1930, approximately 550 manuscripts, and the marriage records of Russell county from 1873 to 1883 were given by Judge J. C. Ruppenthal.

Tombstone inscriptions from Montana road cemetery, an old burying ground four miles north of Oswego, and the inscriptions from a private cemetery in Macon township, Harvey county, were received from D. D. Murphy of Oswego.

Rev. Charles L. Atkins lent for copying the records of the First Congregational Church in Topeka. These include the minutes of the meetings from October 14, 1855, to September 16, 1869, the roll of members and the records of baptism.

A group of seven letters and statements pertaining to John Brown were the gift of James H. Beach of Chester, Pa. Mr. Beach was formerly a teacher in the Fort Hays State College.

Three reels of microfilm purchased from Yale University contain copies of the manuscript journal of H. Miles Moore consisting of 42 volumes covering the period from 1852 to 1880. H. Miles Moore was a prominent early-day citizen of Kansas and one of the founders of Leavenworth. There are also copies of the original records of the founding of Leavenworth, including the articles of the association, minutes of the meetings, the constitution, account books, etc. A copy of the records of the founding of Topeka is likewise included.

Other donors were: Claud Baird, Wilber Black estate, John G. Campbell, Sen. Arthur Capper, Birdine Chandler, Mary Elizabeth Cochran, Mrs. A. Z. Combs, Evelyn Steenrod Dashen, Mrs. Guilford Dudley, Mrs. Cora A. DuLaney, Edward T. Fay, Standish Hall, Mrs. Henry J. Haskell, Helen McFarland, Jennie Small Owen, Donald D. Parker, Rev. T. F. Rudisill, Frances Mitchell Wardin.

NEWSPAPER AND CENSUS DIVISIONS

During the year more than four thousand patrons were served by the newspaper and census divisions. Seven thousand loose issues of newspapers and four thousand bound volumes were consulted; 6,301 census volumes were searched and from them 3,209 certified copies of family records were issued.

A microfilm copy of the population schedules of the 1880 federal census of Kansas, in 29 reels, has been added to the collections. These came from the U. S. Bureau of the Census. Almost complete state and federal census records are now available for Kansas for the years 1855, 1860, 1865, 1870, 1875, 1880, 1885, 1895, 1905, 1915 and 1925. All these records, excepting this last acquisition, are originals.

The 1944 *List of Kansas Newspapers and Periodicals* was published in July. It showed the issues of 686 newspapers and periodicals being received regularly for filing, 11 fewer than were shown in the 1943 *List*. Casualties among the state's bona fide newspapers now total eighty-four since Pearl Harbor.

Of the 686 publications in the 1944 *List*, 53 are dailies, seven semiweeklies, 422 weeklies, one three times monthly, 31 fortnightlies, 12 semimonthlies, four once every three weeks, 90 monthlies, 13 bimonthlies, 21 quarterlies, 26 occasionals, two semiannuals and four annuals, coming from all the 105 Kansas

counties. Of these publications, 142 are listed Republican, 30 Democratic, and 234 independent in politics; 86 are school or college, 34 religious, 19 fraternal, nine labor, six local, 17 military, 11 industrial, 15 trade and 83 miscellaneous.

On January 1, 1944, the Society's collection contained 49,718 bound volumes of Kansas newspapers, and more than 10,000 bound volumes of out-of-state newspapers dated from 1767 to 1944.

In addition to the 686 publications regularly received by the Society as gifts from Kansas publishers, miscellaneous newspapers have been received from the following: Dr. Edward Bumgardner, Lawrence; Mrs. Cora A. DuLaney, Odenton, Md.; Grant Harrington, Kansas City, Kan.; Mrs. Henry J. Haskell, Kansas City, Mo.; Kansas State Board of Agriculture, Topeka; Cecil Kingery, Phillipsburg; Dr. James C. Malin, Lawrence; Charles L. Mitchell, Topeka; Miss Olga Newlon, Kansas City, Mo.; E. I. Rubinstein, New York City; N. E. Saxe, Topeka, and J. B. Wilson, Lawrence.

MUSEUM

The attendance in the museum from October 1, 1943, through September 30, 1944, was 32,720. Visitors include many soldiers from the Topeka Army Air Field and the Winter General Hospital. There were 20 accessions. Among the most interesting is a bag of the type used by the Kansas seed wheat committee for Russian War Relief for sending seed wheat in 1943 to the devastated areas of Russia. Sen. Arthur Capper presented a piece of sandstone from the original unit of the United States capitol, the cornerstone of which was laid by George Washington in 1793. Dr. Charles M. Sheldon presented a quilt containing autographs of 216 men and women who took a leading part in the prohibition movement.

Several interesting objects have been added to the World War II museum in the main lobby. An exact model of a Landing Craft Tank, made in Kansas, was lent by Harry Darby, whose company manufactures these boats. A large Nazi flag captured in Rome was the gift of Brig. Gen. Edgar E. Hume through Mayor Frank Warren of Topeka.

In co-operation with Mrs. Andrew F. Schoepel, the Historical Society is making a collection of photographs of the wives of Kansas governors. One set of these photographs will be uniformly framed and hung in the governor's mansion. The other set will be preserved and cataloged in the Historical Society's collections.

SUBJECTS FOR RESEARCH

During the year the following have been subjects for extended research: *Biography*: William S. "Old Bill" Williams; Gen. Dwight Eisenhower. *County and town history*: Reminiscences of Edwards county; Victoria colony. *Education*: Ghost colleges in Kansas; Kansas school for the blind; rural schools in Lyon county. *General*: Folklore of northwest Kansas; Friends in Kansas; recent changes in the Cimarron river; early Kansas church architecture; Gardner photographs taken along the Union Pacific; Methodist church of Gypsum; frontier lawyers; Rothschild advertisements in Leavenworth papers; history of the Kansas conference of social work; negroes in the West; fiction in early Kansas; land speculation in Kansas.

ACCESSIONS

October 1, 1943, to September 30, 1944

Library:	
Books	864
Pamphlets	3,407
Magazines (bound volumes)	684
Archives:	
Separate manuscripts	None
Manuscript volumes	530
Manuscript maps	None
Private Manuscripts:	
Separate manuscripts	49,911
Volumes	3
Printed maps, atlases and charts	660
Newspapers (bound volumes)	680
Pictures	282
Museum objects	20

TOTAL ACCESSIONS, SEPTEMBER 30, 1944

Books, pamphlets, bound newspapers and magazines.....	418,406
Separate manuscripts (archives)	1,552,406
Manuscript volumes (archives)	28,820
Manuscript maps (archives)	583
Printed maps, atlases and charts	12,360
Pictures	21,336
Museum objects	33,210

THE QUARTERLY

The Kansas Historical Quarterly is now in its thirteenth year, twelve 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.

OLD SHAWNEE METHODIST MISSION

Although the war has reduced the number of visitors at the Old Shawnee Mission, improvements continue to be made on the property. Last spring a number of trees were set out, bringing the total number of elms alone to 203. A new pipe line was run across the south side of the property to bring water from the Kansas City Suburban Water Company, making it possible to discontinue service from the golf course. Minor repairs were made on the buildings, including papering of several of the rooms in the West building.

FIRST CAPITOL OF KANSAS

Until general traffic is permitted through the Fort Riley reservation visitors at the old capitol building will continue to be limited to soldiers of the post and members of their families. Last year the registration was only 401. The building and grounds have been maintained in good condition.

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, James Malone moved that it be accepted. Motion was seconded by John S. Dawson.

President Brinkerhoff 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

October 1, 1943, to August 30, 1944

MEMBERSHIP FEE FUND

Balance, September 30, 1943:		
Cash	\$1,534.97	
U. S. savings bonds, Series G	3,500.00	
		<u>\$5,034.97</u>
Receipts:		
Memberships	282.00	
Bond interest	112.50	
Reimbursement for postage	402.75	
		<u>797.25</u>
		<u>\$5,832.22</u>
Disbursements		745.47
Balance, August 30, 1944:		
Cash	1,586.75	
U. S. savings bonds, Series G	3,500.00	
		<u>5,086.75</u>
		<u>\$5,832.22</u>

JONATHAN PECKER BEQUEST

Balance, September 30, 1943:		
Cash	\$126.41	
U. S. treasury bonds	950.00	
		<u>\$1,076.41</u>
Interest received:		
Bond interest	13.68	
Savings account	1.04	
		<u>14.72</u>
		<u>\$1,091.13</u>
Disbursements, books		13.12
Balance, August 30, 1944:		
Cash	128.01	
U. S. treasury bonds	950.00	
		<u>1,078.01</u>
		<u>\$1,091.13</u>

JOHN BOOTH BEQUEST

Balance, September 30, 1943:		
Cash	\$41.32	
U. S. treasury bonds	500.00	
		\$541.32
Interest received:		
Bond interest	7.18	
Savings account54	
		7.72
		<u>549.04</u>
Disbursements		None
Balance, August 30, 1944:		
Cash	49.04	
U. S. treasury bonds	500.00	
		<u>\$549.04</u>

THOMAS H. BOWLUS DONATION

This donation is substantiated by a U. S. savings bond, Series G, in the amount of \$1,000. The interest is credited to the membership fee fund.

This 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, 1944, these appropriations were: Kansas State Historical Society, \$34,270; Old Shawnee Mission, \$3,750; First Capitol of Kansas, \$1,074.

On motion of John S. Dawson, seconded by Milton R. McLean, 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 John S. Dawson.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

OCTOBER 13, 1944.

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 October 1, 1943, to August 30, 1944, and that they are hereby approved.

JOHN S. DAWSON, *Chairman.*

On motion of John S. Dawson, seconded by Milton R. McLean, the report was accepted.

The report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society was read by John S. Dawson:

NOMINATING COMMITTEE'S REPORT

OCTOBER 17, 1944.

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: Ralph R. Price, Manhattan, president; Jess C. Denious, Dodge City, first vice-president; Milton R. McLean, Topeka, second vice-president.

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

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN S. DAWSON, *Chairman.*

The report was referred to the afternoon meeting of the board. There being no further business the meeting adjourned.

LUNCHEON MEETING

Chief Justice John S. Dawson was the honor guest at a luncheon given by the Kansas State Historical Society at the Hotel Jayhawk at noon. President Fred W. Brinkerhoff presided. More than 200 attended, including many leading members of the Bar from over the state. Justice Dawson has been a member of the Society's board of directors for thirty-five years. He was introduced by Charles M. Harger of Abilene who in 1931 preceded him as president of the Society. Justice Dawson made a delightful response which dealt both humorously and seriously with highlights of the state's political history and a number of its prominent figures.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY

The annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society convened at 2:30 p. m. The members were called to order by the president, Fred W. Brinkerhoff.

The annual address by Mr. Brinkerhoff follows:

Address of the President

THE KANSAS TOUR OF LINCOLN THE CANDIDATE

FRED W. BRINKERHOFF

AMERICAN statesmen destined to achieve the Presidency have had a habit of coming to Kansas to be seen and to be heard as their parties prepared to move toward convention halls. To put it another way, Kansas has established the custom of bringing future Presidents to Kansas for a close-up appraisal. Four men who were approaching the nominations appeared in Kansas within the memory range of large numbers of living Kansans. In 1895, William McKinley came out from Ohio and addressed a great throng at the famous Ottawa Chautauqua. The next year he was elected President. In 1907, William H. Taft, also of Ohio, then Secretary of War, came out from Washington to make an address at the Ottawa Chautauqua. The next year he was elected President. In 1912, Woodrow Wilson, governor of New Jersey, came to speak to a political gathering in Topeka. That year he was elected President. In 1927, Herbert Hoover, then Secretary of Commerce, came from Washington to meet a large group of Kansans at the home of William Allen White in Emporia. The next year he was elected President. The aspirant who used this technique of campaigning and set the example was Abraham Lincoln. In 1859, Lincoln came out from Illinois and made a Kansas tour. The next year he was elected President.

In the autumn of 1940 one of the first of the historical markers on Kansas highways was unveiled at Elwood. That marker recites three historical facts concerning Elwood. Elwood was the first Kansas station of the Pony Express. It was one end of the first railroad in Kansas. It was there that Lincoln first set foot on Kansas soil and made the opening speech of his Kansas tour. Speaking at the unveiling, I endeavored to sketch the events connected with Lincoln's visit and speech, and his tour. After the ceremonies a Kansan very active in Kansas affairs, then and now in high station, expressed surprise at what he had heard. He said that he never knew that Lincoln had been in Kansas. That seemed rather strange. But after reaching home, I took up the textbook of Kansas history which was used in the public schools at the beginning of the century and examined it carefully. There was not a line in it concerning Lincoln's visit. Yet the author was a famous journalist who spent

several years of his distinguished career in newspaper work in one of the cities in which Lincoln spoke. An examination of the Kansas newspapers of the time of the tour reveals no mention of the Lincoln visit and speeches with some notable exceptions. These exceptions are the rather full accounts in the Leavenworth and Elwood newspapers, a single belated but valuable paragraph in the *Kansas Chief*, then published at White Cloud, a paragraph in the *Emporia News* and a reprint from a Leavenworth newspaper in a Manhattan publication. In the *Annals of Kansas* are only two brief paragraphs although D. W. Wilder, the compiler, was one of the former publishers of the Elwood newspaper, had something to do with inviting Lincoln to Kansas and had met Lincoln at the railroad station in St. Joseph and escorted him across the river to Elwood. The biographers of Lincoln have paid little attention to his Kansas tour. Most of them have made some mention of the fact that he came to Kansas and delivered some speeches. In one of the monumental works, the authors have attempted to set forth an outline of the themes of his Kansas speeches as gathered from some notes found in his papers. An occasional newspaper article or an interview with someone who remembered incidents of the tour, published many years later, and one or two articles from correspondents published in Eastern newspapers, finish up the available literature devoted to the visit of Candidate Lincoln to Kansas in 1859.

The bypassing of this notable chapter in Kansas history and in Lincoln's life by the biographers and the historians may be easily explained. Only a year before, Lincoln and Douglas had engaged in the great debates in Illinois. In less than three months Lincoln delivered his memorable political speech at Cooper Institute in New York. Both events—the stump duel in Illinois and the New York speech—attracted national attention of the highest degree. The debates and the New York speech were reported fully in the newspapers. The scenes were laid in an important and well settled state and in the nation's principal center. The debates were thrilling because two great orators, running for the Illinois senatorship and the Presidency at the same time, were clashing. The Cooper Institute speech was made close to the preconvention contest. The Kansas tour, overshadowed fore and aft, was overlooked or ignored as a trivial incident of the day as the historians settled to their work.

But some of the biographers and historians have pointed out an important truth. The Kansas speeches showed up later at Cooper Institute. Lincoln in Kansas tested out that speech. In October

and November he had received the invitation to New York and accepted it. He was already preparing the address. Obviously, he knew that his chance for the Republican nomination could be advanced tremendously or retarded, perhaps lost, by that speech. Lincoln had no doubt about that. So Lincoln accepted the invitation to speak in Kansas for three reasons. First, he wanted to try out his ideas on Kansans. He wanted to see how the things he planned to say would sound. He wanted to see what the reaction of the Kansas audiences would be. He wanted to practice his New York speech. He had reason to believe that his Kansas speeches would not receive attention in the East. He did not desire that they be reported there. Made in Illinois or some other state, such speeches would command attention and get into the newspapers. And that would spoil his plans for the New York speech. He was a candidate for the Presidency. He was skilled in politics. He was a careful candidate. He was glad to have the opportunity the trip offered.

Then, there was a sentimental reason. Bleeding Kansas was the big issue. He had battled with Douglas about Kansas. The country was worked up about Kansas. The slavery question was linked to the struggles in Kansas. Lincoln was deeply interested in the Free-State cause. He was distressed by the strife in the territory. He had been unable to visit Kansas earlier. Here was his opportunity.

Finally, Kansas would have six delegates in the coming Republican national convention and they would be helpful to Lincoln.

And so Lincoln came to Kansas.

The question whether Kansas would enter the Union as a free state or a slave state had been decided when Lincoln came to Kansas. On March 7, 1859, an election to decide whether to hold a constitutional convention or not was called for March 28. Nearly 7,000 votes were cast and the result was nearly four to one in favor of holding the convention. The heaviest vote against holding the convention was cast in Leavenworth county, although the convention won nearly four to one. Doniphan county opponents cast the third largest vote among the counties, the convention winning by less than two to one. On the other hand Atchison was one of the strongest convention counties, the vote being nearly ten to one. In mid-April Governor Medary called the constitutional convention for Wyandotte, to assemble on July 5, and an election for delegates to be held June 7. Before the election of delegates two important political meetings were held in the territory. A Democratic territorial convention was held May 11 at Tecumseh where a platform full of demands upon the constitutional convention was adopted. At

a convention at Osawatomie the Republican party in Kansas was organized May 18. This convention was featured by the presence of Horace Greeley who addressed the convention. Lincoln had been asked to attend the convention but could not make the trip. Greeley in his address referred to "the able and gallant Lincoln of Illinois, whom we had hoped to meet and hear to-day." On June 7 the election of delegates to the Wyandotte convention was held. The Republicans elected thirty-five delegates and the Democrats seventeen. Ten of the seventeen Democratic delegates were from Leavenworth county, a solid delegation. Four were from Doniphan, which had five delegates. Jefferson and Jackson, neighboring counties, furnished one Democrat each, the other coming from Johnson county. The convention adopted a constitution on July 29. An election as specified by the constitution was held on October 4 and the constitution was adopted by a vote of nearly two to one. Both parties immediately proceeded to nominate candidates for state officers. The constitution provided that the election be held on the first Tuesday in December, which was December 6.

Whether it was merely an accident or Lincoln had planned his visit that way, just ahead of the state election, is one of the many things about the Lincoln visit to Kansas which must be left to speculation. But logic supports the view that he considered the election in making his plans. There is some evidence to sustain that idea. It seems quite clear that the actual invitation to speak in Kansas came from Mark W. Delahay, Leavenworth lawyer whose wife was a distant relative of Lincoln. Delahay had practiced law in Illinois. D. W. Wilder was said to have talked with Lincoln in Springfield during the summer. Just how long a notice the Kansans had of Lincoln's coming is not plain. It could not have been very long. But the *Times* on Monday, November 28, said that Lincoln "will arrive in Leavenworth Wednesday" and said that the Turners had been asked to make arrangements for the reception of the guest. On the next morning the *Times* carried the notice of a meeting that night to make "preparations for the reception of the Hon. Abe Lincoln who will arrive in Leavenworth to-morrow or the day after." The *Times* of November 30 told of the planning meeting. A committee of seven was named to handle the matter.

What Lincoln actually did in the way of making a speaking tour in Kansas would do credit to a modern campaigner in the state where such campaigning long ago became common. It was not, however, a novelty to Lincoln. He had been making similar trips in Illinois. He had ridden the circuit as a lawyer. He was not accustomed to

comfort in traveling. He did not require or demand luxuries. In the Illinois debates, Douglas had the benefit of a private railroad car, certainly a refined luxury in that day. But Lincoln used any accommodations available. It was almost the pre-horse-and-buggy era in Kansas. But such a rig was provided for his Kansas tour.

The slavery question had been decided in Kansas after years of bloodshed. But the Kansas decision had intensified it as a national issue. Greeley, on the bank of the Marais des Cygnes at Osawatomie, referred to the Trading Post massacre and sounded a call to battle for universal freedom. It was everywhere believed that the crisis was near. The election of 1860 would bring the showdown. Kansas had given a preview of the great drama, many believed, and with fine accuracy of reasoning. When Lincoln was preparing to come to Kansas, John Brown of Kansas had stirred both the North and the South with his Harper's Ferry project. Interest in the course of the young Republican party was acute. William H. Seward was the outstanding candidate for the Presidential nomination. But there was a deep interest in Lincoln over the North. Easterners wanted to know more about him. They desired to see and hear the prairie lawyer who had met the mighty Douglas on the stump and bested him in the arguments. He could be a better candidate than Seward. The Northwestern states were needed in the election. Seward might not carry them. But Lincoln could carry the aroused East. Lincoln, the most profound student of practical politics of the day, knew all these things. So he was glad to have the opportunity to face the Easterners from the rostrum of Cooper Institute. And Lincoln undoubtedly was glad to have the chance to use a Kansas audience—or, as it developed, several Kansas audiences—as a proving ground for the arguments he proposed to display in New York.

Lincoln had seen Kansas before he came for his tour. He made a business visit to Council Bluffs, Ia., in August. He used the new railroad, the Hannibal & St. Joseph, finished earlier in the year. He took a steamboat up the river. Returning, he came down the river to St. Joseph and went east on the train. From the decks of the steamers he had a chance to look at Kansas.

It is very probable that this trip of Lincoln's to western Iowa influenced him to make the visit to Kansas in December. The railroad made the journey to Kansas very easy—in comparison with accommodations available until that year. The traveling westward through Missouri had been on steamers on the Missouri river, or by wagon. There is reason for the belief that Lincoln wanted to come

to Kansas for the Osawatomie convention. He had explained to those who invited him that he desired to attend the convention but that he had been out of his law office so much during the year just past that he had to stay at home and make a living for his family.

Apparently, Lincoln's acceptance of the invitation to Kansas has not been preserved. But Leavenworth correspondence in the *New York Tribune* of August 30, 1860, gives an account of the visit. The correspondent, who must have been a competent observer, said that a message came from Lincoln early in November in which he said that he had been advised by "old acquaintances" that by coming to Kansas then he might render a slight service to the country and the common cause.

In October and November, Lincoln's mind was on his engagement to speak in New York. He was already preparing his address, although the speaking date was three or four months away. As he went about his business in Springfield he was developing the idea of testing out his line of thought for the New Yorkers, he was thinking of meeting Kansans on their own blood-stained soil and he was thinking of half a dozen votes in the second national convention of his party. Late in June the *Elwood Free Press* of which D. W. Wilder was then one of the publishers, had raised the banner of a national ticket—William H. Seward for President and Abraham Lincoln for Vice President. This undoubtedly interested Lincoln. He knew that he had attracted attention in Kansas. And so, at the very end of November he set out from Springfield for Leavenworth.

Lincoln's departure from home was not much of an event. He was always leaving Springfield and this departure appears to have attracted no attention at all. Paul M. Angle, noted Illinois historian, whose valuable book gives Lincoln's whereabouts day by day, fixes the date as November 30. But this was done by going backward from the date, generally accepted, of his arrival in Kansas. Lincoln went by train west to the Mississippi, crossed that river to Hannibal and boarded a train for St. Joseph. As the historians and biographers in their meager accounts have given the record, he arrived at St. Joseph in the afternoon of December 1. He was met there by Delahay and Wilder. Delahay had sent his distant in-law relative the invitation and urged him to come. Wilder had seen Lincoln in Springfield in the summer and is said to have urged him to visit Kansas. The Kansans took Lincoln up town in an omnibus from the railroad station. There was a visit to a barber shop and the Kansans obtained for him New York and Chicago newspapers at the postoffice news stand. Then they started to Elwood.

They crossed the river on the ferry. Elwood then was a prosperous and promising Kansas town. In it was what was said to be the finest hotel in Kansas, the Great Western, with 75 rooms. There was no speech scheduled there. But Elwood men asked Lincoln to talk that night. He agreed and a man went through the streets, according to Wilder, pounding a gong and announcing that Lincoln would speak in the dining room of the hotel that night. And so Lincoln's first address, a brief one, was delivered at Elwood. There is little information as to the size of the crowd but it could not have been large. A report said that following the speech Lincoln and members of his audience enjoyed a good meal in the hotel.

The night was spent at Elwood. The next day Lincoln started to Troy in an open buggy, drawn by one horse. The weather had turned very cold. Three or four men have been reported as Lincoln's traveling companions. Either the buggy was of large capacity or a second vehicle or riding horses were used. Delahay is not named as one of the men. The probability is that Delahay went directly from Elwood to Leavenworth to prepare for the big days ahead. Lincoln was "blue with cold" when he reached Troy. On the trip the party met a bewhiskered man in a wagon. The man recognized Lincoln. He was Henry Villard, newspaper correspondent. He had been to Colorado on an assignment for a New York newspaper. He had buffalo robes and he lent Lincoln one which Lincoln returned to Villard at Leavenworth.

At Troy Lincoln made an address in the courthouse, speaking for one hour and three-quarters. Not more than 40 persons were in his audience. Free speech was maintained in Kansas by the pioneers. They believed in hearing both sides. A former Kentuckian, the largest slave holder in the territory, was called on. He made a reply to Lincoln.

From Troy, which had only the courthouse and a tavern and a few business places, Lincoln was driven down to Doniphan, on the Missouri river. It, like Elwood, gave promise of a great future. It had developed into an important river port. Jim Lane was interested in the town. It was a sort of headquarters for him. There, in A. Low's hotel, Lincoln made his third Kansas speech. The record is vague as to this meeting but the presumption is that the crowd was small and the speech short.

Here at Doniphan we get into confusion as to time and the historians run out on us. They make the record show that Lincoln was driven from Doniphan to Atchison where he spoke the night of December 2. The weather had continued cold. Judge Nathan Price,

for the quarter of a century following a noted lawyer, judge and political figure in Kansas, was either the driver or a companion on the trip and he provided a lighted lantern that was placed under the robe to make the distinguished campaigner a little more comfortable.

At Atchison Lincoln spoke in the Methodist church. The edifice was crowded. Lincoln was introduced by the mayor, Samuel C. Pomeroy, who was destined to become one of the first United States senators from Kansas and to be one of the most persistent enemies of Lincoln in the senate. In the audience was a foremost Proslavery leader of Kansas, Gen. Benjamin F. Stringfellow. Another man in the audience was a young fellow named John J. Ingalls. Another was Franklin G. Adams, first secretary of the State Historical Society, who served for 23 years. Another was Frank A. Root, then an Atchison printer, who made many important contributions to Kansas historical literature. Ingalls, Adams and Root all left important but meager accounts of the meeting. Lincoln spoke for two hours and twenty minutes. When he indicated his intention to conclude after an hour and a half, the crowd insisted he continue. Here Lincoln had the opportunity and the inspiration he had sought in coming to Kansas. The speech was a try-out for the Cooper Institute address. Lincoln stayed at the Massasoit House, a pretentious new hotel and was escorted to the church by a band.

On the morning of Saturday, December 3, a delegation or committee from Leavenworth took Lincoln in charge for the journey to Leavenworth. Leavenworth had prepared a welcome for him. A crowd with a band and many vehicles met Lincoln and his party just outside the town. There was a parade into town and the streets were filled with people. Lincoln was taken to the Mansion House. There he was welcomed to Leavenworth by Col. John C. Vaughan. He responded briefly, explaining that he would speak at length at night. He registered at the Planters House. At Stockton hall, packed with Kansans anxious to hear him, Lincoln that night discussed popular sovereignty. Sunday he went to the Delahay home where he was a guest for the rest of his stay in Leavenworth. There had been enthusiastic reports on his address Saturday night. There were insistent demands for another speech Monday. Lincoln consented, probably without protesting. Stockton hall again was packed at 2:30 o'clock in the afternoon, Monday, December 5. The *Times* on December 6 reported: "The day was fearfully unpleasant but the hall was filled to overflowing—even ladies being present." Thus Lincoln made three speeches in Leavenworth—one the short one

outdoors when he arrived, and the other two in Stockton hall. There has been a little confusion concerning the place of the third address. But the *Times'* account very definitely settles any question as to the time and the place.

The next day, Tuesday, December 6, was election day. State officers were chosen. Lincoln stayed to witness the voting. Undoubtedly Lincoln was deeply interested in the outcome of the election—especially in Leavenworth and Atchison and Doniphan counties. On Wednesday, December 7, he left for home. Marcus J. Parrott, delegate in congress, accompanied him eastward. The historians have avoided the details of his departure. An account, generally accepted, was that he went up the river to St. Joseph by steamer. But a single little paragraph found in the *Times*, issue of Wednesday, December 7, the day Lincoln left, says: "The River opposite this city has been frozen over since Sunday morning. The ice on an average is six inches thick, and many persons and horses crossed with safety yesterday." Lincoln went back to St. Joseph by horse and buggy or carriage.

And so the first visit to Kansas of a Presidential candidate on the way to victory and the first real political campaigning tour in Kansas came to an end.

As the record presented by the historians and biographers in their limited treatment of Lincoln's tour stands, this is the story: Lincoln came into Kansas at Elwood from St. Joseph late on Thursday, December 1, 1859. He spoke in the hotel at Elwood that night and spent the night there. The next day, Friday, December 2, he was driven to Troy, twelve miles from Elwood, where he spoke for an hour and three-quarters. Then he was driven to Doniphan, fourteen miles from Troy, where he spoke. Then he was driven to Atchison, six miles from Doniphan, where he spoke that night and spent the night. The next morning, Saturday, December 3, he was driven to Leavenworth where he remained until Wednesday.

There can be no doubt that Lincoln arrived in Leavenworth on Saturday, December 3. Nor can there be any doubt that he was in Atchison the night of December 2. So in the interest of accuracy, we may pick up the Lincoln trail there and go back. If we take the accounts of the tour that have been accepted generally, this is what Lincoln did on December 2, 1859: He traveled 32 miles by horse and buggy over trails that some of the pioneers had started to call roads. He made two speeches on the way, one of which required a stop of at least two hours, and the other a stop of at least an hour. And he ended the day with his Atchison speech.

Considering the condition of the roads and the weather in December, 1859, the rate at which Lincoln traveled could not have exceeded five miles an hour and it is more likely, not more than four miles an hour. At that rate, it would have taken him eight hours on the road to Atchison. Add to this the two hours, minimum, at Troy, and the hour at Doniphan, and Lincoln took eleven hours to go from Elwood to Atchison. Disregarding for the moment the time of his arrival at Atchison, he was there for a night meeting at 8 o'clock. It would have been necessary for Lincoln to leave Elwood at 9 o'clock. It would have been possible for Lincoln to have kept this schedule. It is also possible that the start was made from Elwood before 9. In fact, it is quite probable, in which event there could have been more time for a noon meal somewhere along the line.

But there are some other things that interfere with acceptance of this picture of Lincoln's movements and activities on December 2. Such references as there are put the meeting in the Troy courthouse in the afternoon. This was most likely. It is improbable that a meeting was held in the morning and not very probable that it was held even at noon. Almost certainly, Lincoln spoke in the afternoon. That would have made it impossible for him to reach Atchison, twenty miles away in time for his night meeting, with a stop at Doniphan because he certainly could not have left Troy before 3 o'clock. At least one historian has set forth that Lincoln spoke at Troy in the afternoon and spoke again that night at Doniphan. The testimony and evidence at Atchison sustain the statement that Lincoln spoke at Doniphan on the night of the day he spoke at Troy and that he spent the night in Doniphan. There is ample reason to believe that Lincoln arrived in Atchison during the day. Frank A. Root, then foreman of John A. Martin's newspaper, the *Champion*, says that Lincoln arrived in Atchison about 10 o'clock in the morning. Since Doniphan was only six miles away, this seems a logical time for his arrival. Root got out a handbill announcing that Lincoln would speak at 8 o'clock that night in the Methodist church, the use of which Franklin G. Adams and others obtained from reluctant church officials. There is evidence that arrangements were not made for Lincoln's Atchison speech until after Lincoln arrived in Atchison. The negotiations with the church officials and the printing of the handbills after his arrival are sufficient proof of that fact. Therefore, it becomes clear that Lincoln could not have traveled 32 miles by horse and buggy, visited Troy and spoken there, stopped at Doniphan and spoken there and reached Atchison during the day—and it is just as certain that he reached Atchison during a day.

Geography and time, reinforced by the Atchison evidence, force the conclusion that on December 2, Lincoln rose after a night in Doniphan, undoubtedly in the Low hotel, and drove to Atchison. There he spent the rest of December 2 and the night following. This necessarily means that Lincoln arrived at St. Joseph and Elwood on Wednesday, November 30, and that he was at Troy and at Doniphan on Thursday, December 1. There are some bits of evidence to support this conclusion, too.

The belated article published in the New York *Tribune* August 30, 1860, which has been used by some of the historians as a basis for their references to the Lincoln visit says that Lincoln arrived in St. Joseph "on the afternoon of Nov. 31st." Although that November had only 30 days, it must be assumed that the writer at least meant the last day of November. The *Tribune* article's author went on to say that "the next day" Lincoln went to Troy where he spoke "in the afternoon" for nearly two hours. The writer continued that "the same afternoon Mr. Lincoln went to Doniphan, and spoke in the evening."

Better evidence was published in the St. Joseph *Gazette* on December 1. The *Gazette* said: "The Hon. Abe Lincoln, of Illinois, passed through this city yesterday, on his way to Kansas, where he is advertised to make Republican speeches."

The St. Joseph *Weekly Free Democrat*, date of December 3, had this clear statement: "The Hon. Abe Lincoln, who beat Douglas on the popular vote for U. S. Senator at the last election in Ill.—addressed the citizens of Elwood on Wednesday evening last, upon National politics." That Wednesday was November 30.

More evidence is in this statement in the *Kansas Chief*, published at White Cloud, date of December 1: "Hon. Abe Lincoln, of Illinois, who stirred up Douglas with a sharp stick until he squealed, is now stumping it in the Territory. He speaks at Troy to-day, at Atchison to-morrow, and at Leavenworth on Saturday."

The evidence seems to be conclusive. Lincoln arrived in Kansas on November 30, spoke at Elwood that night, at Troy the afternoon of December 1 and at Doniphan that night. The next morning he went on to Atchison.

The historians who have dealt with the Lincoln visit ignored geography and transportation facilities. A statement by one writer that it was 30 miles from Elwood to Troy has been accepted and used by later writers.

That section of Kansas in which Lincoln spoke had the greatest Democratic strength in the territory. Leavenworth was the party's

stronghold. In the election on December 6, which Lincoln stayed over to see, Leavenworth county cast 1,404 votes for Medary, the Democratic candidate for governor, and 997 votes for Robinson, the Republican candidate. Doniphan gave the Republican 476 and the Democrat 371. Atchison voted 644 for the Republican and 585 for the Democrat. Doniphan and Atchison counties had been settled by Missourians. They were named for famous Proslavery leaders in Missouri. Many of their most substantial citizens were Proslavery men. Lincoln had plenty of men of opposite views to work on with his speeches. He was equal to the occasions. He was trying out for Cooper Institute. The reception his Kansas speeches received must have impressed the veteran stump orator. At Troy, Col. Andrew J. Agey, a former Kentuckian and the heaviest slave owner in the territory, called by the crowd to answer Lincoln, said: "I have heard, during my life, all the ablest public speakers, all the eminent statesmen of the past and the present generation, and while I dissent utterly from the doctrines of this address, and shall endeavor to refute some of them, candor compels me to say that it is the most able—the most logical—speech I ever listened to." The demand of the Atchison audience that he continue after he had spoken for an hour and a half and the insistent request for a second speech at Leavenworth surely must have indicated to Lincoln that his line of argument would do for the Cooper Institute audience—and for the country which would read it carefully later. The friendly Leavenworth newspapers gave Lincoln's speeches there complete praise, which must have been very satisfactory to Lincoln.

The Kansas speeches dealt with the organization and purpose of the Republican party as Lincoln viewed them. The purpose, he said, was to prevent the extension of slavery. He devoted major attention to the "Douglas popular sovereignty" as opposed to "real popular sovereignty"—a subject of acute interest in Kansas. He argued that Republicans must follow their own leaders and fight under their own banner. He referred to the great battle the year before in Illinois and said that the Illinois Republicans had been advised by "numerous and respectable outsiders" to re-elect Douglas to the senate. He asserted that he did not believe that "we can ever advance our principles by supporting men who oppose our principles" and that if the advice had been taken "there would now be no Republican party in Illinois and none to speak of anywhere else." In this way he sought to appeal to the Kansas Republicans to perfect and extend their organization and to battle for their principles, regardless of the opposition. This argument, of course, was intended

for the Kansans and he threw in many observations that were intended to localize his utterances and intensify the interest of his hearers—a device always effectively used by the skilled stump speakers. But the lines of his discussion of issues of vital importance in 1860 were those of the great speech that was in the making. When he rose to speak at Atchison, John Brown of Kansas had been dead a few hours—hanged that day at Charlestown, Va. Many an orator on the Antislavery side, speaking in Kansas that night, would have denounced the hanging of Brown. But Lincoln did not. He said that Brown was guilty of treason and had paid the proper penalty. Ingalls reported 30 years later that Lincoln, alluding to the threats of secession, said that secession would be treason and declared: "If they attempt to put their threats into execution we will hang them as they have hanged old John Brown to-day."

Lincoln must have had pleasant thoughts of his Kansas tour as he traveled back to Springfield from Leavenworth.

The first objective of the Kansas tour had been achieved. He had tested out his speech ideas and obtained a favorable decision. He also accomplished his second objective. He had seen bleeding Kansas and had met Kansans who had bled. But as to the third objective, the six delegates from Kansas to the national convention, that had to await the developments of the next year—and the wishes of the Republican leaders of Kansas.

Seward was strong in Kansas. He had been the strong and eloquent friend of the Free-State cause. He had been in a position to render great service. He had opportunities to dramatize his friendship. While Lincoln met Douglas on the stump in Illinois, Seward met Douglas in the United States senate. The Kansas Republican leaders were for Seward. The rank and file Republicans were for Seward. The Kansas newspapers were favorable to Seward.

When Lincoln visited Atchison, there was no mention of his visit in the Atchison *Champion*, a foremost Free-State newspaper. Not a line concerning his stay or his speech appeared in the *Champion*. His presence in Atchison was big news. By all the standards of news evaluation, it was a major news item. But the *Champion* ignored it. John A. Martin was the editor. Martin was for Seward. He believed that publishing an account of Lincoln's appearance in Atchison would be treason to Seward. There is no more interesting episode in the history of Kansas journalism than Martin's suppression of this big news story. Martin demonstrated the intense loyalty of the Kansas Republican leaders to Seward.

On April 11, 1860, the Kansas Republicans met in convention at

Lawrence to select the six delegates to the national convention in Chicago. Martin was one of the delegates chosen. Col. William A. Phillips was another. Phillips, called to the platform, made a Seward speech and closed by offering a resolution which declared Seward to be the "first representative man of the Republican party and the first choice of the Republicans of Kansas for the Presidency in 1860." The resolution was adopted, only one or two delegates voting against it.

In the Wigwam at Chicago a month later, the six Kansas delegates voted for Seward and never flopped to Lincoln. Lincoln learned that the third objective of his Kansas tour had failed. The horse and buggy had been a bandwagon but Kansas missed it.

A tribute to William Allen White by Henry J. Allen followed Mr. Brinkerhoff's address. Mr. Allen, chairman of a committee to raise funds for the William Allen White foundation, paid tribute to the life and character of Mr. White and explained the plan to perpetuate his ideals in a graduate school of journalism at the University of Kansas. The endowment will offer special inducements and awards designed to teach an honest and vigorous type of country journalism. The committee's goal is \$250,000, to be raised mainly by subscription.

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

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS FOR DIRECTORS

October 17, 1944.

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, 1947:

Aitchison, R. T., Wichita.	Miller, Karl, Dodge City.
Anthony, D. R., Leavenworth.	Moore, Russell, Wichita.
Baughner, Charles A., Ellis.	Murdock, Victor, Wichita.
Capper, Arthur, Topeka.	Price, Ralph R., Manhattan.
Carson, F. L., Wichita.	Raynesford, H. C., Ellis.
Chambers, Lloyd, Topeka.	Russell, W. J., Topeka.
Dawson, John S., Hill City.	Shaw, Joseph C., Topeka.
Durkee, Charles C., Kansas City.	Smith, William E., Wamego.
Ellenbecker, John G., Marysville.	Solander, Mrs. T. T., Osawatomie.
Euwer, Elmer E., Goodland.	Somers, John G., Newton.
Hobble, Frank A., Dodge City.	Stewart, Donald, Independence.
Hogin, John C., Belleville.	Thomas, E. A., Topeka.
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.	Wilson, John H., Salina.
Malin, James C., Lawrence.	

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN S. DAWSON, *Chairman.*

Upon motion by John S. Dawson, seconded by Frank Haucke, the report of the committee was accepted unanimously and the members of the board were declared elected for the term ending October, 1947.

Reports of county and local societies were called for and were given as follows: Mrs. Percy L. Miller, for the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society; Robert C. Rankin and Mrs. Lena Miller Owen, Douglas County Historical Society; John M. Gray, Kirwin Historical Society; Fred W. Brinkerhoff, Crawford County Historical Society. A telegram from Stella B. Haines reporting on the Augusta Historical Society was read by President Brinkerhoff. Grant W. Harrington reported that the annals of Kansas, begun by the late Judge Richard J. Hopkins and continued by his wife, had been completed to 1900 and that the work would go on.

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 Brinkerhoff, who asked for a rereading of the report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society. Robert Rankin, substituting for the chairman, John S. Dawson, read the report and moved that it be accepted. Motion was seconded by W. F. Thompson and the following were unanimously elected:

For a one-year term: Ralph R. Price, Manhattan, president; Jess C. Denious, Dodge City, first vice-president; Milton R. McLean, Topeka, second vice-president.

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

There being no further business the meeting adjourned.

DIRECTORS OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
AS OF OCTOBER, 1944

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1945

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

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1946

Barr, Frank, Wichita.	Lindsley, H. K., Wichita.
Berryman, Jerome C., Ashland.	Means, Hugh, Lawrence.
Brigham, Mrs. Lalla M., Council Grove.	Morgan, Isaac B., Kansas City.
Brock, R. F., Goodland.	Oliver, Hannah P., Lawrence.
Bumgardner, Edward, Lawrence.	Owen, Mrs. Lena V. M., Lawrence.
Correll, Charles M., Manhattan.	Patrick, Mrs. Mae C., Satanta.
Davis, W. W., Lawrence.	Payne, Mrs. L. F., Manhattan.
Denious, Jess C., Dodge City.	Reed, Clyde M., Parsons.
Fay, Mrs. Mamie Axline, Pratt.	Riegle, Wilford, Emporia.
Frizell, E. E., Larned.	Rupp, Mrs. Jane C., Lincolnville.
Godsey, Mrs. Flora R., Emporia.	Schultz, Floyd B., Clay Center.
Hall, Mrs. Carrie A., Leavenworth.	Sloan, E. R., Topeka.
Hall, Standish, Topeka.	Stewart, Mrs. James G., Topeka.
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.
	Wooster, Lorraine E., Salina.

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1947

Aitchison, R. T., Wichita.	Miller, Karl, Dodge City.
Anthony, D. R., Leavenworth.	Moore, Russell, Wichita.
Baughner, Charles A., Ellis.	Murdock, Victor, Wichita.
Capper, Arthur, Topeka.	Price, Ralph R., Manhattan.
Carson, F. L., Wichita.	Raynesford, H. C., Ellis.
Chambers, Lloyd, Topeka.	Russell, W. J., Topeka.
Dawson, John S., Hill City.	Shaw, Joseph C., Topeka.
Durkee, Charles C., Kansas City.	Smith, William E., Wamego.
Ellenbecker, John G., Marysville.	Solander, Mrs. T. T., Osawatomie.
Euwer, Elmer E., Goodland.	Somers, John G., Newton.
Hobble, Frank A., Dodge City.	Stewart, Donald, Independence.
Hogin, John C., Belleville.	Thomas, E. A., Topeka.
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.	Wilson, John H., Salina.
Malin, James C., Lawrence.	

Bypaths of Kansas History

THE WESTERN TIDE OF EMIGRATION

From the Kansas City (Mo.) *Enterprise*, May 9, 1857.

You can see the emigrant from every State east of the Mississippi, from Maine to Louisiana, and from the wild rice swamps of the frozen North to cultivated rice fields of the far South—their peculiar habits as distinctly marked as their geographical localities. The real Western man is there, self-reliant and taciturn—he asks no questions, for he knows exactly what to do; he has no need of “Kansas Guides” or tickets to agents “who will tell him where to go, and where to settle”; he has been “through the mill,” keeps his own counsel and goes his own road. He knows exactly what prairie is worth, and what timber will suffice, and if there is a good “claim” to be found the Western man has it before the Eastern man gets through asking questions of the “man that he was recommended to.” Then you find the Southwestern man: he wants to know all about the winters, the grass, and the best portions for stock raising. The man from the Middle States, as they were once called, is on the look out for some point where he can raise wheat, put up a shop, and manufacture or run machinery. The man from the Eastern Slave States wants to know “how the law is,” or what “chance for a physician.” Over all these the Western man has the advantage, and secures the prize while others are inquiring where it is.

Side by side with this population pressing upon us from the East, are seen the men of the Far West, who come to Kansas City as their East. There is the Indian trader from the Rocky mountains, from the Yellowstone, the country beyond Laramie, and the pleasant valleys lying toward the Great Salt Lake—his almost Indian complexion and moccasins would deceive you into the belief that he was an aborigine. . . . He knows what life on the frontier is, and speaks as a prophet. [You will see him shake hands with the] “mountaineer,” men who have made the vast country lying West of the Mississippi and stretching to the Pacific their home. . . . [The mountaineer] is the mail carrier of all that vast region and the minister plenipotentiary between all portions of that wild and secluded country.

[You next see the trader of the Southwest] . . . from Santa Fe and the Mexican States beyond. He makes his semi-annual visits with the regularity of the seasons themselves. . . . It is a curious mixture of races that [carries on this trade].

Intermingled with all classes are . . . the pure and untainted Indian. . . .

[When one reflects that] this tide is sweeping out through the valley of the Kansas, . . . some idea may be gained of the present and future commerce of this “city of the plains.” . . .

“SOCIETY” AS COVERED BY THE IRREPRESSIBLE SOL. MILLER

From the *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, November 4, 1858.

STARTLING NEWS—ELOPEMENT!—Friday is supposed to be an unlucky day. Such it has proven for White Cloud. On Friday last, this community was startled by the announcement that the pride of the town, the gem of the Missouri, the cynosure of admiring eyes, had been abducted—the accomplished and peerless Julia Ann Pryor had eloped!

The circumstances were these: During the past summer, a young man from the land of steady nutmegs and wooden habits, was engaged in working on the grade, in this place. His sturdy industry, civil deportment, and economical disposition, came under the notice of the gentle Julia Ann, and were a sure passport to her affections. And he, carrying beneath a rough exterior, a soul that could appreciate the beautiful, the virtuous, and the good, soon yielded his heart to the charmer. They met—he proposed, and was accepted. The grade at length was finished, and he was compelled to look elsewhere for employment. But how could he leave his Julia Ann? He could not—and he determined that he would not. And now they made a false step, which, with due consideration, their high sense of honor would have revolted against. They did not ask the consent of the maiden's parents. But he was poor, and perhaps had misgivings—he could not bear to think of the dreadful consequences of a refusal from the aristocratic father and mother. So they determined, in the language of the immortal poet, Anonymous, to

“Slide, like the tail of a greased hog from the paws of a fat Dutchman!”

On Friday morning they took their flight, amid the chilling rain and howling wind. The robbed parents soon learned of their loss, and were forthwith plunged into

“That grief which knows no comfort.”

But rage soon sought company with grief, in the father's breast—rage, because he had been robbed of that which would have been given for the asking. The lion of his nature was aroused—that lion nature which had made his name feared among the hills of Monroe County, Ohio. Seizing his fists, he started in pursuit of the fugitives, and hunted in every spot where they could not be found, until he was compelled to give up in despair. He says that what works him up the worst, is the fact that the fellow came to him, the evening before, and asked for some hay to feed his cattle, but took his daughter without asking for her. . . .

In the meantime, the fugitives were wandering about town, seeking, not whom they might devour, but whom they might get to fasten them together. At length they entered Van Doren's store, where they ran afoul of Squire Briggs, whom they requested to unite them in the holy bonds of “*ma-trim-ony*.” He consented, and the expectant bridegroom “shelled out” the lawful fee of \$1.50, which the squire took. He then meditated upon the subject. He had misgivings as to whether the would-be bride was of legal age; and he also considered that the time might soon come, when some indiscreet youth would steal one of his daughters, and he would think very unkindly of any justice who should marry them. These considerations (especially the former) he could not get over nor creep under, so he handed back the fee, regardless of the entreaties of the young couple, and refused to perform upon that particular occasion.

Here was a predicament. The fact is, the couple could not stand it much longer; and they feared, that if they remained in this suspense, soon "Disappointment, like a big green tobacco worm, would prey upon their damask cheeks," (*Shakespeare*,) and they therefore contracted their "puckering strings," and continued their "pursuit of matrimony under difficulties." Thus they wandered out to Padonia, where they hunted up Squire Winslow, who, being a kindhearted man, could not bear to behold their misery, and quickly tied them into a knot. . . .

Thus endeth this happy and melancholy story—happy, because two loving hearts have found the Eden of bliss; melancholy, because a home has been made desolate, by the loss of its hope and joy, and an entire community has been left, in the language of still another illustrious poet, to

"Weep for the Peril lost,
Mourn for the bed-bug's doom!"

LEAVENWORTH'S FANCY DRESS BALL OF 1859

From *The Daily Times*, Leavenworth, March 4, 1859.

The Friday-Evening Coteries end to-night with a Fancy Dress-Ball. The series have been of an exceedingly agreeable nature. They have called out the beauty and grace of Leavenworth, and given to the Fridays of each week a particular charm. But to-night will eclipse them all—to-night Stockton's Hall will be crowded with an array which no language can paint: for the widest range and latitude in the matter of dress, will not only be allowed, but expected; and every conceivable style and costume may be anticipated. We may expect the amply-folding robe, with modest clasp, and zone on the bosom; the braided hair or veiled head; fashions alike of the wife of a Phocian, the mistress of an Alcibiades; or perhaps short skirts with hardened vest, and head buckled in gold or silver; or the iron bodice, stiff farthingale and spiral coiffure; or dresses more modern and modest—of Italian flower-girls, or French grisettes, or Circassian slaves, or the lassies of our own and our mother land. In fact, there's no end to the range; for,

"What thought, what various numbers, can express
The inconstant equipage of woman's dress."

In fact, we don't know but what our goodly ladies propose "making up" so as to render themselves *incog*. The lean will probably fashion themselves after the proportions of Reuben's Graces, none of which could possibly have weighed less than 200 lbs. avoirdupois. . . .

And as far as the gentlemen are concerned, what may we not expect? Highlanders, and knights, and kings and courtiers, and bandits, (of the genteel sort,) and warriors and buffoons and harlequins and minstrels, with togas, and plumes, and robes, and sashes, and gowns, and wigs, and swords, and daggers, and plumes, and feathers, and trunk hose, and scarlet coats,—*a la* Voltaire,—and bare throats,—*a la* Byron. . . .

Well—on with the dance! We will not regret when evening comes and the strange company meet, arrayed in all their plumes, to dance to the merrie music. We shall be on hand in the garb of an editor—a disguise which needs no inquisitive eye to pierce, and which generally brings to mind an idea of

unappreciated merit and ungrateful Republics. And we shall watch those dainty extremities of which Herrick so daintily sings.—

“Her pretty feet,
Like smiles, did creep
A little out, and then,
As if they started at bo-peep,
Did soon draw in again.”

. . . So—Ahoy! for the hall and the dance to-night! What matters mud or rain? Bright hearts, and dazzling robes, and lighted rooms, and stirring strains, will laugh the elements to scorn, and circle to-night with a halo of merriment and joy.

From the *Times* of March 7, 1859.

THE FANCY DRESSED BALL.—Clothed in the same unassuming garb which is wont to envelop the outer man in our daily walk among men, we entered, on Friday evening last, the door leading to Stockton's Hall. We confess to have been somewhat exercised by the question whether or not we should assume a disguise. We passed in review before us all the possible and impossible characters in the range of attainability, from the ancient Grecian Sage to the modern Border Ruffian. . . . Finding it impossible to choose . . . we rejected all, and went, as before stated, in the undisguised yet dignified apparel of a knight of the quill.

By a slight talismanic invocation known only to the fortunate brotherhood, of the scissors and the pen, we caused the door of the hall to open at our approach, and entered.

We were impressed with the weight of the responsibility resting on us. We knew we were to report the occasion to the public. We were to sing this New Olympiad, *vice* the Nine Muses—absent on leave—most of whom were supposed to be on the floor.

Hardly had we mounted to the hall before the breath was nearly knocked out of our editorial, and therefore sacred person, by a hideous nondescript which appeared to be “neither fish, flesh, nor good red herring,” but which called us by name, and wrapped us in its embrace. Extricating ourself by a powerful effort, we gazed about.

Very soon people and things began to assume some shape and form, and we were enabled to see all that anybody could see through the dust and by the dimly burning lamps. “Hands around!” and an infuriate fiend in horns seized a Spanish donna by one hand and a hypothetical Goddess of Liberty by the other and whirled them both away in a cloud of dust. . . .

“Night” in black and spangles, “Morning” in white and crescent, young women in hats, men in bonnets, Indians, squaws and papooses, young women in shorts, and young women in longs; old women, Mother Hubbard and dog. . . .

A supper came in good time, after which there was more whirling and dancing, and music, and dust. Masks were removed, disguises became more or less dilapidated, faces began to look weary, and at three o'clock, or thereabouts, the announcement was made that the coteries were at an end.

Some enthusiastic brigands, aided and abetted by a few flower girls, an Indian and The Devil, with others, concluded that they “wouldn't go home 'till morning,” and kept up the, by this time, and considering the weariness of all parties, rather dubious amusement. We, thinking it was time for us at least,

to retire, having had our fill of fun, precipitantly retired, and thus was then, or thereabouts, ended the coteries, and the Fancy Dress Ball. On the whole, although we must confess it was absurd in many features, the ball was as much of a success as such affairs usually are, and all parties and persons seemed to enjoy themselves quite as fully as they or anybody expected.

Sic transit gloria coteri.

LINN AND RILEY COUNTIES STATE THEIR NEEDS

Copied in *The Daily Times*, Leavenworth, June 10, 1859.

The *Linn County Herald* says that they want in Linn County "one hundred School Marms, who will pledge themselves not to get married within three years."

We want one hundred in this county, between the ages of 18 and 21, who will pledge themselves to get married within one year, and who are willing to commence school on one scholar.—*The Kansas Express*, Manhattan.

WILD BEAR IN ATCHISON

From the *Atchison Union*, June 25, 1859.

On Sunday night last a huge bear made his appearance in our city. Whether he was driven in by the storm, or by a pack of dogs we are unable to say. He was attacked by some fifty dogs near the corner of 5th, on Commercial street, and finally succeeded in making his escape through the western part of the city. Probably bruin saw the elephant, and returned to the rural districts satisfied.

AS IT LOOKED TO AN INDIAN

From the *Marysville Enterprise*, November 10, 1866.

An exchange says that the other day while a big Indian was calmly surveying a "white squaw" with large hoops on, he exclaimed: "Ugh! heap wig-wam!"

AN "INDIAN PROMISER"

From the *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, May 29, 1868.

ENTERPRISE.—Five Kaw Indians started from this city yesterday, with the avowed intention of walking to Washington City. The interpreter stated that President Johnson had promised, sometime since, to give one of the party a pony and some other presents, but having failed to redeem the promise they intended to learn the cause. He thought they could make the trip in sixteen days, and would be enabled to find the way by following the railroad and telegraph lines. They were making good railroad time down the Union Pacific road when last seen, and we may soon expect to hear of their arrival at the great impeachment center.

A MULE RACE AT FORT LEAVENWORTH

From the *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, June 16, 1868.

We presume it is unnecessary to advise everybody to go to the slow mule race to-day. All who have seen one of those entertaining affairs will certainly go. There is more amusement in them than in all other kinds of turf sports combined. Upwards of twenty entries have already been made. The stock will all be ridden by officers of the army. The race commences at 4 o'clock p. m.

UNITED STATES OF COURSE,

Ft. Leavenworth, Kan.

June Meeting,

Tuesday, June 16th, 1868—4 P. M.

MULE RACE.

Officers' Purse, \$50.

ONE MILE DASH—SLOW RACE.

1. General Custer enters Hyankedank, by Hifalutin, out of Snollygoster, second dam Buckjump, by Thunder, out of You Bet. Age, three score years and ten. Colors, ring-ed, streak-ed and strip-ed.

2. General McKeever enters Hard Tack, by Commissary, by Eaton, (eatin',) second dam Contractor, by Morgan, out of Missouri. Age, forty years. Colors, purple, tipped with orange.

3. Colonel Parsons enters Symmetry, (see me try,) by Considerably, out of Pocket, second dam Polly Tix, by Nasby, out of Office. Age, seventeen years. Colors, uncommonly blue.

4. Captain Yates enters William Tell, by Switzerland, by Apple Tree, second dam Gessler, by Hapsburg, out of Austria. Age, eighteen years. Colors, apple green.

5. Lieutenant Leary enters Trump, by Card, out of Contractor, second dam Leader, by Mule Teer, out of Wagon. Age, ten years. Colors, lemon.

6. Lieutenant Jackson enters Abyssinia, by Napier, out of Africa, dam Theodorus, by Solomon, out of Magdala. Age, thirty-nine years. Colors, scarlet, yellow spots.

7. Colonel Myers enters Pizzarro, by Peru, out of South America, second dam Cuzco, by Incas, out of Andes. Age, sixteen years. Colors, light brown.

8. Lieutenant Umbstaetter enters Skirmisher, by Picket, out of Camp, second dam Carbine, by Breech Loader, out of Magazine. Age, twenty-five years. Colors, dark blue, tipped with red.

9. Lieutenant Moylan enters Break Neck, by Runaway, out of Wouldn't Go, second dam Contusion, by Collision, out of Accident. Age, fifty-six. Colors, sky blue.

10. Captain Buntington enters Spavin, by Quartermaster, out of Government, second dam (not worth one.)

11. Lieutenant Howe enters Slow, by Tardy, out of Late, second dam Lazy, by Inactive. Age, three times six, four times seven, twenty-eight and eleven. Colors, queer.

12. Lieutenant Dunwoody enters Horatio, by Dexterity, by Taunt, second dam Estop. Age, fourteen years. Colors, tawny.

13. Captain Weir enters Revolutionist, by Hard Luck, out of Rib Smasher, second dam Blood Blister, by Can't Stand It, out of Let's Quit.

NOTE.—The money accruing from this race is to be devoted to the support of the widows and orphans made so thereby.

From the *Daily Conservative*, June 17, 1868.

THE RACES YESTERDAY—Whew! wasn't it warm, and didn't the people turn out in gorgeous array—some in coaches, some in buggies, some on horseback, and some in six-mule chariots. Everybody and his wife was there. On the road it was hot and dusty; in the track inclosure the immense elms spread their welcome arms, and the heated thousands cooled themselves on the green grass. All were on the tip-toe of expectation. Critical judges of ani-mules were examining the good points of their favorite mules, and betting their bottom twenty-five cents on No. 9, or the painted mule. No. 9 was a gothic structure, with an expressive (of pain) countenance, and was wearing his first coat of paint—white in spots. He was ridden with much dexterity, and was twelve minutes making his mile.

The ladies were out in full force, and enlivened the scene. The Fort Band discoursed some excellent music, and every arrangement was carried out promptly.

Eleven mules were entered for the race. Each mule was ridden one hundred yards by his owner, to the judges' stand, and numbered, with red paint, on the flank. The judges then had the riders change mules, so that no man rode his own animal.

They were started from the score at the top of the triangle. Some went in one direction, and some took to the brush. Only two or three kept the track, and on they went, cutting and slashing, each man urging the mule he was riding. Occasionally a rider was seen coming through the grass and taking the track. All pointed the same direction, at last, and after three anxious moments, Lieutenant Jackson hove in sight, and rounded into the home stretch away ahead, landing his mule (No. 5) at the judges' stand in four minutes. As they came stringing along, time was taken of each, and that mule's record passed down to posterity and Wilkes' Spirit. After fifteen long and anxious minutes, (the crowd all the time holding their breath,) Lieutenant Huntington reached the score, completely exhausted, the anxiety, labor, and length of time since his departure having turned his hair nearly gray. The band immediately struck up, "See, the Conquering Hero Comes."

The second race was a single dash of a quarter mile, four entries, and was won by Captain Weir's beautiful thoroughbred horse, in 23 seconds.

The crowd then started home, pleased with the half holiday and the entertainment given by the gentlemanly officers of Fort Leavenworth.

DON'T TRY THIS ON YOUR BUTCHER

From the *Daily Kansas State Record*, Topeka, December 28, 1869.

An Indian in Montgomery county set fire to the prairie because one of the settlers would not give him some pork.

KEEPING IN TRIM

From the *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, February 8, 1870.

Wild Bill [Hickok] was up before Judge Holmes yesterday, and fined five dollars for striking straight out from the shoulder and consequently hitting a man.

WILD PLUMS IN 1874

From *The Sumner County Press*, Wellington, July 16, 1874.

Thousands of bushels of wild plums are ripening on the Arkansas, Ninnescah and Chikaskia rivers. These plums grow on dwarf trees, in some instances covering the entire shrub with a mass of pink and yellow fruit. So abundant are they that a small party can gather a wagon load in a few hours. They are nearly equal to the best cultivated varieties.

GRASSHOPPERS EAT THE SHADE; PRESBYTERIANS MOVE INDOORS

From the *Marion County Record*, Marion, August 8, 1874.

Owing to the destruction of the shade by grasshoppers, the 2d quarterly meeting of the Marion Centre charge will be held in the Presbyterian church in connection with a basket meeting, commencing Friday, Aug. 14. Ministerial aid from abroad. Both saint and sinner are cordially invited to attend. First service, Friday, at 11 A. M.

JNO. HARRIS.

YES, BUT WHICH WAY DID THEY GO?

From the *Jetmore Reveille*, September 9, 1885.

Dr. Eckert reports having seen a very novel sign posted on an abandoned dugout in the vicinity of Sunset City, a new town springing up and intended for the future county seat of the southwest corner county [Morton]. It was as follows:

"Two hundred feet to water,
Seventy-five miles to wood, and
Six inches to Hell;
God bless our home."

Kansas History as Published in the Press

The following Kansas historical subjects have been featured by Victor Murdock in his column regularly appearing in the Wichita (Evening) *Eagle*: "Change That Has Come in Seventy-Five Years in Chisholm Creek Here," April 8, 1944; "Evidence in Wichita Seventy-Five Years Ago It Was Then on Its Way," April 10; "Importance of the Events in the First Half of the Year 1870 in Imparting Vigor To the Growth of Wichita," April 11; "Speeding Up of Wichita the Last Six Months of Its Initial Year [1870]," April 12; "Frontier Belief Here About Mountain Snow and Spring River Rise . . . Not Been Born Out Through the Years . . .," May 2; "Early Military Figure [Lindsay Lunsford Lomax] Was Probably Visitor To the Site of Wichita," May 5; "Memory of T. E. Beck of Jefferson [Okla.] of the Flash Flood That Swept Down on the Home-Seeking Campers at Medicine Lodge in April, 1885," May 6; "Early Popularity Here of the Teas of Orient—Black, Oolong and Green," May 8; "Part That Coffee Had in the Pioneer Life in West's Development," May 9; "Decrease in Local Use of Some of the Words That Came From Spain," May 13; "Stamina of Lamp Shade as Interior Decoration Seen in Wichita's Life," May 15; "Countries Which Have Added To the Home Furnishings Here in the Course of Seventy-Four Years Cover the Entire Globe," May 16; "Railroad Signal Codes That Youth of Wichita Mastered With Ease," May 19; "Close Study Given by Boys of Wichita in the Early Days To the Duties of Conductors, Brakemen, Engineers, Firemen, Baggage Masters," May 20; "Change in the Attitude of the Public To the Offering of Ballads as Evidenced in the Experience of Wichita," May 23; "Tracing War Influence on Public Preferences in Choice of Breads," May 24; "Experience of Wichita With the Street Piano in Its Early History," May 25; "Part the Potato Played in Helping Supply Food For Prairie Pioneers," May 26; "Custom of Schoolboys in Abbreviating Names For Their Playmates," May 30, and "Synthesis of Quinine Brings Up Connection of Drug and Early Days," May 31.

Featured in the "Clark County Historical Society Notes" in *The Clark County Clipper*, of Ashland, in recent months were: "A Sketch on the Life of Captain Richard Grimes," June 8, 15, 22, 29, 1944; "St. Jacob's Well," by Ella Wallingford Mendenhall, July 13; "The Ancestors of Nathan J. Walden and Wife, Mary Jane Rous

Walden," compiled by Effa M. Danner, July 20, August 3; poems of southwest Kansas, by Anna Ingram McCasland, and "Joseph Ellsworth Winter," July 27.

John M. Knipp's reminiscences of early Marysville were recorded in a two and one-half column article in the *Marshall County News*, Marysville, July 20, 1944. Mr. Knipp, now a resident of St. Louis, Mo., first saw Marysville in 1878.

Among the historical feature articles relating to Kansas printed in the Labor day edition of the *Kansas Labor Weekly* of Topeka, August 31, 1944, were "Throop Hotel a Monument To Its Builder," "Some Interesting Typographical History From the Scrapbook," "Bookbinders Union Fifty-Two Years Old," "Woman's Suffrage Amendment Ratified 25 Years Ago," "60 Years Ago Arthur Capper Came To Topeka Looking For a Job," "Many Publications Have Been Edited by Topeka Printers," "Kansas State Council of Carpenters," "Topeka Has Had a Carpenters Union For 58 Years," and "Selling Kansas To Kansans and To the Nation Aim of KIDC."

The Farmers' Alliance Subtreasury plan and European precedents were discussed by Dr. James C. Malin in an article in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, of September, 1944.

Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science, heretofore issued annually, has been changed to a quarterly publication. Articles of general Kansas interest featured in the initial number (Vol. 47, No. 1—September, 1944) include: "The Crop Industries of Kansas," by L. E. Call; "A Checklist of Kansas Mammals, 1943," by Claude W. Hibbard, and "A Suggested Classification of Great Plains Dust Storms," by B. Ashton Keith. The new magazine is edited by Dr. Robert Taft and is published by the World Company at Lawrence.

An interview with M. Slater, of Axtell, who operates the only harness shop in Marshall county, was printed in the *Marshall County News*, of Marysville, September 7, 1944. Mr. Slater has been at the trade for 57 years and has been in Axtell since 1905.

The story of Company A, Third Kansas infantry, was told by Dean Trickett, ex-first sergeant, in the *Coffeyville Daily Journal*, September 22, 1944.

Kansas Historical Notes

Fred W. Brinkerhoff, president of the Kansas State Historical Society, was the featured speaker at a meeting of the Franklin County Historical Society in Forest park, Ottawa, September 1, 1944. New officers of the county society who were elected at the meeting include: Edmund Lister, president; B. M. Ottaway, vice-president; Mrs. J. R. Finley, recording secretary, and Miss Clara Kaiser, corresponding secretary and treasurer. Mrs. Dorothy Needham Belt of Lane was elected a director to succeed her father, Dana Needham, deceased. Other directors were reelected. J. E. Shinn was the retiring president.

The Clark County Historical Society is advocating the establishment of a community center at Ashland as a permanent memorial to the pioneers and the service men and women of Clark county. It would house a museum and recreation hall and would serve as a meeting place for civic and patriotic organizations. New officers elected at the society's annual meeting on December 9, 1944, are: Mrs. Ruth Clark Mull, president; Charles A. Wallingford, vice-president; Mrs. Melville Campbell Harper, recording secretary; Mrs. Villa Harvey Ihde, assistant recording secretary; Mrs. Lillie Skelton Nunemacher, corresponding secretary; Sidney Grimes, treasurer; Sherman G. Ihde, auditor; Mrs. Dorothy Berryman Shrewder, historian, and Mrs. Effie Smith, curator. Mrs. T. T. Smith was the retiring president.

Officers of the Chetopa Historical Society, formally organized on January 22, 1945, are: Roscoe Cellars, president; Wm. L. Barnhill, vice-president; Mrs. St. Elmo Porter, secretary, and George Lyon, treasurer.

The Kansas Catholic Historical Society is continuing to file the three Catholic diocesan newspapers and other church publications and anniversary booklets, according to the Rev. Angelus Lingenfelter, of Atchison, secretary. He reports that numerous inquiries for Catholic historical information are being answered, and also that the Rev. Bernard Souse, O. S. B., is collecting the life history of every priest who attended St. Benedict's college.

Junction City newspapers have recently announced that the site of the Indian monument south of the city, a one-acre tract located in the west half of the northeast quarter of sec. 25, T. 12, R. 5, has been saved from tax foreclosure.

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Please Note

Due to the absence of several members of the staff in war service, which makes it necessary for the other experienced members to take care of the routine demands on the Society, *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* for a time will be printed with fewer pages.

Volume XIII, now being published, will consist of eight numbers, covering the years 1944-1945. The index for this volume will appear as part of the November, 1945, issue.

—THE EDITORS.

Contributors

DR. JULIUS TERRASS WILLARD is historian of Kansas State College, Manhattan. He has been associated with the college as a student, instructor, professor, dean, acting president, vice-president and now historian, for sixty-six of its eighty-two years. He is author of a 568-page *History of the Kansas State College of Agriculture and Applied Science*, published by the college in 1940.

DEAN TRICKETT, ex-first sergeant of Company A, is a native Kansan now employed on *The Oil and Gas Journal*, Tulsa, Okla.

Bluemont Central College, the Forerunner of Kansas State College

J. T. WILLARD

THE establishment of Bluemont Central College was accomplished through the efforts of men who came from many different places, and who united in the settlement and development of the locality at the junction of the Big Blue and the Kansas rivers.¹ As early as June, 1854, Col. George S. Park, of Parkville, Mo., located a claim as the site of a town to be called Polistra. This was on the north side of the Kansas river, below the mouth of Wildcat creek.² In the fall of the same year Samuel D. Houston of Illinois, Judge Saunders W. Johnston of Ohio, Judge J. M. Russell of Iowa, Dr. H. A. Wilcox of Rhode Island, and E. M. Thurston, a lawyer from Maine, associated themselves in the location of a townsite on the west side of the Blue river, between its mouth and Bluemont hill.³ These men were reputed to be college graduates and undoubtedly were well educated. They had named their projected town Canton.

Colonel Park had spent the winter in Texas, and March 26, 1855, Prof. I. T. Goodnow pitched his tent on Colonel Park's claim.⁴

1. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.—The late Miss Harriet Parkerson preserved for many years the diaries of Prof. I. T. Goodnow, letters to him, the official record of the Bluemont Central College Association, and other valuable material. She gave the record book to Kansas State College some years ago. Mrs. Mary C. Payne became much interested in local history, and had copies made of Professor Goodnow's diaries, and also had a series of letters of the Rev. Washington Marlatt to Mr. Goodnow copied. Professor Goodnow's diaries have been given to the Kansas State Historical Society, and one of the carbon copies of the transcript was given to the Riley County Historical Society, and has been used in preparing this paper. Some valuable points have been obtained from the letters of Mr. Marlatt to Doctor Goodnow.

Professor Goodnow made two scrapbooks which contain some articles concerning Bluemont Central College and Kansas State College. These scrapbooks were given to Kansas State College through the kind offices of Mrs. Payne, and the present author here testifies to the debt of gratitude which he and the public owe to Mrs. Payne because of her interest in bringing these various materials to light.

For copies of paragraphs referring to Bluemont Central College printed in the *Minutes of the Kansas-Nebraska*, and the Kansas conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the author is indebted to Miss Helen M. McFarland, librarian of the Kansas State Historical Society, and Mrs. Marcella Vincent, secretary to the president of Baker University.

Dr. Charles L. Marlatt of Washington, D. C., a son of the Rev. Washington Marlatt, assembled a considerable body of the writings of his father, and of materials concerning enterprises with which he was identified. Doctor Marlatt gave a copy of his compilation to Kansas State College, and in references made to it in this paper it is designated as the "Marlatt Collection."

Miss Harriet Parkerson had possession of the earliest minutes of the Manhattan Town Association, and kindly permitted this author to copy them. Mrs. Abbie Browning Whitney has possession of the earliest minutes of School District No. 7 of Riley county, and through her courtesy the author was permitted to copy them. Mrs. Ella Child Carroll, one of our oldest citizens, has assisted in giving information and confirmation of several points involved in this article.

The author gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness to each of these and to other friends. Without the information which they supplied the preparation of this paper in its complete form would have been impossible.

2. "Records of the Manhattan Town Association," p. 62.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

4. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. IV, pp. 247, 248.

Professor Goodnow had left Boston March 6, one week in advance of a large party, in order to select a location for himself and those associated with him. He was highly pleased by the region adjacent to the confluence of the Kansas and the Blue rivers.⁵ Others of the party also arrived in time to vote at the election held March 30, 1855, at Juniata, a small settlement on the east side of the Blue river, and four or five miles from its mouth.⁶

Colonel Park returned early in April, and conferences among those in interest, including other settlers in the locality, were held. "The settlers of the Big Blue and the Kanzas rivers met April 3, 1855, for consultation in reference to a townsite."⁷ Several meetings at short intervals were held. At the meeting April 18 it was voted "That Mr. Park be invited to address the Trustees in reference to an agricultural school. Mr. Park responded to the invitation."⁸ This is the earliest record related to the planning which led to the establishment of Bluemont Central College. Colonel Park had some individual ideas concerning education, believing that academic study should be accompanied by practical work in agriculture and other industries. Later he made these important features of Park College, Parkville, Mo.

Those having interests in the locality united to form "The Boston Association of Kanzas Territory," and to locate on the site a town to be named Boston.⁹

The first of June, 1855, the Steamer Hartford arrived with "The Cincinnati and Kansas Land Company" on board. An agreement was made with the said Co. to locate here, instead of going above Fort Riley as they had originally designed. The terms of the contract will be found on record. The name agreed on after this last marriage was Manhattan; and we now make the report of the Trustees of the Manhattan Town Association.¹⁰

The details of the contract between the Boston Association and the Cincinnati Company are not involved in this article further than to state that the two organizations retained their identity, and had their separate interests and obligations, while having equal shares in the townsite. John Pipher and Andrew J. Mead were prominent members of the Cincinnati Company, and acted as its agents in effecting the consolidation.¹¹

5. *Ibid.*, p. 247.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 248.

7. "Minutes," Manhattan Town Association, p. 9.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 1, 63.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-31.

In a lecture on the Manhattan Institute delivered about 1874, the Rev. Washington Marlatt recalled that during the winter of 1856-1857, he and Mr. Albert Griffin used to "meet at Mr. Miller's store, run by Mr. Pipher, and, while waiting for something to turn up, to talk up the interests of the town. My hobby was the establishment of a college. Mr. Griffin, while favoring the idea, thought the thing entirely impracticable at that time, but thought the founding of a debating club or literary association both feasible and a thing of practical utility."¹² The Manhattan Institute was chartered February 14, 1857, by the Kansas legislature,¹³ and Mr. Griffin was the first president, while Mr. Marlatt and others continued to "talk up" a college.

Contemporary written or printed material concerning the college project is almost nonexistent. The connection of Colonel Park has been noted. The next earliest item found was in Professor Goodnow's diary. He wrote: "Rode to Manhattan to meeting. Preaching by Br. J. Denison. . . . On my return . . . Br. D— came along with me. Talked over the subject of an Institution of Learning at Manhattan. . . ." ¹⁴ This entry also appears: ". . . Went to Mr. Houston's. . . . Quite a talk with Mr. H— about an M. E. College at Manhattan. He is favorable. . . ." ¹⁵

Professor Goodnow was a loyal supporter of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the local trustees appointed him an agent to go to the East and solicit financial aid.¹⁶ At a trustees' meeting held at his home "The subject of a college was discussed, & favorable action had, conditional on the action of the Cincinnati Land Company."¹⁷

Professor Goodnow also wrote:

Went to Manhattan & consulted with the Town Companies respecting a Methodist College, near Manhattan. To forward this they have pledged 50 shares of Manhattan stock & 100 building lots. Joined Mr. Houston in buying out a claim that will furnish a good site for the C— & put it into the hands of Thomas Playford. A hard day's work, but I hope a profitable one.¹⁸

In close succession, Professor Goodnow talked with Mr. Houston, Mr. Marlatt and Doctor Still about the college project, and arrived at the conclusion that it would be necessary to obtain local subscrip-

12. "History of Manhattan Institute," a lecture by W. Marlatt.—Marlatt Collection.

13. *Laws of the Territory of Kansas, 1857*, p. 121.

14. Goodnow diary, Sunday, February 8, 1857.

15. *Ibid.*, February 14, 1857.

16. *Ibid.*, March 24, 1857.

17. *Ibid.*, March 31, 1857.

18. *Ibid.*, April 1, 1857.

tions in its support. A group meeting at the home of the Rev. Joseph Denison "Nominated 13 Trustees for Bluemont Central College, to be presented to the Kansas & Nebraska Conference," which was to meet in Nebraska City, Neb.¹⁹

The brief entries by Professor Goodnow in his diary are materially supplemented by accounts written at different times by the Rev. Washington Marlatt. In a historical introduction to the minutes proper of the Bluemont Central College Association Mr. Marlatt wrote:

At a Quarterly Meeting Conference of the M. E. Church held in the vicinity of Manhattan, Riley Co., Kansas Territory, in the spring of 1857, Abram Still, P. E., J. Denison, P. C., and Washington Marlatt, Sec., a plan was inaugurated for the erection of a college at or near Manhattan to be under the patronage of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Kansas.

The following names were put in nomination as a board of trustees, viz. S. D. Houston, I. T. Goodnow, Joseph Denison, C. E. Blood, W. A. McCollom, Washington Marlatt, L. B. Dennis, C. H. Lovejoy, R. P. Duval, T. H. Webb, Newell Trafton, John Kimball, A. I. Davis, S. C. Pomeroy and G. S. Park.²⁰

Messrs. Goodnow, Denison, Marlatt and Lovejoy attended the conference held at Nebraska City, and met many of the preachers, and the committee on education. The committee approved their college plan, and Goodnow and Denison were appointed agents for Bluemont Central College. It developed that the bishop was opposed to having the itinerant preachers act as agents for colleges. Goodnow comments: "A damper on our College plans. . . . Our College trustees have concluded to go ahead in spite of the opposition of the Bishop to a conference agent. Br. J. Denison will take agency. The Lord help us to do our duty."²¹

The Rev. Washington Marlatt wrote as follows concerning this episode:

At a session of the Annual Conference convened at Nebraska City, April 16, 1857, the enterprise was strongly opposed by some of the special friends of Baker University, on the plea of its being gotten up as a *rival* institution. . . . It was considered rather providential that the Bishop, whose duty it is to be present at, and preside over the deliberations of the Conference, failed to get there till the fifth day of the session, when the business of the Conference relating to educational matters was already finished. Bishop Ames who had grown up in the wilds of Hoosierdom, where it took fifty years to accomplish what we did in Kansas in less than ten, thought we were going

19. *Ibid.*, April 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 1857.

20. "Minutes of Bluemont Central College Association," p. 10.

21. Goodnow diary, April 15, 17, 18, 20, 1857.

entirely *too fast* in these matters, and took occasion to criticize the action of the Conference severely. . . .²²

The action of the conference was recorded in the following minutes:

Your Committee [on Education] would further report: That

Whereas, the Manhattan Town Association have agreed to donate fifty shares of stock in Manhattan city, and the Cincinnati and Kansas Land Company have agreed to donate one hundred lots in said city for the establishment of an Institution of learning under the patronage of the M. E. Church to be called Bluemont Central College, on condition that the Kansas and Nebraska Annual Conference of the M. E. Church approve and adopt the same,

And, Whereas, A certain number of acres of land have been secured within a short distance of said town for the location of said College,

And, Whereas, The citizens of Manhattan and the surrounding country have manifested a deep interest in the enterprise by subscribing a creditable amount of funds for said enterprise, therefore,

Resolved, That this Conference accept their propositions, elect a Board of Trustees, and appoint two agents to assist in prosecuting the work.²³

Mr. Marlatt wrote:

The enterprise met with the approval of the Annual Conference which held its session at Nebraska City in April, 1857. Whereupon the initiatory steps of the Quarterly Conference were confirmed by the appointment of the persons put in nomination as trustees of Bluemont Central College Association with power and authority to organize under such Constitution and By-laws as they might see fit to adopt, for the purpose of enabling them to speed the enterprise and place it on a successful basis.²⁴

After approval by the conference the board of trustees of the Bluemont Central College Association met at the home of the Rev. Joseph Denison and organized by the election of "S. D. Houston, president, Joseph Denison, vice-president, C. E. Blood, treasurer, and Washington Marlatt, secretary. . . . Joseph Denison and I. T. Goodnow were appointed general agents with discretionary power to procure funds to erect a suitable college building, and in all proper ways to advance the enterprise." A committee was appointed to secure a suitable site for the building.²⁵

On June 9, 1857, the trustees of Bluemont Central College met at the college grounds and selected a site for the college building, consulted concerning its plan, and appointed Messrs. Marlatt, McCollom and Trafton to be a committee to have its foundation accord-

22. "Kansas Reminiscences," by W. Marlatt, May 2, 1874.—Marlatt Collection.

23. *Minutes of the Kansas & Nebraska Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Held at Nebraska City, N. T., April 16th, 1857*, p. 14.

24. Introduction to "Minutes," Bluemont Central College Association, p. 10.

25. "Minutes," *ibid.*, April 27, 1857, p. 11.

ing to the contract. Messrs. Houston, Park, Pomeroy and Mead ". . . were appointed to devise ways and means to secure a grant of land from Congress to establish an agricultural department for Bluemont Central College." ²⁶

From the conference Mr. Goodnow went on to the East in performance of his mission to collect funds for his church, and occasionally sought to create interest in the proposed college.²⁷ He reached home November 21, 1857, and on November 27, a meeting of the trustees of the college was held at his home. Plans were initiated to have a tract of land preëmpted as a site for the college.²⁸

Organization was effected previous to incorporation, and an agent was sent East to solicit funds for carrying out the college project. The idea did not elicit much support, and the agent did not collect enough to pay his expenses.²⁹ The Rev. Joseph Denison was allowed two shares of stock of the Manhattan Town Company, valued at \$100 each, credit for his own subscription of \$300, and \$50 in addition, for his services and expenses on his trip to the East to secure funds for the college building.³⁰

Messrs. Houston, Denison and Park were constituted a committee to memorialize the legislature of Kansas territory to use its influence to induce congress to grant land for the establishment of an agricultural department in Bluemont Central College.³¹

"Prof. I. T. Goodnow and Washington Marlatt were appointed a committee to have the legislative assembly grant a charter to this Association." ³²

At a meeting of the trustees of Bluemont Central College it was "decided to go ahead with Bluemont Town Site & make improvements to hold it in proper form. Resolved to memorialize the Legislature & Congress to grant Lands for Endowment of the Agricultural post. Settled with agent, J. Denison, for \$400. besides expenses. Incidental conversation about agent another year." ³³ Mr. Goodnow "with C. E. Blood, W. Marlatt & J. Denison, Surveyed a place for building 'Bluemont Central College.' 45 x 70 ft. 2 stories high with a basement to be of stone." A conversation was held with

26. Notations made by W. Marlatt but not put into the official record.—Marlatt Collection.

27. Goodnow diary, April 21, October 27, 31, 1857.

28. *Ibid.*, November 21, 27, 28, 30, 1857.

29. "Reminiscences of the 'Beginnings,'" address by W. Marlatt in *The Industrialist*, Manhattan, January 12, 1895, p. 71.

30. "Minutes," Bluemont Central College Association, December 21, 1857, p. 12.

31. *Ibid.*

32. *Ibid.*

33. Goodnow diary, December 21, 1857.

Mr. McCollom with reference to his deeding 40 acres for college purposes.³⁴

After conference and tentative work by Mr. Goodnow on a charter, the trustees of Bluemont Central College "decided on a charter & a memorial to the Legislature," and Mr. Goodnow "left home with W. Marlatt for Lawrence to get Bluemont Central College incorporated &c. . . ." ³⁵ The legislature met at Lawrence in 1858. Mr. Goodnow made the acquaintance of several members, and a charter for the college was drawn up which was offered to the legislature by A. J. Mead.³⁶

While action was maturing in the legislature Mr. Goodnow made a trip to Parkville, Mo., much of it on foot, to see Colonel Park on hotel and college business, returning to Lawrence February 6.³⁷ Mr. Marlatt had remained in Lawrence looking after legislation.³⁸

The charter for Bluemont Central College was passed by the legislature, and Acting Gov. J. W. Denver approved it February 9, 1858. Ten other organizations were incorporated by the same legislature for the establishment of institutions of higher learning. Of these only Baker University and Highland University survive, the latter as Highland Junior College.³⁹

The act incorporating Bluemont Central College Association is as follows:

Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Kansas:

SECTION 1. That J. Denison, S. D. Houston, C. E. Blood, W. McCullom, J. [I.] T. Goodnow, Washington Marlatt, G. S. Park, S. C. Pomeroy, T. H. Webb, and their associates and successors, are hereby constituted a body corporate, under the name and style of the Blue Mont Central College Association, and by that name shall have perpetual succession, and shall have a common seal, and may change and alter the same at pleasure, may sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, defend and be defended, in any court of law or equity, and shall have power to hold by gift, grant, devise, purchase or otherwise, any lands, tenements, hereditaments, moneys, rents, goods and chattels of whatever kind, that have been heretofore, or may hereafter be given, granted or devised to, or purchased by them, for the benefit of said association, and may sell and dispose of the same, or any part thereof, on lease or rent, or improve the same in such manner as they shall deem most conducive to the interests of said association.

34. *Ibid.*, December 25, 1857.

35. *Ibid.*, January 6, 12, 23, 26, 28, 29, 1858.

36. *Ibid.*, February 1, 1858.

37. *Ibid.*, February 4-6, 1858.

38. Marlatt address, *Industrialist*, January 12, 1895, p. 71.

39. *Private Laws of the Territory of Kansas, 1858*, pp. 71-91.

SEC. 2. The objects of the association are, and shall be, the promotion of education and science in Kansas Territory.

SEC. 3. It shall be lawful for this association to locate a college, to be called the Blue Mont Central College, at or near Manhattan city, Kansas Territory.

SEC. 4. That the said association shall have power and authority to establish, in addition to the literary department of arts and sciences, an agricultural department, with separate professors, to test soils, experiment in the raising of crops, the cultivation of trees, and upon a farm set apart for the purpose, so as to bring out, to the utmost practical result, the agricultural advantages of Kansas, especially the capabilities of its high prairie lands.

SEC. 5. This association shall have power to make all rules, by-laws and regulations necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

SEC. 6. All property or funds, real, personal or mixed, that may be received, held or appropriated by or for said association, for the exclusive purposes of education, literary, scientific and agricultural, shall be forever exempt from taxation; *Provided*, That nothing in this Act shall be so construed, in such manner, as to allow said corporation to hold more than five thousand acres of land at one time.

This Act to take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

[Signed,]

G. W. DEITZLER,
Speaker of House of Representatives.

C. W. BABCOCK,
President of the Council.

Approved February 9, 1858.

J. W. DENVER,
*Acting Governor.*⁴⁰

Especial attention should be given to the persistence of the idea of making provision for agricultural education and experimentation.

During the earliest years Bluemont was written as two words, but these were soon united to the familiar form. Bluemont is a hill 215.75 feet in height above the Blue river.⁴¹ It presents a bold front toward the Kansas river valley at the northeast corner of the town-site of Manhattan. It was a well-known landmark for early travelers in that region. It was named by John C. Fremont who camped at its base when on one of his memorable expeditions across the plains.⁴²

The incorporators of Bluemont Central College were prominent men in the immediate locality or elsewhere. Joseph Denison was a Methodist minister in Boston at the time of his decision to emigrate to Kansas.⁴³ Isaac T. Goodnow was professor of natural

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 76.

41. G. H. Failyer and William Ulrich, *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, April 16, 1875.

42. *Manhattan Nationalist*, July 17, 1874, quoting a correspondent of the *Hollidaysburg (Pa.) Standard*.

43. Harriet Parkerson in *Log Cabin Days* (Riley County Historical Society, 1929), p. 22.

science in East Greenwich Academy, East Greenwich, R. I., from 1848 to 1855, when he resigned to go to Kansas with the avowed purpose of helping to make it a free state.⁴⁴ Washington Marlatt was a graduate of Indiana Asbury University, now DePauw University, Greencastle, Ind. He came to Manhattan in 1856. He was an itinerant Methodist minister in Kansas for a considerable period.⁴⁵

C. E. Blood was a Congregational minister from Mason, N. H., who began service in Kansas as a home missionary by preaching in Juniata in November, 1854.⁴⁶ Mr. Blood organized the Congregational church in Manhattan. Wm. A. McCollom was also a Congregational minister, and from October, 1860, to April, 1863, served the Congregational church in Wabaunsee.⁴⁷ S. D. Houston, from Illinois, was one of the Canton group which, with others, formed the Manhattan Town Association. He was the only Free-State representative in the territorial legislature of 1855, and later filled important public positions.⁴⁸ Samuel C. Pomeroy was financial agent of the New England Emigrant Aid Company,⁴⁹ which promoted the settling of Free-State men in Kansas. He was very prominent in public affairs, and became one of the first two United States senators from Kansas. Thomas H. Webb was secretary of the New England Emigrant Aid Company.⁵⁰ In preceding paragraphs the character and importance of Col. Geo. S. Park have been indicated in a measure. A biography as prepared by the Rev. E. B. Sherwood was read at the funeral of Colonel Park. It presented briefly his colorful career.⁵¹

These brief notes indicate the caliber of the men who founded Bluemont Central College, and their bringing this enterprise to a successful issue is a tribute to their persistence, and to the character and the sincerity of those who contributed financially to the support of the undertaking. It should be noted, however, that while an imposing array of names appears, and was maintained, in the list of trustees, Messrs. Marlatt, Denison and Goodnow were the only ones who took financial risks beyond their individual subscriptions. Their

44. *Kansas and Kansans* (Chicago, 1918), by W. E. Connelley, p. 1853, and Dr. C. L. Marlatt.

45. *Kansas and Kansans*, p. 2445.

46. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XII, p. 427.

47. *Semi-Centennial, Wabaunsee Congregational Church* (June 27-28, 1907), p. 43.

48. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. V, p. 198.

49. *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. XII, p. 126.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

51. Unidentified clipping in "Goodnow Scrapbook No. I," pp. 35, 41, 42.

vision initiated the enterprise, their faith carried it on, and their labor brought the successful issue.⁵²

Shortly after the chartering of Bluemont Central College Association by the legislature, the trustees met and organized by electing S. D. Houston president, Joseph Denison vice-president, I. T. Goodnow treasurer, and Washington Marlatt, secretary. Members of the association whose names do not appear in the charter were constituted associate members.⁵³ The trustees voted to accept the lands and funds offered by the Bluemont Town Company, and Prof. I. T. Goodnow was appointed to receive them. Messrs. Blood, Denison and Goodnow were made a committee to wait upon A. J. Mead, and attempt to get more favorable terms for the donation of one hundred lots pledged conditionally by the Cincinnati and Kansas Land Company. Messrs. Wm. A. McCollom and I. T. Goodnow were appointed a committee to draft a constitution for the association.⁵⁴

The Kansas and Nebraska conference of the Methodist Episcopal church held its meeting for 1858 in Topeka, and the minutes recorded that:

The Trustees of Blue Mount Central College the past year have secured from the Legislature of Kansas a very liberal charter. They have also secured upward of two hundred acres of land within one mile of Manhattan City, with the prospect of adding thereto; making one of the most beautiful sites for a college to be found anywhere. They now have one hundred lots in the city of Manhattan, the present value of which would be at least five thousand dollars. They have on the subscription list about two thousand dollars, and contingent pledges to a large amount more. It is the purpose of the trustees to erect a substantial stone building, and to have the institution in operation at the earliest possible period. Your committee recommend the renewal of the appointment of the trustees of last year, with the additional name of Thomas Webb. The trustees respectfully petition the Conference to authorize the appointment of Isaac T. Goodnow, A. M., as agent for the institution for the ensuing year.⁵⁵

Soon after the annual conference the trustees of Bluemont Central College Association held a meeting at which "Prof. I. T. Goodnow presented a constitution which after various corrections and amendments was unanimously adopted."⁵⁶ The constitution is recorded in the minute book of the association.⁵⁷ The Rev. I. Kalloch was

52. Marlatt's "Reminiscences of the 'Beginnings,'" *The Industrialist*, January 12, 1895, p. 71.

53. "Minutes," Bluemont Central College Association, February 26, 1858, p. 13.

54. *Ibid.*

55. *Minutes of the Kansas and Nebraska Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church Held at Topeka, Kansas Territory, April 15-19, 1858*, p. 9.

56. "Minutes," Bluemont Central College Association, May 19, 1858, p. 14.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

“authorized to collect funds for the erection of a college building,” and Messrs. Blood, Marlatt and Denison were made a committee to survey anew the townsite of Bluemont and purchase additions to it.⁵⁸

The site chosen for Bluemont Central College was part of a projected town called Bluemont and was about three miles from the village of Manhattan. There were no business houses there, and pioneer residences scattered on surrounding farms afforded the only opportunities for rooms or board for students who might be attracted from more distant localities. The trustees of Bluemont Central College Association in order to alleviate this condition voted “that Rev. Washington Marlatt be a committee to donate lots in the town of Bluemont to such persons as will within a reasonable length of time put up suitable buildings on the same,” and he was instructed to have the townsite resurveyed in part by having certain parallels run.⁵⁹

S. D. Houston resigned the presidency of the board of trustees of Bluemont Central College Association, and I. T. Goodnow was appointed to succeed him, and, apparently, he retained the treasurer-ship. Mr. Goodnow was also constituted the “regular and lawful agent with power of attorney invested with full authority to dispose of all property belonging to the Bluemont Central College Association, together with one-third of the lots in the town of Bluemont, Riley County, Kansas Territory, to raise the necessary funds for the erection of a college building in said town.”⁶⁰

Professor Goodnow made a trip to the East in 1858, and as agent of Bluemont Central College Association called upon many of his acquaintances, and others to whom he had introductions. He seems to have had a remarkable faculty for persuasion, and his diary records his successes and failures. He returned to Manhattan, and at a meeting of the trustees of the association he reported that he had sold \$3,300 worth of lots, and that \$3,000 worth of real estate had been donated to the college. His expenses had been about \$150. He was made permanent agent for the college, and allowed a salary of \$800 up to April 1, 1859, and \$1,000 a year for ensuing years.⁶¹

During the winter of 1858-1859, Mr. Goodnow attended to the digging of a well on the site selected for the college building. This was finished January 31, and pronounced “a noble” well.⁶² Although

58. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

59. *Ibid.*, May 31, 1858, p. 15.

60. *Ibid.*

61. *Ibid.*, October 20, 1858, p. 17, and Goodnow diary, October 20, 1858.

62. Goodnow diary, November 30, 1858, to January 31, 1859.

described with such initial enthusiasm, the well failed and was deepened, and even then did not meet the needs of stone masons and plasterers who erected the building later.⁶³

On February 15, 1859, the trustees of the association voted "that we proceed to erect a college building during the present [year] at a cost of not less than six thousand dollars." It was also voted "that Professor I. T. Goodnow be added to, and be made chairman of, the building committee." Joseph Denison and Washington Marlatt were the other members.⁶⁴

The conference records for 1859 contain this information concerning the enterprise:

The Trustees of Bluemont Central College have regularly laid out the two hundred and twenty acres of land in their possession into a town, calling it "Bluemont."

They have let out the contract for the erection of a substantial stone building, sixty by forty-four feet, three stories high, to be surmounted with a cupola, all to be executed in good style, and to be ready for occupancy, in part, by the first of December, 1859, when they expect to open a school of a grade to meet the demands of the times and the place. Said college building will cost, when completed, not less than ten thousand dollars.

They have, aside from the lands above named, reliable subscriptions to the amount of two thousand dollars, one hundred lots in the city of Manhattan, the present value of which is not less than six thousand dollars, and notes bearing interest, payable on demand, to the amount of fifteen hundred dollars.

Your committee would respectfully recommend the appointment of J. J. Davis, Dr. J. W. Robison, John Pip[h]ler, George S. Park and Rev. John Paulson as Trustees of said College, for the space of three years, from the first of April, A. D. 1859.

They would furthermore beg leave to offer the following resolution for your adoption:

Resolved, That as a Conference we highly approve the efforts of the Trustees of Bluemont Central College, to erect a noble College edifice the present year, and most cordially approve the continuation of Prof. I. T. Goodnow as agent, to carry out their plans for its erection.⁶⁵

It was further stated:

The Trustees of Bluemont Central College, through their Agents the past year, have secured from the Legislature of Kansas a very liberal Charter. They have also secured one hundred acres of land within a mile of Manhattan City, with the prospect of adding thereto. They have one hundred lots in the City of Manhattan, now worth five thousand dollars, and subscriptions amounting to about two thousand dollars, besides contingent pledges to a large amount. They purpose erecting a substantial stone building, and to

63. *Ibid.*, April 28, 1859, and letter of W. Marlatt to I. T. Goodnow, April 20, 1860.

64. "Minutes," Bluemont Central College Association, May 31, 1858, p. 15, and February 15, 1859, p. 18.

65. *Minutes of the Fourth Session of the Kansas and Nebraska Annual Conference, of the Methodist E. Church, Held at Omaha, Nebraska, April 14-18, 1859*, p. 15.

have the Institution in operation at the earliest possible period. The Trustees respectfully petition the Conference to appoint Isaac T. Goodnow, A. M., Agent for the Institution for the present year.⁶⁶

Professor Goodnow spent much time on the college project during the spring months. He surveyed the site, collaborated with J. H. Brous in drawing plans for the building, arranged with neighboring citizens to furnish timber for structural use, interviewed builders and mechanics, and prepared specifications for the carpenters.⁶⁷ On April 29 he started to the East to continue solicitation of funds for the building. On the way he stopped at Leavenworth and bought lumber for the building from L. R. Griffin. Mr. H. P. Johnson went security for him. He contracted with Captain Beasley for transportation of \$1,064.70 worth of lumber to Manhattan by the steamer *Gus Linn*. He also bought hardware to the amount of \$82.95.⁶⁸ The steamer embarked May 8, and reached Manhattan, May 15. The freight charges were \$80.⁶⁹

The cornerstone of the college building was laid May 10, 1859. No local account of the proceedings was published, but T. C. Wells, in a letter to his father, wrote May 14, 1859:

They had speeches &c at the laying of the corner stone of the "Blue Mont Central College" last Tuesday afternoon, the first ceremony of the kind that has occurred in Kansas. About three hundred people were present and some very good speeches were made. Quite a number of documents were placed in the cavity of the stone. The college building will be 40[44] ft. x 60 ft. on the ground and three stories high, all stone—underpinning corners, and window and door caps to be hewn, the rest rough work. It will be in full view from our house, half a mile distant.⁷⁰

The Kansas Express, later named *Manhattan Express*, began publication soon after, probably May 21, 1859,⁷¹ but would not publish an account of the ceremony, alleging that it was no longer news. There was probably delay in getting in a report.⁷²

The contract for stone work on the college building was given to Clarke W. Lewis, for carpenter work, to Jasher H. Brous, and for plastering, and perhaps painting, to (H. or William?) Bloss. Many others worked on the building. J. C. Christensen wrote that his father, Niels Christensen, acted as cook for the gang, and told him

66. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

67. Goodnow diary, March 2, 8, 15, 16, 18, 19, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, April 5, 9, 11, 12, 23, 26, 28, 1859.

68. *Ibid.*, May 3-7, 1859.

69. Letter of W. Marlatt to I. T. Goodnow, May 16, 1859.

70. Wells, T. C., "Letters of a Kansas Pioneer," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. V, p. 399.

71. Gaedert, G. R., "First Newspapers in Kansas Counties," in *ibid.*, v. X, p. 27.

72. Letter of W. Marlatt to I. T. Goodnow, August 6, 1859.

that the preachers of the neighborhood used to help out. Of these, only the Rev. W. Marlatt worked on Saturday; the others had to prepare their sermons for the next day, but he could preach without preparation.⁷³

During the absence of Professor Goodnow, immediate responsibility for superintendence of the building operations fell upon Messrs. Marlatt and Denison. Mr. Marlatt wrote frequent letters to Mr. Goodnow. In one of these he stated that it took all of the time of himself or Denison to attend to the undertaking.⁷⁴ Mr. Denison was away a good deal on his ministerial duties, so the brunt of the oversight of the construction and the supply of materials was met by Mr. Marlatt. It was a wearisome task. The greatest cause of worry was the lack of cash to meet the bills for labor and materials. In spite of difficulties, fair progress was made, and by August 10 the masons were working on the walls of the third story.⁷⁵

With numerous other duties, also, Mr. Marlatt at one time felt so "heartily tired," that but for "the idea of shirking responsibilities" he would gladly have abandoned all and retired to private life.⁷⁶ Yet within a month he wrote:

We wish if possible to have two rooms at least lathed and plastered this fall so as to have a school this winter. It must be done if at all possible. . . . We can have one of a mixed character. . . . I have no great confidence in myself as an "educator," but if duty requires I am willing to try it on a while at least. . . .⁷⁷

Later, Mr. Marlatt wrote to Mr. Goodnow:

. . . I can make arrangements to live in the College the coming winter if need be. I gave my opinion in reference to a school, and the paper in my last. Let us have a school by all means. Paper is inefficient. Sold out to Whiskey, Mead, Snow and Co. Let it go.

With reference to the college building, he estimated the financial needs until the next spring at \$1,000, and stated that "after so long a time we have near about all things in readiness to raise the roof." The paper referred to was *The Kansas Express*, published by C. F. De Vivaldi.⁷⁸

73. Letter of J. C. Christensen to J. T. Willard, February 17, 1938.

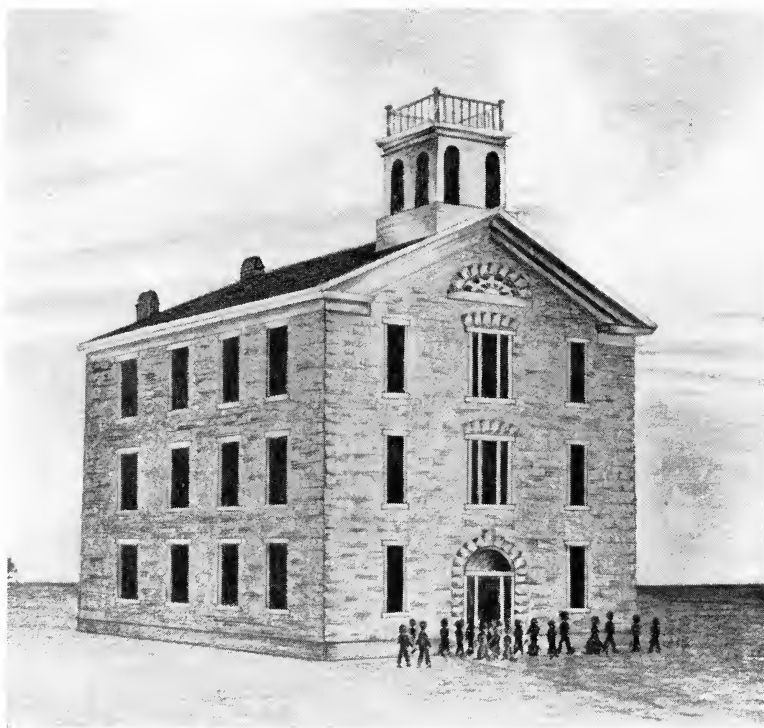
74. Letter of W. Marlatt to I. T. Goodnow, August 6, 1859.

75. *Ibid.*, August 10, 1859.

76. *Ibid.*, August 6, 1859.

77. *Ibid.*, September 1, 1859.

78. *Ibid.*, September 29, 1859.



BLUEMONT CENTRAL COLLEGE

The building was erected in 1859 by the Bluemont Central College Association. When it was given to the state in 1863 first classes for Kansas State College were held here. It was razed in 1883. The cut is from a drawing made from a lithograph accompanying a map of Manhattan published in 1867. The sketch is imperfect, as it does not show the name Bluemont College, which was cut in the stone arch over the window in the gable. [This and succeeding cuts courtesy of Dr. J. T. Willard.]

At this stage of construction the Manhattan paper published the following paragraph:

THE MANHATTAN COLLEGE.—This splendid, large three-story stone edifice is fast approaching its completion. The mason's work was finished some time since, and the carpenters are now employing all their skill and energy to have the building ready for schooling by the first of December. We cannot find words strong enough to eulogise the spirit of enterprise, and the devotion to the noble causes of Christianity and learning, which have characterized the whole conduct of the eminent men who exerted themselves with such an untired constancy in behalf of the complete success of the Manhattan College. This institution is to be under the supervision of the Methodist Episcopal denomination, and will eventually be made one of their best colleges in the West. Projects of building grand seminaries, universities and colleges are quite common in the numerous *cities* of Kansas; but so far as we are informed, we believe that ours of Manhattan is the only one which has been effectually built.⁷⁹

At a meeting of the Bluemont Central College Association action was taken stated as follows:

On motion of Rev. Joseph Denison; Resolved that the time is fully come to open a school in the college.

On motion voted that there be but two departments, viz: Primary and Preparatory.

On motion voted that a committee of five be appointed to carry out the above resolution. Marlatt, Goodnow, Blood, Denison and McCollom were made said committee.

Prof. I. T. Goodnow being called upon gave a satisfactory report on the financial concerns of the college.⁸⁰

The management of the school seems to have been entirely in the hands of the committee provided. There is no mention of employment of teachers by the trustees at this meeting, but the *Express* had already published a paragraph stating that the trustees had decided that the college "should be opened for the reception of students during the first week of January, and that, for the present, the Rev. Washington Marlatt should be entrusted with the instruction of the first pupils. . . ." The editor continued with a recommendation of "this new and beautiful institution of learning and morality."⁸¹ Mr. Goodnow spent considerable time during the first week of 1860 securing students for the school, and preparing a room in the college building. The school opened January 9, 1860, with an enrollment of 29 pupils.⁸²

79. Manhattan *Express*, October 1, 1859.

80. "Minutes," Bluemont Central College Association, December 28, 1859, p. 19.

81. Manhattan *Express*, December 24, 1859.

82. Goodnow diary, January 4, 6-9, 1860.

This advertisement was carried in the *Manhattan Express*, and similar advertisements appeared for the second, third and fourth terms:

BLUE MONT COLLEGE.

By order of the Board of Trustees, this school will open January 9th, 1860, under the charge of Rev. Washington Marlatt, A. M., assisted by Miss Julia A. Bailey, an experienced and successful teacher.

Tuition per term of 11 weeks as follows:

Common English branches	\$3
Higher English branches, as Philosophy, Physiology, Algebra, etc.	4
Languages	5

Tuition in Advance.

Necessary textbooks in the hands of the Treasurer at low rates.

The Trustees design furnishing facilities for a continuous and ample course of Academical and Collegiate study.

Farther information can be obtained by addressing the President or Secretary.

I. T. GOODNOW, *Pres. & Treas.*

W. MARLATT, *Sec'y.*⁸³

While on his Eastern trip, Professor Goodnow engaged Miss Julia A. Bailey of Gales Ferry, Conn., to go to Kansas to teach in the school.⁸⁴ Miss Bailey "had been liberally educated according to New England standards, and the strength of her character was on a plane with her varied accomplishments."⁸⁵ She was an experienced and successful teacher.

During the winter of 1859-1860 Prof. I. T. Goodnow showed his interest in the school by visiting classes and exhibiting the magic lantern, and by doing many things to promote completion of the building, including tending mason in the finishing of the well.⁸⁶

A sermon was preached in the college on January 22, 1860, by the Rev. Joseph Denison, P. E.,⁸⁷ and religious exercises were held in the building practically every Sunday following, and frequently at other times.

After consulting with Messrs. Denison and Marlatt concerning the presidency of Bluemont Central College, Mr. Goodnow wrote to

83. *Express*, January 7, 1860 *et seq.*, April 7 *et seq.*, September 22 *et seq.*, December 22 *et seq.*

84. Goodnow diary, October 6, 1859.

85. *Kansas and Kansans*, v. V, p. 2445.

86. Goodnow diary, January 18, 20, 26, 30, February 1, 3, 4-15, 20, 23, 26, 27, March 1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 10, 1860.

87. *Ibid.*, January 22, 1860, and later dates.

W. R. Clark offering it to him.⁸⁸ No record of Mr. Clark's reply has been found, but evidently he did not accept the honor.

Several matters of only current importance were handled by the trustees at the annual meeting held March 10, 1860, in addition to a few of more permanent interest. The committee appointed to open the school reported that "a school opened January 9th, 1860, under the charge of Rev. Washington Marlatt as Principal and Miss Julia A. Bailey as assistant. Whole number of students enrolled up to the present time, fifty-three. They have visited the school from time to time, noted the manner of conducting the same, and find it in every way satisfactory."⁸⁹

It was also moved "that the joint board, as per the requirements of the constitution, proceed to elect a person to take charge of the 'Collegiate Preparatory Department' of Bluemont Central College. Rev. Washington Marlatt was chosen to fill the station. Voted that Prof. Marlatt be allowed for the first year a salary of \$600." As payment of part of his salary, Mr. Marlatt was to receive an interest in Block 34 of the town of Bluemont.⁹⁰

I. T. Goodnow was continued as financial agent in all matters belonging directly or indirectly to the college, and was instructed to use his influence toward raising means to endow the same, and C. E. Blood, W. A. McCollom, Joseph Denison, John Paulson and I. T. Goodnow were made a prudential committee with discretionary powers to act *ad libitum*, for the current year, in all matters pertaining to the school.⁹¹

The board also provided "that I. T. Goodnow, John Paulson, Joseph Denison and Washington Marlatt be a committee empowered to elect a president of Bluemont Central College, if in their wisdom it be thought advisable during the present collegiate year."⁹²

At the Methodist Episcopal Conference for 1860, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee would respectfully beg leave to report that during the past year nearly ten thousand dollars have been expended in the erection of one of the finest stone buildings in Kansas, to complete and furnish which five thousand dollars more is required. Half of this amount is already secured by reliable notes, payable within eight months. To raise the balance, the trustees rely on donations in money and town lots in the city of Manhattan.

88. *Ibid.*, January 27, 1860.

89. "Minutes," Bluemont Central College Association, March 10, 1860, p. 20.

90. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

91. *Ibid.*

92. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

In order that the enterprise thus happily begun, may have a speedy completion, as also for the purpose of endowing the institution—

1. Resolved that as a Conference, we highly approve the continuation of Professor I. T. Goodnow, as agent for the present year.

The first term of the school commenced January 9th, 1860, under the charge of Rev. Washington Marlatt, A. M., as Principal, and Miss Julia A. Bailey, Assistant, and already numbers 53 pupils,—and is highly appreciated for its effectiveness in meeting the practical wants of the people: Therefore—

2. Resolved, that the Presiding Officer be respectfully requested to appoint Rev. Washington Marlatt, principal of the Preparatory Department of Bluemont Central College.

Your committee would further respectfully request the appointment of C. F. DeValdi, Abraham Barry, Esq., Wm. A. McCollom, S. C. Pomeroy and Professor I. T. Goodnow, as trustees of the said college, for the term of three years from the first of April, A. D. 1860.⁹³

Mr. Goodnow left for the East, March 21, 1860, to further the interests of Bluemont Central College, and he remained until January, 1861. His diaries show the assiduity with which he conducted this work, in which he sold lots and collected money and books for the college. His experience as a teacher had given him an acquaintance with a large number of persons, and he visited many in the interest of the school.⁹⁴

While Mr. Goodnow was in the East, Mr. Marlatt bore the burden of managing the school, and superintending the work of completing the college building. The school was small the spring term and Miss Bailey was rather discouraged. Incompetent workmen and defective building materials, and inconvenient conditions were constant worries to Mr. Marlatt.⁹⁵

It is not surprising that the magnitude of the enterprise, with the difficulties of attaining success under such primitive conditions should have led to speculations concerning possible relief. Mr. Marlatt wrote as follows:

Houston wants to know if we and all concerned won't be willing to give the college, with all the land etc., etc. belonging to it, to the State, provided the legislature would locate the State University here. What say you to it? He thinks we ought to be properly prepared, in case we were willing, when the matter comes up before the legislature, to make some definite proposition. Werter B. Davis was favorably impressed with the college site, building etc.⁹⁶

Prospects for the third term of the school were not bright, and the

93. *Minutes of the Kansas and Nebraska Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Held at Leavenworth, K. T., March, 1860*, pp. 12, 13.

94. Goodnow diaries, March 21, 1860, to January 31, 1861.

95. Letters of Washington Marlatt to I. T. Goodnow, April 20, 28, May 21, 28, June 6, 18, and later ones.

96. *Ibid.*, July 18, 1860.

opening was deferred to September 24, 1860. Mr. Marlatt in October wrote: "The school is still small. I shall not be in it much this term, as the proceeds will barely pay Miss B. a living price. Miss B. and Judge Westover's daughter occupy the south room upstairs and board with Mr. Blake."⁹⁷

At a meeting of the prudential committee, Professor Marlatt being called in made a statement, and the committee took action as follows:

The school numbers but fifteen students. The labor of teaching is great enough for two persons, while the income is barely sufficient to pay the board of one. Wherefore be it resolved, 1. That Miss Bailey have permission to furnish a table for herself and one or more students in a room in the college during the ensuing term. 2. That Rev. J. Denison and Prof. Marlatt have the sanction of the committee in visiting the states for the purpose of raising funds for the support of the college.⁹⁸

In November, Mr. Goodnow shipped four boxes of books from the East to the college. He also, with the assistance of L. Fish, persuaded Joseph Ingalls, of Swampscott, Mass., to subscribe \$250 for the purchase of a bell for the college.⁹⁹ Miss Harriet Parkerson stated to the writer that Mr. Ingalls was not in the habit of making contributions to public enterprises, and that Mr. Goodnow as part of his persuasion promised Mr. Ingalls that his name should be engraved on the bell. The name and the fact of the donation were so engraved, and the bell now rings for the regular duties of Kansas State College. It is one of Meneely's best, and has a very fine tone.

The letters of Principal Marlatt to Professor Goodnow during the autumn of 1860, show that the school was small, and that it was left almost entirely to the care of Miss Bailey. He wrote:

This is a rainy day, and I have decided to spend the afternoon indoor, and see how the school progresses, and note the behavior of the boys. The school is small enough to be good. The boys miss me sadly. They need a sound thrashing (some of them) every day, and Miss B. is entirely too kind of heart to do them that justice they so richly deserve. . . .¹⁰⁰

Work toward completion of the building was continued by Messrs. Brous and Bloss.¹⁰¹ Some rooms were rented to a family, much to the displeasure of Mr. Marlatt, who wrote:

. . . The vipers you and Bro. Denison admitted to the College, I opposed it, have been aiming a blow at the institution. I in the persons of the teachers

97. *Ibid.*, August 5, September 6, October 8, 1860.

98. "Minutes," Bluemont Central College Association, October 24, 1860, p. 23.

99. Goodnow diary, November 6, 17, 1860.

100. Marlatt to Goodnow, November 8, 1860.

101. *Ibid.*, November 17, December 17, 1860.

expect to bruise the serpents' heads in the fullness of time. Explanations when you arrive.¹⁰²

The College has suffered not a little in public esteem by the admission of a private family within its walls.¹⁰³

Although Mr. Marlatt was opposed to admitting a family to the building, his own residence there was in another category. He wrote:

We are having a vacation Miss B. is in town visiting for a week past. I have moved into the south room on the "Ground floor," not of King Solomon's temple, but this temple of learning prospectively. I am fixed off real cozily. Madam Huntress says there is but one thing lacking! . . . The next term will open on the 24th and continue till conference. There will be twenty or thirty in attendance. . . .¹⁰⁴

In a letter to Mrs. Goodnow, Professor Goodnow wrote: "I have packed up for Kansas 7 boxes of books, 3 boxes of apparatus, and 2 clocks for the college chapel and study room. We shall have one of the finest libraries west of the Missouri River."¹⁰⁵

The seed planted by S. D. Houston germinated, and shortly after the return of Professor Goodnow the board of trustees met and took action recorded as follows:

Trustees of Bluemont Central College Association met at the college as per call of the President of the Board to take into consideration the propriety of offering this institution to the State on condition that the Legislative Assembly make it the State University. . . . A quorum being present, after mature consideration it was voted to appoint a committee of five to put the whole matter in proper shape to be laid before the legislature, and report the same at the next meeting of the Board. I. T. Goodnow, J. Denison, J. W. Robinson, C. E. Blood and Washington Marlatt were the men appointed as said committee. The first named as chairman. On motion J. W. Robinson was requested to make a drawing of the College Buildings and surroundings.¹⁰⁶

At a subsequent meeting, the committee offered the following report:

Resolved by the Trustees of Bluemont Central College Association that we donate to the State of Kansas our College Building, library and apparatus together with one hundred and twenty (120) acres, more or less, of land contiguous as a College site, on condition that the legislature locate here permanently the State University.¹⁰⁷

At this point C. F. De Vivaldi, publisher of the local paper, the *Western Kansas Express*, and a member of the board, asked for

102. *Ibid.*, November 28, 1860.

103. *Ibid.*, December 17, 1860.

104. *Ibid.*

105. Letter of I. T. Goodnow to Mrs. Goodnow, December 16, 1860.

106. "Minutes," Bluemont Central College Association, February 15, 1861, p. 24.

107. *Ibid.*, February 28, 1861, p. 25.

\$225 to assist him with his paper, and a committee was appointed to consider his request. As a result, Mr. De Vivaldi was given certain lots with the condition that if Bluemont Central College did not become the state university they should be deeded back to the college. It did not, but he did not return the lots or their value.¹⁰⁸

The *Minutes of the Kansas Annual Conference* for 1861 contain some interesting data, as follows:

Your Committee [on education] would report, that the College Edifice is now completed at a cost of \$18,000, that a library and apparatus have been secured worth \$2,000. While its real estate is valued at \$5,000. Total cash valuation \$25,000. The outstanding claims against the College amount to \$2,000.

Despite the many discouragements consequent upon a failure of crops in our midst, the school has been kept in active operation during the past Conference year. In view of these facts and to meet the future wants of the institution, be it

Resolved, That the Conference renew the appointment of Prof. I. T. Goodnow as financial agent, with authority to appoint a substitute.

Resolved, That S. D. Houston, C. C. Blood, James Humphrey, Washington Marlatt and Joseph Denison, be appointed Trustees.

Resolved, That in accordance with the request of the Trustees, the President of this Conference be respectfully requested to re-appoint Rev. Washington Marlatt, A. M., Principal of the Preparatory Department of Bluemont Central College.¹⁰⁹

The town of Manhattan was interested in having Bluemont Central College become the state university and a meeting of the Manhattan City Council was called for March 23, 1861, for the purpose of taking "into consideration the propriety and expediency of making an appropriation to defray the expense of two delegates to the State Legislature, who shall work to secure the location of the State University at Manhattan," and "on motion of A. Griffin, an appropriation of one hundred dollars was made to defray the expenses of Lobby members at the Capital, for the purpose of securing the location of the State University at Manhattan."¹¹⁰

The entries in the diary of Professor Goodnow during the months of April and May, 1861, record his work with members of the legislature in attempting to get the university located at Manhattan. In the *Western Kansas Express* in a letter signed "E. X." and headed "From our Special Correspondent," the following paragraph occurs:

The bill locating the State University at Manhattan is introduced into the House, but meets with considerable opposition arising not so much from a de-

108. *Ibid.*, and appended note, February 28, March 2, 1861, pp. 25 and 27.

109. *Minutes of the Kansas Annual Conference, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Sixth Session, Held in Atchison, Kansas, March 21st, 1861*, pp. 12, 13.

110. *Western Kansas Express*, March 30, 1861.

sire to compete with the generous offers of the Trustees of Bluemont College, as from other hidden causes; an opposition too that may not be shown in the vote on the bill but which really exists. The Western members, without exception, show a hearty good will towards the measure, and Manhattan owes much to the generous cooperation of the gentlemen from Pottawatomie and Wabaunsee Counties in this matter.¹¹¹

In spite of opposition, the bill accepting the offer of the Bluemont Central College property for the state of Kansas as a site for the state university passed the house by a vote of 43 to 19, and the senate by a vote of 17 to 8. This was after ample discussion, and a visit to the college by a committee of the legislature.¹¹²

The *Express* published a restrained account of the favorable action of the legislature, but followed it by the later news that Governor Robinson had vetoed the bill.

THE STATE UNIVERSITY

This important institution is located by the State Legislature at Manhattan. The trustees of the Bluemont College have tendered their building and grounds together with the library and apparatus to the State for the benefit of the University. To those who have seen this institution we need not say that this is a most magnificent offer, and the Legislature has acted wisely in accepting the grant and establishing in our beautiful and growing city the State University.

VETOED.—Since writing the above we have learned through the *Topeka Record*, that the bill locating the University at Manhattan has been returned to the Legislature by the Governor without his signature. The Governor assigns several feeble reasons for this act, which merely amount to the fact that he wants to put in a bid himself at a future time.¹¹³

Professor Goodnow's diary shows that he maintained a concrete interest in the welfare of the school to the extent of doing much manual labor for it, alone or assisting others in such work. On August 9 he recorded having a talk with Principal Marlatt on the school, and that he was going to take a circuit, and a new teacher would be necessary.¹¹⁴

At a meeting of the trustees of Bluemont Central College, action was taken as follows:

The office of Principal being declared vacant, on motion Prof. I. T. Goodnow chosen to fill that station till April 1st, 1862, with authority to employ an assistant. The remuneration of Principal and Assistant together with all inci-

111. *Ibid.*, May 4, 1861; Goodnow diary, April 6, 10-13, 15-20, 24, May 7, 9, 14, 15, 18, 23, 30, 1861.

112. *Ibid.*, April 23, 24, May 9, 23, 1861; *House Journal*, 1861, p. 355; *Senate Journal*, 1861, p. 292.

113. *Western Kansas Express*, June 1, 1861.

114. Goodnow diary, July 17, 19, 20, 22-26, August 3, 6, 8, 9, September 12, October 5, 18-18, 24, 26, 30, 31, December 16, 27, 1861.

dental expenses in keeping up the school be the tuition of the pupils in attendance.¹¹⁵

Principal Goodnow offered Mr. Marlatt a teacher's place, but he declined it, and Miss Nancy Bemis was engaged as assistant teacher in the school.¹¹⁶ The school opened October 8 with sixteen pupils, and at least twelve enrolled later. Professor Goodnow taught classes, and made benches and a desk for the school. He had a class in algebra, and one in astronomy. He fitted up a separate recitation room for himself. The college bell arrived December 10, and was hung on the 14th. The school term closed December 21, 1861.¹¹⁷

Principal Goodnow opened the winter term of the school with 40 pupils. Miss Nancy L. Bemis and the Rev. Robert L. Harford were his assistants. Mr. Goodnow was the member of the house from his legislative district, and went to Topeka soon after the beginning of the winter term of the school, and renewed his efforts to get the university located at Manhattan. With Davies Wilson he drew up a university bill which was introduced in the house January 20, 1862.¹¹⁸

Representative Goodnow carried on an active campaign in behalf of the bill to locate the university at Manhattan, but was handicapped by a party contest concerning the eligibility of certain men to serve as senators. After a debate in committee of the whole, the committee recommended that the university be located at Manhattan. Lawrence, Emporia and Tecumseh were also considered. The bill was passed by the house the next day, February 18, 1862, by a vote of 45 to 16.¹¹⁹ The trouble was in the senate, where the bill was finally defeated by a vote of 11 to 12.¹²⁰

The Methodist conference minutes for 1862 include the following important details of information:

Your Committee [on education] beg leave to report Bluemont Central College in a prosperous condition. During the past Conference year, a school of such grade as the wants of the country required, has been in successful operation.

Now that a commodious edifice has been erected, and a choice library and philosophical apparatus procured, the Joint-Board hope to be able, *soon* to inaugurate a regular collegiate department, and thus make the Institution a *Col-*

115. "Minutes," Bluemont Central College Association, September 11, 1861, p. 27.

116. Goodnow diary, September 28, October 2, 1861.

117. *Ibid.*, October 8, 15-18, 24, 26, 28, December 11, 14, 21, 1861.

118. *Ibid.*, January 2, 15, 20, 1862; *House Journal*, 1862, p. 36.

119. Goodnow diary, January 15, 20, 24, 25, 27, 28, 31, February 5, 6, 13, 15, 17, 18, 1862; *House Journal*, 1862, p. 276.

120. Goodnow diary, February 20, 21, 24, 25, 27, March 3, 1862; *Senate Journal*, 1862, p. 192.

lege in fact, in which the youth of our land may receive that *mental* and *moral* training, necessary to fit them for the *practical* duties of life.—Therefore, Resolved,

First, That, as a Conference, we give to Bluemont Central College our cordial support.

Second, That James Lawrence and Robert L. Harford be appointed as a Visiting Committee and Members of the Joint-Board.

Third, That John Pipher, Welcome Wells, Davies Wilson, T. H. Mudge, and B. F. Fullington, be appointed Trustees for three years, from the 1st of April, A. D., 1862.¹²¹

At the end of the winter term of the school, Principal Goodnow noted: "Miss B.—well tried, & tired." She had been carrying the burden alone most of the time, as Mr. Goodnow was in the legislature. Of the closing exercises, March 20, the local paper reported:

BLUE MONT COLLEGE.—The close of the winter term of this Institution, which occurred last Thursday, was attended with literary exercises by the students. We are informed that the numerous exercises, which were participated in by most of the students, disclosed a degree of progress and diligent study, eminently gratifying to the friends and visitors of the school. The spring term commences on the 10th of April. Prof. Goodnow, under whose superintendence the college has been so signally successful, will continue to watch over its interests.¹²²

On March 29, 1862, the trustees of Bluemont Central College met for the annual meeting, but a quorum was not present, and an adjournment was taken to June 26, 1862. The resident trustees resolved themselves into a prudential committee, under the provision of section 10 of the constitution. The committee voted that the college remain in charge of I. T. Goodnow with the title of acting president. Duplicate volumes in the library were sold to Professor Goodnow for \$140. The Rev. Washington Marlatt was permitted to retain certain land within the Bluemont townsite, "in consideration of sacrifices made by him in behalf of the college." Messrs. Denison, Goodnow, Humphrey and Marlatt were appointed to report a course of study at the next meeting of the board. Mr. Humphrey was appointed to audit the treasurer's account and to report at the next meeting. However, the adjourned meeting was not held June 26.¹²³

The spring term of 1862 opened April 10 with 25 pupils. Miss Mary Hubbard was to commence teaching April 14, and presumably did so, as this is the only reference to the term's work found in the Goodnow diary.¹²⁴

121. *Minutes of the Kansas Annual Conference, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Seventh Session, Held in Wyandott, Kansas, March 12th, 1862*, p. 20.

122. Goodnow diary, March 17, 1862; *Manhattan Express*, March 22, 1862.

123. "Minutes," trustees, Bluemont Central College Association, March 29, 1862, p. 28.

124. Goodnow diary, April 10, 1862.

At the first meeting of District No. 7, Riley county, a committee was appointed to report in one week "the best course to pursue to have a school commenced in the district as soon as possible, what will be the probable cost of a schoolhouse, and whether it will be advisable to select a site and build immediately."¹²⁵ The committee reported adversely in respect to building a schoolhouse, and submitted a proposition from "the College Company" to teach the district school for the first term of three months. The proposition was accepted. It provided that the college should teach the district pupils for a term from September 3 to December 17, 1862, and receive as payment a tax of one-fourth of one percent on the taxable property of the district, and any state money that might be apportioned to the district. If nothing should be received from the state, the pupils were to be assessed equitably to make up the deficiency. The contract was signed September 1, 1862, by "Ambrose Todd, District Clerk," and "Isaac T. Goodnow, President Bluemont College."¹²⁶

In the summer of 1862, it was announced in the college advertisement that "By applying soon a half dozen young ladies can be accommodated in the College Building in the family of Mr. Ells [Eells?]."¹²⁷ Mr. Goodnow noted that "Mr. Brous moved into the college."¹²⁸

From these two items it appears that at least two families were residing in the college building at that time.

Albert Todd, a student in 1862, recalled:

In the southwest room on the ground floor of that old stone building on the hill, a district school was conducted by Miss Bemis, a sister of . . . Mrs. Thomas C. Wells. Miss Bemis was my teacher for but one term. I was then out of school for nearly a year, when I again attended a district school in the same room, the teacher now being Miss Belle Haines. . . .¹²⁹

This second experience was after the building had been transferred to the state for use by the Kansas State Agricultural College. In the catalogue of that institution for 1863-1864, Miss Belle M. Haines is listed in the faculty as "Assistant Teacher in the Preparatory Department." At a meeting of the school district a contract was authorized to have the pupils of the district taught by the college

125. "Record of School District No. 7, County of Riley," July 19, 1862.

126. *Ibid.*, July 26, 1862.

127. *Manhattan Express*, June 28, 1862.

128. Goodnow diary, July 30, 1862.

129. Col. Albert Todd, '72, in *The Alumnus*, *Manhattan*, February-March, 1908, p. 152.

for a winter term of three months for \$130. This contract was confirmed by the board of regents of the college.¹³⁰

It is remarkable that the records of the Bluemont Central College Association contain no reference to the proceedings incident to offering the Bluemont building and land to the state to become the site of the State Agricultural College. Professor Goodnow was elected to the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction November 7, 1862, and took office in January, 1863. He was therefore in Topeka and in position to keep an eye on legislation concerning education. The Morrill act of congress providing grants of land for the endowment of agricultural colleges was signed by Abraham Lincoln, July 2, 1862. This fact did not escape the notice of the Bluemont college group.

Professor Goodnow's diary shows that during the fall of 1862 he continued to do various mechanical jobs to better the condition of the college building and its surroundings. Later, during the session of the legislature, he made many cryptic entries which indicate that a conflict was going on involving Lawrence, Manhattan and Emporia. At first he seemed still to harbor the hope that the university could be obtained for Manhattan, but later was satisfied by getting the agricultural college. The bill locating it at Manhattan passed both houses by unanimous votes. "One of the 7 wonders of Kansas legislation!"¹³¹

Superintendent Goodnow at once turned his attention to drawing up a bill for the government of the agricultural college. This was passed "triumphantly."¹³²

The minutes of the Bluemont Central College Association include nothing after the date March 29, 1862, until March 5, 1863, when a meeting of the prudential committee was held. At this meeting:

On motion it was recommended that Rev. Joseph Denison be put in nomination as President of Bluemont Central College.

On motion it was requested of the Presiding Bishop of the Kansas M. E. Conference, to be held in Lawrence March the 11th, 1863, be requested to appoint the Rev. J. Denison to the Presidency of Bluemont Central College.¹³³

As the building, library, and apparatus of Bluemont Central College had been promised to the state of Kansas, this action was probably intended to give Mr. Denison some prestige as a candidate

130. "Record of School District No. 7," November 21, 1863; "Minutes," board of regents, Kansas State Agricultural College, December 2, 1863, p. 7.

131. Goodnow diary, February 7, 13, 1863; *General Laws of the State of Kansas, 1863*, pp. 11, 12; *House Journal, 1863*, pp. 216, 217; *Senate Journal, 1863*, pp. 170-172.

132. Goodnow diary, March 2, 1863.

133. "Minutes," Bluemont Central College Association, March 5, 1863, p. 29.

for the presidency of the Kansas State Agricultural College. The record of the conference held March 11-16, 1863, includes the following item among the appointments for the Manhattan district: "J. Denison, President of Bluemont College, member of Manhattan Quarterly Conference."¹³⁴

At this conference the committee on education took no cognizance of the forthcoming transfer of the Bluemont Central College to the state of Kansas, but reported as follows:

Your committee would report Bluemont Central College as having been in successful operation during the past Conference year, under the superintendence of Professor R. L. Harford, assisted by Miss Mary Hubbard and Miss V.[N.] L. Bemis. The school has continued to increase in numbers and influence, fully meeting the present wants of the community, in affording the youth a means of mental and moral development.

The whole number of students for the year has been seventy-five.

Your committee recommend the appointment of the following as a Visiting Committee for the present year: Revs. J. Lawrence, L. B. Dennis, J. A. Woodburn.

Trustees, for three years from the 1st of April, A. D., 1863: I. T. Goodnow, S. C. Pomeroy, Wm. A. McCollom, A. Barry, Wm. J. Kermott.

For two years: R. L. Harford.

For one year: S. V. Lee.¹³⁵

The trustees of Bluemont Central College Association met April 16, 1863, and concurred in the actions of the prudential committee, March 29, 1862, and March 5, 1863. The following motions are among those passed:

On motion the President of the College be requested to have the college building vacated of families within one week, and put in as good repair as possible, preparatory to its being delivered over to the State as an Agricultural School, etc.

On motion the President and Secretary be authorized to make a deed of one hundred acres of land, the college building, etc., etc., to the State of Kansas as per act of her legislature at its last session and that it be signed by at least a majority of the present Board of Trustees of the B. C. C. Association.

On motion Prof. I. T. Goodnow was continued as agent with discretionary power to dispose of any part of the property, or real estate of the association necessary to meet pressing demands as they may arise from time to time.

The auditing committee gave the following report, viz.: "This certifies that I have this day examined the accounts of Isaac T. Goodnow agent of the Trustees of Bluemont Central College Association and find them to be correct.

(Signed) Wm. A. McCOLLUM."¹³⁶

A list of the members of the board of trustees was appended.

134. *Minutes of the Kansas Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church* . . . , March 11-16, 1863, p. 11.

135. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

136. "Minutes," trustees, Bluemont Central College Association, April 16, 1863.

I. T. Goodnow was president and Washington Marlatt secretary of the board.

Professor Goodnow's diary contains the following entries: "Miss Bemis at tea, settled her account."¹³⁷ (This may indicate that her connection with the school was terminated.) "Judge Woodworth & Prof. Schnebley with us last night."¹³⁸ "School opened. 28 scholars."¹³⁹ This is the last direct reference to the school extant. Was Professor Schnebley the teacher? Was Mr. Harford also a teacher? After an absence from Manhattan of three weeks on official visits, Superintendent Goodnow notes on his return that he had a "call from Schnebley & Harford" and the next day he "visited with Schnebley."¹⁴⁰ If Professor Schnebley was the teacher that term he constituted an instructional link between Bluemont Central College and Kansas State Agricultural College, as he was a member of the first faculty of the latter institution, which opened September 2, 1863.¹⁴¹

There are no records extant showing with any completeness the names of those who attended Bluemont Central College nor is there any record of the subjects taught. Most of the teaching was elementary work with the children of the vicinity, but a few received instruction in algebra and Latin. There was no academic connection between Bluemont Central College and the Kansas State Agricultural College to which the Bluemont building and one-hundred acres of land were given.

The transfer of the Bluemont Central College building with the 100 acres of land was by a deed dated June 10, 1863, but the formal delivery was made July 2, when the deed was acknowledged, and the event made a feature of the celebration of Independence day. There was a large attendance and everybody had a good time. A dinner was served in the chapel on the third floor of the college building, at which 20 toasts were offered. Speeches were made in response to 12 of these.¹⁴² Superintendent Goodnow wrote: "Regents' Dinner at College. Multitudinous speeches,—made two short ones myself. McCullom, Capt. Rust & Gilchrist stopped with me over night. Held a session of Regents, discussed important points."¹⁴³

137. Goodnow diary, March 23, 1863.

138. *Ibid.*, March 31, 1863.

139. *Ibid.*, April 1, 1863.

140. *Ibid.*, June 18, 19, 1863.

141. *The First Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the Kansas State Agricultural College, 1863-4* (Manhattan, 1864), p. 5.

142. *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, July 12, 1863; *The Kansas Farmer*, Topeka, September 1, 1863, p. 117.

143. Goodnow diary, July 2, 1863.

This explains why the first *recorded* minutes of the regents of Kansas State Agricultural College refer to the meeting as an "adjourned" one.¹⁴⁴

As not all the property of the Bluemont Central College Association was conveyed to the state, annual meetings were held at the call of the president in 1864 and 1865, at which action was taken in respect to property, and trustees were elected. J. Denison was made secretary of the board in 1864 instead of W. Marlatt, and in 1865 Mr. Goodnow resigned as president and John Pipher was elected.¹⁴⁵

Reports of the business of the association were made to the Methodist Episcopal Conferences held in 1864 and 1865. The one for 1864 follows:

The Trustees of the "Bluemont Central College Association," empowered by an act of the State Legislature of Kansas, have given to the State the College building, library, apparatus, and one hundred (100) acres of land, on consideration of the institution being endowed with 90,000 acres of land donated to the State, by act of Congress, approved July 2d, A. D., 1862.

The institution, as the "Kansas State Agricultural College," is already on its career of usefulness.

The above named Board of Trustees are still a chartered Board, possessing property as such, with liabilities and unfinished business. They hold their relations to Conference, awaiting opportunity for further usefulness in the cause of education. We would recommend the appointment of the following named persons Trustees for the term of three years, from 1st of April, 1864: T. D. Huston [S. D. Houston], J. Denison, W. Marlatt, J. Kuntroll [Kimball], S. V. Lee.¹⁴⁶

The minutes of the conference of 1865 repeat the minutes of 1864 concerning Bluemont Central College, but correct errors in the names of the trustees, and add the following:

Your committee would recommend the appointment of Rev. J. Denison to the Presidency of the Kansas State Agricultural College, as the regents of said institution have elected him to said Presidency. [As a member of the conference, Mr. Denison's activities were subject to the designation or approval of the conference.]

Your committee would also recommend the adoption of the following resolution:

Resolved, That while as a Conference we will give our sympathy and patronage to the building up of institutions of learning, in the bounds of our Conference, we will in no case become financially responsible for any of them.¹⁴⁷

144. "Minutes," board of regents, Kansas State Agricultural College, July 23, 1863.

145. "Minutes," Bluemont Central College Association, December 14, 1864, April 25, 1865.

146. *Minutes of the Ninth Session of the Kansas Annual Conference, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Held in Leavenworth, Kansas, March, 1864*, p. 26.

147. *Minutes of the Tenth Session of the Kansas Annual Conference, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Held in Topeka, Kansas, March 15th, 1865*, pp. 25, 26.

No reports of the association were made to later conferences, and the records of the conferences show that no reports of the Kansas State Agricultural College were made to them, though statements to the contrary have been published.¹⁴⁸ The conferences have never attempted to control Kansas State College. The founders of Bluemont Central College were scarcely represented on the board of regents of the agricultural college. The only connection of consequence was the appointment of Joseph Denison to be president, and this was not dictated or suggested by the conference.¹⁴⁹

In securing the location at Manhattan of the agricultural college, the founders of Bluemont Central College must have had a sense of success in respect to having a college at Manhattan, that was far beyond their original expectations. The labor and sacrifices made had received a rich reward. The endowment to be derived from the sale of 90,000 acres of land seemed sufficient to meet the needs of the college for all time. They never suspected that the college would so develop that, within the lifetime of persons then living, the income from that endowment would be a comparatively trivial part of its total requirements.

The first years of the use of the Bluemont building by the agricultural college demonstrated that a boarding hall was a necessity, because of the fact that the location of the college was three miles from Manhattan, and farm homes in the vicinity could accommodate only a few students. Furthermore, the land connected with the building was poorly adapted to the agricultural needs of the college. A boarding hall was built which in a measure met the first difficulty, and Manhattan township provided, by a bond issue in 1871, means for the purchase of 160 acres of better farm land adjacent to the townsite of Manhattan. Upon this farm, one wing of an elaborately planned barn was erected in 1872-1873. The Bluemont structure was poorly built, although it received high contemporaneous praise.

The Rev. John A. Anderson succeeded the Rev. Joseph Denison as president of the agricultural college in September, 1873, and soon became convinced that the cattle had better quarters than the students. He therefore obtained authority and funds from the legislature of 1875 to transform the barn into a classroom building. At the same time a building was provided for instruction in industrial arts. In the summer of 1875, the college work was transferred to the new

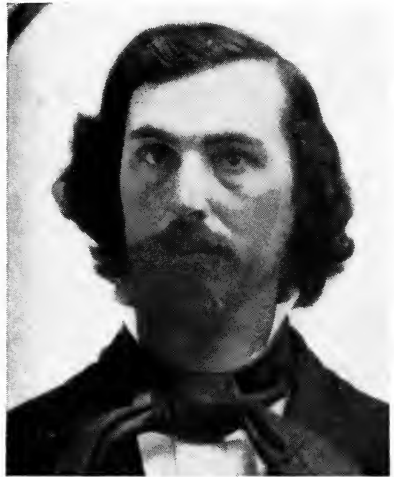
148. "History of Kansas State Agricultural College," by J. D. Walters, in *College Symposium*, p. 20; *History of the Kansas State Agricultural College* (Manhattan, 1909), by J. D. Walters, p. 19.

149. "Minutes," board of regents, Kansas State Agricultural College, July 23, 1863, p. 3.

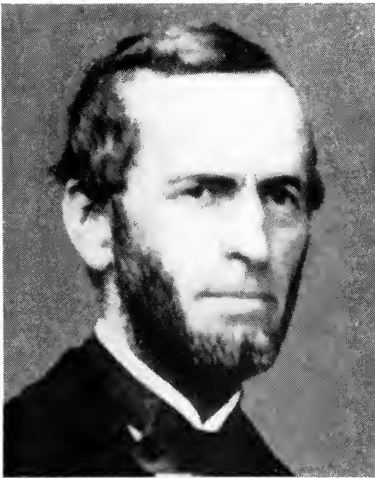
Founders of Bluemont Central College



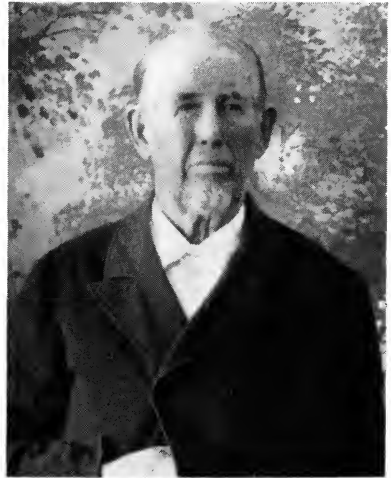
ISAAC T. GOODNOW
1814-1894



WASHINGTON MARLATT
1829-1909



JOSEPH DENISON
1815-1900



SAMUEL D. HOUSTON
1818-1910

site.¹⁵⁰ Such use as was feasible was made of the old college farm and the buildings on it, but that does not belong to this account. The regents of the college "ordered that Professor Shelton should hereafter assume entire charge of the Bluemont College property . . . ," and "that the best policy to pursue with the land under cultivation is to rent out as much as possible, and care for the balance with as little expense as is practicable."¹⁵¹ E. M. Shelton was the professor of agriculture.

Shortly after college teaching was transferred to the new campus, rooms in the Bluemont building were offered for rent. "A few students can rent rooms in the old College building at low rates. Apply to Major N. A. Adams, Secretary."¹⁵² "Those desiring to board themselves can obtain rooms in the old College building."¹⁵³ The board of regents voted "That Professor Ward be authorized to fit up rooms in the old Bluemont College building as needed for students.

"¹⁵⁴

That the regents of Kansas State Agricultural College were thinking of selling the property is shown by certain minutes. "Regent Redden was requested to inquire into the rights of the K. S. A. College to the Bluemont College property, and present a report at the next meeting of the regents."¹⁵⁵ "Regent Redden reports that he has examined the question of the title to the Bluemont College property, and is of the opinion that said property can only be used for purposes connected with the College, and that we have no right to sell or dispose of said property, which report was accepted and adopted."¹⁵⁶

The income of the agricultural college was low at that period, and the old site was uncared-for to a certain extent, especially the area not actually in cultivation. On July 7, 1880, the prudential committee of Bluemont Central College Association met at the home of I. T. Goodnow. Those present were John Pipher, Washington Marlatt, Isaac T. Goodnow, Joseph Denison and James Humphrey. The following statement and resolution were adopted:

The situation of the old college building & premises having been freely discussed, and it being manifest that the buildings are going to waste, and that

150. *The Industrialist*, Manhattan, August 21, 1875; *Report of the Kansas State Agricultural College, 1875*, p. 2.

151. "Minutes," April 9, 1879, p. 276.

152. *Industrialist*, January 8, 1876.

153. *Ibid.*, June 28, 1879.

154. "Minutes," August 8, 1879, p. 281.

155. *Ibid.*, April 9, 1879, p. 276.

156. *Ibid.*, August 6, 1879, p. 279.

the land is seeded down with cuckle & sand burrs, Mexican thistles & other noxious weeds, & has become a nuisance in disseminating the same over neighboring farms, & that the whole property is really a disadvantage to the practical working of the Agricultural College, and furthermore believing that by the removal of the College proper, to a new location, the old college building & lands are forfeited. Therefore, Resolved that a committee consisting of James Humphrey, John Pipher, Washington Marlatt & Isaac T. Goodnow be appointed to wait on the Board of Regents at their August meeting, to suggest to them the propriety of using their influence with the Legislature to deed the original 100 acres back to the "Bluemont College Association."¹⁵⁷

A meeting of the board of trustees was called for January 18, 1881, but a quorum not being present, an adjournment was taken to January 27, 1881.¹⁵⁸ The board met in accordance with adjournment; a quorum was present, and business was transacted, a part of which was recorded as follows:

Mr. Humphrey, chairman, reported verbally an interview held with the Regents of the Agricultural College without results.

After discussion it was moved by Washington Marlatt & seconded by I. T. Goodnow that James Humphrey be authorized by this Board to institute proper and appropriate proceedings in the court having jurisdiction to recover to the association the possession of the property & real estate heretofore conveyed to the State of Kansas for the Agricultural College and which premises & property were conveyed to the State by deed of June 10, 1863 & which property has reverted to the Bluemont Central College Association, the Grantor, the said property not being used for the purpose and uses named in the deed of conveyance. The resolution was passed.¹⁵⁹

This is from the final minutes of the trustees of the Bluemont Central College Association. Legal action was instituted, the only records of which available to the writer are those published in *The Industrialist*, and the *Third Biennial Report* of the college, as follows:

Suit in ejectment was brought in the district court in Riley county against the Board by former members of the Bluemont Central College Association, for the recovery of the property deeded to the State in 1863, on the location of the College at Manhattan. Counsel was employed to represent the Board in this suit, and also in a case in *quo warranto* in the Supreme Court, incidental to defense in the ejectment suit.¹⁶⁰

In the *quo warranto* case of the College against the "Bluemont College Association," the Supreme Court decided in favor of the College. The court holds that the "Bluemont College Association" has no legal existence.¹⁶¹

That long-pending case regarding the title to the old College property, which has been in court nearly two years, was, on Thursday, decided by Judge

157. "Minutes," Bluemont Central College Association, July 7, 1880, p. 34.

158. *Ibid.*, January 18, 1881, p. 35.

159. *Ibid.*, January 27, 1881, p. 36.

160. *Third Biennial Report*, K. S. A. C., 1881-1882, p. 5.

161. *Industrialist*, June 10, 1882.

Martin in favor of the College. This ought, and probably will, settle the matter. We hope, now that the property is beyond dispute, to be able to chronicle many useful improvements in this valuable property.¹⁶²

It is not possible at this date to determine what judgment, feelings or motives may have actuated the members of the board of regents of Kansas State Agricultural College, but at the June meeting, 1883, "Regent Krohn moved that the old college building be sold to the highest bidder, all material and rubbish to be removed within six months of the time of sale, which motion prevailed."¹⁶³

The fate of the Old College building is sealed. It is to be torn down, and from its walls a humbler, but withal useful structure, no less, in fact, than a stone wall on two sides of the eastern twenty acres of the Old College farm, is to be constructed. The contract has been let to Mr. Howard, and the work will go on at once. We sympathize, heartily, with that large number of people who associate with this old building many pleasant, almost sacred, memories, but these friends must bear in mind that the College and community have outgrown this venerable structure which has so long outlived its usefulness, that it has become an eyesore, and a nuisance which cannot be tolerated longer.¹⁶⁴

The building committee of the board of regents of the college reported:

At the August meeting an arrangement was made for the disposal of the old College building by sale according to the terms fixed by the Board. . . . The sale of the old College building to C. G. Howard for \$221.00 was approved, and arrangements were made for the construction of a stone wall on two sides of the twenty-acre field just east of the old College building.¹⁶⁵

Mr. Howard razed the old college building so completely that it is not possible now to locate the exact spot which its foundation occupied. It was somewhat northeast of the old well which is still giving excellent service. Mr. Howard sold some of the material from the building, and used some himself. He used the cut stone cornerstones in constructing an addition to his home, and much of the lumber in a barn. As the city of Manhattan has developed, these have disappeared. As noted previously the ordinary stone was used by the college in erecting a wall on two sides of the twenty-acre tract across the highway east of the site of the building.¹⁶⁶

In the disposition of the material from the old college building, the Rev. Washington Marlatt obtained stone which he used in the

162. *Ibid.*, March 31, 1883.

163. "Minutes," June 12, 1883, p. 403.

164. *Industrialist*, September 1, 1883.

165. "Minutes," October 10, 1883, p. 415.

166. *Industrialist*, September 1, December 8, 1883.

erection of a farm barn. The old building had in its front gable, an arch carrying the name Bluemont College, a stone for each letter. Mr. Marlatt obtained this arch, and placed it over the driveway at the front of the barn. The Marlatt farm was adjacent to the college farm, and in 1918, when additional land was purchased for the college, the Marlatt farm was part of that obtained. Some years later, it was represented to the president that it was hardly fitting for the college to use this historic arch in such a capacity. The college library building was under construction at that time, and it was decided to build the arch into the wall of that structure. It was placed in one of the interior walls of the top story, which as planned is an exhibition room. The arch thus constitutes a permanent historical exhibit. Some other pieces of cut stone from the old building are also parts of the installation. They had been placed by Mr. Howard in his residence. That was in process of removal at about the same time, and friends of the college saved them from destruction. Prominent among these were Professors R. R. Price and G. H. Failyer.

When the cornerstone of the Bluemont College building was laid, a number of documents were placed in a cavity in it.¹⁶⁷ When the building was to be wrecked, Judge F. G. Adams, secretary of the State Historical Society, requested "that the contents of the cornerstone be deposited with said Society," but the articles "were pronounced worthless from exposure to water as they lay in the stone."¹⁶⁸

The Riley County Historical Society and the Polly Ogden chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution erected a monument near the site of the Bluemont building. This consists of a granite glacial drift boulder from Pottawatomie county weighing more than two tons, to which a bronze tablet is attached bearing the following inscription: "Site of Bluemont College, Established February 3, 1858, by Bluemont Central College Association. Founded by Joseph Denison, Isaac Goodnow, S. D. Houston, John Kimball, G. S. Park, Washington Marlatt. Building Erected 1859. Farm and Building Donated to State of Kansas, February 3, 1863. Site of Kansas State Agricultural College 1863-1875. Erected by Polly Ogden chapter D. A. R., Riley County Historical Society."

The monument was unveiled November 27, 1926, with suitable dedicatory ceremonies. Several grandchildren of the founders were

167. Letter of T. C. Wells dated May 14, 1859, in *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. V, 1936, p. 399.

168. "Minutes," February 27, April 2, 1884, pp. 423, 425.

present. The principal address was given by Prof. G. H. Failyer. Shorter speeches were made by Judge C. A. Kimball, Mrs. Burr Ozment and Pres. F. D. Farrell.¹⁶⁹

To the lover of monuments that mark the progress of mankind, especially when this is made by surmounting serious obstacles, it must always be a source of regret that the old Bluemont building was not maintained in decent repair as a memorial to the ideals, vision, courage and persistence of the pioneers of Kansas, and as concrete evidence of the smallness of the beginning of Kansas State College.

^{169.} *Industrialist*, December 1, 1926; *History of Bluemont College, Mother of Kansas State College*, by C. A. Kimball.

The Story of Company A, Third Kansas Infantry, in World War I*

DEAN TRICKETT

AT DAWN on the morning of September 26, 1918, nine American divisions were in battle line ready to attack on a twenty-four-mile front extending from a point on the Meuse river above Verdun westward to the far edge of the Argonne forest. They had moved in under cover of darkness.

The infantry had got into position about midnight. After loading and locking their rifles, the doughboys lay down on the ground and tried to sleep. But at 2:30 a. m. the artillery opened up. By 3 o'clock 2,600 guns were firing.

Shortly after 5 o'clock the platoon leaders began to assemble their men. The soldiers slung their packs, examined their rifles, and fell into line to await "H" hour. There was no breakfast.

At 5:30, without heroics and with little ceremony, the infantry went "over the top" all along the line. "Come on, let's go," said the platoon leader at "H" hour. Then, leading the way, he set his face to the north, walking forward into a murk of smoke and fog, his men following.

Among the attacking divisions was the Thirty-fifth—a consolidation of the Kansas and Missouri National Guards. In less than five days it lost 960 killed and 6,894 wounded. Its first battle was a baptism in blood.

One of the original units of that division—Company A, Third Kansas infantry—holds an annual reunion at Coffeyville on the Sunday nearest September 26. On September 24, 1944, the veterans met for the twenty-fifth time. It is one of the few companies of the first A. E. F.—it may be the only one—that have maintained a veterans' organization continuously since the close of World War I.

The boys who came back from France in the late spring of 1919 are now middle-aged men—too large of girth, too scant of breath, or too old for active service in the present war. Most of them are married, and many have sons in the armed forces of the nation.

The veterans are organized as a Last Man's Club, an association common among Civil War veterans. A few years ago the press carried a story about one in Indiana, with a picture of the last

* Reprinted with minor changes from the *Coffeyville Daily Journal*, September 22, 1944.

survivor. The aged Civil War veteran was seated at a table, surrounded by empty chairs. Before him was a bottle of wine, which he was to drink to the memory of his departed comrades.

A similar bottle is the center piece on the banquet table at the Company A reunions. It originally contained cognac—a potent drink well known to many A. E. F. veterans. A year or two ago the seal was accidentally broken, and much, if not all, of the liquid has evaporated. It will be replaced by a bottle of California wine. Sometime in the eighties or nineties this bottle will be opened by the “Last Man” of Company A.

The original members of the company came from Coffeyville or vicinity, and many of them continue to make their home there. The others are scattered from coast to coast. The mortality of the veterans has been surprisingly low. More than 85 percent are living today.

The Third Kansas infantry, of which the company became a part, was classed as a National Guard regiment. In reality, it was one of the last volunteer regiments taken into the Army of the United States. Recruited entirely after war was declared in April, 1917, it had a National Guard existence of less than three months.

During the early spring of 1917 six or seven young men who had received military training in National Guard units in Kansas or Missouri met of evenings at irregular intervals in Lape's furniture store in Coffeyville. They went through the manual of arms with a broom and turned some fancy right and left faces. Most of their time, however, was spent in discussing ways and means of raising a volunteer company if war came, as then seemed likely.

That there would be a call for volunteers they took for granted. Such had been the practice in all previous wars. They were mistaken, but their object was achieved indirectly.

After war was declared, the War Department submitted to congress a new and revolutionary plan for the organization of the army. It called for an expansion of the regulars by recruitment and by the absorption of the National Guard. A “second line” was to be formed by draft upon the nation's manpower and officered by regulars and graduates of officer training schools.

This proposed change in military policy ran the gauntlet of a furious debate in congress and emerged in somewhat altered form. Under the legislation, the regulars would be the first to fight, as in the original plan. The National Guard, however, would not be broken up, but would be reorganized and made the second line.

Last would come a national army, obtained by selective draft. This policy has also been followed in the present war. The government has abandoned the volunteer system for keeps.

When the United States entered the war in April, Kansas had two infantry regiments. Later in the month, a third regiment was authorized.

Col. Charles McCrum, a citizen of Coffeyville and at one time a major general in the Kansas National Guard, got wind of the new regiment and obtained authority to raise one of the companies. Too old himself for active service, he seized this opportunity to "do his bit" for his country.

As a preliminary step, he posted a sheet of paper in his son's bookstore on West Ninth street for the signatures of volunteers.

William H. Vermehren, who now commands the Coffeyville company in the new Kansas State Guard, was the first to sign. Within a day or two a score of volunteers added their names. Among them were the young men who met in the furniture store earlier in the spring. From this small group of former guardsmen, the first and second lieutenants, first sergeant, and supply sergeant of the company were chosen.

An empty store building on West Ninth was pressed into service as a recruiting office. When the company was mustered into state service a few weeks later, it was given the letter "A" designation, although it was not the first company of the regiment to be sworn in. Somewhere behind the scenes, Colonel McCrum had pulled the right wires.

Edgar H. Dale, who was employed as an engineer on the Welland canal in Canada, returned to Coffeyville to become captain of the company. He had formerly been a lieutenant under McCrum in the Kansas National Guard. A gallant and accomplished soldier, Captain Dale was the most beloved of the four commanders under whom the company served during the war. He was killed in action in the Argonne in September, 1918.

His son, Edgar H. Dale II, about four years old at that time, was graduated from West Point in the class of 1938. Assigned to the Philippines, he was a captain of infantry under MacArthur when the Japanese attacked. He was cited for bravery on Bataan, where he was wounded and taken prisoner. Word was received in the fall of 1943 that he had died in a prison camp in Japan.

During the early summer the company was recruited to war strength. Once a week the volunteers drilled on the Plaza, across

which on a memorable morning in October, 1892, an enraged citizenry had poured lead into the Dalton gang, which tried to rob two banks at the same time.

Drilling was limited to facings and marching. Rifles were not issued until after the company arrived at Camp Doniphan, where it trained, and where for several weeks the boys walked guard with sticks across their shoulders.

At that time few of the volunteers knew anything about the ways of the army. When it was announced one evening that the next drill would be held at a park a mile or two from the Plaza, a new recruit asked, "How are we going to get there?" Like many youths raised in a city, he had forgotten what legs are for.

The company was mustered into federal service on August 5. Shortly afterward, an issue of clothing was received. The assortment of sizes, however, was inadequate, and many of the members failed to get their full allowance. The shortage was general throughout the army and was not wholly relieved until the following spring. Some members of the company went through the record cold winter of 1917-1918 without an overcoat.

There is a marked difference in style between the uniform of 1917 and that worn in the army today. The high choke collar of the blouse has given way to the comfortable lapel collar, and the close-fitting jodhpur type of breeches has been superseded by roomy long trousers. The stand-up collar is said to have been devised by the British to conceal the dirt on Tommy Atkins' shirt—if, by any chance, he happened to be wearing one. But they abandoned the preposterous fashion long before we did.

The smart garrison cap, so popular in the early days of the present war, was rarely seen at Camp Doniphan. The Kansans and Missourians wore broad-brimmed Stetsons, of which they were proud. It is a Western hat, worn on the frontier for years and still not uncommon in the Southwest. At the port of debarkation in France, the members of Company A reluctantly turned in their Stetsons, and accepted the dinky overseas cap with misgiving. In time, however, they developed a quiet pride in the diminutive headgear, which became the badge of the first A. E. F.

Laced canvas leggings were worn in the summer and fall of 1917. Later on, wrap spirals were issued. They, too, were of English origin. Before the spirals became government issue, they were worn surreptitiously by the Beau Brummels of the company, who bought them at army stores. The boys quickly mastered the trick of hand-

ling the long roll of cloth and became so adept they could wrap a neat spiral in their sleep, which, in fact, they often did—at reveille.

A good shoe is absolutely essential to infantry. Of a number of styles issued to the company, the hobnails were the best. They seemed heavy and clumsy at first, but proved an excellent marching shoe. In France, after the Armistice, the company received an issue of English army shoes. Black leather, too. But the straight last put so many of the boys on sick call that the army doctors ordered the issue turned in.

Company A left Coffeyville on August 25 for Camp Doniphan, in southwestern Oklahoma. Tacked alongside the coaches of the special train was a cloth banner bearing a legend in block letters: "144 STRONG AND EVERY MAN A VOLUNTEER."

The members were proud of their status. The volunteer system had grave defects, no doubt, but it fostered an esprit de corps among the young and adventurous civilians who joined the colors of their own free will.

Months later their pride suffered a rude shock. While in camp on Long Island, just prior to going overseas, the company received an increment of draftees. One day some of the boys were ragging them with the favorite wheezes of that time, such as "Who left the door open?" or "When did you blow in?" One of the draftees stood as much as he could, then exploded. "The only reason you fellows enlisted," he shouted, "was to keep from being drafted!" The ragging dissolved in a gale of laughter and was never resumed.

Oddly enough, the original members of the company had been compelled to register for the draft on June 5, 1917, although they were then in the National Guard, though not in Federal service. For months this unjust treatment rankled. When draft questionnaires were received at Doniphan late in the fall, many of the members refused to make them out and threw them away. Later on, a rumor floated around that the recalcitrants had been posted as draft dodgers by their boards, but nothing came of it.

When Company A arrived at Doniphan, the camp was far from complete. The company had been sent on a month in advance of the regiment to prepare for its coming. At first, this was considered an honor. But after a week or two at day laborers' tasks of digging ditches, unloading hay, and the like, the boys had another name for it.

The comfortable barracks in the new army camps built during the present war have amazed the veterans of Company A. They

have a feeling that they were "born twenty years too soon." At Doniphan they lived in tents—floored tents, it is true, but tents, nevertheless, with all their discomfort.

During the fall, the Thirty-fifth division was organized by combining the Kansas and Missouri National Guards. The Fourth Missouri infantry was consolidated with the Third Kansas to form the 139th regiment. Nearly half the officers lost their commands. Among them was Captain Dale. He was later assigned to a company in the Second battalion of the regiment.

The companies were increased in size to about 250 men. The Missourians who joined the Kansans of Company A were from Tarkio. They already were seasoned soldiers, having been on the Mexican border the previous year with the National Guard.

The training in the infantry camps today is more practical and efficient than that which the company underwent at Camp Doniphan. During the first four months the training program was based on trench warfare as practiced on the Western Front. The boys spent weeks digging trenches to make an artilleryman's holiday. When finished, the carefully shaped traverses and smooth parapets were pulverized by high explosives. On the bayonet course—at the sharp commands of "In! Out! On guard!"—the boys lunged savagely at dummy Boches, but it is doubtful if any member of the division ever stuck a bayonet into a German. Trained from youth to throw baseball fashion, they wrenched their shoulders mastering the windmill style of lobbing hand grenades. Dummies, of course. They never handled live ones in this country.

In midwinter the army junked the trench-warfare program and reverted to the traditional American system of training for open warfare. The trench fighters unhooked their bayonets and tried out their Springfields on the rifle range. During the remaining months of their stay at Camp Doniphan they maneuvered to the commands of "Keep your intervals. Watch your distance. Don't close up."

In the second week of April, 1918, Company A entrained with its regiment for Camp Mills, near Hempstead, Long Island, where it remained about two weeks.

One night in the latter part of April the company ferried around the lower end of Manhattan and boarded the transport *Caronia*. Early in the morning the *Caronia* dropped slowly down the Hudson. Through open portholes the boys waved good-by to the Statue of

Liberty. The Great Adventure had begun. A day later the transport joined a convoy in the open Atlantic.

Before the war the *Caronia* was a Cunard liner on the Liverpool-Boston and New York run. After four years of war service it was refitted and converted to oil burning and later transferred to the London-New York run. In January, 1932, it was sold for scrapping to a British shipbreaking company, which in the following November resold it to Japanese shipbreakers—an ignoble fate for a noble ship.

The Atlantic crossing was cold and windy, with high seas running. To avoid submarines, the convoy was routed far to the north, reaching at one time the latitude of the southern tip of Greenland. Near the Scottish coast it turned southward into the Irish Sea. The *Caronia* docked at Liverpool on the morning of May 7. The Liverpool morning papers were commemorating the third anniversary of the sinking of the *Lusitania*.

Late in the afternoon the company entrained for southern England, where it went into quarantine. Thousands of Britons lined the streets of Liverpool through which the regiment marched to the railway station. Their rousing cheers were the last the regiment received until it returned to the United States a year later. In France the people were apathetic. They had suffered three years and a half of devastating war and had seen many soldiers.

After a short stay in quarantine, the company crossed the Channel—from Portsmouth to Le Havre—on the *Northwestern Miller*, a cattle boat. It was a night crossing, prolonged until the afternoon of the following day by a zig-zag course taken to avoid submarines. The boys bunked in the cattle stalls, pillowing their heads on their packs.

At Le Havre the company was billeted in a British camp on the high bluff overlooking the port. A day or two later the members were issued steel helmets and fitted with gas masks. Here they lost their Stetsons and, what hurt even more, their Springfields, which they exchanged for British Enfields. The division was being sent north to bolster a hard-pressed British line.

It was a time of great anxiety for the Allies. In halting two German attacks, the British army had been badly mauled. There was danger of a general debacle. The British casualties had been over 300,000. Facing the crisis, General Pershing went to General Foch, the Allied commander, and said: "All that we have are yours. Use

them as you wish." Nine American divisions were sent to the British area.

Late on a May afternoon, after a grueling hike from a way station in Picardy, where it detrained, Company A entered a small village in northern France. The boys pitched their pup tents in an orchard on the outskirts. After chow, they lay around, dog-tired. It was very quiet. As dusk approached, conversation lagged, and the boys became aware of a low rumbling sound. Instinctively, they looked at the sky. Not a cloud was in sight. What could it be? The answer came by intuition. It was the guns on the Western Front. Thirty or forty miles away was the war they had sought through twelve months of time and 4,000 miles of space.

The Kansans and Missourians did not get along very well with the British. "They did not like the British noncoms, or the British soldiers, or the British officers," said a division historian bluntly. "They conspicuously (*sic*) disliked the British rations, and they loathed tea for breakfast."

Their stay with the British, however, was short. When the Germans made their third great attack of the spring of 1918 on May 27, they struck in the direction of Paris, instead of the Channel. The British no longer needed the Americans, and the Thirty-fifth was transferred to a training area in eastern France.

It is not the purpose here to detail the humble part that Company A played in the war. Its contribution is inseparably bound up with that of the regiment and division. An itinerary must suffice.

During June and July the company trained in the peaceful valley of the upper Moselle. August was spent in the trenches in the Vosges mountains. It was a quiet sector, although the company came under fire for the first time on its way in.

The night of September 11-12 has not yet been forgotten by the veterans of Company A. In a drizzling rain, over muddy roads choked with artillery and ammunition wagons, the boys marched all night, only to be kept in reserve during the St. Mihiel offensive, which began at dawn.

A week later the company was moved to the Meuse-Argonne region. The boys rode in lorries, driven at breakneck speed by grinning Annamese, whose teeth were black from betel-nut chewing.

After the company came out of the Argonne, in which the division suffered such a staggering loss, the boys spent a short time in a rest camp. Then they went into the trenches south of Verdun, a

fairly quiet sector. Their most troublesome enemy was the rats, which, in search of food, would gnaw through a pack in no time.

The company was relieved four or five days before the Armistice. After several weeks of aimless wandering, it was billeted in Vignot, a village across the Meuse river from Commercy, where division headquarters was established.

There the company spent the winter of 1918-1919—drilling and maneuvering in the rain and snow. What for? No one knew. That is, no one but Til Bucher, the company cook. He came back from the rifle range one day covered with mud and hopping mad. "It's them damned Du Ponts," he raged. "They're the cause of this. We've got to shoot up all the powder they sold the government."

The veterans of Company A have a warm affection for the totally insignificant but typically French village of Vignot. It was there that the veterans' association was organized in the early spring of 1919. Hugh W. "Flash" Clark, who was elected secretary, has served through the greater part of the intervening years.

Christmas of 1918 was celebrated in all the villages of the Meuse valley where Kansans and Missourians were billeted. It was a great treat for the French children. They have no Christmas, no Santa Claus, no gifts. On Christmas Eve the boys of Company A hung up their army socks in the Y. M. C. A. hut. The children were puzzled and amused at the queer ways of the Americans. But on Christmas Day they crowded around, and the boys filled their outstretched hands with candy and nuts.

Nearly a decade later, W. Y. Morgan, a Kansas editor, who had been a Y. M. C. A. man with the division, traveled through the Meuse valley. He still commanded a smattering of war-time French, and talked with a group of French people who gathered about him at Sampigny, where he had been stationed. Their recollections of the American occupation were hazy until he asked them if they remembered the American Christmas—*Noel Amerique*, he translated. "That hit the bell," he wrote in a letter home, "for they broke into enthusiastic expressions and I was afraid the mayor was going to kiss me. I dodged in time." Several women in the group said they remembered the celebration, and a girl of seventeen said she and some other children had sung songs for the soldiers and received presents.

American soldiers were in France again last Christmas. There was a second *Noel Amerique*, and a new generation of French children were puzzled at the queer ways of the Americans. Puzzled and delighted.

Recent Additions to the Library

Compiled by HELEN M. McFARLAND, Librarian

IN ORDER that members of the Kansas State Historical Society and others interested in historical study may know the class of books we are receiving, a list is printed annually of the books accessioned in our specialized fields.

These books come to us from three sources, purchase, gift and exchange, and fall into the following classes: Books by Kansans and about Kansas; books on the West, including explorations, overland journeys and personal narratives; genealogy and local history; and books on the Indians of North America, United States history, biography and allied subjects which are classified as general. The out-of-state city directories received by the Historical Society are not included in this compilation.

We also 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, 1943, to September 30, 1944. Government and state official publications and some books of a general nature are not included. The total number of books accessioned appears in the report of the secretary in the February issue of the *Quarterly*.

KANSAS

Aircrafter. Wichita, Cessna Employees' Club, 1941, 1942. 2 Vols.

ALLEN, ERROLL V., *Incidents of Homestead Days in North Central Kansas*. Mimeographed. 20p.

ARCHER, LAIRD, *Balkan Journal*. New York, W. W. Norton and Company, Inc. [c1944]. 254p.

BECKMAN, PETER, *The Catholic Church on the Kansas Frontier, 1850-1877*. Washington, D. C., The Catholic University of America, 1943. 168p.

BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB, INC., *William Allen White: In Memoriam*. N. p. [1944]. [20]p.

BURTSCHER, WILLIAM JOHN, *I Wrote a Journal; a Book of Queer Things That Happened and Were Thought of in a Second-Hand Store*. Los Angeles, Wetzel Publishing Company, Inc. [c1940]. 275p.

———, *Man Afoot; He Walked a Lot, Saw a Lot, and Wrote a Few Essays and Things*. Los Angeles, Wetzel Publishing Company, Inc. [c1941]. 239p.

CALVERT, MRS. MAUDE (RICHMAN), and LEILA BUNCE SMITH, *Advanced Course in Home Making*. Atlanta, Turner E. Smith and Company [c1939]. 569p.

———, *Advanced Course in Home Making Workbook*. Atlanta, Turner E. Smith and Company [c1939]. 271p.

- , *First Course in Home Making*. Atlanta, Turner E. Smith and Company [c1941]. 555p.
- , *The New First Course in Home Making Workbook*. Atlanta, Turner E. Smith and Company [c1938]. 187p.
- CARPENTER, FRANK M., *The Lower Permian Insects of Kansas*. Parts 7-9. (*Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. 70, No. 4; Vol. 73, No. 3; Vol. 75, No. 2.)
- CASEMENT, DAN DILLON, *The Abbreviated Autobiography of a Joyous Pagan*. Manhattan, n. p., 1944. 74p.
- COLEMAN LAMP AND STOVE COMPANY, WICHITA, *How Ski-Troopers Get Hot Meals at "50-Below" and Other "Inside" War Stories*. No impr. [20]p.
- COLIN, GALEN C., *Pistol Pard*s. New York, Phoenix Press [c1943]. 255p.
- CRAVEN, THOMAS, ed., *Cartoon Cavalcade*. New York, Simon and Schuster [c1943]. 456p.
- , *The Story of Painting, From Cave Pictures to Modern Art*. New York, Simon and Schuster, 1943. 253p.
- CROSS, ROY, *From a Chemist's Diary*. [Kansas City, Mo., Kansas City Testing Laboratory, c1943.] 315p.
- , *Handbook of Petroleum, Asphalt and Natural Gas*. . . . Kansas City, Mo., Kansas City Testing Laboratory, 1931. 864p.
- DAVIS, DON E., *An Investigation of the Governmental Agencies of the State of Kansas*. Topeka, Kansas State Printing Plant, 1943. 95p. (Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia, *Studies in Education*, No. 27.)
- DICKINSON, THOMAS A., *Aircraft Construction Handbook*. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1943. 237p.
- DUNCAN, CLARK, *Light on a Hill*. Grand Rapids, Mich., Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1943. 168p.
- FARQUHAR, FRANCIS P., *Jedediah Smith and the First Crossing of the Sierra Nevada*. (Reprinted from the *Sierra Club Bulletin*, Vol. 28, No. 3, June, 1943.) [17]p.
- FINN, FRANCIS JAMES, *Harry Dee; or, Making It Out*. New York, Benziger Brothers, Inc. [c1892]. 284p.
- , *Percy Wynn; or, Making a Boy of Him*. New York, Benziger Brothers, Inc. [1891]. 253p.
- , *Tom Playfair; or, Making a Start*. New York, Benziger Brothers, Inc. [c1891]. 251p.
- FLINT, LEON NELSON, *The Editorial, With Case Material and Assignments*. 2d ed. New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1928. 319p.
- HARMS, JOHN FOTH, *Geschichte der Mennoniten Brüdergemeinde*. Hillsboro, Mennonite Brethren Publishing House, n. d. 342p.
- HART, JOHN WESLEY, *History of Twenty-Six Short Years of the Life of George Thomas Hart*. Topeka, n. p., 1943. 111p.
- HAWLEY, CHARLES ARTHUR, *History of the First Presbyterian Church of Atchison, Kansas, 1858-1943*. N. p. [1944]. 12p.
- HAYS, FIRST METHODIST CHURCH, *Sixty-Sixth Anniversary, 1878-1944*. No impr. [12]p.
- HEMBLING, MRS. NINA (CLARK), *Little Candles Burning*. N. p., Skylines Press, 1943. 23p.

- , *The Seven Lamps of Worship, a Candle-Lighting Service*. Boston, Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, n. d. 7p.
- HIBBARD, CLAUDE WILLIAM, and others, *Reconnaissance of Pleistocene Deposits in North-Central Kansas*. Lawrence, University of Kansas [1944]. 28p. (State Geological Survey of Kansas, *Bulletin*, No. 52, Part 1.)
- HIGBEE, ALMA ROBISON, *Songs for Mountain Men*. Dallas, Tex., The Kaleidograph Press [c1943]. 59p.
- HUGHES, LANGSTON, *Freedom's Plow*. New York, Musette Publishers [c1943]. 14p.
- HUTCHINSON, ORDINANCES, *Revised Ordinances, 1932*. Hutchinson, The Wholesaler Printing Company, 1932. 295p.
- [*In Memoriam: Osmon Grant Markham, August 21, 1865-April 18, 1943*.] No impr. 31p.
- JOHNSON COUNTY OLD SETTLERS ASSOCIATION, *Early Days in Johnson County, a Symposium Given in Connection With the 45th Reunion of the Johnson County Old Settlers Association Held at Olathe, Kansas, on Saturday, September 5, 1942*. Typed. 29p.
- KANSAS AUTHORS CLUB, *1944 Year Book*. Topeka, The Service Print Shop, 1944. 96p.
- KANSAS AUTHORS CLUB, THIRD DISTRICT, [*Prairie Treasures*] *May, 1943, Anthology*. 2d ed. Coffeyville, *The Journal Press*, 1943. 45p.
- KANSAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, RESEARCH DEPARTMENT, *Filing and Publication of Administrative Regulations*. (*Publication*, No. 120, November, 1943.) Mimeographed. 34p.
- , *Judicial Reapportionment and Salaries and Retirement of Judges*. (*Publication*, No. 127, June, 1944.) Mimeographed. [34]p.
- KANSAS STATE BRAND COMMISSIONER, *1943 Brand Book of the State of Kansas, Showing All State Recorded Brands of Cattle, Horses, Mules and Sheep*. Topeka, Kansas State Printing Plant, 1943. 421p.
- KRUGG, ALBERT ARTHUR, *Facts and Fancies*. Coffeyville, C. C. Drake, 1944. 84p.
- LANHAM, CBORA BELL, *Only a Barb*. [Topeka, Kelley Printing Company, c1914.] 18p.
- LEE, WALLACE, *The Stratigraphy and Structural Development of the Forest City Basin in Kansas*. Lawrence, University of Kansas Press, 1943. 142p. (State Geological Survey of Kansas, *Bulletin*, No. 51.)
- LINDQUIST, GUSTAVUS ELMER EMANUEL, *Bland Nordamerikas Indianer* . . . Uppsala, J. A. Lindblads Förlag [1926]. 238p.
- , *Early Work Among the Indians; One Hundred and Fifty Years of Service Among Native Americans*. (Reprinted from *The Missionary Review of the World*, November, 1937.) 8p.
- , *The Government's New Indian Policy; Proposed Revival of Tribalism, Seen From the Missionary Angle*. (Reprinted from *The Missionary Review of the World*, n. d.) [3]p.
- , and Edith M. Dabb, *Guides Along New Indian Trails*. New York, The Joint Committee on Indian Missions of the Home Missions Council and Council of Women for Home Missions [1921]. Folder.

- , *Handbook for Missionary Workers Among the American Indians*. New York, Home Missions Council [c1932]. 87p.
- , *The History of White Expansion in the United States*. No impr. [10]p.
- , *Indian Fellowship Conferences*. New York, National Fellowship of Indian Workers, 1938. 6p.
- , *The Indian Fights for Democracy*. New York, National Fellowship of Indian Workers, 1942. 12p.
- , *The Indian in American Life*. New York, Friendship Press [c1944]. 180p.
- , and ARTHUR C. PARKER, *The Indians of New York State*. New York, Home Missions Council, n. d. 20p.
- , *The Land of Hiawatha*. (Reprinted from the *Southern Workman*, April, 1928.) 11p.
- , *The New Frontiers of Youth; a Challenge to Youth and Achievement*. (Reprinted from *The Haskell Indian Institute Y. M. C. A. Bulletin*.) 16p.
- , *The Place of Home Missions in the Post-War World*. New York, National Fellowship of Indian Workers, 1943. 12p.
- , *Preliminary Report on Peyote*. No impr. 10p.
- , *Receding Frontiers in the Indian Country*. (Reprinted from the *Southern Workman*, March, 1931.) 8p.
- LINDSEY, SARAH, *Selections From Memorandum Made by Sarah Lindsey Whilst Accompanying Her Husband, Robert Lindsey, on a Religious Visit to Friends and Others in the Western Hemisphere in 1858*. Typed. 22p.
- MCCLINTOCK, MARSHALL, *Airplanes and How They Fly . . .* New York, Frederick A. Stokes Company [c1943]. 94p.
- McFARLAND, EARL, *Catalogue of the Ordnance Museum United States Military Academy*. West Point, N. Y., United States Military Academy Printing Office, 1929. 266p.
- , *Textbook of Ordnance and Gunnery*. New York, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1929. 625p.
- McFARLAND, JOHN THOMAS, *Poems*. New York, The Methodist Book Concern [c1914]. 75p.
- MACKINNON, HECTOR DONALD, JR., *Aircraft Production; Planning and Control*. New York, Pitman Publishing Corporation [c1943]. 253p.
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Bypaths of Kansas History

ABOLITIONISTS VS. PROSLAVERYITES

From the *Kansas Constitutionalist*, Doniphan, October 14, 1857.

If the reports from other places in this county be true, Doniphan was not the only place where the ferry boats were cut loose or damaged so that they could not run on the day of the election. The sneaking abolitionists are competent to do any dirty and villainous deed. The trifling and dishonorable act of sending every boat adrift was in keeping with their whole career in Kansas. Jim Lane concocts meanness and his white slaves execute his orders.

LOVE FOR THE FLAG

From the *Freedom's Champion*, Atchison, June 8, 1861.

On Tuesday morning last a man came in town with a wagon for Relief, from the Big Blue and when on the bridge where Seventh street crosses Commercial he observed the Stars and Stripes waving over the *Champion* office, when he took off his hat and carried it in his hand until he passed the office. He remarked to a man as he was passing that it was the first American flag he had seen for eighteen months, and he considered it impolite to pass without taking off his hat.

STAGE ROBBERY ON THE FLORENCE-EL DORADO LINE

From *The Marion County Record*, Marion, September 19, 1874.

On last Monday morning, the stage which runs regularly between Florence and Eldorado, was robbed about fourteen miles south of the former place, by two armed men unknown to the driver. There were no passengers aboard, and the driver alone was powerless to resist. The robbers cut open both the mail and paper sacks, and then carried them with their contents away, except a few papers which they scattered about the coach, doubtless to lighten the burden. There were no registered letters in the mail, and hence, if the robbers got any booty worth their trouble, it must have been in private letters.

This is the first instance of the kind which has occurred in this section of the state, and it naturally creates considerable excitement. The robbers came from the west, and left in a south-easterly direction.

RECKLESS DRIVING ON KANSAS AVENUE, TOPEKA

From *The Commonwealth*, Topeka, July 29, 1876.

"Henry Williams" and "Samuel Williams," two speedy gentlemen of this city "saw" Judge Holmes to the amount of \$5.50 each, yesterday, for letting out their nags more rapidly on Kansas avenue than the safety of pedestrians and a certain ordinance of the city, would guarantee.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

A series of articles entitled "Sunday Biography" is appearing in the Manhattan *Mercury-Chronicle*. Prominent Riley county citizens who have been featured include: S. A. Bardwell, June 11, 1944; Michael F. Ahearn, June 18; Dan Casement, June 25; Ambrose M. Johnston, July 2; Rt. Rev. Msgr. A. J. Luckey, July 9; Robert K. Nabours, July 23; Dr. J. D. Colt, Sr., July 30; Dr. A. E. Kirk, August 6; Dean Edwin Lee Holton, August 13; C. O. Swanson, August 20; Walter Marsh, August 27; Robert J. Barnett, September 3; Charles Hughes, September 10; Dean Leland Everett Call, September 17; Dr. Drury H. Fisher, September 24; J. O. Hunt, October 1; Dr. Edwin C. Miller, October 8; Dr. C. W. McCampbell, October 22; Dean Ralph R. Dykstra, October 29; Ada Rice, November 5; Lowell Edwin Conrad, November 12; Mrs. J. L. Coons, November 19; Dr. Ralph R. Price, November 26; Judge C. A. Kimball, December 3; Werner Jess Blanchard, December 10; George Henry Failyer, December 17; Harry W. Brewer, December 24; Clara Spilman, December 31; J. David Arnold, January 7, 1945; J. E. Edgerton, January 14; Emma Hyde, January 21; Fred Boone, January 28; Dr. W. H. Clarkson, February 4; Dr. Julius T. Willard, February 11; Alvin R. Springer, February 18; Mrs. Lucile Rust, February 25; F. R. Moore, March 4; Myrtle Dougherty, March 11; Mrs. Gertrude Doud Tetrick, March 18, and R. H. Brown, March 25.

El Dorado and Butler county history was reviewed in the thirty-six page, twenty-fifth anniversary edition of the El Dorado *Times*, December 1, 1944. The *Times* was established late in November, 1919, through the merger of the El Dorado *Republican* and *The Walnut Valley Times*. Rolla A. Clymer, present editor, and Burns Hegler were the editors of the new paper first issued December 1, 1919.

A story of an Indian attack on United States surveyors on the Cimarron river, Indian territory, in 1873, was told by Bert Moore in a four-column, illustrated article in the Arkansas City *Tribune*, February 1, 1945.

Early Kansas history is recalled by George J. Remsburg, of Porterville, Cal., in articles published from time to time in the Leavenworth *Times*.

Kansas Historical Notes

Dr. R. R. Price, president of the Kansas State Historical Society and head of the history department of Kansas State College, was the featured speaker on the Kansas day program of the Riley County Historical Society at Manhattan January 27, 1945. At the meeting the society elected Mrs. Caroline Abbott Smith to fill a vacancy on its board of directors.

The annual dinner meeting of the Native Sons and Daughters of Kansas which was to have been held in Topeka January 28, 1945, was cancelled because of the heavy strain on transportation and hotels due to the war. New officers who have been announced include: Native Sons—Judge Homer Hoch, Topeka, president; Frank Haucke, Council Grove, vice-president; Col. Will Zurbucken, Topeka, secretary. Native Daughters—Mrs. W. H. von der Heiden, Newton, president; Mrs. John C. Nelson, Topeka, vice-president; Mrs. C. I. Moyer, Severance, secretary. The retiring presidents were: Native Sons, Nyle H. Miller, Topeka; Native Daughters, Mrs. F. S. Hawes, Russell.

Dan Dillon Casement, the Abbreviated Autobiography of a Joyous Pagan, is the title of an interesting 74-page booklet issued during the summer of 1944. Mr. Casement resides at Juniata farm near Manhattan.

Washington Irving's journals of his tour in Missouri, present Kansas, Oklahoma and Arkansas, in 1832, edited and annotated by John Francis McDermott of Washington University, St. Louis, have recently been published under the title *The Western Journals of Washington Irving* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1944). McDermott's careful research shows that Irving traveled through the present Kansas counties of Bourbon, Crawford, Neosho and Labette on October 2-5, 1832.

A twenty-page article, "Eisenhower Family in America," compiled by Ross Keelye Cook and Mrs. Claire Robison Shirk, was featured in the April, 1945, issue of *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*. Photographs of Dwight D. Eisenhower as a West Point cadet, and the Eisenhower family on the porch of their home in Abilene in 1926, accompanied the genealogy.



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THE COVER

General of the Armies Dwight David Eisenhower who said "the proudest thing I can claim is that I am from Abilene." The portrait is a signal corps photo, received through the courtesy of the War Department and the Union Pacific Railroad Company

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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General Eisenhower of Kansas

IN June, 1945, Dwight David Eisenhower, supreme commander of the allied armies in Europe, returned to the United States for the first time after the victory in Europe. As the executive who welded more than five million men and women into a unified force, and as a great general, he had received world acclaim. In London, Paris, Washington, New York, West Point and Kansas City the highest honors were bestowed upon him. On the 21st he came home for a visit with members of his family, including his mother and four brothers. He stayed in Abilene two days and was welcomed in a celebration that demonstrated the pride and affection of his fellow Kansans.

On June 22 Abilene and Dickinson county held an old-fashioned, non-military, rural parade, featuring scenes and incidents of the Abilene Eisenhower had known as a boy. In the afternoon he spoke in a park which has been named for him.

The next day General Eisenhower visited with his family and that evening he returned East for a brief vacation. In July he returned to Europe, where on July 14 he dissolved supreme headquarters of the allied expeditionary force, and resumed his duties as supreme commander of the American sector and American representative on the allied control commission for Germany.

EXCERPTS FROM RECENT SPEECHES

Winston Churchill has described General Eisenhower as a "creative, constructive and combining genius." No soldier ever returned from war in greater glory or with the gratitude of so many lands and peoples. Unlike many heroes of history, his conduct since V-E day has added to his stature. Surrounded by adulation, his speeches have been notable for humility and common sense, as the following extracts show. Only a few of these speeches were set addresses. Most were extemporaneous, although nearly all were broadcast and all were fully reported.

General Eisenhower's order of the day, May 8:

The crusade on which we embarked in the early summer of 1944 has reached its glorious conclusion. It is my especial privilege, in the name of all nations represented in this theater of war, to commend each of you for the valiant performance of duty.

Though these words are feeble, they come from the bottom of a heart overflowing with pride in your loyal service and admiration for you as warriors. Your accomplishments at sea, in the air, on the ground and in the field of supply have astonished the world.

Even before the final week of the conflict you had put 5,000,000 of the enemy permanently out of the war. You have taken in stride military tasks so difficult as to be classed by many doubters as impossible. You have confused, defeated and destroyed your savagely fighting foe. On the road to victory you have endured every discomfort and privation and have surmounted every obstacle ingenuity and desperation could throw in your path. You did not pause until our front was firmly joined up with the great Red army coming from the east and other allied forces coming from the south.

Full victory in Europe has been attained. Working and fighting together in single and indestructible partnership you have achieved a perfection in the unification of air, ground and naval power that will stand as a model in our time.

The route you have traveled through hundreds of miles is marked by the graves of former comrades. From them have been exacted the ultimate sacrifice. The blood of many nations—American, British, Canadian, French, Polish and others—has helped to gain the victory. Each of the fallen died as a member of a team to which you belong, bound together by a common love of liberty and a refusal to submit to enslavement. No monument of stone, no memorial of whatever magnitude could so well express our respect and veneration for their sacrifice as would the perpetuation of the spirit of comradeship in which they died.

As we celebrate victory in Europe let us remind ourselves that our common problems of the immediate and distant future can be best solved in the same conceptions of coöperation and devotion to the cause of human freedom as have made this expeditionary force such a mighty engine of righteous destruction. Let us have no part in the profitless quarrels in which other men will inevitably engage as to what country and what service won the European war.

Every man and every woman of every nation here represented has served according to his or her ability and efforts and each has contributed to the outcome. This we shall remember and in doing so we shall be revering each honored grave and be sending comfort to the loved ones of comrades who could not live to see this day.¹

From allied headquarters in Reims, May 8:

. . . Merely to name my own present and former principal subordinates in this theater is to present a picture of the utmost in loyalty, skill, selflessness and efficiency. The United Nations will gratefully remember Tedder, Bradley, Montgomery, Ramsey, Spaatz, DeLattre, and countless others.

1. *New York Times*, "Late City Edition," May 9, 1945, p. 10.

But all these agree with me in the selection of a truly heroic man of this war. He is GI Joe and his counterpart in the air, the navy and the merchant marine of every one of the United Nations. He has surmounted the dangers of U-boat infested seas, of bitter battles in the air, of desperate charges into defended beaches, of tedious, dangerous fighting against the ultimate in fortified zones. He has uncomplainingly endured cold, mud, fatigue. His companion has been danger, and death has trailed his footsteps. He and his platoon and company leaders have given to us a record of gallantry, loyalty, devotion to duty and patient endurance that will warm our hearts for as long as those qualities excite our admiration.

So history's mightiest machine of conquest has been utterly destroyed. The deliberate design of brutal, worldwide rape by the German nation, absorbed from the diseased brain of Hitler, has met the fate decreed for it by outraged justice. . . .

Some of us will stay here to police the areas of the nation that we have conquered, so that systems of justice and of order may prevail. Some will be called upon to participate in the Pacific war, but some—and I trust in ever-increasing numbers—will soon experience the joy of returning home. I speak for the more than three million Americans in this theater in saying that when we are so fortunate as to come back to you, there need be no welcoming parades, no special celebrations. All we ask is to come back into the warmth of the hearts we left behind and resume once more pursuits of peace, under our own American perceptions of liberty and of right, in which our beloved country has always dwelt.²

At Guildhall in London, June 12, after being made an honorary citizen of the city:

The high sense of distinction I feel in receiving this great honor from the city of London is inescapably mingled with feelings of profound sadness. All of us must always regret that your great country and mine were ever faced with the tragic situation that compelled the appointment of an allied commander in chief, the capacity in which I have just been so extravagantly commended.

Humility must always be the portion of any man who receives acclaim earned in the blood of his followers and the sacrifices of his friends.

Conceivably a commander may have been professionally superior. He may have given everything of his heart and mind to meet the spiritual and physical needs of his comrades. He may have written a chapter that will glow forever in the pages of military history.

Still, even such a man—if he existed—would sadly face the facts that his honors cannot hide in his memories the crosses marking the resting places of the dead. They cannot soothe the anguish of the widow or the orphan whose husband or father will not return.

The only attitude in which a commander may with satisfaction receive the tributes of his friends is in the humble acknowledgment that no matter how unworthy he may be his position is the symbol of great human forces that have labored arduously and successfully for a righteous cause. Unless he feels

2. *Ibid.*; *From D-Day Through Victory in Europe* (New York, Columbia Broadcasting System, 1945), pp. 249-250.

this symbolism and this rightness in what he has tried to do, then he is disregardful of courage, fortitude and devotion of the vast multitudes he has been honored to command. If all allied men and women that have served with me in this war can only know that it is they whom this august body is really honoring today, then indeed I will be content.

This feeling of humility cannot erase, of course, my great pride in being tendered the freedom of London. I am not a native of this land. I come from the very heart of America. In the superficial aspects by which we ordinarily recognize family relationships, the town where I was born and the one where I was reared are far separated from this great city. Abilene, Kan., and Denison, Tex., would together equal in size possibly one five-hundredth of a part of great London.

By your standards those towns are young, without your aged traditions that carry the roots of London back into the uncertainties of unrecorded history. To those people I am proud to belong.

But I find myself today 5,000 miles from that countryside, the honored guest of a city whose name stands for grandeur and size throughout the world. Hardly would it seem possible for the London council to have gone farther afield to find a man to honor with its priceless gift of token citizenship.

Yet kinship among nations is not determined in such measurements as proximity of size and age. Rather we should turn to those inner things—call them what you will—I mean those intangibles that are the real treasures free men possess.

To preserve his freedom of worship, his equality before law, his liberty to speak and act as he sees fit, subject only to provisions that he trespass not upon similar rights of others—a Londoner will fight. So will a citizen of Abilene.

When we consider these things, then the valley of the Thames draws closer to the farms of Kansas and the plains of Texas. To my mind it is clear that when two peoples will face the tragedies of war to defend the same spiritual values, the same treasured rights, then in the deepest sense those two are truly related. So even as I proclaim my undying Americanism, I am bold enough and exceedingly proud to claim the basis of kinship to you of London.

And what man who has followed the history of this war could fail to experience an inspiration from the example of this city?

When the British Empire stood—alone but unconquered, almost naked but unafraid—to deny the Hitler hordes, it was on this devoted city that the first terroristic blows were launched.

Five years and eight months of war, much of it on the actual battle line, blitzes big and little, flying V-bombs—all of them you took in your stride. You worked, and from your needed efforts you would not be deterred. You carried on, and from your midst arose no cry for mercy, no wail of defeat. The Battle of Britain will take its place as another of your deathless traditions. And your faith and endurance have finally been rewarded.

You had been more than two years in war when Americans in numbers began swarming into your country. Most were mentally unprepared for the realities of war—especially as waged by the Nazis. Others believed that the tales of British sacrifice had been exaggerated. Still others failed to recognize the difficulties of the task ahead.



—Press Association Photo

General Eisenhower Signals a Double V for Victory As He Rides in the Parade To the Liberty Memorial in Kansas City, Mo.



At Topeka, June 21, the General Steps Down From His Special Train To Greet Some of the War Wounded From Winter General Hospital.

All such doubts, questions and complacencies could not endure a single casual tour through your scarred streets and avenues. With awe our men gazed upon the empty spaces where once had stood buildings erected by the toil and sweat of peaceful folk. Our eyes rounded as we saw your women, serving quietly and efficiently in almost every kind of war effort, even with flak batteries. We became accustomed to the warning sirens which seemed to compel from the native Londoner not even a single hurried step. Gradually we drew closer together until we became true partners in war.

In London my associates and I planned two great expeditions—that to invade the Mediterranean and later that to cross the channel. London's hospitality to the Americans, her good-humored acceptance of the added inconvenience we brought, her example of fortitude and quiet confidence in the final outcome—all these helped to make the supreme headquarters of the two allied expeditions the smooth-working organizations they became.

They were composed of chosen representatives of two proud and independent peoples, each noted for its initiative and for its satisfaction with its own customs, manners and methods. Many feared that those representatives could never combine together in an efficient fashion to solve the complex problems presented by modern war.

I hope you believe we proved the doubters wrong. And, moreover, I hold that we proved this point not only for war—we proved it can always be done by our two peoples, provided only that both show the same good-will, the same forbearance, the same objective attitude that the British and Americans so amply demonstrated in the nearly three years of bitter campaigning.

No man could alone have brought about this result. Had I possessed the military skill of a Marlborough, the wisdom of Solomon, the understanding of Lincoln, I still would have been helpless without the loyalty, vision and generosity of thousands upon thousands of British and Americans.

Some of them were my companions in the high command. Many were enlisted men and junior officers carrying the fierce brunt of battle, and many others were back in the United States and here in Great Britain in London.

Moreover, back of us always our great national war leaders and their civil and military staffs that supported and encouraged us through every trial, every test. The whole was one great team. I know that on this special occasion 3,000,000 American men and women serving in the allied expeditionary force would want me to pay a tribute of admiration, respect and affection to their British comrades of this war.

My most cherished hope is that after Japan joins the Nazis in utter defeat, neither my country nor yours need ever again summon its sons and daughters from their peaceful pursuits to face the tragedies of battle. But—a fact important for both of us to remember—neither London nor Abilene, sisters under the skin, will sell her birthright for physical safety, her liberty for mere existence.

No petty differences in the world of trade, traditions or national pride should ever blind us to our identities in priceless values.

If we keep our eyes on this guidepost, then no difficulties along our path of mutual coöperation can ever be insurmountable. Moreover, when this truth has permeated to the remotest hamlet and heart of all peoples, then indeed

may we beat our swords into plowshares and all nations can enjoy the fruitfulness of the earth.

My Lord Mayor, I thank you once again for an honor to me and to the American forces that will remain one of the proudest in my memories.³

In Paris, June 14:

. . . In one way or another America owes a debt of sentiment or some other kind of debt to every nation in Europe. There is the blood of every nation of Europe in America. There may have been differences—you [to Gen. Charles de Gaulle] and I have had some. But let us bring our troubles to each other frankly and face them together. . . .

I hope that America will be friendly with every nation in Europe. If ever I have to be hanged, I hope that it will be for being too friendly.⁴

Before a joint session of the Congress of the United States in Washington, June 18:

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, and Members of Congress, Ladies and Gentlemen:

. . . My imagination cannot picture a more dramatic moment than this in the life of an American. I stand before the elected federal lawmakers of our great Republic, the very core of our political life and a symbol of those things we call the American heritage. To preserve that heritage, more than three million of our citizens, at your behest, have faced resolutely every terror the ruthless Nazi could devise. I come before you as the representative—the commander—of those three million American men and women, to whom you desire to pay America's tribute for military victory. In humble realization that they, who earned your commendation, should properly be here to receive it, I am nevertheless proud and honored to be your agent in conveying it to them. . . .

I have seen the American proved on battlegrounds of America and Europe over which armies have been fighting for 2,000 years of recorded history. None of those battlefields has seen a more worthy soldier than the trained American. . . .

The American fighting man has never failed to recognize his dependence upon you at home. . . . I hope you realize that all you have done for your soldiers has been truly appreciated. . . .

The battlefield and the home front; together we have found the victory! But even the banners of triumph cannot hide from our sight the sacrifices in which victory has been bought. The hard task of a commander is to send men into battle knowing some of them—often many—must be killed or wounded in order that necessary missions may be achieved.

It is a soul-killing task! My sorrow is not only for the fine young lives lost or broken, but it is equally for the parents, the wives and the friends who have been bereaved. The price they pay is possibly the greatest.

The blackness of their grief can be relieved only by the faith that all this shall not happen again!

Because I feel this so deeply I hope you will let me attempt to express a thought that I believe is today imbedded deep in the hearts of all fighting

3. *New York Times*, June 13, 1945, p. 4.

4. *Ibid.*, June 15, 1945, p. 5.

men. It is this: The soldier knows how grim and black was the outlook for the allies in 1941 and 1942. He is fully aware of the magnificent way the United Nations responded to the threat. To his mind the problems of peace can be no more difficult than the one you had to solve more than three years ago, and which, in one battle area, has now been brought to a successful conclusion. He knows that in war the threat of separate annihilation tends to hold allies together; he hopes we can find peace a nobler incentive to produce the same unity.

He passionately believes that, with the same determination, the same optimistic resolution and the same mutual consideration among allies that marshaled in Europe forces capable of crushing what had been the greatest war machine of history, the problems of peace can and must be met.

He sees the United Nations strong but considerate; humane and understanding leaders in the world to preserve the peace he is winning.

The genius and power of America have, with her allies, eliminated one menace to our country's freedom—even her very existence. Still another remains to be crushed in the Pacific before peace will be restored.

The American men and women I have been so honored to command, would, I know, say this to you today: In our minds and hearts there is no slightest doubt that our people's spirit of determination, which has buoyed us up and driven us forward in Europe, will continue to fire this nation through the ordeals of battle yet to come. Though we dream of return to our loved ones, we are ready, as we have always been, to do our duty to our country, no matter what it may be. . . .⁵

At the New York City Hall, June 19, after being made an honorary citizen of the city:

Mr. Mayor and New Yorkers:

As my first act as a citizen of the City of New York I want to issue to the mayor a word of warning. New York simply cannot do this to a Kansas farmer boy and keep its reputation for sophistication. . . .

There is another thing, Mr. Mayor, that impressed me very much as you and I rode down through the cheering throngs this morning: First, the reason for the cheering—it was not because one individual, one American, came back from war; it is rejoicing that a nasty job is done—one nasty job is finished. The Nazi has been placed where he won't harm us for a little while, anyway. How much better would it have been had there been no cause for rejoicing, had there been no war. . . .

At a dinner in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City, June 19:

Mr. Mayor, Governor Dewey, Ladies and Gentlemen:

To say that the hearts of myself and my comrades that have come with me from Europe are stirred by the reception from New York is the rankest kind of understatement.

We have beheld scenes today that we didn't know were possible. Time and again in the tour of the city with the mayor I felt, and I know that my com-

5. *Congressional Record*, Washington, June 18, 1945, pp. 6352-6354; *New York Times*, June 19, 1945, p. 4.

rades felt, that we would almost have to stop. This wasn't the kind of thing to which we were accustomed. We were simple soldiers coming home from the wars merely seeking the warmth again of America after what we had been through in Europe.

But the emotion stirred by seeing people that would ordinarily be termed strangers showing to us the warrants of friendship in such an unmistakable way as to fill our hearts to overflowing and practically to bring tears to our eyes. It was something that will be an experience to remember always.

Before I go further I want to say one thing in defense of the regular officer of the army brought to my mind by the wonderful commendation given to me personally between the introductory remarks.

There is no greater pacifist than the regular officer.

Any man who is forced to turn his attention to the horrors of the battlefield, to the grotesque shapes that are left there for the burying squads—he doesn't want war. He never wants it. He is an agent of his government to do a necessary and very desperate task. And it is to the welfare of the United States always to see that they have people studying those things and ready in emergency to do what the regular officer has done in this war, namely, furnish the technical leadership for the tactical, applied tactical power of a whole nation.

These tributes that were brought to me and to my comrades brought a curious idea to my head—I don't mean curious, I mean it was one I hadn't thought of before. It was this: Why shouldn't America as represented by New York—and I thoroughly agree that New York is representative of America—why shouldn't New York be celebrating what it has done? Don't ever let any one sell short what America has done in this war. Not only has it been the arsenal of democracy, it has furnished some of the best fighting divisions, the best air forces and the best navy that this war has produced.

America's record in production and on the battle line is one that will fill our histories forever, and today you should turn your thoughts to what you have done, and I mean you, America. And remember that you can do it because self-confidence is one of the great things that brings greater achievements still in the future.

We are still at war. I hope that the rejoicing in which we indulge because of the crushing of the Nazi will never blind us to the task we still have in the Pacific. The reason I bring this up at this moment is this—it is to your interest always to remember it.

With the enormous quota that you have furnished for the battle lines you have a tremendous interest in seeing that losses are minimized. Losses are minimized by producing the most powerful machine that you can possibly crowd into a given area of ground to defeat the enemy. If you apply overwhelming force losses for your side are negligible.

That is what you must do in the Pacific—apply the maximum force that America is capable of developing and you will win quickly and with the least losses. One of the things that you must remember particularly is production, because here represented in many of its forms, financial, industrial, economic, New York is the heart of America. Production must be kept up because when a bomb can do the work let us not spend an American life for it.

But this connection of yours with the battle line is no impersonal thing.



—Acme Photo

General Eisenhower Greets His Mother at the Kansas City Municipal Airport, June 21, While His Brother Milton Looks On.



—Press Association Photo

General and Mrs. Eisenhower Seated in the Abilene Park Which Has Been Named for Him. He Spoke There June 22.

Your quotas on the battle line prevent any such idea creeping into our thinking. And you can do more than merely your share in producing the arms and equipment that save American lives.

There is a spiritual side to the soldier's life that is often starved. I mean his opportunities for recreation for feeling close to his home folks. One of the ways that that can be helped is through the entertainment sponsored by the USO. It is something that deserves your support just exactly as does the Red Cross. They have done magnificent work and sent great artists to the field that have made the soldier feel he was back on Broadway almost.

With your energy sustained at the full our soldiers fighting in the Pacific—and by soldiers I mean all fighting service, not merely land armies—the victory in Japan is certain. With overwhelming force it will come all the more speedily. When that job is done there will be other problems facing you. Two of them I want to mention because they are related. They are jobs for men and peace in the world.

Prosperous nations are not war hungry, but a hungry nation will always seek war if it has to in desperation.

We cannot be isolated from the world.

From New York to my headquarters in Frankfort it is exactly sixteen hours by air. You are that close to trouble all the time if trouble starts in Europe. It is to our interest to see that we are strong. To repeat a remark I made this noon: Weakness cannot cooperate with anything. Only strength can cooperate.

As I see it, peace is an absolute necessity to this world. Civilization itself, in the face of another catastrophe such as we have faced in the last three years—and for other nations more—would tremble, possibly decay and be destroyed. We must face those problems of peace with the same resolution that America showed in 1941 and 1942 when not the greatest optimist could believe that within eleven months after landing in Normandy the American arms and allied arms would stand triumphant on the Elbe.

I believe that we should let no specious argument of any kind deter us from exploring every direction in which peace can be maintained. I believe we should be strong, but we should be tolerant. We should be ready to defend our rights, but we should be considerate and recognize the rights of the other man.

This business of preserving peace is a practical thing, but practicality and idealism are not necessarily mutually antagonistic. We can be idealistic and we can be practical along with it.

You have great hospitals in your city that are filled with wounded men. I call them "my wounded men, they came back from my theater." I don't want to see any more of them there.

I feel that if the brains and the intelligence, the genius of America are placed on this problem, if we can forget self, if we can forget politics, if we can forget personal ambitions we can solve this problem, and we must solve the problem or we will all be lost.

No man can tell me that America with its glorious mixture of creeds, its Jews, its Catholics, its Protestants—it cannot lose, and we can't lose this one.⁶

6. *Ibid.*, June 20, 1945, p. 6.

To cadets of the United States Military Academy at West Point, N. Y., June 20:

The major thought I bring you today is to cultivate mutual understanding with anyone you think you have to get along with—in my mind that meaning the whole civilized world.

If we stick together, we can lick anyone we have to fight. If we stick together intelligently with other peoples in the world, we won't have to fight.⁷

At the Liberty Memorial, Kansas City, Mo., June 21:

. . . For many months, even years, my associates present with me here today, and myself, have been wandering on foreign lands. We have returned home. We have come back to the great Midwest, the most fortunate region under God's blue sky. . . .

The world today needs two things: Moral leadership and food. The United States with its great strength and its prosperity is forced, even if unwillingly, into a position of leadership. . . .

Here is the great producing area of the world. Great sections are starving. My associates and I have just left starving areas. We have had to feed them from the day of invasion. Otherwise we would have had riots and disorder in our rear. In spite of floods, in spite of drought, every handicap that can be imagined, this country must produce food. Without it, there will be no peace. At the best there will be an uneasy cessation of hostilities. We cannot stand that. We must have peace and among other things that means we must have food. The eyes of the world, therefore, are going to turn more and more to the great Midwest of America, with Kansas City at its heart. . . .

The United States must be strong. Weakness can never cooperate with anyone else in this world. No one can cooperate unless he is strong. If he is weak, he can be either only pitied or helped.

The possibility of war in the future is so terrifying as to make almost any other force seem reprehensible. What we must see is this: Explore every possible direction by which peace can be maintained through our own strength and through agreements with others. To do that we must be considerate, we must understand the other fellow's viewpoint. . . .

I am merely a simple soldier and I speak only for myself and for the soldiers that I know in general agree with me. They believe, first, that America must be strong and its youth must be trained; second, it must be ready to cooperate in a spirit of mutual tolerance and readiness to see the other fellow live in the world, and, third, it must live by those righteous principles that are imbedded in our country's Constitution and which have made you great. . . .⁸

At Eisenhower park, Abilene, June 22:

Because no man is really a man who has left out of himself all of the boy, I want to speak first of the dreams of a barefoot boy. Frequently they are to be a streetcar conductor; or he sees himself as the town policeman; above all he may reach the position of locomotive engineer, but always in his dreams

7. *Ibid.*, June 21, 1945, pp. 1, 21.

8. *Kansas City Times*, June 22, 1945; *New York Times*, June 22, p. 5.

is that day when finally he comes home, comes home to a welcome from his own home town.

Because today that dream of forty-five years or more ago has been realized beyond the wildest stretches of my own imagination I come here first to thank you, to say the proudest thing I can claim is that I am from Abilene.

The first and most important part of the celebration today from my viewpoint was this: I was not set apart, I was merely another "Abilenite," . . . My position was merely a symbol of the forces over there, and you people put on a special thing to say to those soldiers, "Thank you." That is the way I look at today's celebration.

The parade itself was so unique in conception that . . . I want to extend not only my felicitations and admiration, but my very great thanks. . . .

I cannot believe that there would be anything better for all the cities of the United States today than to see that parade.

In that parade a whole epoch passed before our eyes. Its beginnings were coincidental with the coming of my own father and mother to this section, in the days of the independent farm and the horse and buggy where each family was almost self-sustaining. Certainly the community was self-sustaining.

We grew our corn and we grew our meat and we grew our own vegetables and the local mill ground the flour and we didn't have much connection with the outside world.

As you noticed the end of that parade, you saw the most modern type of machinery. No longer was it necessary for farmers to join up with their neighbors to get in the crops and the harvest, to carry out the round-up, to get the house built.

We have become mechanized. No longer are we here independent of the rest of the world.

We must sell our wheat and we must get things from the rest of the world. Our part is most important. There is nothing so important in the world today as food in a material way. Food is necessary all over Europe and must be sent to preserve the peace. In that way you see immediately your connection with the problems of Europe.

We are not isolationists. Intelligent people are not isolationists. We are a part of the great civilization of this world at this moment and every part of the world where a similar civilization prevails is part of us.

In a more definite way, since I am now a citizen of New York City [General Eisenhower was made an honorary citizen of New York, June 19], that city is part of you, one of your bigger suburbs. If we then see our relationship with the whole world, how much more intimate is it with our own United States.

This section with its great agricultural products is so necessary to all of the big cities of the United States that I repeat nothing could be better for those cities than to have seen the parade today showing in its several floats the nature and volume of your products.

They would have no longer any trouble seeing that Abilene, Kan., is important to them, and New York would be more proud to be your suburb.

Through national organizations we cooperate with others in this world. It

is through that conception that we hope to preserve the peace, and we cannot have any more wars.

If we are going to cooperate effectively we must first be united among ourselves. We must understand our relationship with the big city and they with us, and then as a whole we must be strong enough to present our own case in a dignified way before the councils of the world.

President Truman's hands must be upheld at all times by the knowledge that back of him are united people ready and trained to do his bidding if it becomes necessary.

Through this world it has been my fortune or misfortune to wander at considerable distances. Never has this town been outside my heart and my memory. Here are some of my oldest and dearest friends. Here are men that helped me start my own career and helped my son start his. Here are people that are lifelong friends of my mother and my late father—the really two great individuals of the Eisenhower family.

They raised six boys and they made sure that each had an upbringing at home and an education that equipped him to gain a respectable place in his own profession, and I think it is fair to say they all have.

They and their families are the products of the loving care, the labor and work of my father and mother—just another average Abilene family.

One more word. There was one thing in the parade today that was an error. A number of times I saw a sign, "Welcome to our hero." As I before mentioned, I am not the hero. I am the symbol of the heroic men you people and all of the United States have sent to war.

It has been my great honor to command three million American men and women in Europe.

All those people from Dickinson county could not come back at one time. Therefore, a celebration like this I fully realize cannot be held for the return of each. But in the sum total, if you, as a community, accept each one of those men back to your heart as you have me, not only will you be doing for them the one thing they desire, but for my part you will earn my eternal gratitude.

Every one of those men is precious to me, and each one coming back does not want special treatment, he doesn't want to be supported for life. The initiative, the self-dependence that made him great as a soldier he expects to exercise in peace. But he does want to be received in the same friendly spirit you received me.

I know you will do it, not as part of your war duty, but out of the greatness of your heart and the warmth of your affection for soldiers that have laid everything on the line for us, even their lives.

And now on the part of myself and my wife, my brothers and all their families, I want to say thanks to Kansas, to Dickinson county, and to Abilene for a reception that so far exceeds anything any of us could imagine. All of us are practically choked with emotion. Good luck, and God bless every one of you.⁹

9. *Kansas City Star*, June 22, 1945.

Abilene, Kansas.
March 25, 1911.

Sen. J. L. Bristow,
Salina, Kans.

Dear Sir:

Having learned from my parents, that you are again in Salina, I take this opportunity of thanking you for my appointment to West Point.

Although I wrote to you immediately after receiving the appointment last November, its value to me has been greatly increased, since I was notified that I had passed the entrance examinations. I took the examinations at Jefferson Barracks, Mo., in January.

One of my alternates, Mr. Platner, did not pass, but I understand the other one did.

LETTER FROM EISENHOWER THANKING SENATOR BRISTOW FOR HIS
APPOINTMENT TO WEST POINT

[Continued on Next Page]

I have been ordered to report
at West Point, June 14, this year.

So trusting that you will
accept my heartiest thanks for
the great favor you have conferred
upon me, I am

Respectfully yours,

Dwight D. Eisenhower

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

General Eisenhower's father, David J., came to Kansas from his native state, Pennsylvania. He attended Lane University at Leocompton, where he met Ida Elizabeth Stover, native of Virginia, whom he married September 23, 1885.¹⁰ They moved to Hope, Dickinson county, and Mr. Eisenhower operated a general store there until 1888, when he went to Texas to work for a railroad.¹¹ His wife and two sons, Arthur and Edgar, soon followed.¹² They were living at Denison, Tex., when Dwight was born October 14, 1890. A short while later the family returned to Kansas and made their home in Abilene. Four more sons were born here: Roy, Paul, Earl and Milton. In 1942 David J. Eisenhower died at Abilene. Paul and Roy are also deceased. Surviving are the mother, who at eighty-three still lives in the home where her family was reared, and five of the boys.

General Eisenhower was christened David Dwight. He attended the Abilene schools and was graduated from high school in 1909. As a student he was above the average and took an active part in sports and dramatics. The Abilene *Daily Reflector* of May 28, 1909, reporting on the senior play, a burlesque of "The Merchant of Venice," said: "Dwight Eisenhower as Gobbo won plenty of applause and deserved it. He was the best amateur humorous character seen on the Abilene stage in this generation and gave an impression that many professionals fail to reach."

In the fall of 1910 Dwight wrote to U. S. Sen. Joseph L. Bristow at Salina for "an appointment to West Point or Annapolis."¹³ He received a preliminary examination in the office of the Kansas state superintendent of public instruction at Topeka, October 4 and 5, 1910. He was second highest among eight competitors with a grade of 87 $\frac{1}{4}$. His lowest mark was 73 in United States history!¹⁴ He took the entrance examination at Jefferson Barracks near Saint Louis in January, 1911, and reported to West Point the following June.¹⁵

Eisenhower was graduated in 1915 and was assigned to the Nineteenth infantry at Fort Sam Houston, Texas. Here he met Mamie

10. Leocompton *Monitor*, September 24, 1885.

11. Hope *Herald*, October 18, 1888.

12. Hope *Dispatch*, April 12, 1889.

13. Dwight Eisenhower to Senator Bristow, August 20, September 3, October 25, 1910.—Bristow Papers, in Archives division, Kansas State Historical Society.

14. Memorandum in *ibid.*

15. Eisenhower to Bristow, March 25, 1911.—*Ibid.*

Doud, of Denver and San Antonio, whom he married July 1, 1916.¹⁶ During the first World War he remained in the United States as an instructor. He applied for duty with the newly-activated tank corps and taught tank tactics. It is reported that he was scheduled to sail for France when the armistice was signed.

After the war Eisenhower's assignments included the Panama canal zone, the Command and General Staff School at Leavenworth, the American Battle Monuments Commission, and the War College. From 1935 to 1939 he served under Gen. Douglas MacArthur as a member of the American military commission to the Philippines. In 1941 his brilliant work as chief of staff of the third army during the Louisiana maneuvers led to his appointment as chief of the war plans division in Washington.

On June 24, 1942, General Eisenhower took command of American troops in Europe. He headed the staff of British and American officers who planned the campaign in North Africa, which was invaded by the American army November 7, 1942. At the Casablanca conference, January, 1943, he was made commander-in-chief of the allied forces in the North African theater of operations. By May, 1943, Tunisia was in allied hands. This was followed by the invasions of Sicily and Italy. At the Teheran conference in December, 1943, he was appointed supreme commander for the final allied invasion of Europe. The first landings were made in Normandy June 6, 1944, and eleven months later Germany unconditionally surrendered.

President Roosevelt's nomination of General Eisenhower as one of the four five-star generals of the army was unanimously confirmed by the senate on December 15, 1944.

THE PROPOSED EISENHOWER SHRINE AT ABILENE

As this issue was going to press it was announced that on July 21 the Kansas secretary of state had granted a charter to "The National Foundation to Honor Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower and the United States Armed Forces."

Headquarters of the foundation are to be at Abilene. Its policy as stated in the charter is "to recognize suitably the military achievements of that great American, Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, supreme commander of the victorious armed forces in Europe; to confer honor on the living members and on the memory of the deceased members of the armed forces of the United States, particularly the men and women who served in World War II; to obtain a site, erect and main-

16. They have one son, John Sheldon Doud Eisenhower, who was born at Denver in 1922. He was appointed to West Point by Sen. Arthur Capper and was graduated in 1944.

tain thereon in General Eisenhower's home town, Abilene, Kan., a war memorial to these ends; to aid worthy young persons in obtaining an education, with especial emphasis on the science of government as conceived and established by our fathers; to assist veterans of World War II, and to perform such acts incidental to the above as the board of trustees of the foundation shall elect."

The proposed memorial will center around the Eisenhower family home at Abilene, which will be a gift of the Eisenhower brothers. Mrs. Ida Eisenhower, their mother, will continue to occupy the home during her lifetime. General Eisenhower has promised to leave his souvenirs with the foundation.

Charles M. Harger, Abilene publisher and a long-time friend of the Eisenhower family, will handle the affairs of the foundation until officers and a board of trustees are elected.

Isaac McCoy's Second Exploring Trip in 1828

Edited by JOHN FRANCIS McDERMOTT

ISAAC McCOY in 1828 made two exploring trips into the Indian country. On the first of these, accompanied by an interpreter, he took a party of Pottawatomie and Ottawa Indians to inspect lands west of the Missouri frontier. He left Saint Louis on August 21 and returned October 7. Of the second expedition, which left Saint Louis later in October under the command of Capt. G. H. Kennerly, McCoy was treasurer. This time Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Creek delegations were taken west to the Neosho river and then south to Fort Gibson and the mouth of the Canadian river. McCoy reached Saint Louis the second time on December 24 and the next day started for Washington. Working up his accounts while traveling, he arrived in the capital on January 27, 1829, and two days later addressed to P. B. Porter, Secretary of War, a lengthy report describing his activities, the nature of the country explored, and the value of the lands to be assigned to the Indians. The section of McCoy's journal recording the first of these expeditions has been published.¹ The documents below are concerned with the second. They have been arranged as follows: I, entries from McCoy's journal; II, McCoy's report; III, the reports of Kennerly, Hood, and Bell. A few pertinent letters appear in footnotes.

I. THE JOURNAL OF ISAAC McCOY: OCTOBER 13-NOVEMBER 3, 1828²

Monday I returned to St. Louis, and found the Southern Indians,
Oct. 13. so long looked for. They arrived yesterday, Oct. 12.³

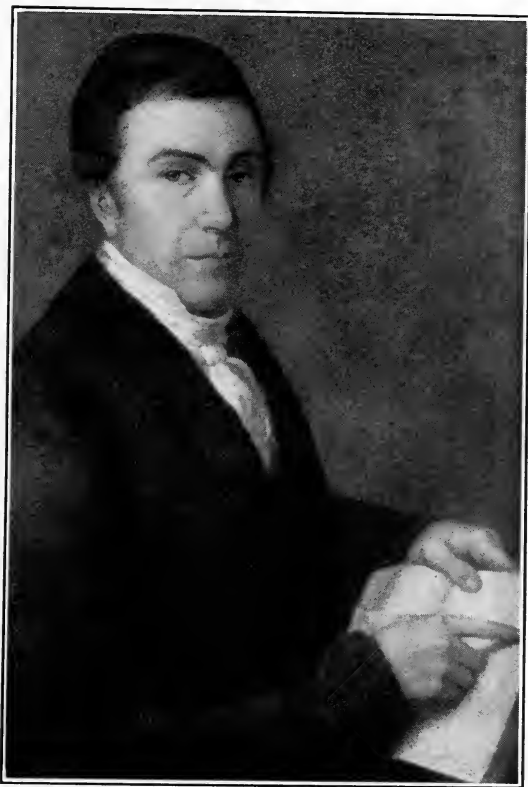
Tuesday Wherever we find Indians we find a pack of unprincipled
Oct. 14. whitemen gaping upon them to devour them. We had good reason to believe that such had been among these southern Indians and had occasioned their vexatious delays. It was hoped however that in coming here they would leave such behind them. In this we are disappointed. Duncan & Haley,⁴ the former appointed to bring on the Chickasaws and the latter the Choctaws, appear very destitute of any thing noble. They had on their arrival

1. Barnes, Lela, "Journal of Isaac McCoy for the Exploring Expedition of 1828," in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. V (1936), pp. 227-277.

2. Isaac McCoy Manuscripts, Kansas State Historical Society. These are the only entries in McCoy's journal for the period of interest.

3. That is, the Chickasaw and the Choctaw. Luther Blake and the Creeks had arrived in Saint Louis about August 14.—Barnes, "McCoy's Journal, 1828," *loc. cit.*, p. 237.

4. John B. Duncan, subagent for the Chickasaw, and D. W. Haley, subagent for the Choctaw.



THE REV. ISAAC MCCOY

1784-1846

Baptist Missionary Who Devoted Much of His Life
to the Welfare of the American Indian.



taken lodgings with their Indians at the house where I put up. and the second meal they ate began to find fault so foolishly that they and the land lord quarrelled, and they by consent of both parties had left and returned and taken lodgings on board the Steam Boat again.

I soon learnt that there had not been agreement among them on the road. They both had said before and after their arrival that unless they could have the handling of some money they wo'd go back home. They sent for me, pretended they did not care about money themselves, but said the Indians were dissatisfied. I went to see their Indians, told them the nature of the case and they appeared satisfied. Some hours afterwards, Duncan brot me a letter sig[ned] by four of the Indians requesting me to place in the hands of Duncan \$1000. Duncan hurried me for an answer. I replied I could not answer until I further arranged our monied matters. I endeavored with Genl Clark and Cap. Kennerly⁵ to devise some method of evading a direct denial. I determined not to advance the money. I became disgusted with the conduct of the men. We had no doubt that the Indians were prompted to the demand by the white men. All our party Indians & whites dined at Genl Clark's

Wednesday I wrote them a letter, previous to sending it to them
Oct. 15. showed to the white men, and Genl Clark & Cap. Kennerly all concurred with me. I hoped I had the men entangled, I made them to say they were satisfied, and they would explain it to the Indians. I offered them \$250. and more whenever their necessities required. But Duncan was too mean to be relied on. The Indians sent for me & said nothing would satisfy but for me to give Duncan \$500. This I determined not to do, knowing that it was virtually the demand of Duncan and not of the Indians. But Genl. Clarke at length advised me to give them the money, and upon his advice I did so.

Thursday Busy in preparing for our tour.
Oct. 16.

Friday Chandonois,⁶ my interpreter started for home near Carey
Oct. 17. —well rewarded for his time. Near night Duncan, with the Chickesaws started

5. George Hancock Kennerly (1790-1867) was born in Fincastle, Botetourt county, Va., the son of Samuel Kennerly and Mary Hancock. He came to Saint Louis during the War of 1812 and was appointed a lieutenant in the regular army. Later he and his brother James held the contract as sutlers to Jefferson Barracks. In 1825 he married Alzire, a daughter of Col. Pierre Menard —Billon, Frederic L., *Annals of St. Louis in Its Territorial Days From 1804 to 1821* (Saint Louis, 1888), pp. 266-268.

6. Chandonois had been the interpreter of the trip from which McCoy had just returned. —Barnes, "McCoy's Journal, 1828," pp. 234, 240, 256, 261, 270.

Saturday Haley with the Choctaws, and Blake ⁷ with the Creeks
 Oct. 18. set off from St. Louis. I rode out to Browns to adjust
 my baggage affairs.⁸

Sunday I returned to St. Louis.
 Oct. 19.

Monday and Preparing to leave—busy with our accounts. .
 Tuesday

Wednesday All the company having left, at 12 oclock Cap. Ken-
 Oct. 22. nerly & myself set off in a Dearbourn waggon, drawn
 by two horses and driven by Cap. Kennerly's black man. We
 reached St. Charles on the north side of Missouri.

Before leaving St. Louis the whole of the \$10,000 for which I had
 been authorized to draw was more than exhausted. Genl. Clark,
 agreeably to the regulations of the Sec. War, gave me a Draft for
 \$2,300. more.

It may be supposed that having left my family the 2d July last
 with the hope of returning to them about this time, I feel not a
 little anxiety on their account—instead of returning to them, I am
 just now setting out on another tour in the woods. But submis-
 sion becomes such a creature as I.

Thursday Travelled 36 miles to Taylors,⁹ having dined at Mrs
 Oct. 23. Bai[MS. illegible]

Friday At 11 oclock we came up with Dr Todson¹⁰ who had
 Oct. 24. stopped with Harper Lovett the Creek interpreter, who

7. Luther Blake.

8. On his arrival in July he had lodged at Brown's which he reported variously as ten,
 thirteen, and twelve miles from town.—Barnes, "McCoy's Journal, 1828," pp. 235, 240, 264.

9. Taylor's was on the Boonslick road 35 miles west of Saint Charles.—Wetmore, Al-
 phonso, *Gazetteer of the State of Missouri* (Saint Louis, 1837), p. 269.

10. George P. Todson (or Todsen) was surgeon to this expedition. His contribution to the
 record consists of the following letter (Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives):

St Louis Aug. 25th 1828

Sir,

On the 12th July I had the honor of reporting to the War Dept. my arrival in St. Louis.—
 The Rev. Mr McCoy treasurer of the exploring party reached St. Louis with 7 or 8 Indians a
 short time after, and strong hopes were entertained that the Chickasaws and Creek Indians
 would soon follow, when, to the great disappointment of M, a report spread that the Chicka-
 saws, influenced and misled by some hostile & intriguing persons, had relinquished their inten-
 tion immediately to proceed on the expedition, & had postponed their departure for the object
 in view till next March. Gen. Clark immediately dispatched a person with instructions to
 proceed to those Indians and to endeavour to prevail on them to proceed without delay to St.
 Louis to join the rest of the party—but the messenger returned without the Indians, and con-
 firmed by his report the fact of their refusal to proceed with the party till next March. A
 day or two before the return of the messenger, Mr Blake Indian Agent arrived with a few
 Creek Indians, and on hearing the result of the previous mission, expressed a hope of yet suc-
 ceeding by his personal efforts to induce them to join the party at St. Louis. Mr. Blake, ac-
 cordingly, after a conference with Gen. Clark on the subject left here a few days since for the
 object in view and is expected to return in the course of three or four weeks.— The Rev.
 Mr McCoy influenced by an apprehension that the delay caused by awaiting the arrival of the
 Chickasaws, an event, under all the existing circumstances, uncertain, might create feelings of
 discontent and even opposition to the expedition among those Indians which he had brought
 with him, having obtained their assent by his promise to terminate the excursion at a certain
 time, and to return them to their families—thought it advisable to proceed with them on the

had become too sick to travel and had been left day before yesterday. He had had the measles, and the exposure of travelling & some imprudencies, had rendered him very ill. We found him in a sad ho[MS. illegible] and under the prescriptions of a wretched Doctor. We paid their enormous bills, put him in our carriage, and rode his horse, and conveyed him 7 miles.¹¹ Cap. Kennerly took the stage and proceeded. The Doctor and I remained with the sick man. He had been very anxious to accompany us. But he now declared himself unable to proceed. The Doctor and I concurring in this opinion. We agreed with a Mr. Isaac Vanbibber¹² to take care of him as though he had been my own son, and should he sufficiently recover, to send him in the stage to care of Genl. Clark St. Louis. At same time I wrote to Genl. Clark informing of all done, and requesting him to pay charges, & send him on to the Creek nation, &c. — — — Gave commendatory letter to Lovett, instructions to family, and left him. It was dark when we reached lodgings at McMurtry's.¹³ I much regret the necessity of leaving this young man behind, but it was unavoidable, I greatly doubt his recovery.¹⁴

Saturday At 11 took we [*sic*] Breakfasted at Harrison's, and at
Oct. 25. night overtook some of our company that had been ahead.

expedition and did so on the 21st inst. He expressed to me a wish that I would accompany his small party, which I assured him I was ready to do, if Gen Clark would give me orders & instructions to that effect. I stated to him that I was directed by the War Dept. to report myself to Gen Clark superintendent of Indian affairs, and therefore considered myself to [be] entirely confined to the decision he Gen. Clark, should make on the subject. I called immediately on Gen. Clark, communicated to him the wish of Mr McCoy, and requested him, if he desired me to proceed with the party of McCoy, to furnish me with written instructions to that effect. He replied that he was not authorized to direct me to proceed with this small party and could therefore give no instructions on the subject.— Capt. Kennerly the gentleman appointed to conduct the party remains here waiting for the arrival of the other Indians.— I beg leave to solicit further instructions from the Department in the event of the near arrival of the Chickasaw Indians.— Gen. Clark, to whom, in obedience to my instructions from the Dept. I presented my account for travelling expenses from Washington to St. Louis, has directed me to defer the settlement thereof till my return to Washington. In addition to the sum of 200 Dollars received in Washington for my traveling expenses it has been necessary to draw on the Rev. Mr McCoy treasurer, the sum of One Hundred Dollars for defraying my expenses here for which I have given Duplicate receipts.

I have the honor to remain, Sir,
Very respectfully
Your most obedient servant
Geo. P. Todsen

The Honble
The Secretary of War
Washington

11. Loutre Lick or Van Bibber's was 68 miles west of Saint Charles on the Boonslick road.—Wetmore, *Gazetteer of Missouri*, p. 269.

12. Isaac Van Bibber was born in Greenbriar county, Virginia, in 1771, the son of that Isaac Van Bibber who was killed at Point Pleasant in 1774. He was adopted and reared by Daniel Boone, came to Missouri with Nathan Boone in 1800, settled at Loutre Lick in 1815, and died in 1836.—Bryan, William S., and Rose, Robert, *A History of the Pioneer Families of Missouri* (Saint Louis, 1876), p. 297.

13. McMurtry's in Nine Mile Prairie, was 7 miles beyond Van Bibber's.—Wetmore, *Gazetteer of Missouri*, p. 269.

14. He died four or five days later.—McCoy, Isaac, *History of Baptist Indian Missions* (Washington and New York, 1840), p. 350.

Sunday Cannot rest, being obliged to move with the company
 Oct. 26. Reached Franklin at night, where we found the whole of our company.

Monday Last night I was attacked with bowel complaint, which
 Oct. 27. threatened a Cholera Morbus. I took medicine before day, and thro. mercy the disease was checked. The Choctaws had partly determined to break off from the company and go direct to their relations on Arkansaw, and Haley who accompanies them, it seems was going with them. He ought to have given information of the fact, this he neglected to do. The Indians spoke of it themselves. They were at length prevailed on to abandon the scheme, and all have consented to keep together, and have agreed to shorten the tour as first marked out north & west. In consequence of these parleys and other strange things none but the two packhorse men of our mess started today.

Tuesday All except the two topographers, surgeon & myself pro-
 Oct. 28. ceeded. Cap. Kennerly went with them on horseback, in order to keep them in motion. We can soon overtake them.

I have been busy today writing—chiefly to members of Congress, on the subject of the expedition.

Wednesday I left Franklin with a few others. Most of our com-
 Oct. 29. pany being ahead of us. Crossed Missouri & slept at Smith's.¹⁵

Thursday Dined at Davis'. Rode 40 miles & slept at Hill's.
 Oct. 30.

Friday By sixteen miles ride we overtook the company that had
 Oct. 31. been before. Slept at Rennicks.¹⁶

Saturday Reached the village of Independence.¹⁷
 Nov. 1.

Sunday The company generally proceeded.¹⁸ I remained to see
 Nov. 2. to a wagon of flour & bacon which had been engaged to

15. Smith's was 10 miles west of Arrow Rock.—Wetmore, *Gazetteer of Missouri*, p. 269.

16. Rennick's was 12 miles west of Lexington.—*Ibid.*

17. Independence was now one year old.

18. From Independence McCoy wrote the following letter to his son Calvin (McCoy MSS., Kansas State Historical Society):

Independence, 280 miles west of
 St. Louis, Nov. 2d 1828.

My dear Son Calvin

I went on tour of 49 days with the Potawatomes & Ottawas, and sent them home well pleased with the country, and the people. The Chickasaws & Choctaws reached St. Louis the 13th Oct. and they with the Creeks who had previously arrived are thus far on their way into the western wilderness. I left St. Louis the 22d Oct. Am now about leaving the white settlements. Our whole company amount to 41 persons. We shall not go so far north and west as I did on my late tour, but shall go farther south. Shall dismiss the Indians somewhere on

go on for us to the line of the state. I kept with me three of the Chickasaws & one of the Choctaws that I might enjoy a favourable opportunity of conversation with them. I had also, for similar reason taken Colbert¹⁹ into the carriage with me for one or two days.

Monday The wagon arrived with flour but no bacon. I sent a man
Nov. 3. to seek for some. We proceeded & overtook the company encamped on the line of the state, near the Shawanoes.

II. MCCOY'S REPORT TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR²⁰

Hon. Peter B. Porter

Secty. of War

Sir

In conformity with my Commission to attend an exploring party of Indians west of the Mississippi, authorized by act of Congress passed March, 1828, I proceeded to the performance of the duties assigned me. How far I have succeeded in their accomplishment must be for you to decide on examination of the accompanying documents.

Document, No. 1. Exhibits in detail the disbursement of the funds confided to my trust. Documents Nos. 2 & 3 furnishes vouchers. Document No. 4 contains explanations. Document No. 5 is a map of the country we explored, and extending west to the Rocky mountains, and north beyond what may probably be the limits of Indian Territory. It also exhibits the claims of the several tribes

Arkansas river, and perhaps early in December. I shall then be about 500 miles from St. Louis to which place I expect to return by land.

I am favoured with health, and am encouraged to hope that I shall be instrumental in promoting the welfare of the Indians, and in providing places of useful—benevolent labour for my dear children.

I trust you—your sisters, and your mother and all your brothers & sisters from Carey have gotten together in Ohio or Kentucky. I feel great anxiety on account of you all—not knowing where to think you all are. I pray God to bless you all wherever you all may be. Try to be virtuous & wise, my dear son. Be not uneasy about me— The Lord is so kind to me in these *lands of strangers* that I am greatly comforted in relation to you all.

I hope to get to your embraces about the 1st Jan'y. Should I hear that mother & others have left Carey, I shall not return by Carey but go direct to them. Write me to St. Louis till the 10th Decr.

I am in haste, but

Affectionately

Your father
Isaac McCoy

Dear Rice & Josephus

Forward this— I sent you \$200. not long since. Hope we shall do well in our Indian business. Do endeavour to comfort your good mother. I have deposited my accounts with James Kennedy, St. Louis. I carry with me a duplicate of the same.

[Postmark] Independence

6 Nov 1828

[Addressed] Mr. Rice McCoy

Lexington,
Fayette County,
Kentucky.

19. Col. Levi Colbert, chief of the Chickasaw. He died in 1834 while on his way to Washington with a delegation from his tribe.

20. The three documents in this section are reproduced from the McCoy MSS., Kansas State Historical Society. The first and third were printed, with covering documents, in *House of Representatives Report No. 87, 20 Cong., 2 Sess.*

now in that country, and the amount of unappropriated lands. Document No. 6. Furnishes a brief history of the expedition a description of the country, and my views relative to the settlement of the Indian tribes therein—and the subjects connected therewith which claim the immediate attention of our government.²¹

A history of the tour was to some extent, necessary for the exhibiting clearly of the propriety of some items of expenditure. If in giving this, or if in my remarks, or in the expression of my views relative to measures to be pursued, I have transcended, strictly speaking, the limits of duties as required by my commission, I beg you will attribute it to no motive less worthy than that of a desire to contribute to the information of my government on a subject in which I feel the deepest interest.

With my great respect

Sir, your most

Obdett Servt

Isaac McCoy

Washington City

Jan. 29, 1829.

Hon. Peter B. Porter

Secretary of War

Sir,

I have the honour herewith to submit to you my Report of expenditures, &c. of the Indian exploring expedition west of the Mississippi authorized by act of Congress passed March 1828.

It so happened, (the causes for which are explained in Document No. 6) that most of the costs of conducting the northern Indians occurred separately from those in relation to the southern. The former were six in number including the interpreter, who was part Potawatomie. The distance they travelled was about equal to the average distance travelled by the southern Indians, and on account of the delay of the latter, the Potawatomies and Ottawas were longer from their homes than was requisite for those of the south. Expenditures on account of the former occurred under my own control. They are distinctly stated in the accounts.

I was instructed to report myself to Genl. William Clark and in-

21. Of the documents listed only Nos. 1, 4 and 6 have survived. The National Archives and the clerk of the House of Representatives report that the map is not to be found. McCoy drew the map July 29-August 5; it was 2 feet, 7 inches, by 3 feet (Barnes, "McCoy's Journal, 1828," pp. 235, 236). The nearest period map for the Indian country is probably that accompanying *House of Representatives Report No. 474* (1834), 23 Cong., 1 Sess. (Ser. No. 263.) This printed map may have been based on McCoy's manuscript map (see the *Report*, p. 76; also Henry R. Wagner's *The Plains and the Rockies*, rev. and ext. by Charles L. Camp [1937], No. 49).

formed that from him the party would receive "the necessary detailed instructions for the government of their route and movements."²² The duties of my appointment not having been particularly pointed out in my instructions, I cheerfully acquiesced in the arrangements of Genl. Clark that Cap. Kennerly, whom he had appointed leader of the party, should control all expenditures subsequently to those occasioned by the northern Indians. Those expenditures are also distinctly stated in the account. My business was to pay debts as they occurred, or to purchase by order of Cap. Kennerly. Hence I am accountable only for the *disbursement* of those funds.²³

The out-fit for the expedition, amounting on one bill to \$7,695.47, embracing also sundry smaller accounts, was furnished under directions of Genl. Clark and approved by him, the amount for which was handed me by Cap. Kennerly

The season was so far advanced before we left St. Louis that it was desirable to leave the state as soon as possible. The Chickasaw delegation was started first, and secondly, as they could be made ready, the Choctaws, and Creeks. Funds therefore were placed in the hands of the several leaders of the parties to defray

22. T. L. McKenney to McCoy, June 10, 1828, in Barnes, "McCoy's Journal, 1828," pp. 227, 228.

23. Clark's instructions are contained in the following letter in the McCoy Collection of the Kansas State Historical Society:

Office of Superintendent of Indian Affairs
St. Louis October 17th 1828.

Sir,

I have been advised by the War Department of your appointment as Treasurer to the party of Creeks, Choctaws & Chickasaws about to explore the country west of the Missouri State.

The party consists of Capt George H. Kennerly as Leader,—yourself as Treasurer, Doctor Todson as Physician;—Col. Duncan leads the Chickasaws, 12 in number, accompanied by Messrs. Lincure, Davis & King; & Benj Love Interpreter. Col. Haley has charge of the Choctaws consisting of 4 chiefs Mr. Pytchlyne & Mr. Noel as Interpreter. Judge L. Blake has charge of the Creeks, 3 in number, with Harper Lovett as Interpreter.—Lieut Hood as Topographer, & Mr. Bell as assistant.

The outfit for the expedition, has been furnished under my directions, and the amt. for which, will be handed to you, approved by me. When the objects of the expedition shall have been accomplished it will be left to the discretion of Capt. Kennerly & yourself to make the best disposition of the property belonging to the outfit.

I have no information as to compensation to any of the party, except those engaged as hired men at this place & that will be furnished you by Capt. Kennerly. It is desirable that the Indians should be furnished with the means of making themselves comfortable on their journey home, after exploring the country pointed out to Capt. Kennerly.

In the objects of expenditure, & the limits of it, you will of course, be governed by your instructions, and knowledge of the general design of the Government in making the expedition,—having reference to the comfort & content of the Indians, and amount of the appropriation made to cover the expenses of the undertaking.

Entertaining a high opinion of your sagacity & powers of observation, it is desirable that you should keep a Journal of the route, that the Government may have the benefit of your views in relation to the Country.

I have the honor to be

Sir

Very respectfully

Yr obt. Servt.

Wm Clark S. I Af

[Addressed] The Revd.

Isaac McCoy

Treasurer to the Exploring party of
Chickasaws, Choctaws &c.

Present.

their expenses thro. the white settlements. Cap. Kennerly and myself overtook them when a little more than half way through the state, after which time I paid much of the expense of the *whole company*. Those advances being greater than the nature of the cases would appear to require, merit an explanation.

Before leaving St. Louis the Chickasaws, through Mr Duncan their conductor, asked for \$1000. to be placed in the hands of Mr Duncan to be applied to their use on the tour, at his and their discretion. This sum was in addition to \$100. I had previously advanced to them, and \$600. they had received of Mr Smith their agent. No portion of this sum was necessary for outfit—every needful equipment for man and horse having been furnished as above stated. I declined advancing the money until Genl. Clark, in order to prevent a more perplexing occurrence, advised me to comply. On compliance with the wishes of the Chickasaws, the Choctaws followed with a similar, though less ungenerous and unnecessary demand.

On parting with the delegations subsequently, additional advances were made to sundry gentlemen to enable them to return to their places. The account shows the amount unaccounted for by them severally, and it is expected that each will report his account without delay. The remarks accompanying the account shows what disposition has been made of the publick property.

Most respectfully,

Sir

Your Obt. servt

Isaac McCoy

Hon. Peter B. Porter

Secretary of War

Sir,

It is in obedience to instructions connected with my appointment to accompany an exploring party of Indians west of the Mississippi, agreeably to act of Congress passed March 1828, that I ask leave respectfully to submit the following report.²⁴

That portion of my duties which related to the disbursement of

24. "I had reason to suppose that Captain Kennerly would say little more than would be reported by the topographers; and their report, I knew, would necessarily not be such a condensed statement, relative to the suitableness of the country for settlement, as the case demanded. I therefore made a formal report, although it was not really my province to do so. This, I had reason to suppose, was unexpected by some connected with the matter; and Colonel McKenney himself, who was at the head of Indian affairs, intimated that it was informal. I nevertheless felt the necessity of the measure. . . ."—McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, p. 371.



GEN. WILLIAM CLARK
Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Saint Louis
From 1822 to 1838.

the appropriation of Congress for purposes of the expedition, is reported on in documents accompanying this.

At Carey, near Lake Michigan on the 30th June last, I had the honor to receive from the Dept. instructions to proceed with all possible expedition, to St. Louis and to take with me three Potawatomes & an interpreter. There were at that time in waiting three Ottawas anxious to accompany me on that expedition, and, as the interests of those tribes, and their relation to our country and settlements, were, to a great extent, identified as those of one tribe, I conceived it to be right & within the spirit of my instructions to take them, together with *two* Potawatomes, and an interpreter, who also was part Indian.²⁵

We left Carey, 7 in number, with eight horses, July 2d and reached St. Louis the 16th at which place Dr Todson, surgeon had arrived a few days previously. On the 21st July a man was sent from St. Louis to ascertain when the southern Indians would arrive. Aug. 13. Four Creeks conducted by Mr. Blake arrived at St. Louis. On the 16th the messenger to the southern Indians returned, with a written communication from a principal Chief of the Chickasaws, informing that, for reasons therein assigned, they had determined to postpone the tour until next March. The Choctaws were expected of course to imitate their example. As the arrangements for the tour, which were already considerably advanced, would sustain damage by so long a delay, it was desirable to complete the excursion the present season, the expedition having been ordered chiefly for the benefit of the Chickasaws, another messenger was sent to them, who left St. Louis the 18 Aug.

The Potawatomes & Ottawas had not expected to be so long absent from their places as would be necessary to await the issue of these arrangements, nor was it desirable that they should. I therefore obtained permission, in lieu of the expense and vexation of lying idle with a company of Indians, at St. Louis, during the absence of the messenger, to make the tour with the Potawatomes & Ottawas. This plan being the most economical, and the only one likely to produce a favourable result in relation to those Indians, or to prevent an unfavourable one, we doubted not that it would receive the approbation of our government.

With our six Indians and two hired hands, I left St. Louis Aug. 19.

25. Since the journey from Carey in Michigan to Saint Louis and the first tour west have been reported in detail in Barnes, "McCoy's Journal, 1828," pp. 227-277, it is not necessary to annotate the summary in this document. Another summary, longer than the present one, will be found in McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, pp. 334-349.

Having with us 12 horses. We travelled on the south side of Missouri, inclining to south of West, and passed out of the state where its western line crosses Osage river. Near that place we took in a half-breed Osage as an interpreter to Osages and Kansas.²⁶ The Osages at the village we passed here were altogether friendly.

On leaving the state of Missouri we proceeded westwardly up the Osage river, generally on the north side. Passing the sources of Osage we bore southwest across the upper branches of Neosho until we intersected the main stream at a point eighty miles south & one hundred and twenty seven west of the mouth of Kansas river, and about 25 miles southeast of the road leading from the upper settlements on Missouri to Santa Fe. We then bore northwest until we reached the road which was at a point about sixty miles from Arkansas river, and 140 due west of the state of Missouri. These estimates are made according to measurement on the map, and not according to distances travelled, survey of the road, &c. Having spent five days on the waters of Neosho we turned to the eastward, and travelled along, or near to the Santa Fe road, until we reached a point due south of the upper Kanza village. We then bore north to the village, which is on the south bank of Kanza river, 125 miles on a direct line west of the State of Missouri.

After leaving the Osage village on the river of the same name, we had seen several trails of companies of Indians, some of which had occasioned uneasiness to our Osage interpreter, who supposed they might have been made by war parties of their enemies. But the one which deserved most attention, I found, on close examination had been made by a *hunting party* and therefore supposed them to have been Kansas or Osages. On the 18th September we fell in with a Kanza hunter and on the evening of the same day reached his village. Coming in sight of two houses about two miles from the main village the inhabitants became alarmed. Some of the women & children fled to the woods, while a man almost wholly divested of clothing, with his implements of war, came in great haste to a grove which we were entering. I supposed his object was to ascertain who we were. But I soon discovered that it was to secure a couple of horses which were grazing in the wood, and of which we were within 100 paces when he reached them. I sent our interpreter to speak to him, who at once allayed his fears, so that he approached cheerfully and took us by the hand, being in a profuse perspiration from His race for the protection of his horses. He conducted us to water at which

26. Noel Mongrain (*see* Barnes, "McCoy's Journal, 1828," pp. 240, 244 ff.).

I halted, and sent him forward to inform the main village that I would presently be with them for the purpose of smoking. I was much gratified to hear from him that 16 Pawnees were at the village in counsel with the Kanza. Greatly to my disappointment, however when I came into the assembly of the Kansas, I ascertained that all the Pawnees except three had hastily left on our approach. These three who, I suppose, had been left to ascertain the object of our visit were in haste to be gone and could only be detained long enough for me to give them a brief *talk*, and a liberal present of tobacco, to which they replied in the usual complimentary way. Our interview with the Kansas was also indicative of much friendly feeling.

I had been instructed to cross the Kanza river and to return on the north side. But the Indians informed me that there was not a canoe or other craft on the river. My time was so far consumed that I deemed it unadvisable to incur the delay that would be occasioned by crossing on rafts. I therefore proceeded eastwardly near to the southern limits of the Kansas' lands, and came down to the Shawano villages recently settled near the mouth of Kansas river on the Missouri. Here our Indians were again received with much friendship. I had the satisfaction to see that these Shawanoes were erecting neat hewed log cabins, and in other respects preparing for their future comfort. Our Indians remained with them the greater part of two days, and were by them encouraged to settle in the country and even *invited* to settle near them.

We had found Elk, Deer & Bear plenty, and had seen a few Antelopes. Our Indians were delighted with the abundance of game, but regretted that, contrary to our former expectation, we had not fallen in with Buffalos. Our Osage interpreter supposed that we had been within a few miles of Buffalos, but at the time said nothing lest, as he afterwards declared, we should be induced to go farther west. He was exceedingly afraid of falling in with Pawnee war parties. We afterwards ascertained that we had been within 75 miles of the place where the last attack of the Pawnees was made on the first party defeated on the Santa Fe road, which happened in September while we were in that country.

I was my own pilot, and varied our course in travelling as appearances indicated would best enable us to become acquainted with the fitness of the country for habitation. There is great similarity in the appearance of all parts of it—that we explored. It is generally a high rolling country, exhibiting a healthy appearance. Stone is sufficiently plenty for use, and on Osage and Neosho, it is almost uni-

versally limestone. The soil on those rivers, which is exceedingly fertile, possesses the mellowness peculiar to limestone lands. Most of the creeks and smaller water courses pass over limestone, and along the larger streams are sometimes seen steep and high cliffs of limestone rocks. The Hill sides are frequently washed until the stone is quite uncovered, in those places it is generally thin flag stone. Bottom land is in width somewhat proportioned to the size of the stream passing thro. it. That of the Osage 40 miles west of the state of Missouri is about a mile in width. In addition to this we usually find on one or both sides of the water courses, and proportioned somewhat to their size, a gentle ascent of land, extending in the case above mentioned of Osage from three to five miles back, and terminating at the base of hills which may rise 100, or 150 feet, their sides sometimes abrupt, but oftener more gentle. There are seen many hills detached from their kindred, conical, oblong, and of many a different shape, so regular in their structure that the observer can scarcely forbid conviction that they are artificial. These isolated hills are little else than heaps of limestone.

Ascending above the stony sides of hills of more social character, land gently rolling spreads out with a delightful countenance. Not a stone to annoy the plowman would be found on a tract of 500 acres, nor a single break abrupt beyond convenience, and yet the country not flat. Elevations of similar character often occur a second or third time as we pass back from a creek, until we reach the summit between the neighbouring streams.

On the Kansas and its waters, stone is equally plenty, and is in the same way happily placed for convenience without annoyance to man. But it is mostly sand-stone. For two days in the neighbourhood of the upper Kansas villages I saw scarcely any except sand stone. As we came lower down the river we saw some limestone as well as sand. On Kansas the soil of course corresponds with the quality of the stone. It is somewhat sandy, not so black as the limestone lands of Neosho and Osage, & in many instances less fertile. The face of the country is the same with that we have been describing, except that, as might be expected within six or ten miles of the river the country is more broken, the hills along the rivulets higher, and more abrupt and rocky.

This country which is generally prairie, differs greatly from most prairie lands in Ohio, Indiana & Illinois. In those countries prairie lands are usually too flat with too little stone, often accompanied with quagmires & ponds, and consequently unfavourable to health.

Here it is quite the reverse, scarcely a quagmire is to be found.

The season for two or three months has been remarkably dry, yet we found no scarcity of water. Water courses of suitable size for mills and other water works, are numerous. But, as it happens generally in the state of Missouri, most of these streams so far fail in the dry seasons, that mills and other machines would stand still. In this respect the country resembles the state of Missouri and the middle & upper counties of Kentucky.

A degree of unhealthiness attends all large water courses in the western country. This will be the case in the immediate vicinity of Kansas river. Osage river is too small to produce any deleterious effect beyond the distance of 30 or 35 miles west of Missouri state, and not even that far except on its very banks. With these exceptions which doubtless are as inconsiderable as those of similar character of any portion of the western country, not a doubt can exist of the healthiness of those regions.

Timber is too scarce. This is the greatest defect observable. Wood is chiefly confined to the water courses and the width of the streak of timber is generally proportioned to the size of the stream passing through it. Some exceptions, however occur, where the timber stretches back on to the uplands, or exists on the high lands at the sources of the streams. But wood is not so scarce as most travellers thro. those countries have represented it. The business of few, if any has hitherto required them to examine this subject. Being uninterested in the matter of timber beyond the amount necessary for fuel on their journey, they have avoided the water courses as much as possible because of the difficulty of travelling near them on account of the brush & the steep and rocky breaks, the prairies back from the water courses, affording more pleasant ways for the traveller than could be found, perhaps, in any other country destitute of roads. The uplands being almost universally prairie, the sight unobstructed passes to its utmost stretch over lands of similar height, so that the country at a little distance around the observer appears to be more level than it really is. These upland prairies over which they look, rise higher than the tops of the trees in the bottom lands, and often twice or three times as high, and conceal from the sight most of the timber, while the traveller ascribing to the lands a mile or two from him, a degree of levelness which does not exist, supposes he sees almost every grove within the reach of his sight, and hence mistakes to the discredit of the country.

This country, which is of peculiar character, often practices another deception upon the traveller. Streaks of timber seen at a distance and even at no great distance, amidst the vast prospect which the openness of the country affords, appear much narrower than they really are.

Wood immediately along the Kansas river, and that branching off along the numerous smaller streams, is sufficient to sustain tolerably a dense population to the distance of 8 or 10 ten miles from the river. On Osage river, say 30 miles west of Missouri state the woodland is about a mile wide. Woodlands of greater or less magnitude extend along every tributary water course, some of which are little inferior to the main river. Unlike the idea we drew from many of our maps, water courses, from the largest to the smallest, on Kansas, Osage and the upper regions of Neosho, are numerous, and interlocking at their sources, and proportionably numerous are the groves of woodland. There is much valuable timber, such as oak, ash, walnut, hickory, & mulberry. We also find Hackberry, Lint, &c. There is almost a total absence of the sugar tree.

I regretted that my time was so limited that I had none to spare in search of coal, but from appearances, and the fact that it exists abundantly a short distance east, and southeast of the tract of which I am speaking, I have no doubt that this part of the country also possesses abundantly that valuable article. This fact goes far towards obviating difficulties which would arise from the scarcity of timber.

I hardly need to say that the whole country is clothed with grass, this on the dry fertile uplands is short and more suitable for grazing than for the scythe. Nearer to the water courses, & even to their very sources, it is well adapted to mowing. In Indiana, the eastern parts of Illinois and Michigan Territory grass of suitable length for mowing is seldom found except on wet land. In the country which we are describing scarcely any wet land exists, yet nature has provided therein well clothed meadows.

I did not discover any of those ancient mounds and fortifications which are so abundant in some parts of the western country. On the summits of high natural mounds, and hills, which were so situated as to attract the notice of the traveller, I frequently found a heap of stones formed by the hands of man. In one or two instances their construction indicated the existence of reasons for their formation similar to those which led to the formation of artificial mounds mentioned above. Heaps of stone are often made

over the bodies of the deceased among the Indians of these regions. But the heaps of which we speak appear to be the result of amusement of the traveller, who invited to the elevation by its gait or grandeur, leaves a monument of a few stones thrown together to advertise a subsequent visitant that a human being had been there. To this heap each successive visitant, invited thither by curiosity contributes a stone or two. It was amusing to see our Indians in good humour, contributing their portion to the increase of the social heap.

On our return we arrived at St. Louis the 9th October, after an absence of forty nine days.²⁷ On the 10th I crossed the Mississippi with our Indians, and travelled with them until the 12th at which time they proceeded being supplied with the means of returning comfortably to their homes.

It affords me great satisfaction to be able to assure you that those Potawatomies & Ottawas returned to their places well satisfied with the usage they had received from the servants of government, while a still more favourable impression had been made on their minds by their friendly interviews with Osages, Kansas, Pawnees, & Shawanoes, the three former of whom they had previously reckoned among their enemies. They were well pleased with the country they had seen. All agreed that it was well adapted to the purposes of Indian settlement, and, excepting one expressed a strong desire to settle therein. When about parting with them I was requested to become the bearer of a communication to the President on this subject. It is only because the protracted length of the expedition has denied me the opportunity of passing by their place that I have not this communication now to submit. Measures however have been adopted to afford them an opportunity of making known their wishes, which I expect will come to hand in a few days. So far as the subject has progressed the objects of the government in relation to those tribes, are fully attained.

I returned to St. Louis Oct. 13th and found that the Chickasaws and Choctaws had arrived the preceding day. On the 17th the Chickasaws moved off from St. Louis, on the 18th the Choctaws and Creeks followed.²⁸ Cap. Kennerly & myself, having been by our business, thrown into the rear, set out on the 22d.²⁹ On the 24th we found Harper Lovett the Creek interpreter sick, and Doctor Todson

27. According to his journal McCoy reached Saint Louis on October 7 (Barnes, "McCoy's Journal, 1828," p. 264).

28. Cf. the account of this tour in McCoy's *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, pp. 349-369.

29. McCoy crossed the state in a small dearborn wagon.—*Ibid.*, p. 350.

attending him. Before leaving St. Louis he had been attacked with measles from which he had not sufficiently recovered to endure the journey. Cap. Kennerly took the stage and followed the company, while Dr. Todson and myself remained with the sick man. He was exceedingly anxious to make the tour & begged us not to leave him behind. We conveyed him in a carriage seven miles, when he became fully convinced as well as ourselves, that he was unable to proceed further. He died five days afterwards and was decently buried.³⁰

We overtook the foremost of our company on the 26th 180 miles from St. Louis. The company proceeded on the 28th and reached the western line of the state of Missouri the 2d Nov. For the purpose of obtaining an interpreter we remained here one week. In which time our Indians & the Shawanoes had several friendly *talks*. While here, the Agent for Indian affairs at Fort Leavenworth³¹ communicated to us information that 1500 Pawnees, it was reported, had gone on a war expedition, intending to watch the Santa Fe road or if unsuccessful there to proceed farther southeast. He warned us to be on our guard, and, should we come in contact with Pawnees apparently friendly, not to permit them to mingle with us in camp, or at any other time. We resumed our march on the 8th. Our company being now complete consisted of Cap. G. H. Kennerly, leader, Lieut. Hood Topographer, Mr. John Bell assistant topographer, and G. P. Todson surgeon.³² To me had been intrusted the monied matters. The Chickasaws Delegation consisted of 12 Indians, and an interpreter, accompanied by three white men chosen by themselves, in all 16, with Mr. John B. Duncan Sub. Agent, as their leader. The Choctaw delegation was composed of six Indians, and lead by Mr. D. W. Haley. The Creek delegation consisted of three, and was lead by Mr. Luther Blake.³³ We had one interpreter to Osages and Kansas, seven hired men, and a black servant belonging [to] a Chickasaw Chief.³⁴ In all 42. We had with us upwards of sixty horses.

30. See the entry for October 24 in McCoy's journal, above.

31. Maj. John Dougherty, U. S. Indian agent at Fort Leavenworth.—McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, p. 351.

32. For Kennerly see Footnote 5, above, and for Todson, Footnote 10. Washington Hood (1808-1840) was born in Philadelphia, the son of John McClellan Hood and Eliza Forebaugh. He was commissioned second lieutenant in 1827 (*Dictionary of American Biography*, v. IX, pp. 194, 195). Since John Bell is named as assistant to Lieutenant Hood, it is clear that he must not be confused with Capt. John R. Bell of Long's expedition.

33. The Chickasaw are named in Footnote 51, below. The other white men in their party were Garland Lincecum, James Davis, and William D. King (Foreman, Grant, *Indians & Pioneers* [1930], p. 309, Footnote 32). The Choctaw were Tuppenhoma (chief), Daniel Nail (interpreter), Peter Pitchlynn, Captain Kincaid, Capt. Red Dog, and Captain Auittatomas (*ibid.*, pp. 309, 310, Footnote 33). For the Creek see Footnote 50, below.

34. The interpreter was Noel Mongrain (McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, p. 351); see, also, Footnote 26, above. The negro belonged to Levi Colbert (McCoy, *History* . . . , p. 349).

We proceeded a little west of south,³⁵ crossed Osage river³⁶ about 20 miles west of the state of Missouri³⁷ and fell on to the Neosho about 14 miles farther west.³⁸ We then proceeded down Neosho to the Osage Agency,³⁹ in the neighbourhood of the upper Osage villages, about 33 miles west of the western limits of the state of Missouri, at which place we arrived the 17th November.⁴⁰ Here we re-

35. "We had proceeded about five miles, when, riding briskly over the prairie to prevent a pack horse from escaping, my horse fell with me, and rolled on to my foot and leg. I was a good deal injured on the side that had been dashed on the earth, but was able after a while to resume my journey, though I suffered much pain for several days. At camp, the doctor bled me pretty freely. . . ."—*Ibid.*, p. 352.

36. They reached the Osage on November 11.—*Ibid.*

37. At this point McCoy wrote the following note to his wife (McCoy MSS., Kansas State Historical Society):

At Camp, Osage river, about 20
miles west of line of Missouri, Thursday
Nov. 13, 1828.

My Dear Wife

This is the fifth day since we left the Shawanoe village— We have been travelling slowly to the West near the line of Missouri. We shall not go far west. My health is good, also that of the party. Weather comfortable— I have lately written you & others of the family often— I hope to get home about last of Decr. But I *must* stay until the company break to go home.

A man goes in to Harmony Mission by whom I send this—

Love to all my Dear babes— Dear children and friends, Keep in good heart— trust in God— good is the Lord & precious— In haste

Affectionately— very affectionately
Isaac McCoy

Christiana—

Sons Rice & Josephus forward this.

[Postmark] Independence Mo
4 Dec. 1828.

[Addressed] Mr. Rice McCoy
Lexington
Fayette County,
Kentucky

38. For detail of travel for the remainder of this tour, see the report of Hood and Bell, below. McCoy's statement is misleading because the party struck the Neosho not merely 14 miles west of the Osage crossing but also more than 70 miles south.

39. In his *History of Baptist Indian Missions* (p. 360) McCoy mentioned meeting John F. Hamtramck, Osage agent, and Benton Pixley, missionary.

40. From the Osage villages McCoy wrote the following letter to his son-in-law (McCoy MSS., Kansas State Historical Society):

Nov. 18, 1828.

Dear Lykins

I have proceeded on this tour from Missouri river southwardly, a few miles west of the state of Missouri, as far as Neosho river, where the Osages generally reside. I am now in their villages, 30 miles west of Missouri state, 110 miles south of the mouth of Kansas river, and as the road runs about 370 miles from St. Louis. We are waiting here for the assembling of the Osages to a friendly talk, and expect to proceed tomorrow. We have good weather, & good health— thus far our present company of Indians do *not* like the country. We shall proceed southwardly to the Canadian Fork of Arkansas, when we shall quit this country— and return depends on the disposition of these Indians and the weather. I fear it will be January before I can see you and others of my dear family.

I wrote your mother the other day from Osage river. I am as you may suppose exceedingly desirous to see you all— Could I know that you are all comfortably situated it would lessen my sorrows greatly. I pray that it may be so— I will hope it is so.

I almost forgot to say that on the 9th inst when galloping my horse to turn another into the way my horse fell with me on a smooth burnt prairie, and rolled on to my left foot and leg above the knee—dashing me severely on my left arm. My left limbs & side were considerably injured. I was bled in my arm. I have continued travelling, but am still lame in my left arm & shoulder and leg. My tour may be said to be pleasant thus far.

Regards to my dear companion in life, and to all our dear children.

Affectionately

Your father

Isaac McCoy

Johnston Lykins

My dear boys will forward this— The season is so far past, that for this & other reasons we shall on this tour, see far less of the country than I expected—

I. M.

Rice & Josephus.

[Addressed] Mr. Josephus McCoy
Lexington,
Fayette County,
Kentucky.

mained four days, and afforded Indians of our party and the Osages an opportunity to reciprocate expressions of friendship.⁴¹ The Osages and Choctaws were once enemies. Within two years past pipes of peace had been exchanged and each tribe considered peace restored. This having been done thro. the mediation of others, it was gratifying that a personal interview at this time afforded an opportunity of confirming the peace.⁴²

From the Osage villages⁴³ we took the road to the Creek agency on the Verdigris river, within four miles of its junction with the Arkansaw.⁴⁴ Here and near Fort Gibson we remained five days.⁴⁵ Leaving the Creek delegation with their countrymen on Verdigris,⁴⁶ we again took up the line of march the 2d of December.⁴⁷ We crossed Arkansaw and continued our common course, a little west of south, crossed the north fork of Canadian river, and six miles farther crossed the main Canadian, and encamped a mile above at the mouth of the south fork. This was the most westwardly point that we made on this tour, which was about 48 miles west of the Territory of Arkansaw, and 260 miles south of the mouth of Kansas river, 255 from where we went out of the state of Missouri. In coming to this point after leaving the state we travelled about as direct, with slight exceptions, as is usual in making a journey of the same

41. "On the 20th, we pitched our tents near the village of the Chief called White Hair. A large long fire of logs was made, at which our company was joined in council by about twenty Osage chiefs, and principal men. The usual ceremonies of shaking hands, smoking, and speech making, were entered upon, and continued until night, when all parties agreeing that *peace speeches* ought not to be made *in the dark*, we adjourned till the following day.

"That night the coldness of the weather increased to severity. Our encampment was in a narrow streak of timber, with many miles of woodless plain on both sides. The wind was high, with snow falling, and our situation became very uncomfortable. The weather was so severe on the following day, that it was late before the council convened. In the mean time, we were invited to a feast of boiled buffalo meat, in the house of the chief Belle Ouizo. In the absence of chairs, we all became seated on the floor, when bowls of boiled meat were placed before us, and each used his own knife and his own fingers. Immediately on the completion of this, we were taken to the house of the chief, White Hair, to partake of similar hospitality, the eatables being the same in kind and cookery.

"On account of the severity of the weather, our council was completed in the house of the chief, White Hair. The result was a reciprocity of good feelings and fair speeches. . . ." —McCoy, *History of Baptist Missions*, pp. 355-357.

42. "Through the advice of Mr. Haley, which turned out to be rather unseasonable, the Choctaws intimated a desire to obtain one of these dressed scalps, to carry with them, as a matter of curiosity. With some ceremony, an Osage warrior came forward in council, and presented the principal Choctaw chief, with the scalp of a Pawnee. The acceptance was followed by a brief speech in behalf of the Osage nation, in which the orator argued that, as the Choctaws had accepted of a scalp at the hands of the former, which they had taken from an enemy, the Choctaws, as a nation, were bound by the customs of Indians to espouse their interests, and that the Osages would henceforward understand that the Choctaws, about to become their neighbours, would also become their allies in war. This turn of the affair was as unwelcome as it was unexpected to the Choctaws, who made no reply."—*Ibid.*, pp. 357, 358.

43. McCoy gave much space in his book to Osage customs and folklore.—*Ibid.*, pp. 355-365.

44. Accompanied by Belle Oiseau, "distinguished [Osage] chief," the party left the Osage villages on November 22.—*Ibid.*, p. 361.

45. Mongrain returned home from Fort Gibson.—*Ibid.*, p. 366.

46. About 1,500 Creeks (the McIntosh division) had lately arrived.—*Ibid.*, pp. 365, 366

47. They arrived at this point on November 26.—*Ibid.*, p. 365.

length The first 40 miles was across the lands assigned the Shawanoes, and Piankeshaws, the next 48 miles was thro. unappropriated lands. Then 50 miles across Osage lands, then 77 miles thro lands assigned the Creeks and Cherokees. Thence 40 miles thro. Cherokee lands, and at this point viz the mouth of the south fork of Canadian river, we entered the Choctaw lands.

Here it was resolved to turn eastwardly towards Fort Smith with a view to the termination of the expedition. We left this place the 5th Decr. travelled two days down the Canadian, and on the 7th Decr. we separated.⁴⁸ The two southern delegations were expected at that instant to proceed to Fort Smith, but one of their company having killed a Buffaloe the preceding day, they concluded to remain a day or two and hunt that animal. Buffaloe on Arkansaw approach within 30 miles or less of the settlements, invited by the cane. Farther north they range more remotely, & on Missouri river there is none within many hundred miles. They were furnished with the means of returning comfortably to their places to which they were nearer than when at St. Louis, having travelled after leaving the state of Missouri a distance nearly equal to that travelled west of the same line in September. We had been only two days within the Choctaw lands. One of them who was a man of influence, expressed a desire to remain longer time, for the purpose of becoming acquainted with that country, and solicited some assistance, which was granted.

Cap. Kennerly Lieut. Hood, Mr. Bell, Dr. Todson, & myself made the best of our way back passed Fort Gibson, and reached ⁴⁹ St. Louis the 24th Decr. The pack horses and men were a little in the rear and would arrive the 25th or 27th.

It was the 10th December when on our return we passed the Creek agency. There we again saw the Creek delegation. On that day they set off for their homes. They had not explored much of their country, but had contented themselves with spending the time in the neighbourhood of their relations. The Creeks now in this country are chiefly or all of the McIntosh party. The delegation was from the opposite party. This interview of the parties was characterized by expressions of friendship from both, and an agreement that all former grudges should be forgotten. The emigrants invited the others to come to their country, and spoke greatly in its praise. This was seconded by a written communication from Chilly McIn-

48. See the letter from the Chickasaw delegation, p. 423.

49. They were once more in White Hair's village on the night of December 14 (McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, p. 369).

tosh to his countrymen in the south. The feelings with which the delegation set off for their places justify the hope of a favourable result.⁵⁰ In every arrangement in relation to the removal of the Creeks, I would respectfully suggest the propriety of placing out of sight as far as possible everything of *party character*.

It had been desirable to pass out of the state of Missouri on the north side of Missouri river, to cross that stream above the mouth of Kansas, and generally to have borne farther to the west. But the Indians were averse to this course.

From the place where we passed out of the state of Missouri to the crossing of Osage river, a distance of about 70 miles, we were travelling thro. the country of which I have already given a description. The next 20 miles being still on the waters of Osage, was of similar character. 20 miles farther which brought us to Neosho led us across a country becoming more level, with fewer water courses. This continued to be the case for the next 100 miles. Limestone was less abundant and in many instances mingling with, and sometimes giving place to sand stone and flint. The prairies not so fertile as those at the sources of the river. Nature here has not observed the same regularity in decking the watercourses with wood as in the country farther northwest. Here timber is oftener seen on the hills, and the groves along streams are less regular in their width, and more frequently detached. Timber along Neosho river in the neighbourhood of the Osage villages may be from three hundred yards, to three miles in width. The next 40 miles which brings us to the mouths of Neosho and Verdigris (only four or five miles apart) is better timbered more hilly, & has less limestone, generally sand

50.

"COLUMBUS, January 22, 1829.
 "OUR GREAT FATHER: We have written on to you by Mr. Blake, who carried us on as an exploring party to examine the country west of the Mississippi. We have travelled a great way with Mr. Blake, and are glad to find him our friend, who has studied our interest, and has been friendly in supplying our wants. We have known him long, and have ever found him a friend to our people, and we had the utmost confidence in our great Father when he appointed Mr. Blake to accompany us. We love him, and we wish our great Father to appoint him to carry our people west of the Mississippi. We have now arrived among our people, and given them the talk, and they are willing to go with Mr. Blake, for we have known him long, and he has always been our friend, and the friend of our people. We know he would take care of our women and orphan children, and they have confidence in [him] more than they have in strangers. Our great Father has appointed the best man to go with his children (because they knew him, and have not been deceived in him.) We like the country, and want our great Father to appoint him to go with our people and settle the country that our great Father has given us on the west of the Mississippi. When we arrived home, a great many of our friends came to see us, and we told them it was a fine country, a plenty of buffalo, elk, deer, bear, and turkeys, and that your red children should remove there; and they have listened to our talk, and are willing to go, if our friend, Mr. Blake, will go with us, and see us justice done. We, the delegation, arrived at the Chatahoochie in good health.

"COE MARTLA, *x* *Head Chief*.

"TUSCEMEHA, *x*

"CHOESTE, *x*

"I certify that this is an exact representation of the Chiefs, as interpreted to me, in the absence of any person but themselves.

"N. F. COLLINS."

(*House of Representatives Report No. 87, 20 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 5.*)

stone, also some flint. The hills are more stony and poor, yet abundance of good prairie lies among them.

From the neighbourhood of the Creek Agency and Fort Gibson, the whole distance that we travelled until we returned to that place it may be said that the country is pretty well timbered. On the south of Canadian river the general arrangement of woodlands and prairies is precisely the reverse of that of the Osage and Kansas country. Here the hills, which are usually stony and poor, are covered with wood, mostly post oak and black oak, of moderate size, and often brushy, while between the hills are beautiful vales of fertile prairies. Sand stone almost universally prevails on the south of Arkansas. In one instance for a few miles I discovered slate. The bottom lands of Arkansas appeared to be from three to five miles wide, well clothed with timber, and in many places covered with cane ten or 12 feet high, and so dense that considerable resolution & effort are necessary to enable a man to force a passage thro. it. The bottom land of Canadian is one or two miles wide, similar to that of Arkansas, the latter more subject to inundations. Verdigris, Neosho, Arkansas Canadian, North Fork, and South fork, all mingle their waters in the same vicinity. On this account this part of the country is more hilly than some others we have described.

The country the whole route south of Osage river, like that on the north wears a healthy countenance, with such exceptions as we made in our remarks on that, relative to lands contiguous to large water courses. As the country now under consideration in its southern parts, is remarkable for the multiplicity of its large streams, a greater proportion of fevers and agues must be looked for among it[s] future inhabitants, than at the sources of Neosho & Osage. And the more so because the hills, commonly poor and stony, which will occasion settlements to be made more extensively along the rivers.

We saw coal on Neosho at the Osage Agency, farther south we crossed a creek which ran over a bed of coal. The south bank of Arkansas, where we crossed it near Fort Gibson abounded with coal. From other specimens of less note, and the concurrent testimony of all acquainted in the country there can be no doubt that coal exists therein in great abundance.

The Cherokees own, on the east side of Neosho river lead mines which promise to become very productive. I saw specimens of the ore which was inferior to none in the western lead mines. They also

own valuable salt springs on Neosho, and farther south, some of which I saw, and one of which they were profitably working.

The whole region appears to be well watered. Neosho, and the smaller streams we saw 30 miles east and lower down the Arkansaw, were transparent. But Kansas, Virdigris, Arkansaw, north fork, Canadian & south fork, are all of muddy colour. South of Arkansaw we saw no clear water in Creek or rivulet, except a few springs. Osage is tolerably clear though in September last, we saw many places where the water was sluggish & discoloured. Kansas river was at that time little less muddy than Missouri. Arkansaw and the North fork of Canadian, are rather less muddy—Virdigris still less, and the south fork of Canadian river is of similar character. Canadian river is more deeply stained, and is of a reddish yellow, almost as highly coloured as if nature had intended its waters for a dye. Banks washed by water disclose strata of coloured earth. Hence it is easy to account for the appearance of those waters. South of Arkansaw, & in the vicinity of Canadian river especially, the earth generally is tinged with a reddish purple.

We forded the Arkansaw both going out and returning, tho. the water was on my horses sides. About half the bed of the river only was at that time, covered with water, the other half sand beach. I measured the sand part at one place 270 yards—making the whole width of the river between its banks 540 yards. In the dry season of the year water is rather scarce for steam boats of common burden. But this will nevertheless be found a valuable river for navigation as far west as the country in other respects will admit of settlement.

Kansas river, where I examined it, appeared something narrower than Arkansaw, and was at that place deep. Its banks, and its appearance in other respects greatly resembles the Missouri.

Water of Canadian river, where we crossed it, was about 60 yards wide, of average depth 2 feet, with a gentle current. I measured the sand beach at this same place, 150 yards, making the river between its banks 210 yards wide. Its low lands are chiefly sand.

We crossed the North fork of Canadian at a rocky rapid, where in the distance of 50 yards is a fall of about three feet. Most of this descent is abrupt over sand rocks. The river here is deeper than I had expected to find it from the appearance of the deeper parts I had seen above. It is about 150 yards wide. The water where we crossed immediately below the principal pitch was sometimes to our horses knees, with a strong current. At that time it

sent down more water than the Canadian, tho. it is to be reckoned a river of considerably less magnitude.

The south fork empties into Canadian only a few miles above the entrance of the north fork. It is less than the latter, and does not extend a long distance west as most of our maps indicate. It comes from the south west, is short, and interlocks its sources with those of the Kiamisha, which runs of[f] southeastwardly and empties into Red river near Fort Towson. The country at the sources of these two streams, is mountainous, and offers to the traveller few convenient passes across it.

The Choctaws own all the country between Red river & Canadian river and west of the Territory of Arkansas. The delegation had seen so little of it, when we parted with them that it could not be expected they should be able to form any opinion respecting it. On the whole route they and the Chickasaws were reserved in conversation on the subject of *country*, their removal &c. They were not wanting in expressions of friendship, but chose to say little on the objects of the expedition, tho. all had plainly enough expressed their dislike of the country we had seen previous to our arrival at Fort Gibson. The evening before I parted with the Chickasaws I informed them that I should be gratified to hear from them on this subject. The next morning the following communication, written by one of their party, and signed by them all, was handed me.

Canadian river, 7th Decr. 1828

To Mr. McCoy

Friend & Brother

In reply to your requests we have to say to you that from the situation of affairs at home, we are not able to give you any account of the present tour. When we return home, and find our affairs settled with the general government satisfactorily to us, we will then make our report to our great father the president of the U. States.

We are with great respect

Your friends and Brothers

X X X X X X⁵¹

&c

I think that when they left their homes they did not expect to be pleased. It was unfortunate that there was a necessity for pressing on them to make the tour the present season. They were induced to feel themselves on the occasion more independent, and to take

51. Twelve names were attached to this letter. The other Chickasaw were at this moment away hunting buffalo (McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, p. 367). We find the following signatures: Levi Colbert, Ish-te-ma-tah-ka, Emmubba, Im-ma-tah-ish-to, Ah-to-co-wah, Ish-ta-yah-tubba, Bah-kah-tubba, Thos. Sealy, Isaac Love, Elapa-Umba, C. Colbert, J. McLish.

greater liberty in dictating the route, than was to the advantage of the expedition. Nevertheless their conduct was at all times marked with civility and decorum greatly to their credit as gentlemen, and such, I am confident as would not suffer by comparison with american citizens on any similar expedition.

They were utterly averse to going north of the state of Missouri, and with avidity seized upon every pretext for shortening the route.

I am not prepared to recommend at this time a repetition of the expedition for the benefit of these people, yet I am confident the present has been made under so many disadvantages, that it ought not to be considered a *fair trial* in the case. I would here respectfully suggest that should another exploring expedition be ordered for similar purposes in relation to any of the tribes, the fewer the number of persons, so it be sufficient for their security and convenience in travelling, and the more simple and unostentatious, that every movement connected therewith can be, the better. In confirmation of this idea I need only refer to the expenditures incurred on the late expedition, in relation to the Potawatomies and Ottawas, and which might have been less had they been less associated with the whole, and to the favorable impression made on the minds of those Indians. These remarks imply not the smallest censure of *men*. They relate only to *measures*, which, though the result of the best of motives, may be dictated too remotely from the scene of action for the most honorable wisdom to secure them defects, and which the servants of government must obey even under a full conviction of their inutility.

Those southern delegations were composed chiefly or entirely of agricultural men, and were no doubt, good judges of country in the regions where they have always resided. But every country has its peculiar features, indicative of its fitness, or unfitness for the comfortable abode of men. Instances abound of the want of skill in emigrants from the eastern and southern states, in the selection of lands in the western country. On the waters of Osage, when travelling over prairie lands which (excepting timber) equalled in situation & fertility of soil, the excellent lands in the neighborhood of Lexington & Georgetown, Kentucky, they complained of its poorness. It seemed not easy to correct their errors. On one occasion after reasoning some time with five persons who were riding with me, I alighted and excavated the earth that they might judge from the blackness, depth, and mellowness of the soil. But altho. reason could not furnish a reply to this kind of argument, yet I had not the satisfaction to suppose that those rich prairies were esteemed much

better than sterile plains while lands of inferior quality were often remarked as the richest in the country. There was nothing mysterious in this beyond what often happens in relation to those of our own citizens when required to form an opinion of lands in a country where they are ignorant of the characteristics of its good and bad land. There is perhaps no subject agitated among men, apparently so obvious upon persons equally tenacious of truth which so widely differ. Liability to mistake in this respect becomes the greater where one whose possessions have been found in a *timbered* country, is required to judge of what may be termed a prairie country. Pardon me for suggesting that in ordering all similar exploring expeditions in future this fact ought to be borne in mind.

The season had so far advanced before we could leave St. Louis, added to the little inclination of the Indians to make the tour before next spring, that I almost despaired of a favourable issue of the expedition. My discouragements were augmented on passing out of the state of Missouri. That country in September had been the most delightful to the eye, of any that I had ever seen. From the splendid elevation, the unbounded prospect of high rolling prairies, clothed with grass of Autumnal gray, spotted, and streaked with woodlands in cheerful green, describing the course of every stream, was beautiful beyond description. But now the woods were in winter dress. The grass of the prairies burnt, or burning, the dust rising from the recently burnt prairies, agitated by our horses' feet, exceedingly troublesome. The atmosphere so smoky that sight was limited to a little sphere. The prairies black, and every thing apparently clad in mourning, the whole aggravated by winds which sometimes blew incessantly in our faces for a whole day's journey. Autumn gives to a timbered country, especially if it be fertile an air of pleasantness delightful to him who explores, for the purpose of becoming acquainted with it. Precisely the reverse is the case with a prairie country. In autumn the traveller does not feel the cold of winter, the wet of spring, the annoyance of insects and the heat of summer. He travels on firm land, and finds food plentifully, nevertheless in no season of the year does a prairie country appear so little inviting to one who likes it, or so forbidding to one who is inclined to dislike like, as in the fall about the time of the burning of the grass on the prairies.

As might be expected our southern delegations manifested less inclination to settle in the more northern parts of the country under consideration than in the more southern. It therefore became the

more perplexing on the tour, that almost all the country of Arkansas and its waters had been previously assigned to other tribes so that there remained, in a manner, none vacant for the examination of the Chickasaws. The Choctaws own a great deal of excellent country. The better parts are severed by the chain of mountainous land mentioned above, at the sources of the south fork of Canadian, and the Kiamisha. A valuable tract lying east and west along Red river, and another extending in the same direction along Arkansas and Canadian. Very few of the tribe are located in that country, and these mostly on Red river. They could spare country fully sufficient for the use of the Chickasaws on Arkansas & Canadian rivers, north of the broken poor regions that divide the better parts of their country. They would still retain in the southern parts as much as would be necessary for them of excellent quality, while that given to the Chickasaws would perhaps not be inferior. Such is the obvious excellence of that country that the Chickasaws could not possibly plead its defects as an objection to their removal. The countries now owned by the Choctaws, Creeks and Cherokees, are sufficiently extensive to accommodate the Chickasaws also—& even more. Those tribes are accustomed to neighbourhood relations, & the climate is such as they have ever enjoyed. In these remarks I include the whole of those tribes, wherever they may at present exist.

I may not be so fortunate as to meet with many who concur with me in opinion relative to the country under consideration (I mean the whole described in our remarks) yet I hesitate not to pronounce it in my estimation very good, and well adapted to the purposes of Indian settlement. I think I risk nothing in supposing that no state or territory in the union embraces a tract of equal extent and fertility, so little broken by lands not tilable, with that lying south of Kansas, & on Osage and the upper branches of Neosho, the extent of which I have not yet been able to ascertain. This country also has its defects, the greatest of which is the scarcity of timber, but by a judicious division among the inhabitants of woodland and prairie there will be found a sufficiency of the former, in connexion with coal, to answer the purposes in question with tolerable convenience.

The navigation of the Missouri river will always be attended with difficulty and hazard. Arkansas & perhaps Red river will be better. But the privileges of navigation will nevertheless be very moderate. Should the territory prosper the time will come when this circumstance will be felt as a serious inconvenience. At present it is perhaps no disadvantage and may not be for many years hence. It is

one of the local causes which will secure the Indians in the possession of that country:

The prevailing business of this country will be the raising of cattle, sheep, horses, and mules. This state of things will arise out of the fitness of the country for such purposes on account of the plentiful grazing, the natural meadows for mowing, and the abundance of salt, and out of the paucity of navigable privileges. Livestock can be exported to market without navigation.

This fact also diminishes the difficulties which would otherwise arise out of the scarcity of timber. If the inhabitants should be inclined to grow grain extensively for market, the more fencing &c would be necessary. As it is, the extent of fields will be proportioned to the immediate wants of the inhabitants, and an account of natural grazing & meadowlands, pastures & meadows on farms may be less.

From actual observation, and information from others on which I can rely, I think I have formed a pretty correct opinion, so far the data upon which it is predicated are correct, of the regions which nature, and our western settlements, have described for the purposes [of] permanent Indian habitation. In fixing the boundaries of states and smaller divisions of our country, nature is usually consulted. I shall adopt the same course, by your permission to express, respectfully my views respecting the proper limits to be allowed for Indian settlement.

A strip of valuable country lies from Missouri river along the western line of Missouri state, to its North west corner, one 100 miles, bounded on the south west by Missouri river. This tract is about 50 miles wide at its northern extremity, and comes to a point at its southern. A few Iowas and Sauks have recently been located there, but nature seems to have designed that the Missouri, which from the line of the state bears greatly to the north as we ascend, should be the line between the whites and the Indians. Farther northwest the river will doubtless form this division, and it would appear an injudicious arrangement which should require us hereafter in the use of that portion of the Missouri river, to pass thro. the Indian territories. However excellent must be this gore of land of which we are speaking, our first thoughts furnish many reasons for supposing that an Indian settlement, severed from its kindred by the navigation of Missouri, and lying along side of white settlements, would not flourish.⁵²

52. The land was acquired eight years later; for a discussion see Neuhoff, Dorothy, "The Platte Purchase," *Washington University Studies*, v. XI, *Humanistic Series*, No. 2 (1924), pp. 307-346.

From where the western line of the state of Missouri crosses the Missouri river, the general direction of the latter as we ascend is northwest for the distance, on a direct line, of 260 miles. It then turns to the west 100 miles. Then it again bears to north west, and north leaving the smaller streams of Runningwater and Puncah rivers, to mark the westwardly direction towards the Rocky mountains. I hope, sir, that a glance at some of the later maps will procure an apology for my supposing that Running water & Puncah rivers and the Missouri should form the northern boundary of the Indian Territory, the latter river the north eastern. The state of Missouri & territory of Arkansaw, the eastern, Red river (which is here our southern boundary) the southern, and the uninhabitable regions stretching nearly north and south on this side of the rocky mountains, should form the western limits of the territory.

This tract would be six hundred miles long from south to north. This distance we may believe there is habitable country of the average width from east to west of 200 miles, with some exception at its north occasioned by the inclination of Missouri river to west on the line of 260 miles mentioned above. West beyond the distance of about 200 miles we may suppose the country to be uninhabitable in consequence of the absence of timber, and, as reports say, the poverty of the soil. This tract is supposed to be fully adequate to all the purposes which the case will require. It can hardly be thought too much when we consider that 340 miles of the six hundred, has already been assigned to different tribes, notwithstanding the work is scarcely begun.

It was an excellent design which led to the extinguishment of Indian title to all the country north of Red river as far the dividing lands between Kansas river & the great river Platt (Kanza & Osage reservations excepted) But I beg leave to express less admiration of circumstance of giving to the tribes who now have claims there, more—a *great deal more* than was requisite. These and subsequent remarks on the same subject, imply not the smallest censure of those officers of government who have made those assignments of lands. They had their instructions, or were guided by reasons well understood by themselves and in many instances no doubt they were influenced by circumstances not under their control.

In the country under consideration lands have been assigned to the Choctaws, Cherokees, Creeks, Quapaws, Osages, Kansas, Shawanoes, Piankeshaws, and Delawares. Farther north live the Ottoes, Pawnees, and Omahas. From Red river on the south, to the north-

ern boundaries of the Kansas reservation, is a distance of 395 miles on a direct line. All these lands have been given away except a strip along Osage and the upper branches of Neosho, which in its narrowest part at the east is about 40 miles wide, and in its broadest about 75, and a strip extending north and south between the line of Missouri & the Osage reservation, &c. 25 miles wide, and about 80 miles long.

The assignments of these lands were not made, I suppose, with a view to an *Indian Territory*, the right to which should be secured to them. The two following considerations contribute to this conclusion. 1st. To give to every tribe proposed to be removed, with similar liberality, would be to spread them so widely that they would not come within the spirit of the design, and moreover room would not be found without taking in much of the country north of the state of Missouri. 2d. Government has not yet said that that country should be given to them for a permanent home. The only treaty with any of those tribes, that I have noticed, which seems to involve the principle of a secure home to them under the guarantee of government, is that which was concluded with the Cherokees of Arkansas, the 31st May last. In that treaty every assurance that could be desired, is given to the Indians that the lands therein assigned shall be theirs forever. But this is a matter relating to a single tribe only. Great embarrassment was felt on the late expedition because almost all the lands we saw in what we will term the Indian country, had previously been given away.

It is a fact which need not be concealed that, if our Indian tribes are to be removed to that country, some millions of acres must be re-purchased for their use, and there is too much ground to fear that such lands will be purchased with greater difficulty than they were at former treaties.

Facts already stated, together with some which will appear hereafter, induce me to beg leave respectfully, further to suggest that a *superintendency of Indian settlement*, with a view to all matters relating thereto, cannot be too soon established within the contemplated Indian territory. The superintendency of Indian affairs at St. Louis should doubtless be sustained, business apart from the Indian territory would be fully sufficient to justify it. But this argues nothing against our proposal. In support of this opinion I offer the following considerations. 1st. The business of the Indian Agents is limited to their several spheres, for which, as is natural they undesignedly and without crime contract partialities. The matter of In-

dian settlement in the territory requires concert and harmony in the operations of all the parts. The superintendency in St. Louis is 300 miles from the nearest point of the Indian territory, and consequently too remote to manage all to advantage.

2d. In a country like this where in forming settlements, the amount of woodlands, the number of the tribe &c. have to be consulted, a personal acquaintance with these things is necessary to their judicious arrangement. Information on these points obtained at a distance comes from those whose duty it is for each merely to speak of his own district without any one to report on them conjointly who is personally acquainted with the *whole*, and alike interested in all the circumstances of Indian settlement. It is in this way only that we may hope that a judicious apportionment of lands can be made.

3d. The seven millions of acres of land ceded to the Cherokees of Arkansaw last winter, runs over a valuable portion of lands previously granted to the Creeks. This mistake in the assignment of Indian lands owned for want of correct information of the geographical situation of the country. It is impossible for a just distribution of land to be made by a mere reference to our maps. To me it appears evident that the difficulty above mentioned originated in the absence of a superintendency, extending with equal interest to all parts—to all tribes, and informed of all.

4th. The superabundance of the several claims and the clashing of claims, are not the only defects of this character in the present system of operation. I suppose that the circumstance of giving to each tribe "*an Out-let*" so called, is entirely superfluous and calculated to lead to perplexing difficulties. By *out-lets* is understood, a slip of land extending from that more particularly stipulated in the treaty as being designed for settlement, west into the uninhabitable regions of the desert and the mountains. The Choctaw *out-let* is about 100 miles wide. The width of that of the Creeks is not yet settled on account of the clashing of their claims with those of the Cherokees. But that which belongs to both is about 120 miles wide. The Osage *Out-let* is 50 miles, & that of the Kansas 30. The object of these *Out-lets* is that each may have access to hunting lands in the west. But why not make those uninhabitable regions a common hunting ground for all the several hunting parties will not be able to distinguish the particular slip of land allowed for hunting purposes to the tribe to which the party belongs. And even if they could the hunter nevertheless will roam wherever the game is to be found. If

metes and bounds be fixed to those hunting lands trespasses will inevitably be frequent, and may lead to unpleasant consequences.

In the allowance of those out-lets there is sometimes ceded away to the tribe a great deal more valuable country than by the face of the treaty is intended. As, for instance in the Cherokee treaty mentioned above, there is in the first place granted to them several millions of acres, and then in addition there is given to them all the lands west of this 7,000,000 tract & south of the 36 degree of N. Latitude. If we suppose the country of the Choctaws to be valuable from the distance of 200 miles west of their eastern limits, they in that case claim of good country, 19,600 square miles, or 12,544,000 acres, and in addition to this, the whole region west as far as the boundaries of the U States' territories extend.

5th. This superintendency for which we respectfully plead, is [neces]sary in order to the establishing of such a central point in the Territory as will give to the inhabitants the idea of civil government, and in which all the parts will become united in one common bond of interest, for the preservation of peace and harmony.

6th. The greatest defect in this country, (and I am sorry that it is of so serious a character) is the scarcity of timber. If fields be made in the timbered land, which most persons who have been accustomed to timbered countries are inclined to do, the Indians more especially because often unprepared with teams for breaking prairies, timber will soon become too scarce to sustain the population which the plan under consideration contemplates. I trust that I need offer no apology for supposing that measures ought to be immediately adopted, for marking off to each settler, or class of settlers the amount of timbered land really necessary for their use severally and no more. The timber generally is so happily distributed in streaks and groves, that each farm may be allowed the amount of timber requisite, and then extend back into the prairie lands for quantity. The prairies being almost universally rich, and well situated for cultivation, afford uncommon facilities for the operation of such a method. By pursuing this plan, wood after a few years will increase in quantity annually, in proportion as the grazing of stock, and the interests of the inhabitants shall check the annual burning of those prairies. These regulations, essential to the future prosperity of the territory, cannot be made without the existence of the superintendency of which I speak. Let it be said that the country within such and such defined boundaries shall be given to the Indians for the purposes under consideration—next establish such a course

of things as will render it possible to make a fair distribution of it among its inhabitants in view of their numbers and circumstances, and which will secure to them the possibility of future prosperity.

Please to indulge me in expressing an opinion on another [point] deeply affecting the interests of this territory, and which I am confident claims the earliest attention of our government.

The Osages are avowedly engaged in an unnecessary war with Pawnees, Kamanches, and others who wander in the regions west of them. Several skirmishes occurred the last summer and fall. Osage hunting parties are frequently attacked and sometimes the enemy approaches quite to their villages. A few months ago a house erected for the Osage Chief Walking-Rain,⁵³ at a considerable expense to the United States, was scarcely completed, and had not been occupied by the owner when it was visited by a company of their enemies who spent the night in their building, the destruction of which had been entirely within their power. The owner and his party are in constant fear of such incursions of their enemies.

The Osages in return go on war expeditions against their foes. I saw two prisoners among them recently taken from the Pawnees, and some scalps, and horses. This state of warfare tends greatly to the neglect among the Osages, of hunting and the employment of other means for their subsistence and comfort.

The mischiefs of the Pawnees, & Kamanches, &c. affect others also beside the Osages. I remarked to the Shawanoes that they had settled too near the line of Missouri. I was answered, "they were aware of the inconvenience to be expected from their proximity to white settlements, but they were afraid to go farther back," on account of mischievous Indians. For the same reasons the Potawatomies and Ottawas who desire to settle in that country, would be afraid to locate on the most eligible site. Other cases of similar character could be pointed to. It seems exceedingly necessary to the improvement of the territory to adopt measures that will give to the inhabitants of that country, and especially to emigrants, an assurance of safety.

At a considerable expense to the U. States a road has been laid out from the state of Missouri to Santa Fe in the Mexican territories.⁵⁴ Such has been the improvement of trade to that country that this has become a plainly beaten waggon road. Our enterprising citizens have often returned from the mexican territories richly

53. A chief of the Little Osage, named in the treaty of 1825.

54. See Dr. Kate Gregg's forthcoming book to be entitled "The Road to Santa Fe" (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press).

laden with silver, and driving before them Hundreds of Horses, Mules, &c. But the returns of the past season have been unsuccessful. While I was in that country two caravans, at different times were robbed by those western Indians. The first company had two men killed, and lost about 700 mules and horses. The second had one man killed, lost scarcely a less number of animals—were forced to abandon their wagons & baggage—carry about \$6,000 in specie on their backs and hide it in the earth, and come home on foot, exposed to great distress.

The late successes of those marauders, it may be expected, will embolden them in their robberies—and invite a greater number to engage in them, and our Indian settlements in that country, as well as the trade to Santa Fe, are destined soon to feel the effects of them more seriously than heretofore, unless efficient measures to check them be speedily adopted by our government. What measures would be most eligible is not easily determined.⁵⁵ The villages of many of those Indians who are known to be engaged in these acts of hostility, are within the Mexican territories. They wander on the sources of Arkansas along the mountains, and make excursions south and east—send an armed force into the country where they wander. They could fly faster than troops could pursue. It would be impossible to come upon them unawares, for they are ever on the alert in this respect, and those woodless plains forbid the concealment of the traveller. If troops by stratagem were to come in contact with a company of Indians, it would be almost, or quite impossible to decide whether they were offenders, or an inoffensive hunting party, for every hunting party is prepared for war, on account of their continual dread of their enemies. Buffalos and other game are abundant in every place. They would therefore feel no inconvenience in flying from one place to another, and so soon as our troops would return, they would be ready to resume their mal-conduct.

To station troops farther west than any are at present located would be better than the plan above referred to but it could not obviate the difficulty. They had the hardihood last summer to attack and kill our citizens almost within sight of Fort Towson. For this they were in return scourged, but not reformed. I hope I shall not be deemed uncharitable for conjecturing that others, beside Indians have a hand in these depredations upon our citizens. No company, I believe, has yet been attacked on it's way to Santa Fe; attacks are invariably made on those who are returning. The times of their

55. The United States instituted a convoy system in 1829.

leaving Santa Fe are there known, and opportunity afforded for making timely preparations for mischief. They are watched from their outseting until a favourable opportunity offers for the attack.

In order to put a stop to these alarming raids, I would advise that from the Osages, who are the only Indians avowedly engaged in this war, a delegation be sent into the country where those Pawnees and Comanches, and others might be found, for the purpose of making peace with them.⁵⁶ Let them be conducted by such commissioners of government as would be necessary, and one company of soldiers, with say, two light field pieces. The Spring season would be the best time to commence the expedition. Leave the state of Missouri at the mouth of Kansas river, and proceed westwardly. Ten days journey might bring them in contact with some, by whom messages of peace could be forwarded to others, and runners sent still farther after hunting or war parties, and places would be agreed on from time to time for meeting the several bands. Four or five months would be sufficient for the purposes of the expedition, which would terminate by a more southern route. Meat for subsistence could be obtained abundantly in every place, and the costs of the expedition might be very [trifling?].

I am in possession of facts communicated to me by a respectable trader,⁵⁷ not long since acquainted with those Indians, and capable of conversing with them, which fully convince me that such a visit would be successful in inducing them to be peaceable with Osages and other Indians in that country and to cease their depredations on the Santa Fe road. I have reason to believe that those Indians would eagerly avail themselves of such a state of things should the subject be laid before them in its proper light. Peace once established could be preserved, because the stipulations would be immediately followed by the establishment of trading houses as far as our boundaries extend, and in other respects they would be brought within the ken and influence of our government. This done they would give us in future no more trouble. While in our acquaintance with them we should find our account in matters of trade. Instead of being robbers they would become trappers, and the trade of the

56. Among the McCoy MSS. ("Letters," v. 16) in the Kansas State Historical Society is a note that clearly credits this plan to A. P. Chouteau; it is entitled "Mem. Opinion of A. P. Chouteau at both St. Louis & Fort Gibson, Dec. 1. 1828." It reads as follows: "A judicious method of settling disputes between Osages, and Camanches & other Indians of the west, would be to send a delegation from Osages to them. Chouteau could speak to the latter—is acquainted with them— One company would be a sufficient guard— with two light field pieces— Spring the proper time— Leave Missouri State at say Kansas river, & turn round south via Arkansas.— Time necessary, 4 or 5 months— Would meet one party— Then send to another &c— Would likely meet some ten days journey west of Missouri State— might then go farther or send for them as the case would be."

57. Chouteau, apparently.

mountains, already lucrative, could be carried on without molestation.

The plan has not been disclosed to the Osages, but while I was in their country such enquiries were made and such answers returned by some Osages of influence, that I have no doubt that the nation could readily be brought into the measure.

I have the honor to be with
 Very great Respect, Sir
 Your Obedient Servant
 Isaac McCoy

During the whole of both tours I kept a daily journal. It was of importance on both that we had a map [prepared for the occasion?], of the country between Arkansaw Territory and state of Missouri, and the Rocky mountains, and extending from our southern boundaries north beyond the Territory proposed for the Indians. I regret that I have not had time since I returned from the woods to prepare such a map, corrected, for the use of the Department.

It only remains for me to obtain leave to express, with much confidence my opinion that the country under consideration is adequate to the purposes of a permanent and comfortable house for the Indians, and whatever may be the obstacles which at present oppose, they may, nevertheless be located there without recourse to any measure not in accordance with the most rigid principles of justice and humanity. In such a location only can be found hopes of their future prosperity—and here their prospects would not be shaded by a doubt.

Washington City
 Jan. 29, 1829.

III. THE REPORTS OF KENNERLY, HOOD, AND BELL ⁵⁸

WASHINGTON CITY,
 February 4, 1829.

SIR: As leader of the exploring expedition, composed of deputations from the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Creeks, and which was specially authorized by Congress, I have the honor to submit the following remarks, together with the notes, &c., taken on the route.

In compliance with the instructions I received from General William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, we proceeded directly from St. Louis to the western boundary of the State of Missouri, near the mouth of the Kansas river, and on the south

⁵⁸. *House of Representatives Report No. 87, 20 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 24-48.*

side of the Missouri. Finding that the deputations were averse to going as far north as the instructions required, I was induced in some measure to change the contemplated route, and bear to the south. For our course, I would beg leave to refer you to the topographical sketch, herewith, taken by Lieutenant Hood and Mr. Bell; for a description of the general appearance and face of the country, together with the character of soil, &c., I would also refer you to the notes taken on the route, herewith enclosed.

The Chickasaws and Choctaws being at war with the Osages, I thought it advisable to go to their villages, and effect, if possible, a peace. After consulting with the deputations, and finding they were of my opinion, we concluded and went to the Osage villages, where we were well received and hospitably treated. I induced them to make a peace satisfactory to both parties.

There is a sufficient quantity of well timbered and watered land on the Arkansas and its tributaries for the whole of the southern Indians, if a proper distribution be made.

The Creek deputation expressed themselves in high terms of the country assigned to them by the Government, and will make a favorable report to their nation, and make use of their influence in getting their people to emigrate to it.

As is customary with Indians, the Choctaws and Chickasaws were very guarded in the expression of any opinion about the country, or of their removing to it. I am inclined to believe, however, that, if the United States will procure from the Choctaws a sufficient portion of their lands, lying on and south of the Canadian fork of the Arkansas river, and make an offer of it to the Chickasaws, they will accept it. This opinion is predicated upon some conversations I had with the deputation at various times, but upon no positive assurance from them.

The Chickasaws being in a great measure under the protection of the Choctaws, in consequence of the number of the latter tribe, I think it would be the best policy to keep the two tribes together, as they are, and always have been, friendly towards each other, and also connected by the tie of a common language.

I deem it unnecessary to say any thing more, as the notes, &c., accompanying this, will explain every thing necessary to be known, and more in detail.

I have the honor to be,
Your obedient servant,
G. H. KENNERLY.

HON. P. B. PORTER,
Secretary of War.

In compliance with orders received from the Honorable Secretary of War, the exploring expedition, composed of deputations from the Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Creek tribes of Indians, under the command of Capt. George H. Kennerly, left St. Louis on the 21st of October, 1828, for the purpose of examining the land to the west of the State of Missouri, together with that situated between the Canadian forks of the Arkansas River.

As topographers to the expedition, Lieut. Washington Hood and John W. Bell were appointed to accompany it; which having done, they have the honor to make the following report:

The country from the western boundary line of the State of Missouri, as far as the waters of the Arkansas, with but few exceptions, is prairie; the soil generally deep and rich, although it varies as it is situated at a greater or less distance from the streams watering the country; that, of course, being the best which approaches nearest the creeks and rivers; it is mostly of a dark brown color, and doubtless, if put to the test, would produce abundantly.

The prairie, with respect to appearance, differs a good deal between the two points mentioned; in some places it is quite rolling, even approaching to hills, and at others almost a plain surface; that, however, which lies in the vicinity of the State line has the latter appearance, whilst that which is on the waters of the Neosho, may be almost classed with the former. As the former however prevails, the soil becomes more sterile, on account of the rains washing it from the summits and sides of the hills into the valleys below. This, in some measure, accounts for the numerous quantities of small fragments of lime and sand stone which is met with on the ridges and sides of the hills of the prairie country.

These hills, or more properly natural mounds, stand isolated very often, sometimes in clusters of from three to five, at different distances from each other; they are often of a conical form, and again forming extensive ridges, the extremities of which are rounded off so as to present the appearance of a semicone. They vary in height from fifty to one hundred and fifty feet, but are seldom of greater altitude; their bases of different dimensions, according to the form.

The country situated between the forks of the Canadian, after passing the mouth of the Little North fork, or Deep Fork as it is sometimes called, presents a very different appearance. At the

distance of from seven to nine miles from the junction of the main Canadian with the Arkansas, it is in many places quite hilly; between these hills, however, we often meet with very handsome valleys of considerable extent, well timbered. The latter is applicable to the hills also.

The soil is here mixed with a great portion of sand, no doubt arising from the disintegration of the sand stone, which abounds in this part of the country. It differs from that met with on the Neosho and Osage rivers, having, generally, a very dark cast, approaching almost to a purple color.

It is said that the bottom land laying near the mouth of the Canadian, and continuing up for the distance of four or five miles, is very fine and level, containing much, and capable of producing every thing which would render the situation a delightful one. The margins of the different water courses in this vicinity are generally pretty extensive, and must, in time, become thickly populated.

The country from Missouri on as far as the Creek Agency on the Verdigris, rests on an extensive bed of limestone; from this, continuing south, it appears to be sandstone.

The majority of the streams passed by the expedition have always a number of small branches acting as feeders; ravines, also, passing off from the prairies, the sides of which are oftentimes rocky, render the land in many places considerably broken.

The current of these streams could not be considered as very rapid; probably, at this season, being quite low, their tendency to rapidity is decreased; but, from all accounts, the most of them, even the smallest branches, which, in some parts of the year, are completely dry, when swollen by the rains and the melting of the snow in the Spring, render their velocity so great as to carry every thing before it. At this period, of course, the waters rise to a great height, inundating all the country around, and sometimes to a considerable distance.

The Arkansas river is the largest of the streams passed by the expedition after leaving Missouri. It rises in the Rocky Mountains, and pursues a winding course in a southeasterly direction, passing through a vast extent of country, until it discharges itself into the Mississippi.

The banks of this stream are not high at either of the points where the expedition forded it, and from the appearances presented, we would not suppose they were of any great height in its whole course. The width is between five and six hundred yards at the

point where we first struck the river; the taste of the water is slightly brackish; the banks are composed of a reddish clay, mixed with sand. This stream has a milky appearance, corresponding in some degree with the color of its banks; it flows over a bed consisting of lime and sandstone, the latter predominating. The shores are a mixture of sand and gravel; the former of which, when the wind is high, presents at a distance the appearance of a storm. This river is easily forded in the vicinity of Cantonment Gibson, on the Neosho, at this season of the year.

Into its waters are discharged those of some considerable streams; the Neosho, Verdigris, Illinois, and Canadian, are the principal ones. Their junctions with the Arkansas are not far from each other, the whole being contained in the distance, forty miles. The three first enter from the east, and the latter from the west of the Arkansas river.

The margins of these streams, as also of the tributaries, are generally timbered, sometimes continued along its whole course, and at others merely in groves; this is the case on some parts of the Neosho or Grand River. The timber on this, as well as the Osage, is very good, being large and of an excellent quality in many places. The great fault to be found with it is on account of its scarcity, not extending at any point but a short distance from the water courses.

It consists generally of the following kinds, viz: walnut, hickory, elm, ash, black and white oak, coffee nut, hackberry, mulberry, &c. &c.

The Canadian country, from the distance of four or five miles from its mouth, may be considered as well timbered for seventy or eighty miles up the stream, and between the branches of the main river. In fact, this part appears to be covered with it; but, on continuing up towards its head waters, we are told very little is met with, except on the small branches, tributaries to the Canadian. &c., until we arrive at what is called by hunters "The Cross Timbers," passing between the head waters, not only of this river, but also those of the Arkansas and its branches.

Its width is from ten to thirty miles. After passing beyond this, no timber of any consequence is met with, the whole being a vast prairie country.

On some parts of the Neosho, as we approached the Arkansas, cane brakes were seen upon the margins of this stream. These, however, in comparison with those more south, are but small; the common height of the cane being from seven to ten feet, the diameter in

proportion. In a number of places on the Arkansas and Illinois rivers, it grows so close as to impede, in a great measure, the progress of any one travelling through them.

The country ceded to the Osages, and continuing south, appears to abound in coal. In the bank of the Neosho river, near the Agency, and on the same side, there is a fine bed, having the same appearance, and possessing the same properties with that found in the vicinity of Pittsburg. The bank of this stream, at this place, is exclusively sandstone, of a light red color, varying, however, to yellow and grey. Shell limestone is found also in the different little creeks and ravines about this agency.

The extent of this bed is not known; but it probably continues for a great distance. At the point where the expedition forded the Riviere la Bate, or River of Reptiles, its entire bed, for the distance of from three to four hundred yards, was found to be of stone coal, of a similar kind with that mentioned above.

In the southern bank of the Arkansas, just on the left of the point at which we struck and forded the river, near Cantonment Gibson, there is a bluff composed of strata of slate and sandstone, the former of which is combined with a great quantity of coal; in fact, it is found in a number of the small streams watering the country; from which we conclude, that, although there is a scarcity of fuel of one kind, yet nature has provided another in great quantities.

A specimen of crystallized and transparent gypsum was received during the route, which was found on the smoky fork of the Kansas river; it has a handsome appearance, quite soft; the Indians procure, burn, and use it as a paint; when burnt, it loses its transparency, becomes brittle, &c.; in what quantities it occurs is not known.

Galena is said to occur in the different small branches in and about the land ceded to the Osages; one specimen only was obtained, which was found in Flag river, a small branch of the Neosho; it is crystallized, and would yield from 50 to 60 per cent. of pure lead.

Near Mr. Cheauteau's trading house, on the Neosho,⁵⁹ between two and three miles southeast from it, there is, apparently, a very fine salt spring; the water rises through a number of apertures made by the spring in a limestone rock which covers a space of about two acres.

The quantity of salt which could be obtained from a certain quantity of the water is not known, as the experiment has never been

59. A. P. Chouteau's post, generally called the Grand Saline (see Footnote 74).

made; from its taste, however, we would suppose that, if worked, it would prove very productive.

From this spring at all times rises great quantities of sulphuretted hydrogen; a piece of silver being placed in one of the apertures mentioned above, was turned black, thereby clearly indicating the presence of that gas.

For other information respecting the country passed through by the expedition, we would respectfully refer to the notes which follow. And here we beg the liberty to observe, that on account of the short time which elapsed during the tour, we had but little opportunity to give the country such an examination as it merits; particularly the part laying on the Canadian, and between the forks of the same river. It cannot be expected that the map accompanying this sketch is in every respect correct, as, upon such an expedition as has been made, there are but few conveniences to enable us either to give satisfaction to ourselves, or those concerned with the expedition. Enough, however, has been said, to give, in general, a view of the country between the waters of the Blue, and those of the South Fork of the Canadian river.

We have the honor to be,
Very respectfully,
WASH. HOOD,
Lt. U. S. Army.
JOHN BELL.

ST. LOUIS, Mo. *13th Jan. 1829.*

DEAR SIR: Enclosed you will find the notes which are to accompany the map.⁶⁰ The short period allowed to finish them, in order to meet you at Washington City, would not permit a revision of them; as they are, we believe them to be correct, although not so full as we would wish them.

If it is possible, we would like to get a supply of the map and notes, together with the general report.

We have the honor to be,
Very respectfully,
Your obedient servants,
WASH. HOOD, *Lt. U. S. A.*
JOHN BELL.

60. There were probably two maps: McCoy's (see Footnote 21) and one made by the topographers. Neither has been found.

CAPT. GEO. H. KENNERLY,
Washington City, D. C.

The following notes are taken from the original ones made on the expedition, commencing at the western boundary line of the State of Missouri, five miles south of the mouth of the Kansas, and concluding at a point of the same line situated between the Osage Agency and the Harmony Mission, on the Osage river: ⁶¹

COURSES.	Dis. from one point to another.	Total dis. from gr. line.	REMARKS.
	Miles.		
From line to < No. 1, S. 45 W.	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	The face of the country moderately rolling, soil very rich, well timbered, black and white oak, red and slippery elm, walnut, hickory, hackberry, black and honey locust, ash, lynn, some cherry-tree under-wood, red bud, pawpaw and hazel; six or eight hundred yards from line, crossed near the head of a small branch running to left, ⁶² winding its way to the Big Blue river.
< No. 1 to 2,	4	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	< No. 1 entered prairie at a projecting point, woods on right and left for half a mile, where the timber on left disappeared; that on the right continued to No. 2, at a distance varying from 100 yards to half a mile from course, which was over the points of ridges making down to the Blue river, tributary to Missouri, which runs here parallel with course between one and two; face of country gently rolling, soil rich.
No. 2 to 3, S. 20 W.	3	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	Country generally rolling, soil rich, course a little to left; Perry and Comstalk's (Shawnee) village to right, on an eminence, at the foot of which winds the waters of a branch of the Blue river. ⁶³ The general course of this creek, a little beyond this point, west. At No. 3 crossed the Santa Fe road; timber at this point just in sight on right; none in view on left of course.

61. According to McCoy (p. 416, above) the party left the camp on the Missouri line on November 8.

62. Brush creek, in the extreme northeastern corner of present Johnson county, Kansas.

63. Indian creek.

- No. 3 to B. 3 10½ Half a mile, passed over a moderately elevated ridge, which divides the waters of the Little and Big Blue;⁶⁴ from its summit no timber in sight, nothing in fact but an extensive rolling prairie; half a mile from point B, a small rivulet, on which is a handsome grove of timber; this heads about two and a half miles above where we crossed it; its general course from west to east, joining the Big Blue a short distance below; proceeding half a mile over level and well timbered land to point B, we struck the waters of the Big Blue; the timber on this stream, at point B, is near a mile in width, of the same kind as that which is found at the line; this however decreases as you approach its source, which is distant 10 or 12 miles, a little south of west; it is here about ten yards in width, banks 10 or 12 feet high, water clear, of a bluish green appearance where it is deep; its taste corresponds with that which is found passing over (as this stream does) a bed of limestone; soil from No. 3 to this point generally good.
- B. to No. 1, 4 14½ Nov. 10.—After passing this river and continuing half a mile through oak, walnut, and hickory timber, ascending a long gentle slope from the stream, entered prairie; from the top of this rise we had a commanding view of the surrounding country; a continued rolling prairie on right; on left, the appearance was beautiful; numerous small streams, their margins timbered, were seen winding their courses in the valleys of this rolling country generally to E. and N. E.; continuing on for two miles, crossed a small branch running nearly at right angles with course; its banks are timbered, the width of the timber about 300 yards; after leaving it, we touched upon a prairie to the right; shortly after crossed another branch running from southwest to northeast, which intersects the former a short distance below our crossing place; the water of both is clear, and corresponds with the waters of the Big Blue, as it respects color and taste; both are tributaries of this stream. From this we ascended a gently rising hill; on reaching its summit we had another view of the country around; this elevation is at < No. 1; groves of timber were seen to the southeast, at some distance from course; country, as usual, rolling, soil good.

64. The topographers must have meant the ridge between Tomahawk, a western branch of Big Blue, and the latter. Little Blue lies in Missouri to the east of Big Blue; the party is clearly to the west of the latter stream.

- No. 1 to C, 4 18½ Half a mile from this < crossed the Main Santa Fe road; two miles further, crossed a small creek, three miles from its head, containing clear running water, its course from northwest to southeast; masses of limestone are found on the summits and sides of the small ridges leading to this brook; near its margin there are a few scattering trees, which are low and scrubby; country rather hilly near this creek. Continuing one and a half mile, came to another creek, at point C; the course of this is from southwest to northeast; it forked just below point G [C?]; the left branch winds off in a southerly direction; its banks are of limestone, in some places perpendicular, the limestone in horizontal layers. The face of the country in this vicinity is generally rolling, but, as an approach is made to the creeks, it becomes broken and hilly, sometimes (as it is at this point) with steep and rocky cliffs. Very little timber on this creek; soil generally good.
- From C to 10 28½ Nov. 11.—Crossed the left fork of this creek, with banks of limestone, as before; from this we ascended for two and a half miles, until we arrived at the dividing ridge between the waters of the Blue and Grand rivers, the latter a branch of the Osage; from the top of this ridge no timber was seen in any direction; the course of this ridge from northwest to southeast; half a mile, crossed what is generally called in this part of the country, "a dry creek," leading to the Grand river, its course S. 40 W.; at the distance of 7 or 8 miles, it increases; as it approaches Grand river, its margins in some places timbered slightly; we passed down the northern side of this stream, crossing numerous drains from the prairie, which is rolling; these drains from the prairie render the land near the stream quite broken; at No. 1, the timber on the creek to the left, which continues for 3 or 4 miles back, disappears; a little after, we met with a small grove of timber on right. The soil of this part of the country has been washed from its original situation in many places, showing a part of the extensive bed of limestone on which it rests; soil very good.
- No. 1 to 2, 1 29½ Course for a short time changed to left, winding round some steep rocky hollows; timber to the west and northwest, down the hollows; country very rolling to south of course; soil, when uninterrupted, good.
- No. 2 to D, 1 30½ A few hundred yards from < No. 2, entered timber, which continued to a creek, another branch of the Grand river; country gently declining from the edge of the timber to creek; the soil mixed with nu-

merous small fragments of limestone; the course of it is from north to south; at the point where we struck and forded this stream, it has a beautiful grove of timber; it forks about half a mile above the last point mentioned; country not so much broken on the west as on the east side of it; the soil here is very rich.

D to No. 1, 10 40½
S.

Nov. 12.—Proceeded three or four hundred yards; entered prairie; country nearly level; a moderately elevated ridge to right; continued 3 miles, and crossed the main branch of Grand river; its course appeared to be from northwest to southeast, and joined the one last mentioned about half a mile below; it is 15 or 20 yards in width, banks varying, 10 or 12 feet general height; beautiful grove of timber upon it, width 5 or 600 yards; the country is more rolling on the south than on the north side; this stream, like all we passed, is at present very low; the water corresponds in appearance, &c. with that of the Blue; continuing a few hundred yards, enter prairie, nearly level about one mile; then ascend a ridge which divides the creek just passed and that in front; country on this ridge and S. S. E. and S. W., rather hilly and broken; limestone exposed in many places on the summits and sides of hills, and also in the prairie; passed from the ridge into an extensive valley, running from west to east, in which is a little timber, which is on a small dry creek; at the distance of one mile, crossed another creek, running from southwest to northeast; country rolling, soil good; in a number of places, however, the soil contains the mixture of fragments of lime stone; after leaving this, in a short time we crossed the dividing ridge between the Grand and the Osage rivers. The country from the summit of this ridge to the east and west appears hilly and broken, but to the south rolling, with some extensive valleys; passed half < No. 1, in a valley.

No. 1 to 2, 3 43½
S. 25 W.

Between Nos. 1 and 2 the country is gently rolling; no timber, but good soil; about half way between the two points is a detached hill of a conical form, to the right of course; between 6 and 800 yards circumference of base, and altitude 90 or 100 feet.

No. 2 to E, 3 46½
S. 45 W.

At point E there is a small ridge, the ends of which are rounded off; rolling prairie to the Osage river at point E, a few small streams or branches, with a few scattering trees on them, wind their courses toward this river in sight from course; before arriving at the bank of the Osage, we crossed a small branch at the edge of the timber; the wood is on the northern margin of the Osage, at this point in width half a mile,

- the river 60 or 70 yards wide, water clear, banks 25 or 30 feet in height, and composed of the rich alluvial soil of the country to irregular depths, then succeeds a bed of sand and gravel, of a reddish brown color to the water's edge; over a bed of this the Osage winds its course, which course, in general, appears to be from W. N. W. to E. S. E. The width of timber varies on this stream from a half to two miles; the soil near and in the vicinity of the river is of the best quality.
- E to No. 1, 5 41½⁶⁵ November 13th.—Crossed the Osage,⁶⁶ which is at S. 30 E. this time easily forded, being quite low; a few hundred yards from the point, at which we struck the opposite bank, enter prairie in the valley running to the river; small hills to left of course, which divide the waters of the main Osage from another branch three or four miles south; its junction with the main stream is four or five miles from the place where we forded the river; continuing three miles, again strike the Osage; a high craggy bluff at this point; some timber on the ridges, and also on the bluff, which is near 200 feet in height, the country very rolling south, between this and the last creek spoken of. Limestone still predominates, making its appearance in horizontal strata in the bluff, and sides and summits of the hills.
- No. 1 to F, 3½ 45 Continued one mile; passed into a valley in which S. ran a dry creek with a few scattering trees; its course is from E. to W.; some hills on the south side of this creek; kept down the creek some distance, and crossed at a point of hills on the east; about a mile S. W. of this point we struck the creek, and passed up it about half a mile; on the north side of this stream there are some high hills, the summits of which are bold; large masses of limestone in layers, projecting a short distance in some places over the sides of the hills; at this point there is another beautiful grove of timber; the course of creek appears to be from W. S. W. to E. N. E. to the Osage; the soil generally good. The creek just mentioned is 25 or 30 yards wide, and banks 15 or 20 feet high; at present this stream is very low.
- F to G, 15 60 November 14, 1828.—Passed up a valley and bot- S. 30 W. tom of this branch; there is a range of hills to left during the whole distance, points of which frequently come within a short distance of the creek, but sometimes recede to such distances as to form extensive valleys and bottoms.

65. This mileage total is incorrect. It should read 51½. To correct succeeding mileage totals, always add ten.

66. According to McCoy they crossed the Osage or Marais des Cygnes river about 20 miles west of the Missouri line (see Footnote 37). That figure, with Hood's mileage, would indicate a crossing in the neighborhood of present Osawatomie, Miami county.

These bottoms and valleys are generally well timbered, particularly the former; the summits and sides of the hills are generally capped with large uncovered beds, or rather masses of limestone, the layers of which are horizontal; they are in height from 50 to 150 feet; the sides are mostly covered with the usual kinds of upland timber, such as post-oak, black jack, &c.; the country at some distance from the creek is prairie, hilly, and broken; rendered so by the numerous ravines or drains which serve to carry off the water from the prairie to the creek mentioned above, which we ascended. About three miles below G crossed the creek to the west side, and proceeded about 300 yards to prairie; this is rolling, which continues for a great distance; in fact, as far as the eye can distinguish any object, the horizon bounding the view; the soil of this valley is of the first quality; it is also very good in all the prairie country in this vicinity, except where the land has been laid bare by the rains.

- | | | | |
|-------------------------|----|----|--|
| G to No. 1,
S. 50 W. | 6 | 66 | November 15, 1828.—Proceeded up the valley of the creek on the west side; face of the country almost level on course to < No. 1; prairie on right gently ascending for one or two miles, then became rolling; crossed a branch, on which is a few scattering trees about half way between these two points; branch courses from W. to E., soil varying, near the branch good, but a little removed; stony. |
| No. 1 to 2,
S. | 10 | 76 | Creek here approaches course; very little timber on the west side of it at this point; the east side is hilly and broken, with some timber on points of ridges, as well as on the numerous tributaries of this branch; the creek here takes an easterly direction; little or no timber on the branches leading to it from west, continuing seven or eight miles, and pass the dividing ridge between the waters of the Osage and Neosho; country rolling; the soil mixed with numerous small and large fragments of limestone, flint, and gravel, &c.; from the descending point the country becomes less rolling; continued to < No. 2, at which we crossed a drain, which we descended to another, winding its course from east; these branches met just below where we crossed; a little timber in the fork; soil across the dividing ridge poor and stony. |
| No. 2 to H,
S. 50 W. | 3 | 79 | The country to H is gently rolling in our course both to right and left; some sandstone of a reddish cast was found here, mixed in beds of limestone; soil generally good; crossed the creek to west side again, where there is a handsome grove of timber. |

- H. to No. 1, 6 85 November 16, 1828.—Continued 300 yards; entered S. 50 W. prairie, rolling in all directions to No. 1, except in the valley of the creek which we passed; this runs to the left nearly parallel with course. The soil here, as well as for some distance back, in many places, is mixed, as has been before stated, with limestone in small fragments; here is also fragments of sandstone, flint, &c.; where this is not the case, the soil is good; timber of the Neosho to the west in sight.
- No. 1 to I, 10 95 Crossed the creek again at this point; here is a S. 10 W. conical hill north side of the creek; half a mile below the crossing place it wound around with course, running parallel with it; face of the country nearly level to the S. and E. side of this water course for a mile or two, then changes to rolling three miles; crossed a creek running east, joining the former on right, a short distance below; tributary of the Neosho; half a mile further, continuing one mile from this creek, we struck the Neosho river; coming in from the N. W., rolling prairie to left, on east of river; to point I the soil very rocky in some places near the margin; with this exception, the soil is good.
- I, to Osage 19 114 November 17, 1828.—The appearance of the country, from this as far on as the Osage Agency, is rolling; a few miles east of the river, between these two points, there are several small creeks tributaries of the Neosho; two miles from I, there is one running general direction N. N. E. to S. S. W., on which is a grove of timber nearly half a mile in breadth; at present no running water; another branch is eight or ten miles below this, with timber; its course from N. N. E. to S. S. W.;⁶⁷ about half a mile this side of the Agency there is another, running from N. E. to S. W.⁶⁸ This is not so large as the former, nor does it, after a distance of one mile and a half from river, afford as handsome groves of timber; the face of the country between these creeks varies from level pieces of land to rolling prairie, and especially in the bend of the Neosho at the Agency; the timber of the river is generally confined to the east side of the following kinds, viz: black and white oak, overcup oak, walnut, hickory, hackberry, red and slippery elm, black and honey locust, lynn, ash, a little cotton wood, and near the margin, birch, willow, and sycamore; soil between the two points mentioned generally good; the Osage Agency is on the west side of the river, on a moder-

67. Probably Big creek entering the Neosho from the left (east) above present Shaw, Neosho county.

68. Probably Canville creek entering the Neosho from the left below present Shaw.

ately elevated rise, which extends near the Neosho, and forms here a bluff bank.⁶⁹

The Neosho river at the agency is between 50 and 60 yards in width; the height of the bank varies from 15 to 25 feet on the east side; the bluff bank is of much greater height, and is composed of sandstone of various colors, generally of a light grey cast, often red. The bed of the river is gravel, the water clear; the depth at this season $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 feet at the point mentioned above. In the bluff, on the western side of the river, there is a formation of stone coal; it contains a great deal of bitumen; when burnt, gives out a dark smoke; burns with a reddish brown flame; in fact, it appears to possess the properties of the coal which is found in such abundance in the vicinity of Pittsburg, Pa. The specimen obtained was from near the surface; of course not so good as that which is more deeply imbedded. The extent of this formation is not known, but it is probable that it extends to a great distance in this country, as it will be seen, as we advance, that this is not the only place it is to [be] met with. The sandstone here appears to predominate, and doubtless from this as far as the expedition proceeded may be considered a sand stone country.

Agency to
the village
of White
Hair.
S. 45 E.

6 120

From the agency to White Hair's village is a rolling prairie country.⁷⁰ About three miles from the former there is a creek running to the Neosho on left, with a few scattering trees; east, half a mile this side, or north of the village, there is another; both, however, small. Sandstone is found in the sides, or rather composing the sides of the drains leading down to the river; soil good. Timber on Neosho from $\frac{1}{2}$ mile to 2 in width.

W. H. Vil.
to J.
S.

24 $\frac{1}{2}$ 144 $\frac{1}{2}$

From this village for 3 miles the course was S. 30 E., change to S. 20 E. for 3 miles; crossed a small dry creek, which forks just above this point; half a mile below it joins the Neosho; a few scattering trees on it; on the points of the ridges which make to it above the forks, there is some post oak and black jack; continuing 3 miles crossed another creek with some scrubby timber on it; its course from W. by N. to E. by S. Course from this, for 8 or 10 miles, nearly due S., crossing the heads or near the heads of several hollows or drains which lead to the Neosho on left; from this, S. W. for 5 or 6 miles, to a creek called the

69. The Osage agency was then on the right (west) bank of the Neosho a little above the present town of Erie.

70. The party remained four days in this neighborhood. White Hair's village was on the right (west) bank of the Neosho a few miles below present Erie.

River of Reptiles at K [J.?].⁷¹ The general course of this creek appears to be from N. W. to S. E., and heads opposite the Osage Agency; it is about 20 yards wide, banks of clay 15 or 20 feet high. Throughout the season there is always some water in this creek; but at this time, at the point we passed it, it was not running. There is a handsome grove of timber on this creek, from 100 yards to half a mile in width. The general face of the country between the two last points is rolling; but as it approaches the river it becomes somewhat hilly and broken, many ravines running from the prairie to river having this effect, and consequently producing this difference in appearance. Sand and limestone are frequently met with in these ravines, and often exposed in the prairie; soil generally good. The distance of point J. from the Neosho river is 5 miles; the country between these streams is nearly level at this point.

J. to K. 20½ 165
S.

Three miles quite level, soil not good; crossed the "Riviere du Bate," or River of Reptiles. The bed of this river at this point, for about 300 yards, is composed wholly of stone coal, of the same quality and appearance as that which is found at the Osage Agency; probably a continuation of the same formation; about 4 miles from the point at which we struck and crossed the river of Reptiles to the Neosho; from this proceeded over a very level prairie of 3 miles, and crossed a small dry creek. The soil of this prairie is not of the best quality; the creek has a few scattering trees; ranges from S. W. to N. E. into the Riviere du Bate; from the branch, the country is rolling in all directions, for 7 or 8 miles. Met with a grove of timber on a ridge composed, as usual, of post oak and black jack; continuing 2 miles, crossed the head waters of the Planche Cabin, or Plank Cabin creek; course of it on right a little W. of S.; its general course is nearly due S. to its junction with the Neosho. Thence over a gently rolling prairie as before; passed a number of conical hills on left of course. From this our direction was S. W. to the creek at point L.; which creek, at this point, is narrowly skirted with timber of the usual kind; found on the Neosho river, at this part of the creek, stone coal was again met with, which warrants the conclusion that although there is a great scarcity of timber in

71. Labette creek. Corrupted from La Bête; a French translation which preserves an Osage legend. The party was apparently now traveling down the road from the Osage agency to the Creek agency and Fort Gibson. This camp must have been west or northwest of present Oswego.

this country, yet nature has provided an abundance of fuel of another kind, as doubtless, from the appearances presented, this part of the country is well supplied with coal.⁷²

From point L. to the Neosho is about 12 miles, rolling prairie; soil this day very variable; west of creek, country also rolling. It is not far from this to the dividing ridge between the waters of the Neosho, or Grand river, and the Verdigris.

From K. to 35 200
Cheauteaus
Trading
House.
S. 5 W.

November 24, 1828. From K, course S. E. for 2 miles, at which place there are some hills, with timber; before arriving at the timber the course changed to S., leaving the timber to left; country gently rolling in our course, and to the creek on our right, about one mile distant; on the left it is variable, rolling and hilly. Three miles from point K, crossed a branch running to the right; 1 mile further crossed a deep hollow, at the head of which there are large rocks of sandstone; its course is to the right. Continuing 3 or 4 miles, we meet with timbered hills, the timber of the usual kind found off from the margins of the streams of this country, viz: post oak and black jack; from course to creek on right, 1 mile; an extensive valley between this and the Neosho to the E. and S. E., for 7 or 8 miles. For 5 or 6 miles the country is moderately rolling to the point at which we crossed the "Plank cabin Creek" to the west side; the creek at this point is about 20 yards wide, water low; the timber is half a mile in width. At this place we met with the first cane brake since our departure from the line; it is in small quantities, however; and in dimensions, as to height, &c., it will scarcely bear comparison with that found more to the south. Three miles from the Plank Cabin crossed a small creek, with but little timber, running from W. to E. into the former; about 1 mile to left, red sandstone is found in the banks and bed of this creek. The country between the 2 last creeks varies; proceeding from the first, on the west side, for 1 or 2 miles, it is gently rolling, then becomes rolling; afterward, as you approach the second, hilly and broken. Between the last branch and the point at which we struck the Neosho, at the mouth of Slippery Rock creek,⁷³ a distance of 10 or 12 miles in our course, country gently rolling. To the left, at variable distances, from half to 2 miles, there was timber on the summit and sides of the ridges, which make down to

72. Cabin creek (as it is now called) enters the Neosho about 12 miles below present Vinita, Okla. The crossing was probably made above Little Cabin creek and near Vinita.

73. This must be Rock creek which enters the Neosho from the right (west) about three miles below Cabin creek.

the Cabin de Planche, which discharges itself into the Neosho, 2 or 3 miles above the mouth of Slippery Rock; to the right, for some distance, gently rolling, then hilly and broken; to the west, 7 or 8 miles, is seen a ridge of well timbered hills; soil since point K not so rich as that which lies higher up the country. Slippery Rock creek, near its mouth, is 15 or 20 yards in width; the valley up which it runs is very narrow, so that the hills making down to the water's edge are steep; its course is over a smooth rocky bottom. There are seen in the banks of some creeks in this vicinity alternate layers of sand and limestone, of depths from 2 to 3 feet; the layer over which Slippery Rock creek flows is of limestone. Mr. Cheauteau's trading house stands 10 miles from this creek, on the east side of the Neosho river.⁷⁴ During our course from the last point mentioned to the trading establishment, the hills of the Neosho were continually in sight, containing, for short distances back from the stream, timber on the right of course; until we arrived at Cheauteau's, a number of isolated conical hills presented themselves near the course, the sides of which were barren, the rich soil being washed from them; still further beyond these hills there is a range of timbered hills, forming a ridge, extending from N. W. to S. E. About 1½ miles before arriving at the latter point, crossed in a valley a small creek making to the Neosho; towards the head waters of this, the country is hilly and broken. About 1 mile S. E. of Mr. Cheauteau's, on the E. side of the Neosho, there is a salt spring, rising from a limestone rock, covering from 1 to 2 acres; several openings are made in this rock by the water, which has a strong saline taste; this water is highly impregnated with sulph. hyd. gas, which rises and is perceptible to any one on approaching the spring. The quantity of salt which this water would yield is not known, as no experiment of that kind has been made; but it is probable that it would produce abundantly.⁷⁵

Cheauteau's 14 214
to point L.
S. 5 W.

November 25, 1828. Advancing seven miles, crossed Pond creek; ⁷⁶ the face of the country between these points, after ascending the hills from the Neosho, is nearly level; the timber on these hills, along on our course, is seen, and become more bold and prominent than they are further up the river; about half way be-

74. A. P. Chouteau's Grand Saline trading post at the present town of Salina, Mayes county, Okla. (See Footnote 59.)

75. For the salt springs on the Grand or Neosho river see Foreman, Grant, *Indians & Pioneers*, pp. 61-71.

76. Probably Pryor creek which flows below present Pryor (county seat of Mayes county) to enter the Neosho from the right (west).

tween Cheauteau's and point L, there are two detached hills, one on each side of course a few hundred yards distant; the one on left of a conical, and that on right an oblong figure, both from 70 to 100 feet in height; on the right of course, for some distance, is seen a number of hills of different forms—a range of timbered hills on right, which are in the vicinity of Pond creek, on its west side, dividing the waters of the Neosho and Verdigris; the general course of creek appears to be from N. W. to S. E. Frequent beds of lime and sandstone abound at this place, as seen on the summit and sides of the hills; the former appears here to predominate; soil good; this creek is about 10 yards in width; rocky bank on east; the western bank is of clay, mixed with the soil of the country; this passes over a bed of limestone; from this creek we passed over a level prairie for one and a half miles, and crossed a point of the ridge, on which is some post oak and black jack, extending towards the Neosho on the east, dividing the waters of the latter and the creek at L; this ridge is of sandstone, probably in layers, with limestone. To a great distance on right of course, the face of the country is very rolling, rather inclining to hilly; some small groves of timber are met with in many places. From the summit of the west ridge, we descended into the valley of the Neosho; continuing one and a half miles, passed a creek at L, flowing over a bed of compact limestone of a blueish color; banks very low; on them there is a beautiful grove of timber, more abundant, and of a better quality than is here generally met with; its general course is from W. N. W. to E. S. E.; soil, from Pond creek, variable; on the east side of the Neosho, from the Trading House, the face of the country, near the river, hilly and broken.

L. to the 26 240
Creek
Agency.
S. 5 W.

November 26, 1828. Continuing course for a few hundred yards, there is a high ridge of sandstone, large masses of which are detached. One mile from L, crossed a small creek, its general course being from N. W. by W. to S. E. by E.;⁷⁷ soil of a middling quality—generally rolling and hilly further up the creek; from creek to the Union Missionary Establishment, distance four miles, a rolling and rather hilly country; timber, in some places, increasing as it approaches nearer the river. The mission is situated at the head of the valley to the Neosho,⁷⁸ in a S. S. E. direction,

77. Possibly Choteau creek which passes to the north of present Choteau, Mayes county, to enter the Neosho two or three miles below Pryor creek.

78. Union mission was a little above and opposite to Spring creek which enters the Neosho from the left (east).

about a half mile; before arriving at the station, we crossed a small ravine with clear running water, wound its way from right to left from the hills on right;⁷⁹ the hills in this vicinity are covered with sandstone in variable quantities; these are higher than any we have met with on our course from the State line of Missouri; after leaving this valley, and advancing to the Creek Agency on the Verdigris, there is a rolling prairie country, with the exception of a creek called Round Bottom creek, on which is a small quantity of timber; during the course, however, the timber on the Neosho was always in sight, and generally from half to three miles distant on left; the right is all rolling prairie; at the distance of eight or ten miles from the agency, we were able to perceive the timber on the Verdigris R.; before arriving at the agency, however, we met with timber composed principally of post oak and black jack; at the edge of the timber there is a small creek, which we crossed. The agency is situated immediately on the eastern bank of the Verdigris, three or four miles from its mouth; there is a high sandstone bluff or hill just below, and on the same side with the agency.⁸⁰ The river is here between 60 and 70 yards in width; the water not so clear as that of the Neosho; the western bank appears to be a mixture of sand, clay, and gravel; this is the highest point to which steam or keel boats ascend, the navigation being interrupted by a fall in the river 6 or 700 yards above this point; the fall is from five to six feet; it is said that large quantities of stone coal are found near this place. Verdigris tributary of Arkansas.

Creek
Agency
to Cant.
Gibson.
S. 25 E.

4 244

November 30, 1828. From the Creek Agency to Cantonment Gibson, the country, to within one or two miles of the latter, is gently rolling, when it becomes nearly level, being the margin or bottom land of the Neosho; on this land, as well as on the Arkansas, there are numerous cane brakes; at this place it grows very thick, the soil of this bottom being very rich; there are one or two small prairies on the course between these two points; they extend but a short distance to the right, but continue out to the left into the extensive prairie between the waters of the Neosho and Verdigris; the bottom spoken of above is well timbered; about two miles from the agency, there is a small brook of clear water running to the right, which heads in the hills of the Neosho. Cantonment Gib-

79. Brush creek.

80. The Western Creek agency was housed in buildings bought from A. P. Chouteau in 1827.

son is situated immediately on the east bank of the Neosho, three or four miles above its mouth; the river, at this point, as usual, runs over a bed of gravel; the water is perfectly clear, so that the bottom is easily and distinctly seen when the river is deepest; it is at this point, at this time, from six to eight feet in depth; the river here is 170 or 180 yards in width; the soil between these points is generally very good; that of the bottom is rendered, in some degree, useless, on account of the annual Spring freshets, which at that season rise, and, for some time, inundate the whole of it.

Cant. Gib- 19 263
son to M.
S. 20 W.

December 2, 1828. Forded the Arkansas river one and half miles below the mouth of the Neosho; an extensive rich bottom between Cantonment Gibson and the Arkansas; for the distance of two or three miles in our course, is a continued cane brake, the height being from 10 to 12 feet, sometimes a little greater.

The Arkansas river, at the point where we struck and forded the river, is about five hundred yards in width; the banks 25 or 30 feet in height, and composed of a reddish brown colored sand and clay; on the south side, just below the point at which we left the stream, there is a bluff, composed of alternate layers of slate and clay; the layers are very thin; the latter is mixed with coal; both banks of the Arkansas are timbered; the northern bank, however, has the greatest quantity; the kind of timber is the same as that which is found on the Neosho; soil of the bottom on the south side is very rich, of a reddish cast near the river; the prairie on this side approaches near the Arkansas; continuing half mile, some hills on right; at the distance of two and a half miles from the river, crossed a creek running from S. W. by S. to N. E., by N.;⁸¹ some low and scrubby timber is found on this creek; the country is rather hilly on the north side of the branch—some of them timbered—the summits and sides of many having sandstone rocks upon them; this may be considered exclusively a sandstone country; after passing on seven or eight miles, we crossed two or three branches running to left, on the margin of which, there is some timber; these branches are all tributaries to the Arkansas. South of this, there is a range of rocky hills, extending from N. W. to S. E.; we ascended these, and from their summit the descent was gentle to what is called

81. Coata creek enters the Arkansas almost opposite Bayou Menard.

"Darden's creek,"⁸² a distance of two and a half miles; soil very rich, loose, and mellow, of a reddish cast; there is, on the south side of this creek, a range of timbered hills; at the point where we struck this creek; a branch enters from the north, passed up the creek one mile, and crossed it at M; here another fork makes in just below the last point mentioned from the south side,⁸³ up the course of which there is a valley, there being high rocky hills on each side, to the distance of three miles; these hills are from 150 to 200 feet in height; there is more timber at and near here than at any place between this and the Arkansas bottom; the course of creek, at this place, from W. by N. to E. by S., 10 or 12 yards wide; banks high, and composed of sand and clay; the soil, since we crossed the Arkansas, is mixed with a considerable portion of sand.

M. to N. 19 282
S. 20 W.

December 3, 1828. On leaving point M. on Darden's creek, we passed up the valley nearly due S. for 3 miles; high hills of sandstone on each side, and at the head of the valley, distant apart about half a mile, and joining to the north. About 1 mile after ascending from the valley, we entered prairie again; the soil between point N. on this not good; the principal timber on ridges post oak and black jack. Proceeded three miles over a gently rolling prairie, and re-crossed Darden's creek, which runs here from N. E. to S. W.; here there is but little timber; rather hilly towards its head, 2 or 3 miles above; passed over the same kind of prairie as was just mentioned, having on right, for 4 or 5 miles, about 1 mile from course, a ridge of timber; soil variable; course changed S. W.; entered timber, post oak and black jack; crossed several branches running towards the S., and at 2 miles distance entered another small prairie. From this point we had a view of the hills beyond the north fork of the Canadian; valley from this point to river generally timbered; soil, since entering the wood, very poor, mixed with great quantities of sand. Two and a half miles from this to the N. fork of Canadian. On the north side of this fork the country falls off gently to the river, but on the S. side it is hilly and broken in some degree; the hills on the N. side, or rather the high ground, contain the usual kind of timber, viz. post oak and black jack; but near the river, and on its margin, there is black and white oak,

82. Which now appears on Geological Survey maps as Dirty creek. It enters the Arkansas about one or two miles above the Canadian.

83. The first branch was Butler creek; the second, Timberley.

overcupped white oak, black walnut, hickory, hackberry, mulberry, persimmon, cherry tree, red and slippery elm, black and honey locust, ash, sassafras, cotton wood, and, near the margin, birch, willow, and sycamore, underwood, red haw, pawpaw, dogwood, red beed, &c. This fork, at the point where we struck it, which is a little below the mouth of Deep or Little North Fork, is from 60 to 70 yards in width; the bank on the N. 45 or 50 feet high, of sand and clay; the water of a greyish or muddy appearance; the opposite bank is not so high; soil, near the river, very loose and mellow, mixed with a considerable portion of sand, of a dark reddish brown color, almost approaching to a purple. "(At the point where we forded the N. Fork, at this season there is a fall over sandstone rock of from three to four feet perpendicular; an island containing timber is on our right, about 10 yards from N. bank.)"

N. to O. at 10 292
 the mouth
 of the S.
 fork of the
 Canadian.
 S. 10 W.

December 4, 1828. Course, on setting out from point N., S. 70 E. half a mile; struck the fork again. There is a great bend between this and point N.; country nearly level, soil rich. Course from here S. 10 E.; passed down the bank $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles and forded the river; at this point the river is 100 yards wide; the N. bank at this place is 10 or 12 feet high; that on the S. side 25 or 30 feet, of clay, sand, &c. About 100 yards from this bank we passed a deep creek, which is very bad, on account of the clay of which its banks are composed being very thin, comes from the S. E. and proceeded over a rich and gently rolling country, well timbered, with the exception of a small prairie, 300 or 400 yards. After crossing the creek last mentioned, at the distance of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles recrossed this creek, which had wound its way round, and was running here from W. to E.; on its north side there is a high rocky hill approaches near the creek, from 100 to 125 feet in height; on ascending this hill the country in our course was rolling, hilly to right and left; crossed several dry branches at the distance of 5 miles from the N. fork; arrived in view of the main Canadian, on a high commanding hill or bluff, which overlooks this stream; it is situated about three-quarters of a mile from the river, and is near 200 feet perpendicular, containing large masses of red sandstone, in horizontal layers. Course W. for half a mile, at which point we forded the main branch of the Canadian; its direction here is from W.; it is about 210 yards in width, the color of its water corresponding with that on the N. fork; the banks are very low

generally at and near the point where we struck it, composed of fine sand and clay, of a reddish cast. This river, like the Missouri, appears to be wearing away its banks continually, so that the color of the water is affected by it, partaking of the color of the banks of the stream. At this season it is only from 2½ to 3 feet in depth; soil in valley about this point very rich, loose, and mellow, and, similar to that on the N. fork, is of a dark reddish brown appearance. The mouth of the S. fork of the Canadian was about 1 mile above the point where we forded the main stream; at its mouth it is about 60 yards wide; color of water, &c. same.⁸⁴

C. to P.
S. 75 E.

11½ 303½

December 5, 1828. The valley of the Canadian, or rather the bottom land, is from 1½ to 2 miles in width. There is a range of hills, probably 150 or 200 feet in height, containing large masses of sandstone. We ascended the ridge, which approaches near the river at this point; it continues to the S. fork, and forms a bluff on its eastern side. On this ridge we continued for 1 mile; this ridge is mostly covered with post oak; from this we descended into a valley, the direction of which is W. from the S. fork; it is surrounded with high, craggy hills; in this valley there is an extensive marsh, probably three-quarters of a mile in diameter, completely covered with a kind of flag; there was a range of hills on the right and left of course; about 1½ miles from this marsh, another valley was crossed, in which ran a creek from the E. winding round some hills, and passing it in front; passed up the S. side of this creek, leaving the hills on our right, with but little timber upon them, and at 1½ miles from the point where we struck it, crossed over to the opposite side, (N.) high hills to the left; passed between the ridge and a fork of the creek just mentioned, the S. fork running towards the S. E. This latter range continued on left for many miles, but at 2 miles' distance from the last point we passed over a ridge not so much elevated, and is prairie, and which extends to P. on a branch of a creek we last crossed; from this point the country is hilly in all directions; on the summits and sides of all these hills there is a large quantity of sandstone rocks; the soil to-day variable, in the valleys generally good, mixed with sand; the timber, both on the high and low grounds, is the same as has been mentioned.

84. By South Fork of Canadian they meant Gaines creek, which enters the Canadian about six miles above the North Fork. The party was now about 66 miles west of Arkansas, not 48 as McCoy says above (p. 418).

- P. to Q. 23 326½ December 6, 1828. Proceeded up to the head waters of the small creek mentioned; passed alternately through timber and prairie, the latter of small extent. Soil middling, in some places pretty good; a range of hills 1 mile to the left; the whole distance on the right the hills were at a greater distance; they are not so high as those passed over on the 5th; from the head waters of this creek, which is distant from P 5 miles, descended into a valley 1½ miles in width, mostly prairie; near the head, and for 3 or 4 miles down it, high sandstone hills on each side, timbered; 200 feet in height; the valley, at the distance of 5 or 6 miles from its head, becomes timbered, its course being E. N. E.; mostly post oak, black oak, and some hickory, though very scarce for some distance. A creek puts down this valley, which increases after continuing 5 or 6 miles of its course. Some pine was met with on the sides of the hills, descending to the valley on the N. side; the hills on the left, 6 or 7 miles from the head of the valley, break off to the main Canadian; crossed, during our course, the creek in the valley three times at different points, the last 8 miles from (head of the valley) it. About 1½ miles from this point crossed a branch running S. by E. to N. by W., joining the former before entering the Canadian. Country rolling, soil variable, not good; 3 miles from last branch enter prairie; hills without timber, on right of course, half a mile distant; 3 miles to another branch, course from S. to N.; about this creek the soil is rich, country rather broken; crossed and proceeded over a rolling country; soil generally good, mixed, as usual, with a great portion of sand; timbered with post oak, until it approaches the river, then black oak, &c.; about 1 mile below where we struck the Canadian is a creek from the N., at point Q; just below this, on the river, there is a large cane brake; from this down, and on the Arkansas and Neosho, for some distance N., is common; soil of an excellent quality.
- Q. to R. 13 339½ Dec. 7, 1828. Ascended a rocky hill from point Q on the E. side of creek; on arriving at its summit, continued in an easterly direction for 1 mile; at this point, course changed to N. E.; descended the hill and crossed a ravine for 2 miles; the course then E, for 1½ miles, then N. for the same distance, N. E. for 1½ miles; crossed several ravines, the whole of country for same distance on course being hilly and rocky; these are the hills of the main Canadian; lands poor; on passing into a valley we perceived the Arkansas to the E. and S. E.; an extensive valley and prairie to S.

for 2 miles; it is on course a rolling timbered country; touched upon a small creek running to E.; at the distance of 3 miles from the top of hill struck the Arkansas river, course of it at this point S. E.; we passed up the banks of the river 3 miles, through cane brake, &c. for 3 miles, in order to find a fording place, as the shore at the first point at which we struck the stream was quicksand; the bottom land not of any great width; the whole distance from Q to R is over high rocky hills of sandstone, which border on the Canadian river on the N., and the Arkansas on the E.; the S. margin of the former river is of much greater width than that on the western side of the former, near the mouth of the Canadian; lands on the bottom of both streams very rich; the Arkansas at this point is 600 yards wide, but at this season the greatest part of the channel is sand bar, owing to the low state of the water; there are some high hills between the Canadian and Arkansas rivers, doubtless the dividing ridge between those waters.

R. to S. at 16 355½
Salt Works
on the Illi-
nois.
N. 50 E.

Dec. 8, 1828. Continued from point R. along the sides of hills in a N. W. direction for 3 miles; these run close to the river; from thence into a bottom 3 or 400 yards in width, of cane generally, and timber common to the margins of the Arkansas; crossed this river 1½ miles below the mouth of the Canadian; course changed N. through cane brake for 3 miles, heavy timbered, and rich lands, on rising to the high lands back; course N. E. for ½ mile, crossed a creek from E. by N. to W. by S.; there are some hills bordering on this branch; where we crossed, it forked. From this the country was rolling, the soil is good; at 2½ miles from creek crossed the Illinois, which is about 50 or 60 yards wide; a creek empties into it at this point from the S. E.; the water of this river is clear, its course from N. to S. over a beautiful bed of gravel; course N. 75 E.; rich bottom for 2½ miles, well timbered; on leaving this we entered a prairie, a ridge of hills on right and left, approaching and receding from course, until we arrived at the Salt Works on the Illinois; ⁸⁵ these hills encompass the valley of the Illinois on the N., and are from 150 to 200 feet in height, very rocky (sandstone) and timbered; there is a range of hills also on the S. side of the river. At the Salt Works there is a creek running to the waters of the Illinois from the hills in a N. W. course; these works are, or are said to have been, very productive; the water has a very saline taste.

85. For Bean's Salt Works on the Illinois see Foreman, *Indians & Pioneers*, pp. 67-69.

S. to Cant. 22½ 378
 Gibson.
 N. 42 W.

Passed up the creek 1 mile, and ascended a hill of sandstone in large and small fragments; from the summit our course was nearly level for 5 or 6 miles, but hilly to left near the Arkansas, which is distant 5 or 6 miles; timber here mostly of post oak and black jack, lands poor, distant 6 or 7 miles from the Salt works; descended and crossed a creek running to left.⁸⁶ This is a beautiful running stream, passing over a smooth bed of sandstone which is in an inclined position, wanting 7 or 8° to its being perpendicular to the surface; this rock is about 30 yards in width; crossing over it, we entered prairie on the N. side of creek; from this we ascended a long but gradual rise through poor post oak and rocky lands, until we arrived within 3 miles of Cantonment Gibson. Here we descended from a high rocky hill into a valley down which runs another creek from the N., which is distant from Gibson 2 miles;⁸⁷ small prairie between the foot of the hill and the creek on the S. side; lands very rich, near the creek timber; after crossing there is prairie from this point to the Cantonment on course.

From this point, viz. Cantonment Gibson, the course pursued on our return was the same as that passed over on the route of the party to the Canadian, until we arrived at the Osage Agency, where we crossed the Neosho, and took the direct route to Harmony Mission on the Osage, 70 miles from the Agency. The courses were as follows:

From O. 35
 Agency to
 the State
 line of
 Missouri.
 N. 80 E.

From the Agency⁸⁸ to Harmony Mission, after leaving the margin of the Neosho, passed through a nearly level country (prairie) except where interrupted by the timber of the small tributaries of the Neosho and Osage; good soil for 8 or 10 miles, when we crossed a small creek with a little timber on its banks, running from N. to S. into another about 1 mile below to the right, which turned without course, and which has also on its banks a little timber; from this we continued over the same kind of prairie as before, and at the distance of 12 miles from the Agency crossed "Walnut creek," running from N. to S., and joining a branch on right, about 1 mile distant, continuing 4 miles to another over a prairie similar to the foregoing, 2 miles to a creek running from N. to S. like the former; these enter one over the head waters of which we passed, its course being appar-

86. Probably Greenleaf creek.

87. Bayou Menard.

88. On December 14 they were once more at White Hair's village (Footnote 49, above).

ently from N. E. to S. W., high up on these streams, near the head waters, very little timber is met with, the country being mostly prairie, soil varying; this prairie has been either level or gently rolling; to the left, at some distance off, the country appeared to be more rolling than at any point of course, but no timber; on our right, to creek, quite level; beyond, or on the S. side of the creek, wherever we had a view of the country, it presented the same appearance as that to the north. After passing the head waters mentioned, the course changed N. E. 3 or 4 miles, rising a very gentle ascent to the dividing ridge between the Neosho and Osage rivers; at highest point of this ridge but little timber is in sight, and that at great distance from course, distance 3 or 4 miles to the head waters of the "Manitau,"⁸⁹ the course of which is from S. W. to N. E. at this point; some timber below where we crossed it; country here rather rolling; from this we continued on to the State line, over a rolling prairie, meeting on our route with considerable quantities of limestone, of an earthy appearance generally, on the rise from little brooks and drains of the country; the creek which we crossed changes its direction with the course pursued for some distance, then changed once more to the S. E.

89. Marmaton river.

Pomeroy's "Ross Letter": Genuine or Forgery?

MARTHA B. CALDWELL

NOT long ago the Kansas State Historical Society came into possession of a photographic copy of the famous "Ross letter," reputed to have been written in July, 1862, by Sen. Samuel C. Pomeroy to W. W. Ross. The copy was a gift of Miss Adela C. Van Horn of Kansas City, Mo.¹ Later, the original letter appeared in the Sen. Edmund G. Ross papers recently acquired from Mrs. Lillian Leis of Lawrence, daughter of Ross. The appearance of this original, the contents of which rocked the state in 1872, prompts a review of the Pomeroy-Ross episode.

Samuel Pomeroy's name was frequently connected with rumors of corruption and bribery during his political career in Kansas. He has been described as one who "weighed everything by a money standard. He has judged all public measures by the cash that was in them; and estimated all men by the amount it would take to buy them."² Ex-Sen. Edmund Ross, commenting upon Pomeroy's proclivities for improving his opportunities in office wrote:

Vide his 90,000 acres of Pottawatomie lands obtained for passing the Pottawatomie treaty—his 50,000 acres of Kickapoo lands for passing the Kickapoo treaty—his two hundred lots in Neodesha for moving the land office to that place—his half of the town site of Augusta for locating the land office there—his half of the town site of Concordia for locating the land office there—his 100 lots in the city of Humboldt for removing the land office from Fort Scott to that place—his 100 lots in the city of Ottawa for passing the Ottawa treaty—his three-sixteenths interest in the Delaware lands for passing the Delaware treaty—the princely fortune in itself that he stole from the Central Branch Railroad company, consisting of government and railroad mortgage bonds given to it as a subsidy. . . .³

Positive proof of all the charges might be difficult to obtain, but if Pomeroy was the author of this "Strictly Confidential" letter he obviously was guilty of corrupt practices. The notorious letter, written when W. W. Ross was Indian agent to the Pottawatomies, proposed a division of profits in certain Indian trading activities. Brought to light ten years later by Sen. E. G. Ross, brother of W.

1. This photographic copy was the one sent to Robert T. Van Horn, grandfather of Miss Van Horn, by John Hutchings of Lawrence in November, 1872, in an effort to prove to Van Horn that the letter was not spurious but genuine.—See p. 465.

2. *New York Tribune*, January 30, 1873.

3. *Council Grove Democrat*, April 25, 1872.

W. Ross, in whose possession the letter had come,⁴ it was first printed in *Ross's Paper* at Coffeyville on March 16, 1872, and read as follows:

Strictly Confidential

Washington D. C.
July 22

W. W. Ross

My dear sir

Have you yet recommended any one to sell Goods to the Pottawatomes? If not I have a plan— Mr. J. K. Tappan of New York will take hold and furnish a splendid lot of Goods— provided he gets the license to sell exclusively on the Reserve at St. Mary's mission—

You can give the Indians an order for Goods on this store— And those orders are accepted when the annuities are paid— This proceeding is recognized here at the Department— and is all right—

I send inclosed a form of a letter for you to send back to me— to give to Mr. Dole⁵— But I dont deliver it until Mr. Tappan and Edward Clark of Lawrence— now figuring here on Indian matters— and who have an agreement with each other— about goods— I say I dont deliver your recommendation until I have executed to me a Contract to have $\frac{1}{4}$ of all the profits paid to *W. E. Gaylord*⁶ as my share— and $\frac{1}{4}$ of all profits paid to Mr.—— (name him to me) for *your* share.

You & I, through our two friends are to have $\frac{1}{2}$ of the Profits— And Tappan & Clark the other half— And Tappan to do all the business And we have nothing to do, only to take our share of profits at each payment.

Now if you will fix it up at that end of the line— I will see the writings are all executed right to this end— And we will be all right— Name the man to represent you— with Mr Gaylord who represents me—

You will see from this letter what kind of a recommendation to give Mr Tappan— But dont fail to send it to me— as they must come to terms— before they get the License—

Tappan is a grand fellow— Its all right—

Let me hear from you at once—

Truly
S. C. Pomeroy

P. S

I find upon reflection that you must send these papers *through* Col. Branch⁷ at St. Joe—

So I will make the contract for myself & you— at once— and you return the *Application* and *Recommendation* to Dole— *through* Col. Branch—

Truly
S. C. P.

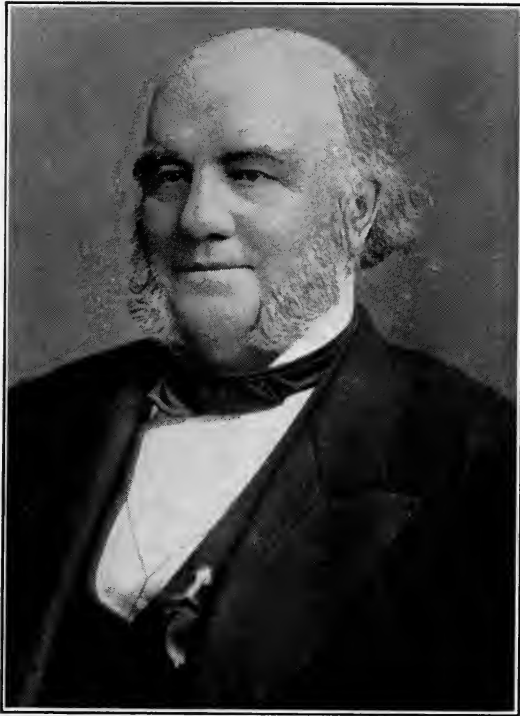
This letter naturally made splendid political capital for Pomeroy's enemies and was copied by other papers of the state which

4. *Ibid.*, March 21, 1872.

5. William P. Dole was U. S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1861-1864.

6. Willis E. Gaylord was Senator Pomeroy's brother-in-law.

7. H. B. Branch was superintendent of Indian affairs for the Central Superintendency from 1861 to 1863.—*Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1861-1863.*



SAMUEL CLARKE POMEROY

U. S. Senator From Kansas, 1861-1873

Charges of Bribery and Corruption Defeated Him
in His Attempt to Secure a Third Term.

Strictly Confidential

Washington D.C.
July 22

Mr. W. Ross

my dear sir

Have you yet recommended any one to sell goods to the Potawatomes? If not I have a plan - Mr. J. H. Tappan of New York will take hold and purchase a splendid lot of Goods - provided he gets the license to sell exclusively on the Reserve at St. Mary's mission -

You can give the Indians an order for Goods on this Store - and these orders are accepted when the annuities are paid - This proceeding is recognized here at the Department - and is all right -

I send inclosed a form of a letter for you to send back to me - to give to Mr. Dole - But I don't desire to interfere with Mr. Tappan and Edward Clark of Lawrence - now figuring

Shore on Indian matters -
and who have an agreement with
each other - about Goods - I say
I don't believe your recommendation
unless I have executed to me a
Contract to have $\frac{1}{4}$ of all the
profits - paid to W. E. Taylor as
my share. - And $\frac{1}{4}$ of all profits
paid to Mr _____ (name
him to me) for your share -
You & I, through our two partners
are to have $\frac{1}{2}$ of the profits -
and Tappan & Clark the other half
and Tappan to do all the business
and we have nothing to do, only
to take our share of profits at
each payment.

Now if you will fix
it up at that end of the line -
I will do the writings all
all executed, right to this end -
and we will be all right -
name the man to represent
you - with Mr Taylor who

represents me -

You will see from this
letter what kind of a recommendation
to give for Tappan - But
don't fail to send it to me -
as they must come to terms -
before they get the License -
Tappan is a grand fellow -
It's all right -
Get me news
from you at once -
Truly
yours

A. C. Johnson

P.S.

I find upon reflection that
you must send these papers through
Col. Branch at St. Joe -

So I will make the contract
for myself & you - at once - and
you return the application and
Recommendation to Doc. Through
Col. Branch -

My S.P.

Thaddeus Hyatt.

Wintthrop Mo. [1860]
Oct. 20

Mr. Hyatt

My dear sir

A Mr. Burdick of Snowville Ill. has just come over with a Car Load of Potatoes one Corn — And says if we will buy Prights he will send 25 Car Loads next week — He is very much pleased at the complect organization you made of our Territory! Says he could not get as much information in one month, as I was able to give him in a day from the Statistics already on hand!

If I could spend one month in Ill. I could get more given than we can pay Prights eye — We are now distressed for money to pay Prights I shall have 50 Car Loads in a week to pay for buy S. P. Pomeroy.

The Car is one coming from Snowville by Mr. Burdick

were opposed to his reelection to the United States senate. On September 16, 1872, the Lawrence *Standard* published the letter,⁸ and soon after the November election it appeared in telegraphic dispatches under an article from Lawrence, dated November 20, 1872.⁹ The original at that time was in the hands of J. C. Horton of Lawrence. The editorial comment of R. T. Van Horn, editor of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Journal of Commerce*, questioning its genuineness, called forth a letter from John Hutchings of Lawrence, who assured the editor that the letter was not spurious and enclosed a photographic copy to prove his assertion.¹⁰

Eastern papers also gave publicity to the "Ross letter." Charles A. Dana, editor of the New York *Sun*, at the time engaged in exposing political corruption in the United States, published a facsimile in his paper of December 16, 1872. He devoted the leading editorial to it, commenting that the letter would give the public "an exact idea of Pomeroy's handwriting," while the contents of the letter would afford "an equally faithful view of Pomeroy's moral nature." He commended the letter to the consideration of such senators as might "be disposed to meditate on Pomeroy's method of employing the authority of his great office."¹¹

Until 1913 United States senators were elected by state legislatures. Just before the meeting of the Kansas legislature of 1873, E. G. Ross published the letter in the first issue of *The Evening Paper*, which he established in Lawrence on January 8, 1873.¹²

He also published a facsimile on January 13.¹³ And again on January 20, he deemed "it advisable to give that letter another insertion," inasmuch as he was publishing in the same paper a threat from Senator Pomeroy to prosecute for libel those who were instrumental in giving the letter publicity.¹⁴ He devoted one page to the facsimile under the caption, "The modus operandi of a Senatorial-Indian Steal—How some Senators are made Millionaires on Senatorial Salaries of \$5,000 a year."¹⁵

8. Wilder, D. W., *The Annals of Kansas* (Topeka, 1886), p. 581.

9. Leavenworth *Daily Times*, November 21, 1872.

10. John Hutchings to R. T. Van Horn, November 25, 1872.—MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

11. New York *Sun*, December 16, 1872.

12. *The Daily Kansas Tribune*, Lawrence, January 9, 1873.

13. *Pomeroy Investigation; Reports of the Joint Committee Appointed by the Legislature of Kansas, 1873, to Investigate Charges of Corruption and Bribery Against Hon. S. C. Pomeroy, and Members of the Legislature*, . . . (Topeka, 1873), p. 84.

14. Ross published an interview with Pomeroy by a correspondent of the St. Louis *Republican*, in which Pomeroy said that his legal representative was preparing suits which would be brought against the principal parties to the publishing of the letter. "The letter," he said, "is held by some parties with a view to extort blackmail."—*The Evening Paper*, Lawrence, January 20, 1873.

15. *Ibid.*

Pomeroy ignored the letter at first, neither admitting nor denying its authorship. With plenty of money, a well organized machine to back him,¹⁶ and an opposition divided into numerous factions,¹⁷ he thought he had nothing to fear. But its wide publication was having an effect, and it was one of the chief weapons in the hands of the opposition. Editors began to express the opinion that if Pomeroy could clear up the "Ross letter" he would be elected.¹⁸ Pomeroy became somewhat alarmed when he saw that his hold on the state was weakening and set about to prove that the letter was a forgery. His plan was to throw the blame on an Edward Clark¹⁹ who had once been a senate committee clerk, and who had also been a law partner of Willis Gaylord, Pomeroy's brother-in-law.²⁰

One of his first moves was to have an item inserted in an Eastern paper stating that the pretended facsimile letter attributed to Senator Pomeroy was written by one Edward Clark who had run away from Washington some years before to escape arrest and imprisonment for forgery. The item stated that "the fact of his writing this

16. One newspaper described Pomeroy's method of political control as follows:

"Pomeroy entered upon the Senatorial contest with all the careful and elaborate preparations of an experienced general. Long before the fall election he had sent out his mandate to his postmasters and office holders 'Fix things at your end of the line, and I will fix things here.' In every county in the State, he distributed money in large amounts to control the elections. In Douglas, Labette and other counties he put forward candidates to defeat the regular nominees where they were known to be opposed to him.

"By these means he secured a nucleus of pledged and positive strength round which to rally his forces. Several of the leading journals of the State were of necessity under his control. The *Lawrence Tribune* was owned by Postmaster Shimmons. The *Atchison Champion* was owned by Postmaster Martin. The *Paola Spirit* was owned by Postmaster Perry. The *Parsons Sun* was owned by Receiver Reynolds. The *Commonwealth* was owned by Adams & Veal and other Topeka speculators who wanted the State printing, and wanted still more to get Pomeroy's subscription of \$200,000 to the King Bridge Manufacturing Co., which they finally got before the election. Pomeroy told us that he had 'given money to several small papers for party purposes.'

"All the railroads of the State have been enlisted in Mr. Pomeroy's support, except the L., L. & G., and this even was awed into a reluctant support by Pomeroy's threats. . . . All the roads furnished free passes to Pomeroy's lobby.

"The influences of the church had been arrayed in his favor. . . .

"Woman's pure influence was dragged in. . . .

"Judge Lowe and Col. Phillips were threatened. . . . We were told that if we did not give in our adhesion to Pomeroy, a new paper would be started in Chetopa, with the Government patronage and post office to back it, and that Pomeroy and his friends, would crush out the *Advance*.

"The members were beset from the time of their arrival till the very hour of balloting, by the Pomeroy lobby. . . ."—*Southern Kansas Advance*, Chetopa, February 5, 1873.

17. There were at least ten candidates for senator in the anti-Pomeroy ranks, each with his group of supporters.

18. Beloit *Weekly Gazette*, January 2, 1873; *The Independent*, Oskaloosa, January 11, 1873.

19. Edward Clark came to Kansas some time in 1854. He presided at a public meeting in Lawrence on January 16, 1855. The census of 1855 lists him as a native of the U. S., lawyer, twenty-one years of age, and having emigrated from New York. In February, 1855, he opened a law office on Massachusetts street and did a general law and land office business until the raid on Lawrence in May, 1856, after which he seems to have left the city. He went to Washington, possibly in 1859. For some time he acted as agent in prosecuting before the Department of Indian Affairs the claims of various Indians and Indian tribes, notably the Pottawatomies in Michigan. He was also a law partner of Willis Gaylord, and in the spring of 1862 the firm of Clark & Gaylord merged with that of Stewart, Stevens & Co. Clark later moved to Pennsylvania.—*Kansas Free State*, Lawrence, January 24, 1855; *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, February 17, 1855, May 10, 1856; *The Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, January 28, 1873; records of the Office of Indian Affairs, vols. 59-76, microfilm copies in Archives division, Kansas State Historical Society.

20. *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, January 28, 1873.

letter in Pomeroy's name has long been known at the capital, and that the matter is now only revived because an election for senator will soon be held in Kansas." ²¹ For proof Pomeroy secured statements from Joseph B. Stewart ²² and O. A. Stevens, Washington attorneys, who were once associated with Clark. What he paid these men, or that he paid them at all for their false assertions, is not known, but it was believed they received a "considerable sum." Stewart's letter, dated December 21, 1872, was addressed to T. D. Thacher, editor of the *Lawrence Journal*, informing him that he had seen the facsimile and recognized it as the one which Thacher had called to his attention last September 13 in the *Journal* office. He said that the letter was written by Edward Clark, once a member of the firm of Stewart, Stevens & Clark; that Clark had conceived the idea of making a profit out of Indian trade and had written the letter in his office and signed Pomeroy's name to it, and that it was the same letter Thacher had shown him. He mentioned that Clark after leaving the firm had misused funds and had had to leave the city "under most serious charges against him for embezzlement." He closed by saying, "I write you this letter of my own motive as a simple act of justice, to withhold which would be wrong, and I request you to publish the same in your paper. I shall send a copy of this to the Hon. S. C. Pomeroy." ²³ But according to Thacher's sworn statement made on January 27, 1873, he did not receive a copy of Stewart's letter. He further stated that when he showed Stewart the original Ross letter in his office on September 13, Stewart exclaimed, "That's enough; why that letter would impeach him anywhere." ²⁴

O. A. Stevens wrote his statement on December 25, 1872, and addressed it to the editor of the *New York Sun*. He praised the editor for his fearlessness in exposing "political knavery and trickery," but thought that in some cases the proof did not warrant the severity and irony contained in his paper. He felt that justice demanded a retraction of the leading editorial of his paper under the date of December 16, having reference to the "published autograph letter or facsimile of one claimed to have been written by Senator S. C. Pomeroy." "If you should decline to do this," he wrote, "upon the proofs you have in your possession as to its authenticity, it is but right and

21. *Ibid.*, quoting from the Pittsburgh (Pa.) *Commercial*, December 20, 1872.

22. Col. Joseph B. Stewart spent the summer of 1872 in Kansas, attending the United States district court in which he had a case against the Kansas Pacific railroad. He took an active part in the political campaign in the state.—*Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, September 17, 1872, February 2, 1873.

23. *Ibid.*, January 28, 1873.

24. *Ibid.*

fairhanded justice to give further particulars in reference to the hand-writing referred to by you editorially as that of Senator Pomeroy." He then explained that in the spring of 1862 the firms of Stewart, Stevens & Co. and Clark & Gaylord were merged for business purposes, the latter firm reserving all matters pertaining to Indian affairs. As an associate of the firm he became conversant with Clark's business arrangements; his connection with Indian contracts, and the "modus operandi, whereby he was enabled in a measure to control that species of business." He said that Clark as a partner of Willis Gaylord, a brother-in-law of the senator, represented that he had full authority to use Pomeroy's name for business purposes and did use his name on many occasions. "It is with this knowledge," he concluded, "that I pronounce the autograph or facsimile referred to as the handwriting of said Edward Clark, from 'strictly confidential' to the 'P. S.' signed 'Truly, S. C. P.' Of this fact I am willing to affirm."²⁵

With these two letters in his hand Pomeroy then sought Edward Clark to secure a signed confession from him. With the aid of Schuyler Colfax he located Clark at Sharon, Pa., and arranged by telegraph for a meeting at Pittsburgh early in January.²⁶

In the meantime a press dispatch of December 31 stated that Pomeroy was leaving for Kansas to look after his chances for reelection and that "The Senator has just received proof of the forged character of the letter purporting to be signed by him relative to sharing with an Indian agent in trading profits, and will carry sworn statements with him. He expects to make the editor who first published the same retract or undergo a libel suit."²⁷

Pomeroy met Clark in Pittsburgh on January 4, 1873, and told him that his enemies were using the letter against him. Since Clark had been in Washington at the time the letter was written, Pomeroy said, he thought perhaps he might remember something about it, and he asked Clark to write a statement to that effect. For such a letter of confession he was willing to pay \$1,000. When Clark showed him the items in the *Pittsburgh Commercial* of December 20 and 31 Pomeroy denied having seen them.

Although Clark denied that he wrote the letter and had ever seen or heard of it he permitted Pomeroy to write out the statement that he wanted signed. This was in the form of a letter to "Mr. Thacher, of the *Lawrence Journal*, Kansas." It mentioned that several East-

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Junction City Union*, January 4, 1873.

ern papers had alluded to the letter "purporting to have been written by Senator Pomeroy, . . . and published now with the evident intent to injure him in his re-election." It declared that he (Clark) had resided in Washington while W. W. Ross was agent to the Pottawatomies, that he had had a contract with the Pottawatomies of Michigan to prosecute their claims before the department, that he was acquainted with E. A. Smith, a clerk in the Indian office, that he was intimate with Senator Pomeroy and had business relations with his brother-in-law, Willis Gaylord, and that he had never known Pomeroy to do anything to compromise his position as senator. After some discussion Clark took the paper and finished the letter as follows:

"Mr. Gaylord and myself often acted as his amanuenses, and that such a letter as has been alluded to may have been prepared by Gaylord or myself is possible; but as nothing came of it I feel quite certain that the senator knew nothing about it, and am quite as certain that none of us derived any benefit therefrom."²⁸

Pomeroy then asked Clark to sign the document, offering to give him a hundred dollars and to send his wife fifty dollars. Clark refused to sign, took the one hundred dollars as a lawyer's fee; got possession of the letter, and decided to go to Kansas to investigate the matter, and turn in and help defeat Pomeroy.²⁹

According to Clark's affidavit he arrived in Topeka on January 13 and took a room at the Tefft House, Pomeroy's headquarters. He talked with Pomeroy on January 15 and again on the next day. At that time he agreed to copy the "confession" and sign it for \$2,000, his expenses to Topeka, and an office if he should want one. In copying the letter he addressed it to Pomeroy instead of Thacher, dated it January 13, and at Pomeroy's suggestion added that he had come out voluntarily to help him. Also at Pomeroy's request the original copy was burned. On January 18 Clark went to Lawrence, stopping at the Eldridge House. There he met his old friend, James Blood, and through him learned of the letters of Stewart and Stevens which placed the blame on him. Also he saw a copy of the "Ross letter" and found that his name was mentioned in it, although Pomeroy had told him that it was not. He said that he could not understand why Pomeroy used his name as a beneficiary unless it was "as a decoy to get an extra quarter of the profits." When Clark returned to Topeka Pomeroy told him that he had just received a let-

28. *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, January 28, 1873.

29. *Ibid.*

ter from Gaylord admitting that he had written the letter. Then on January 22 Horton showed him the original Ross letter and he recognized it as Pomeroy's hand writing.

Clark concluded that the whole matter was a conspiracy of Pomeroy, Stewart, Stevens and Gaylord to fasten the crime on him, and decided to go home to prepare to prosecute the perjurers, but advised Blood to telegraph him if he was needed. The opposition apparently wanted him on the grounds and sent him a message to return. When he again reached Topeka Clark found that Pomeroy was exhibiting the letters of Stewart and Stevens, together with his "confession." He then took the advice of friends and went before D. M. Valentine, associate justice of the supreme court, and made a deposition of the whole proceedings, emphatically denying that he had written the letter. His affidavit appeared in *The Kansas Daily Commonwealth* of January 28, 1873, and filled more than three columns. He also attended an anti-Pomeroy caucus on January 27, read his affidavit and displayed the \$2,000 which he had received.

Of this incident William S. Blakely wrote: "The Senatorial fight is red hot. Clark appeared before the anti-caucus and read the affidavit which is published in the *Commonwealth*, and showed the \$2,000.00 in greenbacks which he rec'd. I think Pom is gone certain, but it is difficult to tell who will be the man."³⁰

Included among other declarations in support of Pomeroy was one from a number of citizens of Lawrence, dated January 27, certifying that Edward Clark, "formerly of Lawrence, afterwards of Washington, D. C., more recently of parts unknown," had from the first borne an infamous reputation, and that because of their personal knowledge of his transactions and his character they would not believe his statement under oath. The signers were T. B. Eldridge, Ed. S. Eldridge, W. Barricklow, William Hayes, M. W. Reynolds, W. A. Rankin, A. D. Searle, Abram Cutler, H. Shanklin, Ephraim Nute, Jr., C. L. Edwards, J. H. Shimmons, John Speer, John Hutchings, C. F. Garrett and J. L. Speer.³¹

With the letters of Stewart and Stevens placing the blame on Clark, and with Clark's own statement admitting that he might have written the letter, together with the statement of the Lawrence citizens blackening Clark's reputation, Pomeroy considered that he had cleared up the matter. When questioned, he would present his proofs and avoid if possible absolutely denying writing the letter.

30. William S. Blakely to George Martin, January 28, 1873.—Martin Collection, MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

31. *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, January 28, 1873.

But if the proofs did not satisfy an inquirer he did not hesitate to make a denial. When Col. A. M. York with whom Pomeroy was bargaining for his vote, read the proofs and then continued to ask if he had written the "Ross letter," Pomeroy replied, "I did not write the letter."³²

W. W. Ross, however, to whom the letter had been written, ridiculed the idea of forgery and said that the letter came direct from Pomeroy. He declared "that Pomeroy quarreled with him because he would not enter into the swindling arrangement with him."³³ "If there is any forgery about the case," he asserted, "it is in the preparation of the intended proof now on the way to Kansas."³⁴ James Blood of Lawrence likewise made a sworn statement that he had been acquainted with the handwriting of S. C. Pomeroy for seventeen years, that he had carefully compared the letter with other letters written by Pomeroy and that he had no doubt that the letter was written by him.³⁵ And W. F. Downs, one of Pomeroy's henchmen, when asked if the letter was in Pomeroy's handwriting, declared that if it was counterfeit, it was "admirably executed."³⁶

In this atmosphere of accusation and counter accusation the Kansas senate met on the morning of January 28 to vote for a United States senator. Then before the balloting began, John P. St. John offered the following resolution:

WHEREAS, The sworn evidence is before the members of the Senate, that one of the citizens of the State of Kansas, S. C. Pomeroy, now a United States Senator, and again aspiring to that position, has with his own hands given a bribe of two thousand dollars in United States Currency here at the city of Topeka, January 16, 1873, to a citizen of the United States, named Edward Clark, to procure from him, the said Clark, a statement in writing that said Pomeroy did not write a certain letter known as the "Ross letter," and

WHEREAS, This statement was procured and exhibited to the present members of the Legislature by the said Pomeroy and his friends to deceive them, and

WHEREAS, Said Pomeroy has never denied the genuineness of the said "Ross letter;" therefore,

Be it resolved by the Senate:

That a Committee of five be appointed to investigate the charges contained in the affidavit of the said Edward Clark, T. Dwight Thacher and J. Blood, with power to send for persons and papers, and to report without delay the result of the investigation, and

Be it further resolved, That Senator S. C. Pomeroy be invited by the Com-

32. *Ibid.*, January 30, 1873.

33. *The Independent*, Oskaloosa, January 11, 1873.

34. *Junction City Union*, January 4, 1873, a dispatch from St. Louis dated December 31, 1872.

35. *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, January 28, 1873.

36. *Pomeroy Investigation* (Topeka, 1873), p. 84.

mittee to appear and answer as to the facts contained in this preamble and the resolutions.³⁷

The resolution was adopted and the president of the senate appointed J. P. St. John, Nathan Price, W. A. Johnson, W. M. Matheny, and J. C. Wilson as the committee.³⁸ But on the next day before the committee had had time to meet, a more startling exposure took place. The two houses met in joint session at 12 noon to elect a United States senator. Just before the vote was taken Alexander M. York, senator from Montgomery county, arose and addressed the convention, giving details of the course he and others had taken to determine whether money was being used in the election. He then handed the chief clerk a package containing \$7,000 which Pomeroy had given to him for his vote and reported that another \$1,000 was to have been delivered after his vote was cast. The effect was overwhelming. The balloting began shortly afterward, and John J. Ingalls, who had previously been agreed upon in an anti-Pomeroy caucus,³⁹ was almost unanimously elected on the first ballot. Pomeroy, whose friends had been confident of his election a few minutes before, did not receive a single vote.

The "Ross letter" was an effective instrument in the hands of the opposition and might possibly have caused Pomeroy's defeat without the York exposure. With the downfall of Pomeroy, interest in the letter for political purposes ended. And as the committee did not meet to investigate, the controversy remained unsettled. Another committee of the legislature did investigate Pomeroy's dealings with York and others of its members, however, and found him "guilty of the crime of bribery, and attempting to corrupt by offers of money, members of the Legislature of the State of Kansas,"⁴⁰ but a select committee of the United States senate concluded that the charges were part of a plot to defeat him for reelection. Pomeroy's term ended March 4, 1873. He remained in Washington several years afterward and later made his home at Whitinsville, Mass., where he died on August 27, 1891.

Photographic reproductions of the three pages of the "Ross letter" accompany this article. Another Pomeroy letter, which is authentic beyond question, is also reproduced to enable the reader to compare the handwriting and decide for himself whether the "Ross letter" was a forgery. The letters were written on lined paper, 9¾ x 7¾ inches.

37. *Senate Journal; Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Kansas* (Topeka, 1873), pp. 106-108.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

39. *Atchison Daily Champion*, January 29, 1873.

40. *Pomeroy Investigation* (Topeka, 1873), p. 4.

Bypaths of Kansas History

MAYBE THEY DIDN'T LIKE EACH OTHER!

From the *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, August 20, 1857.

It is well known that Gov. Walker has declared that the Constitution shortly to be formed for Kansas, shall be submitted to a vote of the people; and it is also known that the President has promised that Walker shall be sustained in this policy. This has called out THOMAS J. KEY, editor of the *Doniphan Constitutionalist*, who is one of the Delegates elect from this County. (It is said, but we hardly believe it, that he every morning sticks his head into an empty flour barrel, and yells, at the top of his voice, "Honorable THOMAS J. KEY!" just to hear how it sounds; and that he has all the little boys hired, with candy, to exclaim, when he walks the streets, "There goes Honorable THOMAS J. KEY!") . . .

To which, the editor of the *Kansas Constitutionalist*, of Doniphan, replied:

There is a small sheet published at White Cloud, called the *Chief*, said to be edited by one Sol Miller, which we seldom see. In the last number the editor devotes nearly a column to the "Honorable THOMAS J. KEY," as he calls us, and he succeeds admirably in misrepresenting us, telling lies upon us. His article has about as much sense as Black Republican articles generally, such, for instance, as "three groans for McNulty."

The editor of the *Chief* wishes us to bring him into notice, but we do not wish to pollute our columns with such trash, unless forced to do so. We would gently hint to the cross-eyed, crank-sided, peaked and long razor-nosed, blue-mouthed, nigger-lipped, white-eyed, soft-headed, long-eared, crane-necked, blobber-lipped, squeaky-voiced, empty-headed, snaggle-toothed, filthy-mouthed, box-angled, pigeon-toed, reel-footed, goggle-eyed, hammer-hearted, cat-hammed, hump-shouldered, blander-shanked, splaw-footed, ignoble, Black Republican, abolition editor, to attend to his own affairs or we will pitch into him in earnest.

EDITOR.

Evoking the following answer in the *Chief*, September 10, 1857:

"HONORABLE" THOMAS J. KEY GETS "SNAVAGE!"—In a late number of the *Doniphan Constitutionalist*, (which the *gentlemanly* publisher neglected to send us,) the editor takes satisfaction upon us, by calling us all the hard names he ever heard of—hard names being the only argument he understands. Among other things, he calls us a Black Republican, and a liar!—says we want him to bring us into notice—threatens to kick us—and seeming to exhaust his vocabulary of hard words, concludes with a tirade of slop-shop expressions, purporting to come from some hireling lick-spittle in his employ, who is taught and commanded to proclaim, "What a mighty man is Thomas J. Key, my master!" This latter was unnecessary, as his editorials are always a mess of botchwork, which could not be made worse if he were to try. Now, that

dig hurt our feelings *awfully!* We must acknowledge, we did not exactly tell the truth about him. We said his name was Thomas Jefferson Key. We beg Thomas Jefferson's pardon—it should have been Thomas Jack-ass Key! (No insult intended to jack-asses generally.) But the idea that we want him to bring us into notice—goody gracious! Do we want a skunk to fling his filth upon us, that people may notice us? It would be far preferable to being brought into notice by such a burlesque upon humanity as Thomas J. Key! But to think that such wretches are sent to form a Constitution for the government of decent people—the thought is humiliating! . . .

SOLDIERING IN 1861

From *The Daily Times*, Leavenworth, November 23, 1861.

A correspondent of the *St. Louis Democrat*, writing from Tipton [Mo.], Nov. 18th, says that in sauntering through the camp of the Kansas First he found the following rich and racy chapter of chronicles:

1. Man that is born of woman, and enlisteth as a soldier in the Kansas First, is of few days, and short of "rations."

2. He cometh forth at "reveille," is present also at "retreat," yea even at "tattoo," and retireth, *apparently*, at "taps!"

3. He draweth his rations from the commissary, and devoureth the same. He striketh his teeth against much "hard bread," and is satisfied. He filleth his canteen with *aqua pura*, and clappeth the mouth thereof upon the bung of a whisky barrel, and after a little while goeth away rejoicing in his strategy!

4. Much soldiering hath made him sharp; yea, even the seat of his breeches are in danger of being cut through.

5. He covenanteth with the credulous farmer for many chickens, and much honey and milk, to be paid promptly at the end of each ten days; and lo! his regiment moveth on the *ninth day* to another post!

6. His tent is filled with potatoes, cabbage, turnips, kraut, and other delicate morsels of a dulcet delicious taste, which abound not in the Commissary Department.

7. And many other things not in the "return," and which never will return; yet, of a truth, it must be said of the soldier of the Kansas First, that of a surety he taketh nothing which he cannot reach!

8. He fireth his minie rifle at midnight and the whole camp is aroused and formed in line, when lo! his mess come bearing in a nice porker, which he solemnly declareth so resembled a secesh that he was compelled to pull trigger!

9. He giveth the Provost Marshal much trouble, often capturing his guard, and possesses himself of the city.

10. At such times lager and pretzels flow like milk and honey from his generous hand. He giveth without stint to his own comrade, yea! and withholdeth not from the lank expectant Hoosier of the "Indiandy Twenty-fourth."

11. The grunt of a pig, or the crowing of a cock, awakeneth him from the soundest sleep, and he sauntereth forth, until halted by the guard, when he instantly clappeth his hands upon his bread basket, and the guard in commiseration alloweth him to pass to the rear, to ease his gripe!

12. No sooner hath he passed the sentry's beat than he striketh a "bee line" for the nearest hen roost, and, seizing a pair plump pullets, returneth, soliloquizing to himself: "The noise of a goose saved Rome, how much more the flesh of chicken preserveth the soldier."

13. He playeth euchre with the parson whether there shall be preaching in camp on the Sabbath, and by dexterously "turning a Jack" from the bottom, postponeth the service.

14. And many other marvelous things doeth he; and lo! are they not already recorded in the morning reports of Company G?

COMPANY G.

EMANCIPATED

From the Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, June 20, 1863.

AN AFRICAN MARRIAGE.—The following notice, which we copy from the *Lawrence Journal*, is strongly indicative of Kansas and the war:

In this city Saturday, June 12, at the residence of Capt. James Christian, by Rev. J. M. Wilkinson, Philip Gains, Esq., to Miss Patsey Jane Hawkins, formerly of Missouri, and now "*Free American citizens of African descent.*"

PRIZE FIGHT IN DODGE

From the Dodge City *Times*, June 16, 1877.

On last Tuesday morning the champion prize fight of Dodge City was indulged in by Messrs. Nelson Whitman and the noted Red Hanley, familiarly known as 'the red bird from the South.' An indefinite rumor had been circulated in sporting circles that a fight was to take place, but the time and place was known only to a select few. The sport took place in front of the Saratoga, at the silent hour of 4:30 a. m., when the city police were retiring after the dance hall revelry had subsided, and the belles who reign there were off duty. Promptly at the appointed time the two candidates for championship were at the joint. Col. Norton acted as rounder up and whipper-in for both fighters, while Bobby Gill ably performed the arduous task of healing and handling and sponging off. Norton called 'time,' and the ball opened with some fine hits from the shoulder. Whitman was the favorite in the pools, but Red made a brilliant effort to win the champion belt. During the forty-second round Red Hanley implored Norton to take Nelson off for a little while till he could have time to put his right eye back where it belonged, set his jaw bone and have the ragged edge trimmed off his ears where they had been chewed the worst. This was against the rules of the ring, so Norton declined, encouraging him to bear it as well as he could and squeal when he got enough. About the sixty-first round Red squealed unmistakably, and Whitman was declared winner. The only injuries sustained by the loser in this fight were two ears chewed off, one eye bursted and the other disabled, right cheek bone caved in, bridge of the nose broken, seven teeth knocked out, one jaw bone mashed, one side of the tongue chewed off, and several other unimportant fractures and bruises. Red retires from the ring in disgust.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

"Kansas County Homes After the Social Security Act," was the title of a twenty-four-page article by Violet M. Fischer in *The Social Service Review*, of Chicago, December, 1943.

The story of the Dewey-Berry cattle feud, which resulted "in the hottest murder trial in Kansas' history," was reviewed in a three-column article, "Chauncey Dewey Comes Back Into Headlines," in the Manhattan *Mercury-Chronicle*, July 16, 1944.

The history of the Hermansberg Immanuel Evangelical Lutheran Church, in northwest Marshall county, was sketched in the Marysville *Advocate-Democrat* and the *Marshall County News*, August 10, 1944. The church was organized on August 8, 1869, and observed its diamond anniversary in 1944.

Mrs. T. B. Matlock is author of a feature, "Narratives Incident To Life As It Was And People As They Were on Our Frontier," which has been appearing at irregular intervals in the Marion *Record-Review*. Individuals and subjects featured in recent months include: "The Billings Home," August 10, 1944; "John Madden," September 14; "J. H. McAllister, the Village Blacksmith," October 12; "Early Elections on Our Frontier," November 9; "Reuben Riggs, Iowa Frontiersman," December 7; Marion county firsts, January 18, 1945; "Indian Scare," March 1, 8; "Crane's Ranch," April 5; "Charles W. Thompson," April 26, May 3; "The Cobles," May 24, and ramblings, July 12. Other articles of historical interest September 14—the old settlers' issue—were: "An Institution [Salem home] Dating Back to the Early 90's Disappears This Year" and "Marion Co. Dreamed of Prosperity in Chingawassa Springs, Quarry Siding and Rainbow Lake," by Lucy Burkholder.

Short paragraphs relating to various phases of the history of Manhattan and vicinity are being furnished the Manhattan *Mercury-Chronicle* by Walter McKeen, president of the Riley County Historical Society. Publication of the paragraphs, which are being used as occasional fillers, began in November, 1944.

Feature articles of general interest in recent numbers of the *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*, of Lawrence, include: "Review of the Fossil Vertebrates of Kansas," by H. H. Lane, December, 1944, and "The Development of Kansas Wildlife Conservation Policies," by Edwin O. Stene, March, 1945. The first state legislature of Kansas passed an act in May, 1861, establishing closed

seasons from April to August, inclusive, for prairie chicken, quail, partridges, wild turkey and deer.

A history of the Emporia Public Library, organized December 14, 1869, was sketched in the *Emporia Gazette*, December 14, 1944.

Dr. Carl Coke Rister, head of the history department of the University of Oklahoma, reviewed the opening of lands in the Indian territory in "Free Land Hunters of the Southern Plains," in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, of Oklahoma City, in the Winter, 1944-1945, number and "'Oklahoma,' the Land of Promise," in the Spring, 1945, issue. The first article gave the background leading to the Boomer movement of 1879-1889, and the second featured David L. Payne and other leaders active in that decade of Boomer agitation.

A series of sketches by George H. Weld entitled "The History of Little River" appeared in the *Little River Monitor* from January 31 to May 23, 1945.

Interesting Arkansas City history is reviewed in Walter Hutchison's "Folks Hereabouts" column appearing occasionally in the *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*. The founding dates of several of the city's churches, which now number more than twenty, were mentioned in the article printed February 8, 1945.

An article by the late Howard C. Rash describing Salina in 1870 was republished in the *Salina Journal*, March 14, 1945.

A description of early-day Meade county, as gleaned from the February 19, 1886, issue of the *Meade County Globe* was written by William R. Owens for the *Meade Globe-News*, of Meade, April 12, 1945.

The history of the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railroad Company, founded in Kansas in 1870, was briefly sketched in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, May 20, 1945.

The part Winfield citizens played in the establishment of Stillwater, Okla., in 1889, was reviewed by Dr. Berlin B. Chapman in a four-column article in the *Stillwater News-Press*, June 10, 1945. Dr. Chapman, who is a member of the faculty at Oklahoma A. & M. College at Stillwater, is preparing a book-length history of the town. He recently consulted the file of Stillwater's first newspaper, the *Oklahoma Standard*, and other papers preserved by the Kansas State Historical Society which are not available in Oklahoma.

Kansas Historical Notes

The Kansas Commonwealth Club held its tenth anniversary dinner at Wichita February 9, 1945. Miss Julia Emery was the principal speaker. Herman Quinius, 1944 president of the club, presided.

The story of the establishment of the Lawrence Memorial Hospital, as told by Robert C. Rankin before a meeting of the Old and New Club of Lawrence on April 5, 1945, has been printed and issued as a pamphlet under the title, *An Idea That Grew*.

Early Chetopa history was reviewed by Mrs. Sally Jones Schaefer of Parsons at a meeting of the Chetopa Historical Society April 23, 1945. In the business session the following officers were elected: Mrs. Retha Farrington, secretary, and Robert Bell, treasurer. C. R. Cellars is president of the society.

The Farmer's Last Frontier: Agriculture, 1860-1897 (in 434 pages), by Fred A. Shannon, was printed in May, 1945, as volume V of *The Economic History of the United States* series published by Farrar & Rinehart. When the farmer prospered so did the state, and Dr. Shannon has "tried to view the scene as the farmer saw it and to picture the farmer himself as he affected and was influenced by the world in which he worked and lived." Dr. Shannon has specialized in research in American social and economic history and is professor of history at the University of Illinois. He was a member of the history faculty at Kansas State College, Manhattan, from 1926 to 1939.

The Wild Horse of the West is the title of a 348-page book by Walker D. Wyman recently issued from the press of the Caxton Printers of Caldwell, Idaho. Wyman is of the opinion that "the horse, while introduced by the Conquistadores, was established in the Southwest by Oñate and his followers in the first years of the seventeenth century, and by the English and French on the Atlantic at approximately the same time." He thinks the wild horse herds of Western America emerged from the ranches or mission ranches of the Spanish in the Americas, not from some tired horses which might have escaped from Coronado or his fellows. Spreading upward from the New Mexican ranches and trading centers, the horse was distributed by Indian tribes, and reached the present Kansas-Missouri frontier around 1720. Horse culture spread like a fan from the

Rockies to the eastern Gulf area. These horses, breeding with the estrays from emigrants, ranchers and miners, produced the wild horses which until recently, were common on the Western plains.

Stories of the Kickapoo Indians of northeastern Kansas, as told by Mrs. Francis M. Green to her daughter, Louise Green Hoad, were published in a 129-page illustrated book recently issued by the Caxton Printers of Caldwell, Idaho, under the title, *Kickapoo Indian Trails*. Mrs. Green came to Kansas in 1858 as a teacher in the Presbyterian mission for the Kickapoos.

The 1945 *Official Guide* of the National Baseball Congress of America, announcing the annual national tournament to be held in Wichita August 10-22, has been issued. The book is replete with facts, rules, photographs, and the history of sandlot and semiprofessional baseball, particularly in Wichita where national tournaments have been annually staged under the direction of Ray Dumont, the Wichitan who originated them in 1935.

Five industrial research studies have been printed by the University of Kansas Publications in recent years. Four of these, in the *Industrial Research Series*, were titled: "The Outlook for Kansas Clay Products Industries," by Edward V. Kruger (1940), "Performance of a Coal Stoker-Fired Steam Heating Boiler as a Function of the Height of the Furnace," by Hayden Zimmerman and Alfred H. Sluss (1942), "The Production of Carbon Black and Activated Carbon From Hydrocarbons and Chlorine," by Deloss E. Winkler and George W. Stratton (1942), and "Kansas Manufacturing in the War Economy, 1940-1944," by L. L. Waters (1945). Another study, "Optimum Producing Rates for Arbuckle Limestone Wells," by P. T. Amstutz, Jr., and Eugene A. Stephenson (1944), was issued as *Bulletin 1* of the *Research Foundation Series*.

An eighty-page *Genealogy Record of the Groening and Wiebe Families*, by Jacob Z. Wiebe, was issued late in February, 1945, from the printing department of the Garden City *Daily Telegram*. The Groening and Wiebe families are descended from Anna Wiens, a Mennonite, who was born in Prussia in 1810. Her first husband was Abraham Groening I, by whom she had two sons. After Groening's death she married Jacob Wiebe and had eight children. Seven of the Wiebe children and one Groening came to Kansas. From this grandmother, Anna, Wiebe has traced 998 descendants.

Please Note

Due to the absence of several members of the staff in war service, which makes it necessary for the other experienced members to take care of the routine demands on the Society, *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* for a time will be printed with fewer pages.

Volume XIII, now being published, will consist of eight numbers, covering the years 1944-1945. The index for this volume will appear as part of the November, 1945, issue. —THE EDITORS.

Contributors

CAPT. JOHN FRANCIS McDERMOTT, a member of the Department of English at Washington University, Saint Louis, is now with the United States Army Air Force Intelligence in England. He has edited and annotated several journals of early Western travelers, including *Tixier's Travels on the Osage Prairies* (Norman, 1940), and *The Western Journals of Washington Irving* (Norman, 1944).

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THE
KANSAS HISTORICAL
QUARTERLY

November • 1945



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THE COVER

A B-29 Superfortress built in Kansas. The Wichita plant of the Boeing Airplane Company turned out the first production model of the B-29, all the Superforts participating in the early raids on Japan, and the majority of those sent into combat in the Pacific War Theater. Of the 3,888 Superfortresses built by all factories, 1,644 were Wichita made. Photographs through the courtesy of Boeing-Wichita.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XIII

November, 1945

Number 8

The Battle of Kansas

DURING the war most Kansans were so occupied with their specific jobs that they had little time to consider the state's tremendous contribution to victory. Two hundred thousand men and women went into the armed services. If the nation's casualty percentages are applied, there were 17,000 Kansas casualties, including 4,250 dead. At home, on the farms, with less help than normal, the state's wheat yield for the four war years has not been exceeded by any similar period. Production of other crops and farm products was also high.

Kansans helped build and staff the army and navy installations and the hundreds of war industries which dotted the state. Fort Riley expanded, with a new Camp Funston, and stressed mechanized cavalry. Fort Leavenworth continued its Command and General Staff School and also became a reception center. Several infantry regiments were trained at Camp Phillips, near Salina. The army located the 2,200-bed Winter General Hospital and an air-force specialized depot at Topeka. Anhydrous ammonia was produced at the Jayhawk Ordnance Works near Baxter Springs, powder was manufactured at the Sunflower Ordnance Works near De Soto, and shells were loaded at the Kansas Ordnance Plant near Parsons.

Naval air stations were located at Olathe and Hutchinson. Army airfields were built near Salina, Topeka, Pratt, Walker, Herington, Great Bend, Liberal, Independence, Coffeyville, Dodge City, Garden City and Winfield. Varied types of training were given at these fields and from some, specially designated, departed thousands of the heavy bombers used in the European and Pacific war zones.

Landing craft were built at Leavenworth and Kansas City and were floated to the gulf. Huge airplane factories were located at Kansas City and Wichita. At Wichita, the Boeing, Beech, Cessna

and Culver factories completed 25,865 airplanes during the war, and enough equivalent airplanes in spare parts to bring the number above 30,000. Boeing, Wichita's largest, employed as many as 30,000 workers. This plant, under the management of Kansas-born J. Earl Schaefer, completed 8,584 Kaydet primary trainers, and 1,762 additional trainers in spare parts; 750 CG4 gliders, the same gliders used in General Eisenhower's invasion of Europe, and wing panels and control surfaces for the B-17 Flying Fortress. Its work on the B-29 Superfortress was outstanding. All the B-29's used in the first raid on Japan on the steel center at Yawata, June 15, 1944, were built at Wichita and were processed from Kansas airfields.

The story of these Kansas Superfortresses is of unusual interest. By the fall of 1943 production and "know how" were more advanced in the Wichita plant than in other B-29 factories. Construction of the first bombers therefore was concentrated there under rush orders before all the "bugs" could be eliminated. *The Saturday Evening Post*, of August 25, 1945, said: "Superfortresses unready for battle were delivered to Kansas bases, where bombardment groups were poised for overseas. Army mechanics at Salina, Pratt, Walker and Great Bend tried to button up jobs left flapping."

General of the Army H. H. Arnold, chief of the air force, had already worked out a schedule for the bombing of Japan. On March 9, 1944, he arrived at the Smoky Hill Army Airfield at Salina and asked how many bombers could leave next day for India "as ordered." Because of the alterations the answer was "None." According to the *Post*, Arnold thereupon "exploded a string of 'impossible' orders that set phones jangling all over the country," and "so began an uproar famed as the Salina Blitz, or The Battle of Kansas. Overnight, Kansas swarmed with tough colonels. G. I. mechanics flew in from a dozen states, and Boeing sent 600 civilian experts from the Wichita plant. Maj. Gen. Bennett E. Meyers gave them the pitch: No paperwork except simple notes of work done; hours would be as long as a man could stand on his feet; the last plane must fly away April fifteenth. They worked outdoors in a wintry gale; hangars were scarce. The wind hissed with sleet. Loose cowlings flapped and clattered and sailed away. Gasoline heaters were flown in; and every shivering man was issued a high-altitude flying suit. . . .

"The Salina Blitz was being won. Training engines were yanked. War engines were installed, the latest model. Delicate fire-control

mechanisms were delivered to waiting B-29's in soft-sprung ambulances. Spare engines were hoisted into bomb bays, and one B-29 was ready, and then another. . . . The last B-29 left Kansas April fifteenth, right on the blitz deadline." Two months later they bombed the Japanese homeland.

At the end of the war Boeing-Wichita was producing 4.2 Superfortresses per working day for an average of 100 a month, which was the army's schedule, and had reduced the number of manhours from 157,000, the average required for the first 100 bombers, to less than 20,000. Of the 3,888 Superfortresses built by all factories, 1,644 were Wichita made. Wichita also built an additional 125 Superfortresses in spare parts.

General Arnold, on a visit to the Wichita Boeing plant, August 29, 1945, addressed the following statement to Boeing employees and to the people of Wichita and Kansas:

It is a great satisfaction to me to be able to be here today and see the completion of your B-29 program even as American occupation forces are making their initial landings in Japan—landings made possible at this relatively early date and with relatively reduced cost of American lives by the army air forces flying the B-29's made by you in this Boeing factory.

I recall very well my last visit here on January 12, 1944—as time is measured, not very many months ago. I then told you people of Wichita and Kansas that we desperately needed additional planes of the range and striking power of the B-29—and because of the widely extended Japanese defense perimeter, only if we had them could we knock the Japs out of the war without a costly series of land invasions. At that time, I inscribed my name on an unfinished B-29 on the production line that was not scheduled for delivery until March 15.

Typical of your spirit and your faith in the army air forces to do its job, that plane was delivered to the flight test crew on February 21—almost a full month in advance of the scheduled date. That is typical of the extra effort you made, the loyal support you gave the AAF, and the will to do that prevailed throughout the Superfortress production program.

Thanks to what you did, our combat crews had been trained and B-29's were ready and waiting to occupy Iwo Jima, Saipan, Okinawa as each base was prepared to receive them. Thanks to you the Japs in Tokyo, Nagoya and Kobe, and fifty other cities learned the folly of tackling the unbeatable combination of your production and the magnificent efforts of our splendid young airmen.

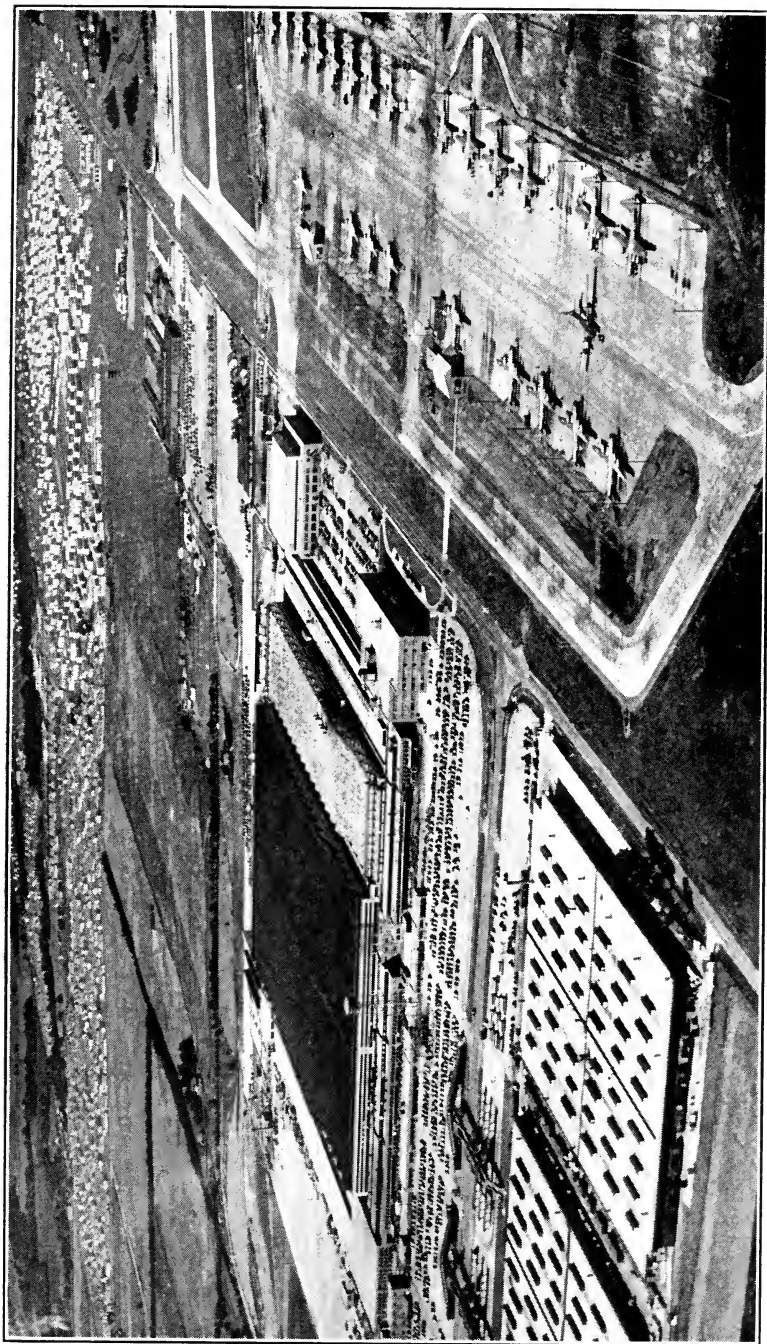
Soon after the Superforts completed their first strikes from the Marianas, the Japs' official Domei broadcast conceded that the planes were an unsolvable problem to them. And from that time on until Hiroshima and Nagasaki felt the final blows carried by B-29's, all America knew that the army air forces and Boeing Superforts could do the job they were assigned.

And in speaking to you of your splendid work in the B-29 program, I would be amiss if I overlooked your Boeing Kaydet primary trainers and

the part they played in training thousands of the young men who were later to figure so largely in victory, both in Europe and in the Pacific.

What I told Earl Schaefer in Washington I want to tell you people of Boeing, of Wichita and of Kansas here today. You were given a job to do and the way you finished that job met our greatest expectations.

For myself and on behalf of the army air forces, I say to you—well done, and thanks from the bottom of my heart.



PLANT OF THE BOEING AIRPLANE COMPANY NEAR WICHITA (1945). BUILDERS OF THE B-29 SUPERFORTRESS

Before the war the Boeing factory consisted of only a part of the building shown near the water tower in the upper right. At the top are some of the war housing units erected in the Wichita area.

SUPERFORTRESSES BY THE ACRE AT WICHITA



Nose Sections, and in the Left Background the Double Bomb Bay Sections.



Wing Sections in the Assembly Area of the Boeing Wichita Plant.

Pike's Peak Express Companies

PART III—THE PLATTE ROUTE

GEORGE A. ROOT and RUSSELL K. HICKMAN

THE HOCKADAY PURCHASE

THE Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express Company was founded by William H. Russell, John S. Jones and associates early in 1859 as a stage and express line to the Rocky Mountain gold region. Instead of using the old Oregon trail which followed the Platte river, a new and shorter route was surveyed from Leavenworth to Denver by way of the Solomon and Republican rivers. In April regular trips were inaugurated, thereby providing the first dependable service between the Missouri river and the Rockies. The new means of transportation was received with enthusiasm by the people of the border and with still greater appreciation by the miners near Pike's Peak, to whom it meant a great reduction of time for travel across the plains and a much more swift and reliable mail service. The stage company had been in operation only three weeks, however, when the proprietors purchased the older line of John M. Hockaday, who held a government contract for transporting the mail to Salt Lake City via the Platte river. This necessitated the abandonment of the Solomon and Republican route and opened a new chapter in the history of the Pike's Peak Express Company, the details of which are treated in this installment.

The gold rush to California and the Mormon migration to the valley of Great Salt Lake brought increased demands for improved mail service to these Western communities. The first government contract for a regular overland mail service was made in 1850 with Samuel H. Woodson of Independence, Mo., who was engaged to serve the route between that frontier outpost and Salt Lake City by way of the Oregon trail. This service was none too good and in 1854 a contract for carrying the overland mail was made with W. M. F. Magraw. Severe losses from Indian attacks forced him out of business in 1856. A Mormon firm, Hiram Kimball & Co., then took over until interrupted by the Mormon troubles of 1857.²¹⁵

215. St. Joseph (Mo.) *Argus*, July 8, 1893, quoted in Frank A. Root and William Elsey Connelley, *The Overland Stage to California* (Topeka, 1901—hereafter cited *Overland Stage*), pp. 444-446; Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of Utah* (San Francisco, 1890—*Works*, v. XXVI), pp. 500-504; Leroy R. Hafen, *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869* (Cleveland, 1926), p. 57. In the latter work (p. 62) the author points out that jealousy over the mail contract was a factor leading to the "Mormon War"—Magraw being one of the chief petitioners for federal intervention in Utah. It may be added that the immense business of Russell, Majors & Waddell, beginning in 1858, was based primarily on supplying the army in Utah.

By 1858 the mail lines from Independence, Mo., to Salt Lake City and from there to California had come to be regarded as one central route to the Pacific. The monthly service then in effect did not satisfy the population of California and the Postmaster General asked for bids for an improved service by this route.²¹⁶ In April, 1858, a new contract was made with John M. Hockaday of Independence, for a weekly mail from St. Joseph to Salt Lake City by way of Forts Kearny and Laramie. For the route from Salt Lake City to Placerville, Cal., a contract was made with George Chorpenning, a pioneer carrier on the western end of the line.²¹⁷ The service to Salt Lake was scheduled for twenty-two days, in carriages or covered wagons drawn by four mules or horses, at an annual compensation of \$190,000. The Postmaster General reserved the right to discontinue the service, or to reduce it to semimonthly "whenever the necessities of the public and the condition of affairs in the Territory of Utah may not require it more frequently . . ." ²¹⁸

When congress early in 1859 failed to pass the customary appropriation for the support of the Post Office department the Postmaster General felt obliged "to review the existing mail service of the country, with a view to its curtailment," and concluded that a diminished service to Utah would be neither prejudicial to the contractor, nor harmful to the lessened needs of the military in that area.²¹⁹ This change was ordered, to become effective July 1, 1859. J. M. Hockaday and his associate, William Liggit made it the occasion for a claim for damages against the government, alleging that the reduction meant an *increase*, instead of a decrease in the cost of operation, with an impairment of credit and resources which finally involved them in "irretrievable ruin."²²⁰

216. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

217. George Chorpenning, *Brief History of the Mail Service* (Washington, 1874?—microfilm of original in Library of Congress), pp. 7-9. This account chronicles the grave difficulties in the way of a regular mail service, in particular the losses incurred from Indian attacks, and includes a map of the route east of Salt Lake, called "Magraw's Route," via Fort Bridger, the Sweetwater, and the North Fork of the Platte, which the author termed the "Independence or St. Joseph and Salt Lake Mail Route."

218. *Senate Report No. 259*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., v. II (Serial 1040—henceforth termed *Senate Report 259*), Exhibit C, which is a copy of the contract for mail route No. 8911. It has been pointed out that: "The purpose of the Postmaster General in letting the Hockaday contract was not to establish a fast mail on the South Pass route, but to connect closely the troops in Utah with the War Department."—Curtis Nettels, "The Overland Mail Issue During the Fifties," *Missouri Historical Review*, Columbia, v. XVIII, No. 4 (July, 1924), p. 530.

219. J. Holt, Postmaster General, to the Hon. D. L. Yulee, May 5, 1860, in Exhibit D, *Senate Report 259*, p. 17. Regardless of the results, the change seems to have been entirely consonant with the terms of the contract and the practice of the department. Hockaday pointed out, however, that any reduction in the frequency of trips did not mean a diminishment in the cost of transporting the same volume of mail matter.

220. *House Report No. 268*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., v. II (Serial 1068): "Thus at a single blow the accumulations, in Mr. Legget's [Liggit's] case, of a life time of virtuous toil, were swept away, his family beggared, and his partner, Mr. Hockaday, discouraged and disheartened, retired to Salt Lake City, where he now remains in a state of mental and physical debility, which disqualifies him from bestowing any attention whatever to his business." The

On May 11, 1859, Jones, Russell & Co. of the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express Company purchased the contract and stock of the J. M. Hockaday stage line. Since this transfer has a very important bearing upon the later history of the Pike's Peak Express Company, a copy of the agreement follows:

Memorandum of agreement between Jones, Russell & Co., and J. M. Hockaday and J. M. Hockaday & Co., made this 11th day of May, 1859, at Leavenworth City, Kansas Territory, as follows:

The said J. M. Hockaday & Co., sell to the said Jones, Russell & Co., his or their contract for carrying the mail from St. Joseph, Missouri, to Great Salt Lake City, to be turned over to them on the 15th instant, on the following terms and conditions, to wit: First. A bonus of fifty thousand dollars, all mules, coaches, wagons, and harness, used for transporting for the mail line, and all other things connected with the carrying of said mail, including the cost of all improvements at the stations *en route*, houses, corrals, farming utensils, land broken, &c., at any indefinite sum to be reached by a valuation, which the parties hereto may mutually agree upon hereafter, *paid, and to be paid* as follows: The said Hockaday & Co., receive, as part payment, the balance due upon the present quarter from the 15th instant—being twenty-three thousand seven hundred and fifty dollars. Fifteen thousand dollars in an acceptance of Jones, Russell & Co., payable in New York, four months from the 15th instant; thirty-six thousand two hundred and fifty dollars in cash, from the 1st to the 10th day of September, 1859, the balance in the acceptance of Jones, Russell & Co.,²²¹ in three equal installments of four, eight, and twelve months, payable in New York; the second and third of which shall become due and payable in eight and twelve months from the 15th instant; the first in four months from the time of the ascertainment of the valuation to be hereafter made. Further, it is agreed between the parties hereto, that the said mail shall be run through Atchison, Kansas Territory, unless a change is ordered by the Post Office Department unsolicited. It is expressly agreed that any failure on the part of Jones, Russell & Co., after they take possession of the line, shall not diminish the amount due as per contract on the 30th of June for said period. The said Hockaday, and Hockaday & Co., both, or either of them, further agree that they will, when called upon, execute any further assignment of said contract that may be necessary, and agree that the name of J. M. Hockaday shall be used by Jones, Russell & Co., in the execution of said contract, so far as the same may be necessary in its performance, and no further; and the said John M. Hockaday further agrees to give his personal aid and influence to secure the interests of Jones, Russell & Co., before Congress for an increased compensation for carrying said mail, so far as he can, with convenience to his own business interests, the said Jones, Russell & Co.,

extreme phraseology of this report is apparent. Since congress later appropriated the sum of \$40,000 for the relief of the Hockaday firm, the United States and Jones & Russell paid that company a total of \$405,847.51 for services and property. It must be conceded, however, that the government was far more parsimonious in its reward of services on the Central route, than on the Southern or Butterfield mail road. According to the new arrangement, the annual subsidy for a semimonthly mail to Salt Lake City was to be \$125,000, in place of \$190,000 for a weekly service.

221. See the concluding pages of the section entitled "Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company," dealing with financial matters, which will be published in the February, 1946, *Quarterly*.

agrees to pay him a liberal compensation therefor in case of success. It is expressly understood that the said J. M. Hockaday and J. M. Hockaday & Co., sell, assign, and set over with said contract, all claim or claims in behalf of the same before Congress or the department.

Witness our hand and seals this 11th day of May, A. D. 1859, at Leavenworth City, Kansas Territory.

JONES, RUSSELL & CO.	[L. S.]
J. M. HOCKADAY.	[L. S.]
J. M. HOCKADAY & CO.	[L. S.]
WILLIAM H. RUSSELL.	[L. S.]

Witness: D. R. RISLEY.

Witness as to W. H. Russell, Jos. ROBERSON.²²²

The transaction was arranged by Luther R. Smoot of the Leavenworth banking firm of Smoot & Russell and at the time was not made public.²²³ It is probable that it was undertaken at the request of Wm. H. Russell, of the "parent" firm of Russell, Majors & Waddell, who had much to do with directing the finances of these companies and was himself something of a "plunger." To execute the provisions of this agreement, Smoot and John M. Hockaday were made assignees of the Hockaday firm, to hold the property in trust for Jones, Russell & Co.²²⁴ During the summer of 1859 the Hockaday property was appraised and the "mules, coaches, stations, improvements, and supplies then on hand" were assessed at \$94,000.²²⁵ This sum, with a bonus of \$50,000, totalling \$144,000, was paid by Jones, Russell & Co. to the Hockaday firm in the period agreed upon. The claim of Hockaday for damages ensuing from a reduction of the service was not assumed by Jones, Russell & Co., but remained a claim of Hockaday & Liggett against the government (for which \$40,000 was later appropriated for their relief).²²⁶ Russell later asserted that his firm was entitled to additional payment for continuing the weekly mail service, which they were obliged to do because of the large quantity of mail.²²⁷

222. Exhibit H of minority report, *Senate Report 259*, pp. 21, 22.

223. L. R. Smoot to Wm. Liggett, dated Washington City, May 15, 1860, in Exhibit 4, majority report.—*Ibid.*

224. Affidavit of William H. Russell, president, and Jerome B. Simpson, vice-president of the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company, May 23, 1860, in Exhibit 6, of *ibid.* Russell held a key position in several interlocking firms subsidiary to Russell, Majors & Waddell.

225. *Ibid.*

226. See Ch. CIX of *Private Laws for 1860-'61 (U. S. Statutes at Large, v. XII, p. 893)*.

227. Wm. H. Russell to L. Washington, Esq., clerk of senate committee on post offices and post roads, Exhibit A of minority report, *Senate Report 259*, p. 12: "Jones, Russell & Co. purchased the contract and stock . . . after the reduction of the service, but were compelled to do weekly service, on account of the quantity of mail matter to be forwarded. We think we are justly entitled to payment for this extra service. It is certainly due us by any fair interpretation of the contract, in connection with the fact that weekly service has been a necessity."

This reference to a "fair interpretation of the contract" is questionable. Hockaday had agreed to urge upon congress the propriety of this claim, and in turn Russell supported the petition for damages by Hockaday and Liggett.

Hockaday termed this transaction virtually a "forced sale"—that in order to properly stock the line he and his partner had been obliged to expend the sum of \$394,000 and later to resort to their credit and the help of "confiding friends," and that because of the curtailment of mail service to semimonthly, with the consequent reduction of pay, and the "obvious increase of expense, they were wholly ruined in credit, and rendered unable to continue the service required." Realizing that they were "pecuniarily ruined" they consequently "were forced to sell out their contract, together with all their property, at a ruinous sacrifice, for \$145,000,"—at least \$100,000 less than it would have brought if such curtailment had not been made.²²⁸ When the matter was considered on the floor of congress there was marked sympathy for the firm. It had rendered satisfactory service and was made to suffer because of a reduction of the postal services owing to the failure of the usual congressional appropriation—a view which was at least in a measure agreed to by President Buchanan.²²⁹

Just what did Jones & Russell obtain by this purchase, which required so large an outlay? The government contract of John M. Hockaday for the mail route to Salt Lake City was transferred to Hockaday & Smoot, assignees representing both firms, for the remainder of the term ending November 30, 1860.²³⁰ Even though

228. Memorial of J. M. Hockaday and William Liggit to congress, dated Washington City, March 14, 1860.—Exhibit L of minority report, *ibid.*, p. 24. The following total of payments made to the Hockaday firm by the United States and Jones & Russell rendered the above contentions doubtful:

By the U. S. for transportation on Route 8911, from May 1, 1858, to June 30, 1859.....	\$221,847.51
By Jones & Russell for contract and property, including bonus.....	144,000.00
By the U. S. for damages on account of curtailment of service.....	40,000.00
Total payments	\$405,847.51

The minority report reviewed the questionable aspects of the Hockaday claim for relief, and termed their alleged expenditure of \$394,000 in the first year to stock and run the line as "difficult to imagine." In 1857 Hockaday estimated his total expense would be only \$63,927 for stocking and running the line for a year, when making monthly trips, and considerably less in proportion, for more frequent service. The reduction in pay was not to occur until July 1, 1859, but this prospective change probably did affect the credit of the firm, and hence the sale price to Jones & Russell. The latter asserted (Exhibit 3 of majority report, p. 9): "That they (Hockaday & Liggit) were forced to sell out, and at a sacrifice, there is not a doubt, and all arising from the fact that their credit was destroyed, owing mainly to the fact that the appropriations failed at the last Congress." The affidavit of R. H. Porter, (*ibid.*, Exhibit 5, p. 11) is a more detailed statement of the same view.

229. The first relief bill to pass, to appropriate \$40,000, was not signed by Buchanan, because of insufficient time to study the matter. A new measure for \$59,576 was vetoed by him in January, 1861, on the grounds that the increase in amount was unjustified, and would afford a basis for numerous raids on the treasury by contractors who had suffered a reduction. Buchanan reviewed the matter and admitted that "There is no doubt that the contractors have sustained considerable loss in the whole transaction."—*Congressional Globe*, v. 30, Pt. 1, pp. 572-576. The measure failed to obtain a two-thirds majority over his veto, and a new bill was then introduced, for the smaller amount, which was more in accord with the President's views.

230. Under the Hockaday management this line had had three divisions—St. Joseph to Morrell's (Upper) Crossing of the South Platte, Agent Charles W. Wiley; from the Crossing of the Platte to South Pass, Agent Joseph A. Slade; from South Pass to Great Salt Lake City, Agent James E. Bromley.—Affidavits of Wiley, Slade, and Bromley, in *Senate Report 259*, pp. 34, 35.

the Hockaday firm had rendered satisfactory service and had conveyed the mails with "great regularity" it appears to have been quite poorly equipped. In the absence of any inventory of property transferred or schedule of appraisalment an exact judgment is impossible. Hockaday's estimate for a monthly service, made in 1857, included a total of seven stations, eighteen men, 92 mules and ten coaches, but it is very probable that these figures were considerably higher at the time of the sale to Jones & Russell.²³¹ The most important thing gained by these parties, however, was the mail contract to Salt Lake City, which definitely placed this firm in the overland mail business by way of the Central route.

TRANSFER TO THE PLATTE

According to the original Hockaday contract for transporting the mail to Utah (Route No. 8911), service was to be "from Saint Joseph, Mo., by Fort Kearney, Neb. Ter., and Fort Laramie, to Salt Lake City, Utah Ter., and back, once a week, in twenty-two days, each way, at \$190,000 per annum, the service to be performed in carriages or covered wagons, drawn by four mules or horses."²³² These terms no doubt obliged Jones and Russell to adopt a road by way of the Platte, regardless of their earlier preference for the shorter route by the Solomon and branches of the Republican. Alexander Majors of the firm of Russell, Majors & Waddell termed the Fort Kearny route the best natural road on the continent and believed it the best in the world.²³³ Lt. G. K. Warren, U. S. topographical engineer, in his official report to the Secretary of War, asserted: "Of all the valleys of rivers running into the Missouri, that of the Platte furnishes the best route for any kind of a road leading to the interior, and the best point of starting is Omaha City."²³⁴ In

231. Exhibit M of minority report in *ibid.*, pp. 36, 37. The stations were to be Independence (later changed to St. Joseph), Big Blue, Fort Kearny, Fort Laramie, Independence Rock, Black's Fork, and Salt Lake City, which would cost approximately \$54,847 (total costs being prorated to the various stations). The actual contract must have been based upon notably larger estimates—the number of mules alone was not less than 358, according to the affidavits of the three route agents. R. H. Porter testified that this firm had twenty-eight valuable preemption claims and locations which were sacrificed in the sale, on which the improvements alone were worth \$20,000 (Exhibit 5 of minority report, *ibid.*, p. 11).

Concerning the cost of equipping Route No. 8911, from Independence, Mo., to Salt Lake City, see *House Report No. 6*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., from the committee of the post office and post roads, on the memorial of William M. F. Magraw (an earlier mail contractor on the Central route).

232. Copy of contract for Route No. 8911, Exhibit C of minority report, *Senate Report 259*, p. 13.

233. Parker and Huyett, *The Illustrated Miners' Hand-Book and Guide to Pike's Peak* (henceforth termed Parker & Huyett *Guidebook*), St. Louis, 1859 (microfilm of original in Library of Congress), p. 55. "It has superior advantages to any other, as regards water and fuel, as well as grazing for stock; besides, throughout the entire route settlements and trading posts have been established, for the accommodation of immigrants."—*Ibid.*, p. 67. In the memoirs of Alexander Majors (Prentiss Ingraham, ed.), *Seventy Years on the Frontier* (Chicago and New York, 1893), the author devotes Ch. XXX to a discussion of the Platte valley, which he terms the "grand pathway to the mountains."

234. Parker & Huyett *Guidebook*, p. 56. The Oregon trail was the first route across

adopting this route the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express Company was simply employing for mail, express and passenger purposes a road long used for freighting by Russell, Majors & Waddell.²³⁵ The change was severely criticized by E. D. Boyd, surveyor and describer of the earlier route, who remarked:

In my last I gave a description of the express route but I believe I did not make any comments on it. I am sorry to say, it is disliked very much. Few are traveling it now. Those that do come in by that route say water and grass are very scarce. The Express Company, you are aware have abandoned it. Those who have traveled it once say they will never do so again.

How unfortunate that the miserable location the company made should drive people away from it and prejudice almost every one against any road which should be located near the same general route. I am still satisfied that the most direct road can be made near this route, much shorter than the Express road, and with water, wood and grass as plenty as on that road. It would probably take some time to induce people to travel it however.

The wrong cause is given by many, for the Express leaving the road. If it had not been for Russell's connection with the Salt Lake mail, perhaps the change would never have been made.²³⁶

The task of shifting equipment, moveable supplies and stock to the new route required added work and further expense during the

the plains to the Pacific coast, and had been traveled so long that now, by the late fifties, it was generally regarded with favor. It was "first selected by nature's civil engineers, the buffalo and the elk," and thereafter was widely used by the Indians, the traders and trappers bound for the mountain country, more recently the pioneers on the road to Oregon and California, and now those on like errands to Pike's Peak.

235. As contrasted with other routes like the initial express road, which was undeniably closer to Pike's Peak, the Oregon and Salt Lake trail was plentifully supplied with trading posts and settlements en route, enjoyed military protection, was much smoother, and nearly always in sight of water. The flats along the river provided a far more dependable supply of grass than either the Solomon and Republican or the Smoky Hill routes, excepting early in the spring. Probably the greatest objection to the initial Pike's Peak Express road—the scarcity of fuel—did not apply to the Platte, where timber or buffalo and cattle chips were far more abundant.

236. E. D. Boyd to F. G. Adams, dated Denver City, July 20, 1859, in the *Atchison Freedom's Champion*, August 20, 1859. In February, 1860, when many in Leavenworth and other points to the west were boosting a revised Smoky Hill route, a writer signing himself "J. M. N. O." wrote to the weekly *Leavenworth Herald* (published in the supplement of February 18, 1860):

"In the spring of 1859, Messrs. Jones & Russell sent out a corps of experienced men to view and mark out a route from Leavenworth to Denver City. . . . To avoid crossing large streams, it was tho't best to keep the divide between Smoky Hill and Solomon rivers on the south and Republican river on the north. And I doubt very much whether a better natural track for a road the same distance can be found in the United States, than there was found to the head of Solomon river. From that point the viewers had no guide other than their own notion of the direction to Denver City. . . . The course taken from that point was north of west, which I presume was to strike the waters of the Republican as soon as possible . . . a mistake on the part of the viewers.

"The first trains were sent out before the return of the viewers, (which was unfortunate) as they with hundreds of emigrant wagons followed the viewers so close, that they too were out of their course before the mistake of the viewers was discovered. The viewers, on their return, partially corrected the mistake, but too late for the great rush of emigration, as they continued to follow the beaten track. From this circumstance, what was then known as the Express Route, became unpopular, and it became the interest of the Express Company to move their coaches and stock on the Kearney route—not from choice of routes—as I understand from the agent, but they having purchased the contract for carrying the mail to Salt Lake by Fort Kearney . . . , therefore, the Express Company changed their passenger route, but retained the new route for their heavier trains in carrying stores, &c. . . . Had the viewers taken southwest instead of northwest from the head of Solomon river . . . , they would have shortened the route materially, and found wood, water and grass at short intervals, in abundance. . . ." (The writer's objections to the Platte road, which followed, are open to question—he boosted the Smoky Hill route as 150 miles shorter, and said it enjoyed a longer season with grass.)

summer of 1859. In this work Beverly D. Williams appears to have played a leading role, as he had in establishing the initial route.²³⁷ Unfortunately the press, particularly the Leavenworth papers, seem to have been "duly instructed" to remain quiet concerning the change until arrangements had been completed, when repeated articles appeared in praise of the accomplishments of the firm. With the move to the Platte went the building of new stations at more convenient distances, since those of the Hockaday line had been few and far between, and the construction of barns capable of accommodating several teams of mules, with necessary provender and supplies. When moveable, the supplies and equipment of the stations on the old route were probably transferred to the new road,²³⁸ which resulted in a very considerable increase in stock, etc., on the Platte route. Hockaday and Liggitt alleged that their loss was entirely a "consequence of the curtailment of service" from weekly to semimonthly and submitted a considerable number of affidavits testifying to the large increase of stock, concerning which the minority report of the congressional committee concluded there "is every reason to believe . . . was for passenger accommodation,"²³⁹ and not for other purposes.

Before arrangements had been completed, service by way of the Platte was begun, to conform with contractual requirements. In its issue of June 25 the *Leavenworth Weekly Herald* remarked that "Jones and Russell have now their Express route fully established—the different stations are located and well stocked." The first coach by way of the Platte left Leavenworth July 2, before the improvements on the new route had been completed, and arrived in Denver early in the morning of July 9, 1859. An account of this first trip follows:

237. The account in the *Leavenworth Weekly Herald*, June 25, 1859, seems to be garbled, inasmuch as the writer apparently refers to a new road along the Platte, and then mentions incidents along the old trail. Williams left Leavenworth May 31 with the following instructions: "to double the stations and send all stock from station No. 22, back to this city [Leavenworth]—all out-fits to Denver City. Sufficient stock was to be sent from No. 22, to make three stations from the crossing of the South Platte (200 miles from Denver City) to the latter point. He accomplished this duty."

238. That this transfer took place, is very probable, although not specifically mentioned by the press. The following Junction City dispatch of June 30 seems to refer to it (*Leavenworth Daily Times*, July 6, 1859): "Twenty-five wagons, belonging to Jones, Russell & Co., passed town on their return from Denver City, and the different points of the Express road. . . ."

239. Minority report of *Senate Report 259*, pp. 10, 11, which points out the absurdities of the testimony. Since the change of route was made at the same time the reduction of service and pay was to go into effect (July 1, 1859), both firms seem to have been, in effect, pleading that the added stations and equipment were a necessary result of the reduction, and hence ground for a just claim against the government. This may give added point to the secrecy of the transfer—a point which escaped the congressional committee. Perhaps a congressional appropriation would conveniently cover the cost of the transfer! The affidavits of the route agents and postmasters testifying to large increases of stock after July 1, 1859, are found in *ibid.*, pp. 29-35. Lack of definite data precludes any positive conclusion.

Denver City, July 9, 1859.

EDITOR OF THE TIMES: Through your columns we wish to make favorable mention of the Express Company of Messrs. Jones & Russell. We left Leavenworth on Saturday morning at 10, A. M., 2d inst., and were landed here this morning at 7, A. M., making the entire trip in six days and twenty-one hours. The appointments of the route far exceeded our expectations, and when every arrangement that they have now under way is completed, there will be thrown open to the public one of the best, if not the best, stage routes in the world. The stations will be from twenty to thirty miles apart, and each station amply supplied with first class stock, and at convenient points. There are established good eating houses—some of which throw many brag Eastern Houses in the shade; we have had served up to us almost all kinds of vegetables, and plenty of buffalo, antelope and other wild game—all in abundance.

We make this statement to correct, as far as possible, an erroneous opinion that prevails, that the company cannot and will not be able to carry out their advertised time and advantages.

The coach on which we came was the first one on the Platte Route, and consequently was subject to more than ordinary delay. By a computation of our own, we are able to say that twenty-eight hours were lost at the different stations in getting up the mules and arranging for the travel which is ready to go on to the line. This time and what will be saved by having station routes, will, without doubt, shorten the time to considerably less than six days from and to Leavenworth.

C. MINER,
T. CONKLIN,
J. P. BONERTEST,
L. D. DODGE,
J. HEYWOOD,
J. M. GALLOWAY.²⁴⁰

Although the express coaches operated with considerable regularity misunderstandings arose during the first weeks which delayed the arrival of both gold and mail and caused some dissatisfaction. The coach from Denver was brought to the junction on the South Platte to meet the overland mail from Salt Lake City, the conductors of which do not seem to have been advised of the new arrangement, and refused to receive either passengers or letters.²⁴¹ Shipments of gold could not be dispatched unless in the care of a special messenger who in several instances was not on hand.²⁴² After some

240. Leavenworth *Daily Times*, July 22, 1859. At this time, three weeks after the initial departure, this paper remarked: "What will not human energy do? The whistle of the incoming Express, a few weeks ago, would have gathered a crowd. Now it is considered nothing unusual, and, though only six days from Denver, people are neither curious to see it, or eager to get the news." The express of that date brought \$2,000 worth of gold dust.

241. *Ibid.*, June 24 and July 4, 1859.

242. "The croakers once more experienced a violent vibration of their several chops in consequence of the non-arrival of gold on the Express coach of yesterday afternoon. To settle their excited feelings, we will state that the instructions of the Express Company to their Agent at Denver City are such as to preclude the shipment of any valuables on the Express trains without there being a regular messenger to accompany them through. Mr. Fillibrown, the messenger, that last left here for Denver City, was sent over the old Express route. At the time of his departure, most of the Stations at the Western end of the road

weeks these troubles were ironed out and the removal to the Platte did notably shorten the time required for the trip to Denver which was now regularly completed in seven days or less.²⁴³ Since it was necessary to take the overland mail to St. Joseph, the terminal as fixed by government contract, the mail coaches commonly returned by way of Atchison and arrived at Leavenworth later.

Even though the Post Office department had ordered a reduction of the Salt Lake mail departures to semimonthly, Jones & Russell continued a weekly service.²⁴⁴ Since the Hockaday transfer did not affect the mail to Denver, the express company continued its twenty-five cent fee on each letter to that city, causing some dissatisfaction, but the improved service tended to allay passions on this score. A Denver paper remarked:

The L. and P. P. is winning golden opinions. Stages now make the regular trips in little over six days carrying mails with unfailing regularity and putting passengers through with more comfort, and giving better and more regular meals than can be obtained on any stage route in the Western States. The fact is, this express company is about the only link that binds us to the states. Long may it prosper!²⁴⁵

EXPRESS STATIONS

During August, 1859, the Leavenworth *Times* published several articles in praise of the achievements of Jones & Russell in establishing their new stage line:

Before all, a tribute of praise to the deserving. Not more than six weeks have elapsed since Messrs. Russell, Jones & Co. commenced transferring their express line from the Central to the Northern route, and with the incredible obstacles to the contrary, notwithstanding, their immense stage route is already in as perfect a working order as the oldest lines of the East. The writer arrived here [Denver] from Leavenworth—a distance of six hundred and

had been broken up—a fact which was, however, unknown to the managers of the Company in this city—and he was accordingly obliged to travel the last three hundred miles without a change of teams, . . . which . . . greatly delayed his journey. On the day of the departure of this last coach, he had not yet arrived and there being no other messenger at Denver City, the rules as well as the interest of the company prevented Dr. Fox from transmitting the anxiously looked for gold."—*Ibid.*, July 8, 1859.

243. *Ibid.* At about this time Jones announced that the company would start a daily express to Denver. As late as July 20 this paper noted the absence of gold shipments, and the great scarcity of mail, and hoped that Jones & Russell would soon solve the trouble. Some of the gold probably went by way of Omaha.

244. Wm. H. Russell to L. Washington, dated Washington City, May 10, 1860, appearing as Exhibit A of minority report, *Senate Report* 259, p. 12. Much apprehension existed along the line, engendered by fear of a reduction. A Weston, Mo., dispatch from Salt Lake City, dated July 22, in the New York *Daily Tribune* (August 27) remarked that the promise of a semimonthly mail "does not give satisfaction at Camp Floyd and Salt Lake." A similar feeling existed at Fort Kearny (dispatch of June 17, 1859, to the Atchison *Union* of June 25) where such a proposed change was regarded "a great loss and deprivation to us out here. . . . They still bring in a mail weekly, and it ought to continue so for the binding together of the Atlantic and Pacific States. . . ." The Post Office department ordered a weekly service early in 1860.

245. H. Parker Johnson, A. P. S., "Jones & Russell's Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express Co.," *The American Philatelist*, v. 58, No. 2 (November, 1944), pp. 112, 113. This twelve-page article is a good brief review of the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express, with special emphasis upon its philatelic implications, and includes a number of rare stamp covers, a map of the express route (p. 107), and several illustrations.

eighty miles—in eight days, and yet he enjoyed rest for three whole nights, and from four to five hours during each of the remaining ones.

At each of the express stations, with the exception of the division from the South Platte crossing to Denver City, comfortable buildings have been erected for the ease and comfort of passengers, and at most of the layover stations, the fare is as good as can be found anywhere west of the Big Blue. From the South Platte crossing to Denver, efforts are perceptible, at each of the points selected for stations, to erect permanent improvements, in the shape of sod-houses, mule guards, stables, &c., and in less than a month everything will be as comfortable on the lower as on the upper end of the route; and in a year from now, a ride from Leavenworth to Cherry Creek will be a pleasant excursion.²⁴⁶

About a week earlier the same paper had praised the express company and the new route, which it termed "so well established, and the time made on it so unparalleled, that its superior claims over every other route are universally acknowledged." Jones and Russell had established stations at regular intervals of twenty-five miles which were well prepared to take care of the traveler.

If he loses his team he can easily secure a conveyance, either to or from the mines, and if he gets out of supplies, his stock can be easily replenished.

The great pioneer world is under a load of indebtedness to the gentlemen who have thus provided against the liabilities and dangers to which emigrants are subjected in their march across the Great Plains.

Every station is a seeming Oasis—a link in the great chain of civilization, that even now stretches from the Atlantic to the Pacific.²⁴⁷

There is no doubt that these accounts, although based on the truth, were in part newspaper puffs to encourage the business of the company. About a year after this Richard F. Burton, the famous African explorer, crossed the plains to Salt Lake City by this same stage line, then operating as the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express. In his detailed story, *The City of the Saints*, he told of many stations which were far from praiseworthy and of only a few which merited his unqualified approval.²⁴⁸

When the overland stage was operating to California under the

246. Denver City dispatch, dated August 11, of the Leavenworth *Daily Times*, August 23, 1859. "The gold fever is still raging fiercely. Everybody is going and gone to the new diggings. The Judge, the majority of the bar, members of the press, doctors, merchants, men, women and children, everybody stampedes or would like to stampee in the direction of the South Park. . . . How irresistible are thy attractions, oh potent lucre!"—*Ibid.*

247. *Ibid.*, August 17, 1859. "We trust the outlay and enterprise of Jones & Russell may not only be appreciated, but properly remunerated. Their express is one of the 'great institutions' of the West—an evidence of what capital and energy can accomplish in the face of what the superficial would consider insurmountable obstacles."—*Ibid.*

The Leavenworth *Weekly Herald*, August 27, 1859, uttered another paean of praise by a later traveler, who pointed out that a number of stations had been added to those of the Hockaday firm, so that a journey across the plains was now nearly a pleasure trip. "Houses have been erected, wells dug, and the conveniences of life are rapidly gathered around points along a distance of hundreds of miles, where two months ago there was not a fixed habitation. Passengers by this line get their regular meals, on a table and smoking hot."

248. Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints, And Across the Rocky Mountains to California* (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1862), excerpts of which are included in this article.

ownership of Ben Holladay, Frank A. Root served as messenger on the "run" from Atchison to Denver, Colo., starting his first trip January 23, 1863. His description of the stations along the line is probably the best account extant:

There was a remarkable similarity in many of the stations built along the Platte on the stage route for a distance of at least 250 miles when the line was put into operation. Most of the buildings were erected by the stage company, and usually they were nearly square, one-story, hewn, cedar-log structures, of one to three rooms. When constructed with only one room, often partitions of muslin were used to separate the kitchen from the dining-room and sleeping apartments.

The roof was supported by a log placed across from gable to gable, by which poles were supported for rafters placed as close as they could be put together, side by side. On these were placed some willows, then a layer of hay was spread, and this was covered with earth or sod; and, lastly, a sprinkling of coarse gravel covered all, to keep the earth from being blown off. The logs of which most of the first stations were constructed were procured in the canons south of the Platte, in the vicinity of Cottonwood Springs, in the southern part of western Nebraska.

Nearly all the "swing" stations along the Platte—in fact, over the entire line—were similar in construction and closely resembled one another. A number of the "home" stations, however, differed somewhat in several respects, being two or three times larger, and provided with sheds, outbuildings, and a number of other conveniences.

The station, stable and outbuildings at old Julesburg²⁴⁹ were built when that was the point where the through coaches forded the South Platte for Salt Lake and California, going up the Rocky Ridge road along Lodge Pole creek. Besides being the point where the stages on the main line crossed the Platte, it also became an important junction for upwards of four years. Here the branch line, the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express, started by Jones, Russell & Co., and subsequently absorbed by the Central Company, and known as the "Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company," ran their stages up the South Fork of the Platte for 200 miles beyond to Denver.

At Julesburg—in early staging days one of the most important points along the Platte—were erected the largest buildings of the kind between Fort Kearney and Denver. They were built of cedar logs, hauled from near Cottonwood Springs by oxen, a distance of 105 miles.

Most of the stations east of Denver for about a hundred miles were constructed of rough lumber hauled from the mountains down the Platte valley. The buildings were decidedly plain, the boards being of native Colorado pine, nailed on the frame perpendicularly. Only a few of the stations west of the Big Blue river at Marysville were weatherboarded. With this exception, all were plain log structures between the latter point and Fort Kearney. A sta-

249. Julesburg, located at the Upper (California) Crossing of the Platte (which went by several names), was named after Jules Beni, a pioneer French Indian trader who had been made station agent by Beverly D. Williams. One of Ficklin's reforms (1860) was the removal of "Old Jules" for theft and other abuses, and the appointment of Jack Slade as his successor.—See *Overland Stage*, pp. 213-219.

tion on the line where there was no family living—only a stock tender—was called a "swing" station.

The first sod buildings seen on the line were at Fort Kearney, a few having been erected in pioneer overland freighting, pony express and staging days. The post-office, build of sod—also used as the first telegraph office at the fort—although small, was in the early '60's one of the most prominent of the few buildings of that character between the Missouri river and the Rockies.²⁵⁰

In another account the same author describes the eating stations on the overland stage line. This narrative is probably also somewhat later in time than the Pike's Peak Express companies, after improvements had been installed.

There were about twenty-five eating stations on the line, among which may be mentioned Kennekuk, Seneca, Guittard's, Big Sandy, Kiowa, Liberty Farm, Thirty-two Mile Creek, Ft. Kearney, Plum Creek, Midway, Cottonwood Springs, Alkali Lake, Julesburg, Spring Hill, Valley Station, Beaver Creek, Fremont's Orchard, Latham, Big Bend, etc.²⁵¹ The more important stations fed passengers both ways, and the others getting a load of them going west would almost invariably lose the coach load going east. Passengers took their meals regularly twice and sometimes three times a day according to the reputation of the house and the hour the stage reached it. Leaving Atchison [the later terminal] in the morning they dined with Mrs. Perry, at Kennekuk, and supped at Seneca, with John E. Smith, whose better half enjoyed the reputation of keeping the cleanest house of anybody on the whole line. It was eighty-five miles out to Guittard's, and when the mails did not reach us at Atchison till after dinner we would reach Guittard's the next morning for breakfast. Going east passengers seldom passed by the house of this Frenchman. He kept one of the best ranches on the whole line and he was known along the overland from Atchison to California by stage passengers and freighters as well as the "Delmonico" is in New York. His was the favorite stopping place for all passengers on the overland, and thousands of freighters and pilgrims hardly ever passed, going east or west without sitting down to the hospitable table that made this ranch so famous.²⁵²

Miss Lizzie Trout, at Midway station, could get up a first-class meal the quickest of any person on the line. It was remarkable to get such good fare as we used to have on the plains. The most of the stations were well kept and the fare was good, while a few were miserable apologies. Leaving the Big Blue it was almost impossible to get butter at any station, but we had plenty of beans, bacon, hominy and sorghum, especially after reaching the Platte Valley, with a good supply of buffalo steaks and antelope. Dried apple pies

250. *Ibid.*, pp. 64, 65. The "swing" stations were used to change stock, and were often much smaller than the home stations, which usually were provided with sheds, outbuildings, and other conveniences.

251. See below for a list of the stations as they existed in the earlier years, before the transfer to the North Fork of the Platte was eliminated. By the time Root went over the line these stops had been approximately doubled in number.

252. In his *City of the Saints* Burton praises very few of the eating places (in 1860), but says that here "the house and kitchen were clean, the fences neat; the ham and eggs, the hot rolls and coffee, were fresh and good, and, although drought had killed the salad, we had abundance of peaches and cream, an offering of French to American taste. . . ."
—pp. 27, 28.

were a standing luxury on the Platte, and one of the passengers, who had been [on] a couple of dozen trips, said it was "apple pie from Genesis to Revelation along the Platte."²⁵³

The Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express Company was censured by the *Rocky Mountain News* for continuing after the Hockaday transfer its usual fee of twenty-five cents for each letter transported in addition to the regular postage.²⁵⁴ This criticism, along with that occasioned by the delay of delivery while the routes were changed, probably was influential in inducing John S. Jones, general superintendent of the stage line, to visit the new mining region. He planned certain changes, including a reduction in the frequency of trips, since the income was too little for the capital outlay. He announced that with his return to Leavenworth the tri-weekly service would be reduced to a weekly trip during the winter months (1859-1860).²⁵⁵

Mr. John S. Jones, the long expected General Superintendent of the Express Company, made his advent in this place at an early hour on Monday morning last. The interest of the Company in this country is so vast that the presence of one of its members cannot fail to produce a salutary effect, and infuse increased vigor into the various branches of their immense business. With his usual energy, Mr. Jones proceeded at once to carry out the many reformatory measures that had caused his journey to the gold regions. I learn that he proposes to erect an additional ware-house in this place, and one in Auraria [probably for the freighting firm of Jones & Cartwright]; also, to establish numerous branches in the various mining districts. . . . They start this afternoon for Golden City and the Gregory Diggings.

I am also apprised that some changes will be made in the "personnel" of the office at this point, caused partly by "resignation," and partly by removal.²⁵⁶

253. Frank A. Root, "Overland Staging," *Atchison Champion*, December 14, 1879. In the *Overland Stage* there are further remarks on this subject, with a poem (p. 97) that was circulated up and down the line to correct the "evil." The first verse follows:

"DRIED-APPLE PIES.

"I loathe! abhor! detest! despise!
Abominate dried-apple pies;
I like good bread; I like good meat,
Or anything that's good to eat;
But of all poor grub beneath the skies
The poorest is dried-apple pies.
Give me a toothache or sore eyes
In preference to such kind of pies."

254. H. Parker Johnson, "Jones & Russell's Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express Co.," *The American Philatelist*, November, 1944, p. 111.

255. Leavenworth *Daily Times*, September 9, 1859.

256. Denver City correspondence, dated August 17, in *ibid.*, August 26, 1859. At this time Jones and Cartwright purchased the Pollard House in Auraria for \$3,000, as a wholesale store, thereby inaugurating the freighting firm of Jones & Cartwright, forwarders between Leavenworth and Denver. Their first train of some thirty wagons arrived August 24, to supply the wholesale and retail business of this firm. Jones & Russell had already been engaged in freighting to Denver and vicinity. Local coach service to the mines was instituted later.

To promote the business of the express company and the freight-ing firm of Jones and Cartwright which also served the Pike's Peak region, Jones made a tour of the mines.

I made my trip with Mr. John L[S]. Jones, the indefatigable General Superintendent of the Express Company. Mr. Jones very freely owned, that what he saw not only came to, but quite exceeded his expectations. . . . He is confident that the heavy monetary interest he has in this country, is perfectly safe. . . . Mr. Jones was everywhere cordially and hospitably received by the mining communities, and was eminently successful in re-establishing a perfect understanding and good feelings generally, between the miners and the Express Company. . . .²⁵⁷

At a public meeting in Denver the citizens tendered Jones a vote of thanks for the sacrifices made by himself and associates in their behalf, thereby placing their seal of approval on the work of the express company.²⁵⁸

MAIL, GOLD AND PASSENGER BUSINESS

The good reputation enjoyed by the Pike's Peak Express companies in the Rocky Mountain region was no doubt due in considerable measure to the dependable mail service which was inaugurated by the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express in 1859 and continued by the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company in 1860 and 1861. Perhaps the best account of this is found in the *Reminiscences of William Larimer*, who was employed as an assistant of Martin Field and Judge Amos Steck, the first post-masters of Denver.

When the coaches would arrive with the express, we would close the office while sorting the mail. This would take an hour or more as the mails were heavy. While this was going on, long lines of people were gathering and usually by the time we were ready to begin the distribution there would be two lines formed around the block. Each person had to take his turn, though any individual was allowed to inquire for his party or family. This sometimes made trouble, as some man who had money and did not want to go to the rear of the line would give two or three dollars to some fellow, who was closer to the window, for his turn. I could often see these trades made from the window. Up to that time we had no private boxes, so all the mail

257. Denver City dispatch, dated August 26, in *ibid.*, September 1, 1859.

258. *Ibid.*, September 9, 1859. "WHEREAS, The citizens of Denver City are well aware of the ardent wishes of the proprietors of the Leavenworth City and Pike's Peak Express Company for the welfare and promotion of the various interests of our newly chosen country. Therefore be it

"Resolved, That our sincere thanks be herewith tendered to John L[S]. Jones, Esq., the General Superintendent of the Express company, for whatever sacrifices himself and associates have already made, and are continuing to make for the benefit of ourselves and the people of this country generally."

Resolutions were also adopted in favor of a Pacific railroad and telegraph by the Central route.

went to the general delivery, and necessarily so, since collection was made for the transportation at time of delivery.

The post office was usually the first place immigrants inquired for. They soon found that it cost 25 cents for a letter; then it was that they could distinguish the difference between mail and express. There was no mail opened on the road, of course. The average time consumed in traveling across the plains was about thirty days: the stage made it in about six. This naturally led travelers to expect to hear from home immediately on arrival. As everybody came to the post office where I was the clerk, I had a fine opportunity of getting acquainted with every new arrival.

Our office was often the place of amusing incidents. Our patrons were continually trying to play smart tricks on us. Frequently they would return letters and demand the return of the money. At first we did not see the trick. A letter that was not worth 25 cents to them after they had learned its contents was almost sure to be brought back with the claim that it was not their letter but was for someone else of the same name. We at first assumed everybody to be honest, and conscientiously desiring that the right person should have his mail, we would refund the money. But it was not long before we discovered that we were paying out almost as much money as we were taking in and were loaded down with letters marked "Opened by mistake." We saw the necessity of changing our methods of doing business; so, in case of doubt, when mail was called for, after questioning whence they expected mail we satisfied ourselves (in case, as a last resort, a letter had to be opened to prove its identity) by opening it ourselves at the supposed owner's request. I remember, on one occasion, of opening a letter: the applicant requested me to read a little of it, in that way he could tell. I did so. It commenced by saying: "Your wife has been raising hell ever since you left." The man said: "Hold on, I think that is my letter," took it and paid for it and disappeared into the crowd which was constantly hanging around the window. Another case of about the same character was a letter from some point in Iowa. It commenced by saying: "Your brother was hung for horse stealing. . . ." He also took his letter and paid for it without any farther public reading. . . .

Martin Fields the first postmaster was succeeded by Judge Amos Steck who remained in charge of the mail department of the Express Company until the Federal Government established its own mail service. Fields was afterwards a pioneer mail agent on the Hannibal & St. Joe Railroad and was killed, during the war, with many others at Platte River bridge near St. Joe. . . . Judge Steck's tenure of office began when the Pikes Peak Express, after operating for only a short time, was purchased by Messrs John S. Jones, and the firm of Russell, Majors & Waddell. They reorganized it under the name of the C. O. C. & P. P. Express and placed him in charge of the Denver City end. General Hall's tribute to Judge Steck in his *History of Colorado* (p. 214) is a very deserved one and I cannot do better than to repeat his words:

"A more accommodating or efficient agent could not have been named. Possessed of a remarkably retentive memory for names, faces and events, it was the work of an instant for him to answer any inquiry that might be made. No matter how complex, strange or unpronounceable the name of the applicant, if there was or was not a letter for him, Steck knew it without ex-

aming the boxes. If a man applied at any time thereafter, even after a lapse of a year, Steck recognized him immediately, and called him by name. He rarely made a mistake. His efficiency and his breezy welcomes became the subject of current talk all over the land. To this day the pioneers at their annual or periodical gatherings take infinite pride in relating their experiences at the office of the C. O. C. & P. P. Express."²⁵⁹

Only slightly less in importance to the future of the Pike's Peak region were the shipments of gold by the express company which became much more substantial by the late summer and fall of 1859. Up to this time small amounts ranging from a few hundred to a few thousand dollars in value had been received—now almost every stage brought a larger quantity of gold dust. The change of route delayed this movement and apparently diverted some gold to Omaha, but in a few weeks Leavenworth regained its popularity. The shipments were quickly publicized in the Leavenworth papers, probably to promote the Pike's Peak trade.²⁶⁰ During the month of August the volume of shipments greatly increased. The express of August 9 brought three passengers and \$1,800 in dust. The *St. Joseph Weekly West* of August 20 reported the receipt by the express company at Leavenworth of \$3,726 from the Philadelphia mint, said to have been the first Pike's Peak gold coin. The express that arrived in Leavenworth August 22 reported rich findings in the Medicine Bow mountains and great excitement concerning the discoveries about the headwaters of the South Platte.²⁶¹ A few days later an express arrived after an eight-day trip from Denver with six passengers and \$16,000 in gold (\$4,000 to Smoot, Russell & Co. and \$12,000 in the hands of the passengers).²⁶² The *Herald* of Sep-

259. *Reminiscences of General William Larimer and of His Son William H. H. Larimer* (Herman S. Davis, ed., Lancaster, Pa., 1918), pp. 176-178. See the series of articles by Emerson N. Barker of Denver, entitled "Highlights in the Postal History of the Trans-Mississippi Region," in *Don Houseworth's International Stamp Review*, St. Joseph, Mo., December, 1940, to December, 1941, which includes articles on both the Pike's Peak and Pony Express, with illustrations. The authors wish to thank Mrs. Evelyn Whitney of Topeka for kindly bringing this to their attention.

The tribute to "General Hall" is found in Frank Hall, *History of the State of Colorado* (Chicago, 4 vols., 1889), v. I, p. 214.

260. Because of their publicity value, it is possible that the amounts announced may have been "stretched," or presented in a misleading form. Announcements from Denver, Leavenworth and Atchison, and even by different Leavenworth papers referring to the same express coach, at times varied by several thousand dollars, but these announcements are the only estimates now available.

261. Leavenworth dispatch, dated August 22, to the *St. Louis Missouri Republican*, in the *New York Daily Tribune*, August 29, 1859.

262. Leavenworth *Weekly Herald*, August 27, 1859. On August 15 the following note was addressed from Denver to the Leavenworth *Daily Times*: "The Express coach that will bring you this letter, carries the largest amount of gold in its various shapes yet shipped at one time from this point to your city. The aggregate quantity represents a value of not less than eighteen thousand dollars. Three thousand five hundred of it is the property of the Express Company, and the remaining fifteen is divided among the passengers—all of whom are members of the Georgia Company.

"I hope that this will at least stifle the foolish clamor for 'dust, dust,' which can be constantly heard in your city. . . .

"Almost the entire amount was received in exchange for goods or passage. . . . The example further shows that Leavenworth City is not the only place, and the Express Com-

tember 3 announced the arrival of an express with \$8,370 and remarked: "Pike's Peak is no humbug. Millions of dollars of gold will be taken out of the mines next season. A great many crushing machines are now on their way out."²⁶³ An advertisement of the Pike's Peak Express Company of about this time announced:

Jones, Russell & Co's
EXPRESS TO THE GOLD MINES
WILL LEAVE EVERY DAY

When Coaches are full of passengers. No coach will leave except on Tuesday, unless there are six passengers.

ONE, TWO OR THREE COACHES WILL START EVERY DAY

If there are passengers enough to justify.

FARE \$125, INCLUDING TWENTY LBS. BAGGAGE.

Extra Baggage will be charged Express Rates.

je 21-dtf

JOHN S. JONES, Superintendent.²⁶⁴

On September 12, 1859, a coach arrived at Leavenworth after a six-day trip from Denver with \$9,000 in gold addressed to eleven consignees, of which the firms of Jones & Cartwright and Jones, Russell & Co., received the major portions.²⁶⁵ The express of September 23 carried over \$32,000 and six passengers who were "handsomely provided with a round supply of the dust," prompting a comment in the next day's *Times*: "Though this is the largest shipment of gold yet made, it is merely a foreshadowing of what is to come."²⁶⁶

On the last day of September two expresses arrived from the mountains. The morning coach carried seven passengers and approximately \$32,000, the latter in the care of Jarrett Todd as messenger;²⁶⁷ the afternoon coach an additional sum of nearly \$12,000 and four passengers.²⁶⁸ The coach that arrived October 6, 1859,

pany not the only channel by which gold from this latitude reaches the States."—*Daily Times*, August 24, 1859. The issue of the next day also described the above shipment as \$18,000 in amount.

263. Deposits of flake gold were usually rather quickly exhausted. The chief deposits were in quartz leads, which for extraction required a rock-crushing machine.

264. Leavenworth *Daily Times*, September 13, 1859.

265. *Ibid.* A Denver dispatch, dated September 15, in the *Times* of September 24 carried a table of gold receipts up to September 15, which totaled \$72,965 received so far, and \$45,062 shipped. The largest shipper was the "Mercantile Dept. of the Express Co."—which had received \$19,104, and shipped approximately the same amount; the next on the list of 21 consignees was "Wallingford & Murphy," with \$14,793. At this time the amounts of gold being shipped from California were naturally far greater than from the Pike's Peak region.

266. *Ibid.*, September 24, 1859.

267. Leavenworth *Weekly Herald*, October 1, 1859. Among the passengers on an earlier coach was Benjamin Burroughs (or Burrows), with \$4,000 worth of dust, who had arrived in the gold regions just four weeks before, "poor and ragged." At about this time the famous Gregory returned to the States, carrying a bag of approximately \$25,000 worth of dust he had received as part payment for his valuable holdings.

268. Leavenworth *Daily Times*, October 1, 1859.

brought six passengers who carried the record-breaking sum of \$40,000, but the sickness of the regular messenger prevented the dispatch of gold by the company.²⁶⁹ Among the passengers arriving on the express of October 14 was General Larimer, who joined in another manifesto of praise to the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express on both the Colorado and overland lines:

. . . The above routes are well stocked with first class mules and new Concord coaches throughout the entire lines, with good stations as a general thing. In a few places the Company are rapidly changing, intending to have the line shortly in perfect order. Both lines come more than up to their advertised time, which allows the passengers ample time to rest by the way. On our recent trip we were accompanied by J. Armor, Esq., the gentlemanly agent of the Company, with George Speer, Express agent from Denver City to the Crossing [of the Platte], and Charles Wylder from the Crossing to Leavenworth City. . . .²⁷⁰

By late October many were leaving the mines to escape the approaching cold. Atchison reported a great influx of the "hardy miners from the land of gold," all of whom were said to be boasting of both health and the precious dust.²⁷¹ During the fall and early winter the express coaches carried a number of these returning pilgrims with substantial sums of gold, many of whom planned to return in the spring.²⁷² This tendency for the movement to be largely a seasonal one-way traffic appears to have reduced the chance of income for the express company, since the emigrant tide was westward in the spring and summer and eastward in the fall and early winter.

The express that arrived November 17 reported having encountered a severe storm some 150 miles below Denver, with temperatures near zero, causing considerable suffering by the passengers and delay in arriving at Leavenworth. Among those making this trip were the famous newspaper correspondent, A. D. Richardson, and Beverly D. Williams, the latter formerly with the express company and then delegate-elect to congress from the provi-

269. Leavenworth *Weekly Herald*, October 15, 1859. An additional \$1,000 was consigned to Jones & Cartwright.

270. *The Daily Times*, October 15, 1859, in "A Card," signed by seven passengers of the express.

271. Atchison *Union*, November 5, 1859; Leavenworth *Daily Times*, November 5, which remarked: "The Mountain Diggings are pretty well deserted."

272. The Leavenworth *Weekly Herald*, October 22, 1859, announced a coach with four passengers and \$8,672; that of October 29 one carrying \$15,000 and three passengers; and the *Times* of November 5, one carrying ten passengers and \$8,000. During this period of east-bound traffic the coaches do not appear to have averaged more than one half a capacity load, and without doubt the westbound traffic was then much lighter. Those unsuccessful in the quest for gold in all likelihood did not return via the Pike's Peak Express. Such failure was characteristic of this precarious calling, and in part explains the flood of "humbug" stories, some of which still circulated.

sional territory of Jefferson.²⁷³ Williams was on a trip to Washington by way of his former home at Danville, Ky. He reported the organization of a provisional territory, the election of an acting governor (Robert W. Steele), and a legislature then in session.²⁷⁴ On December 2 two expresses arrived—the first early in the morning with \$25,000 in dust and an additional \$15,000 in the hands of the passengers, among whom was Wm. P. McClure, a member of the legislature of the territory of Jefferson. The party had encountered three severe storms en route and had suffered from exposure.²⁷⁵ An afternoon coach brought five passengers and an additional \$10,000.²⁷⁶ The express of December 8 brought over \$8,000 in treasure, plus a large sum in the hands of the passengers, and reported that November had been the banner month for gold.

Among the travelers now en route from Denver to Leavenworth are two ladies. They must have suffered no little inconvenience in being on the open prairie, with seldom anything but *bois de buffalo* to burn, with the mercury below zero, as it has been most of the time since the 29th of November.

At Rock Creek, I learned that one of the drivers of the Express froze his fingers on the 1st ult. At the Express Station on the same creek, I observed the mercury at 15° below zero. Most of the Express Stations are well built, warm, and provided with all that is necessary for health and comfort. They are almost invariably provided with a cow, and good shelter for live stock.²⁷⁷

Clay Thompson, messenger on a Denver City express arriving in Leavenworth late in December with some \$11,000 in treasure, told a like story of suffering by the employees, but praised the company for its part.

Notwithstanding the cold and snow Mr. T. made the trip in less than eight days; this speaks well for his efficiency as a messenger, and reflects much credit upon the company for general good management. They now employ three well qualified messengers, who never fail to bring their coaches through

273. Leavenworth *Daily Times*, November 18, and *Weekly Herald*, November 19, 1859. This coach carried \$9,237 in gold, plus \$7,000 in the hands of the passengers (five in number). It was forced to lay over nearly three days at several stations en route, and crossed the Platte on the ice. It reported a boom in the South Park region.

274. At this time the *Rocky Mountain News* began to ignore the name of Kansas, as applicable to the gold region, and substituted that of Jefferson. Beverly D. Williams had been active in the convention for the proposed state of Jefferson, and in October, 1859, was elected delegate to congress. At Washington he accomplished little more than impressing the government with the importance of the region, which was not formally organized as Colorado territory until February, 1861. In July of that year he was nominated for the same position, but was beaten by the Republican candidate.—See Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Nevada, Colorado and Wyoming (Works, v. XXV—San Francisco, 1890)*, pp. 404, 416. On page 410 there is a short biography of Steele.

275. Leavenworth *Daily Times*, December 3, 1859. "The growth of the Gold Region is without a parallel in the history of the world and its prosperous present is but a faint indication of what the future will develop."—*Ibid.*

276. Leavenworth *Weekly Herald*, and New York *Daily Tribune*, issues of December 3, 1859, the latter of which stated that the gold shipped amounted to \$12,000. Many of these dispatches gave the names of the passengers.

277. Extended account of a traveler, signed "L. N. T.," in Leavenworth *Daily Times*, December 9, 1859. As to Denver and Auraria, he remarked: "Large and substantial frame houses, enlivened by paint" were making the log houses of the previous winter "resemble dog kennels rather than human habitations."

in time, all safe. But a few years ago a trip across the plains at this season, was considered a most difficult and dangerous undertaking; calling for a great outlay of time and expense; under the enterprise of Messrs. Jones, Russell & Co., and their assistants, it is performed in one week, and whatever may be the expense, safety is always secured to passengers and property.²⁷⁸

The following message of W. B. Majors, who arrived on the Utah mail coach at the same time as Thompson, indicates that the employees on the overland route also endured much privation during the winter of 1859-1860.

The snow in the Rocky Mountains is very deep. . . . Nearly all the mail carriers from Fort Bridger west, had been more or less frost bitten, and one, Mr. R. P. West, had his feet frozen so badly that one foot will have to be amputated. As yet the mail has not failed, and if there is no delay between here and Fort Laramie the mail will go through without fail. . . .

Mr. Majors informs us that the snow between the South Pass & Strawberry Creek would average about ten feet, & he experienced much difficulty from his mules getting into the deep snow.²⁷⁹

The coaches of early 1860 brought news of political activities in the new territory of Jefferson.²⁸⁰ C. W. Wiley, messenger on the coach arriving February 2, 1860, reported encountering a severe storm on the Big Blue, and said that in the absence of a ferry they had been forced to cross by swimming the mules and coach.²⁸¹

The arrival and departure of a coach was always of interest to the general public, as is evinced in the following item from the Leavenworth *Daily Times*, January 4, 1860:

When the Express arrives in the day time, a crowd always gathers about the Express office to learn the news. The Pike's Peak Express is different from any other Express extant. There is a great profusion of buffalo robes and blankets—all the passengers are almost smothered with fixings to keep out

278. Weekly *Leavenworth Herald*, January 8, 1860. Accounts by employees are naturally not unbiased. From the Leavenworth *Daily Times* of December 31, it is evident that this trip was completed the previous day, after an eight-day journey that was delayed by sleety roads. The January 8 issue of the *Herald* told of an express arrival on the day before, C. W. Wiley messenger, with three passengers and \$22,000 in gold, of which \$7,000 was consigned to the express company.

279. Leavenworth *Daily Times*, December 31, 1859. The express of December 15 brought some \$15,000 in gold, six passengers, and 470 letters from the Pike's Peak region (*Times* of December 16); that of December 23 brought \$19,000 and six passengers, and reported mining suspended for the season (*Atchison Union*, December 24—the coaches then went to Atchison first). An express driver was reported to have frozen to death near Fort Kearny.

Concerning the output of gold of the Pike's Peak region, James R. Snowden, director of the Philadelphia mint, wrote to Howell Cobb, Secretary of the Treasury (December 23, 1859), that the gold so far received then amounted to \$202,250.79.—B. D. Williams to John J(S). Jones, dated Washington, D. C., January 16, in Leavenworth *Daily Times*, January 24, 1860.

280. New York *Daily Tribune*, January 13, 1860; Weekly Leavenworth *Herald*, January 14. A mass meeting at Denver January 2 memorialized congress to establish a territorial government. "Gov." S. W. Beall was then on his way to Washington to present the petition to congress.

281. Weekly Leavenworth *Herald*, February 4, 1860. The passengers carried \$22,500 in gold, plus an additional sum consigned to the express company. The Platte was still frozen, but the Salt Lake mail coach had broken through several times, in crossing at Morrell's station. Wiley reported the presence of four ladies from Virginia on the outbound trip, whose journey in midwinter aroused "surprise and misgiving," but all arrived safe and sound.

the cold. There is not a bit of crinoline about the coach—nothing but long-bearded, rough-looking men. After the usual shaking of hands, the crowd begin to look for the unloading of the bag of "dust," which is always the first thing unloaded. The crowd must, one by one, "heft" the sack, to judge the number of dollars worth of dust that it contains. Then commences the unloading of the coach, which consists of buffalo robes and blankets almost without number, part of a sack of crackers, a bundle of dirty clothes, boots, caps, coats, shawls, leggings, books, novels and other conveniences too numerous to mention, are brought out.

On February 23, 1860, the last coach under the auspices of Jones and Russell's Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express left Denver for Leavenworth,²⁸² bringing to a close the career of the pioneer express company, which was now to be continued as the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company ("C. O. C."), already chartered by the Kansas legislature. In thus transporting to market the chief product of the Pike's Peak gold mines the company had performed a most significant function, second only in importance to the transporting of passengers and carrying of mail to the settlers. Cries of humbug still arose but they were quieted by the able reports of Henry Villard²⁸³ and others, in which the accounts released by the express company played an important part.

THE PLATTE ROUTE

When the Pike's Peak Express was moved to the Platte a route was laid out bearing to the northwest of Leavenworth and Atchison across northeastern Kansas to Fort Kearny, Nebraska territory. This road was very largely the old California and Oregon trail, following the south side of the Platte river which the stages crossed at the "Upper" crossing near the mouth of Lodge Pole creek, long known as Julesburg. The stage for Denver here turned to the south and ascended the South Platte while those of the overland mail for Salt Lake and California crossed to the North Fork (later omitted) and then followed this stream to its headwaters. The route then followed the valley of the Sweetwater, crossed the continental divide at South Pass, and followed the Green river into Utah. After leaving Salt Lake City it wound through difficult mountain and

282. H. Parker Johnson, "Jones & Russell's Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express Co.," *loc. cit.*, p. 113. News releases concerning the new firm had already been published, and the change was effected without any interruption of service.

283. Villard was so incensed that the "Greeley Report" was itself declared false, that he gathered a large body of documents and affidavits to "subject the defaming tribe to such a radical and rigorous a raking as will forever set at rest their foul tongues, and the sneering pens of journalistic fools who are ever ready to credit any story circulated by the unsuccessful louts and dunces 'just from Pike's Peak.' . . ."—New York *Daily Tribune*, September 12, 1859. This admirable report, dated Denver City, September 23, appeared in the *Tribune* of October 15, 1859.

desert country to Carson Valley, Placerville, Cal., and finally to the western terminus at Sacramento.²⁸⁴

One of the first itineraries of the route to Denver, as it existed early in 1860 after Jones & Russell had established their stage line, appeared in a Pike's Peak guidebook written by Samuel Adams Drake, entitled *Hints and Information For the Use of Emigrants to Pike's Peak*. This was clearly in the interest of Leavenworth as a port of embarkation, and the Pike's Peak Express Company as a means of travel to the West.²⁸⁵ This publication was issued at about the same time as the incorporation of the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company and the Pony Express (February, 1860), and appears to have been intended to promote these organizations, the parent firm of Russell, Majors & Waddell, and the business of Leavenworth. Excerpts from it follow:

THE ROUTE

The emigrant, on arriving at Leavenworth, has a choice of *all the routes* which lead from the Missouri to the Gold Region; no matter which of these he may determine to adopt, either may be taken with equal facility and without loss of time. But his attention is particularly directed to the GREAT MILITARY ROAD FROM LEAVENWORTH, which is subject to but few of the objections urged against all others. This road, projected and constructed from Fort Leavenworth to Utah and California, has a cordon of military posts along its whole extent, which the tide of travel that continues to flow over it, is fast merging into important settlements, rendering it *perfectly safe from any deprivations by Indians*, besides affording supplies much needed by the traveller. On the other hand, the Arkansas or Santa Fe route, is *notoriously unsafe* for travellers. Its entire length is subject to hostile incursions from the most formidable and warlike tribes on the continent, and during the fall and winter just passed, the Indians have been in undisputed possession of the route. *The mails have been plundered and the passengers massacred in cold blood*, and

284. A number of important changes in this route were made, from time to time, but a detailed study of the entire road is beyond the scope of this article. Probably the best single account of the overland mail route, as it was in 1863 when the North Platte section had been abandoned for a more direct road west, is found in Root and Connelley, *Overland Stage*, Ch. X (which has a map for that date). The Pike's Peak guidebooks, which were issued in the interest of the emigrant trade, give itineraries and descriptions of this road, particularly in 1859. See especially S. W. Burt and E. L. Berthoud, *The Rocky Mountain Gold Regions* (Denver City, J. T., 1861), which includes a map of the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express road and an itinerary of stations in January, 1861; *Allen's Guide Book and Map to the Gold Fields of Kansas & Nebraska and Great Salt Lake City*, by O. Allen (Washington, 1859), Route No. 5; Randolph B. Marey, *The Prairie Traveller. A Hand Book for Overland Expeditions* (New York, 1859); W. B. Horner, *The Gold Regions of Kansas and Nebraska* . . . (Chicago, 1859)—one of the best descriptive accounts; and *The Illustrated Miners' Hand-Book and Guide to Pike's Peak*, by Parker & Huyett (St. Louis, 1859), also very informative. Leroy R. Hafen, ed., *Pike's Peak Gold Rush Guidebooks of 1859* (*Southwest Historical Series*, v. IX, Glendale, Cal., 1941), briefly reviews the earlier guidebooks. Concerning the stage route through Nebraska, particularly the Rock Creek station which was the scene of an affray involving James B. "Wild Bill" Hickok, see the "Rock Creek Ranch Fight" by Addison E. Sheldon, George W. Hansen and others, in *Nebraska History Magazine*, v. X, No. 2 (April-June, 1927), pp. 67-146.

285. Publication announced in the Leavenworth *Daily Times*, February 4, 1860. This emigrant's hand book of fifteen pages has seven pages of material describing Leavenworth as a center of business and place to outfit emigrants. It was republished entire in the *Times*, February 14, 1860.

nothing less than an effectual chastisement of the Indians and constant patrolling by cavalry can render it available for travel.

THE GREAT MILITARY ROAD, (sometimes called the Platte route), is also that traversed by the Pike's Peak Express Company, who convey the mails and passengers to Denver City *in seven days*, and have frequently performed the journey in even less time. This company also carries the mail to Utah. They have 24 stations between Leavenworth and Denver City, where good meals can be obtained, and the entire distance as given by the viometre, which measures all the inequalities of surface, is 665 miles. This distance will soon be shortened fully sixty miles, by improvements to be made in the road between Denver City and the crossing of the Platte. We here append a table of distances by this route, the accuracy of which may be relied on.

DISTANCES FROM LEAVENWORTH TO DENVER CITY

From

[1] Leavenworth station	
[2] Armors	26 miles
[3] Kinnekuk	45 "
[4] Lochnane's [Log Chain?]	65 "
[5] Seneca	83 "
[6] Guittard's	110 "
[7] Cottonwood [Hollenberg, near the Kansas line]..	134 "
[8] Rock Creek	154 "
[9] Big Sandy	174 "
[10] Kiowa Station	198 "
[11] Liberty Farm	222 "
[12] 32 Mile Creek	244 "
[13] Fort Kearney	274 "
[14] 17 Mile Station	294 "
[15] Plum Creek	310 "
[16] Cold Water	333 "
[17] Cottonwood Springs	367 "
[18] O'Fallon's Bluffs	402 "
[19] Lower Crossing South Platte	440 "
[20] Upper Crossing South Platte [Morrell's Crossing]	467 "
[21] Lillian Springs	497 "
[22] Beaver Creek	547 "
[23] Fremont's Orchard	578 "
[24] St. Vrain's Fort	622 "
[25] Denver City	665 " 286

From this announcement it is clear that Jones and Russell had greatly increased the number of stations along the line over those existing during the Hockaday regime.²⁸⁷ This listing of mail sta-

286. Pp. 4, 5. Kinnekuk or Kennekuk was probably named after the Kickapoo Indian chief of that name, although "Kinney Kirk" used in some early guidebooks, suggests another derivation. Lochnane's apparently became Log Chain.

287. The affidavit of C. W. Wiley testified that after the Hockaday transfer seven new stations were constructed between St. Joseph and the Upper Crossing of the Platte; that of J. A. Slade that three more were built between Morrell's crossing of the South Platte and South Pass.—*Senate Report 259*, p. 34. The various names referring to the crossings of the Platte are highly confusing.

tions is much similar to that given in *Allen's Guide Book* for Route 5, from Leavenworth to Denver, which placed station 20 at Laramie crossing, not far distant from "Goodale's Crossing," which was at the forks of the Denver City and Lodge Pole creek roads.²⁸⁸ In later years the overland stage line increased these stops, as is seen by the account in the *Overland Stage*, which lists fifty-one stations from Atchison (then the eastern terminal) to Denver, and 153 from Atchison to Placerville, Cal., according to a schedule of 1862.²⁸⁹ From Fort Kearny west this "Central route" was to become very largely the line of the Union Pacific railroad. The route through Kansas eventually included twelve stations as follows:

Leavenworth	Seneca
Atchison	Laramie Creek
Lancaster	Ash Point
Kennekuk	Guittard's
Kickapoo	Marysville
Log Chain (sometimes known as Locknane's)	Hollenberg

One of the best accounts of a trip over the stage line, as it was in August, 1860, was written by Richard F. Burton in his *The City of the Saints, And Across the Rocky Mountains To California* (1862), pp. 1-69. Burton had a brilliant background as an explorer in Africa and Arabia,²⁹⁰ and he minced no words in his condemnation of many things he saw on the stage line of the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company on the

288. *Allen's Guide Book* (microfilm of original in Library of Congress), pp. 24-27.

289. "Table of Distances Between Atchison, Kan., and Placerville, Cal."—*Overland Stage*, pp. 102, 103; also schedule of stations, passenger fares and express rates issued by office of Overland Stage line (Ben Holladay, proprietor), 1862. At that time Atchison was the terminal, but during most of the period of the Pike's Peak Express companies, Leavenworth occupied this position, although Atchison was usually also on the route. In October, 1863, the Postmaster-General advertised for bids for the mail routes from Atchison to Salt Lake City (No. 14258), and Salt Lake City to Placerville and Folsom City, Cal. (Nos. 14620 and 15755). The stations en route (practically identical with those in the *Overland Stage* itinerary) are listed in *House Exec. Doc. No. 24*, 38 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 10, 11, quoted by Leroy R. Hafen, *The Overland Mail*, pp. 275, 276.

W. R. Honnell's "Map of the Pony Express Trail," which was practically the same as the stage road from Kennekuk west, lists the following stations as far as the Kansas-Nebraska border: St. Joseph, Elwood, Johnson's Ranch, Troy, Cold Spring Ranch, Syracuse, Kennekuk, Kickapoo, Granada, Log Chain, Seneca, Laramie Creek, Ash Point, Guittard's, Marysville, and Hollenberg.—See the description of the Pony Express route as quoted in Part IV, to appear in the February, 1946, *Quarterly*.

290. Richard F. Burton, English author, traveler, and explorer of India, Arabia, the Lake region of Central Africa (the discoverer of Lake Tanganyika), and explorer of the highlands of Brazil, was later knighted by the British government, and honored by many geographical societies. He was the author of numerous works of travel and exploration, and is also famed for his translation of the *Arabian Nights*. The *New York Tribune* remarked (July 11, 1860) that his arrival in New York had been "entirely overlooked by our sharp-eyed lion-hunters." He was then considered "one of the most intrepid and successful explorers of the present century. . . . With the exception of Livingstone and Barth, no living man has done more toward completing the map of Africa. . . ."

The reader is also referred to the excellent shorter account by Capt. Henry E. Palmer in J. Sterling Morton, ed. (succeeded by Albert Watkins), *History of Nebraska* (Lincoln, 3 vols., 1905, 1906, 1913), v. III, Ch. XV. Volume I, Ch. III, of the same work contains a good account of the Central route, the overland stage and Pony Express, with illustrations, including a photograph of Alexander Majors.

route to Salt Lake City and the Pacific coast. Burton seemed distinctly unfriendly, perhaps because he could not appreciate the characteristic approach of the frontiersman, who looked into the future and pictured his hovels palaces-to-be. Burton saw their wretchedness and moreover seemed to bear a grudge against the express company, but his account may serve as a welcome antidote to the "puffing" language of the press. Excerpts from his story follow, as far as the point of divergence to Denver.

RICHARD F. BURTON'S ACCOUNT OF HIS JOURNEY OVER THE
PLATTE ROUTE IN 1860

A tour through the domains of Uncle Samuel without visiting the wide regions of the Far West would be, to use a novel simile, like seeing Hamlet with the part of Prince of Denmark, by desire, omitted. Moreover, I had long determined to add the last new name to the list of "Holy Cities;" to visit the young rival, *soi-disant*, of Memphis, Benares, Jerusalem, Rome, Meccah. . . . Mingled with the wish of prospecting the City of the Great Salt Lake in a spiritual point of view . . . was the mundane desire of enjoying a little skirmishing with the savages, . . . and that failing, of inspecting the line of route which Nature, according to the general consensus of guide-books, has pointed out as the proper, indeed the only practical direction for a railway between the Atlantic and the Pacific. . . .

The mail coach on this line was established in 1850, by Colonel Samuel H. Woodson. . . . In May, 1859, it was taken up by the present firm [Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Co., a subsidiary of Russell, Majors, & Waddell], which expects, by securing the monopoly of the whole line between the Missouri River and San Francisco, and by canvassing at headquarters for a biweekly . . . and even a daily transit, which shall constitutionally extinguish the Mormon community, to insert the fine edge of that wedge which is to open an aperture for the Pacific Railroad about to be.

At Saint Joseph (Mo.), better known by the somewhat irreverent abbreviation of St. Jo, I was introduced to Mr. Alexander Majors, formerly one of the contractors for supplying the army in Utah—a veteran mountaineer, familiar with life on the prairies. His meritorious efforts to reform the morals of the land have not yet put forth even the bud of promise. He forbade his drivers and employes to drink, gamble, curse, and travel on Sundays; he desired

them to peruse Bibles distributed to them gratis. . . . Results: I scarcely ever saw a sober driver; as for profanity . . . they would make the blush of shame crimson the cheek of the old Isis bargee. . . . The conductors and road-agents are of a class superior to the drivers. . . . I met one gentleman who owned to three murders,²⁹¹ and another individual who lately attempted to ration the mules with wild sage. The company was by no means rich; already the papers had prognosticated a failure, in consequence of the government withdrawing its supplies, and it seemed to have hit upon the happy expedient of badly entreating travelers that good may come to it of our evils. The hours and halting-places were equally vilely selected; for instance, at Forts Kearney, Laramie, and Bridger, the only points where supplies, comfort, society, are procurable, a few minutes of grumbling delay were granted as a favor, and the passengers were hurried on to some distant wretched ranch, apparently for the sole purpose of putting a few dollars into the station-master's pockets. The travel was unjustifiably slow, even in this land, where progress is mostly on paper. From St. Jo to Great Salt Lake City, the mails might easily be landed during the fine weather, . . . in ten days; indeed, the agents have offered to place them at Placerville in fifteen. Yet the schedule time being twenty-one days, passengers seldom reached their destination before the nineteenth; the sole reason given was, that snow makes the road difficult in its season, and that if people were accustomed to fast travel, and if letters were received under schedule time, they would look upon the boon as a right. . . .

"The Prairie Traveler" [emigrant guide by Randolph B. Marcy], doles out wisdom in these words: "Information concerning the route coming from strangers living or owning property near them, from agents of steam-boats and railways, or from other persons connected with transportation companies . . . should be re-

291. Under the Hockaday regime Joseph A. Slade had served as agent of the division from the Upper Crossing of the Platte to South Pass. When the "C. O. C." was organized Benjamin F. Ficklin made him head of the smaller Sweetwater division, running northwest from Julesburg to Rocky Ridge, in which capacity he was untiring in his efforts to rid the line of incompetents. He found Jules Beni, agent at Julesburg, to be a thief and scoundrel, and forced him to settle with the company. Jules wounded Slade, and Ficklin then ordered the execution of "Old Jules." Jules and Slade finally "had it out" and the Frenchman went to his death. It was said that thereafter Slade wore one of Jules' ears as a watch charm. Slade was the terror of evildoers on the line, but took to drink, and later became the head of a gang of highway robbers and desperadoes. He was finally executed by the vigilantes of Virginia City, Mont.—*Overland Stage*, p. 216 *et seq.*

Burton referred to Slade as: "Of gougers fierce, the eyes that pierce, the fiercest gouger he." He met him in August, 1860, at Horseshoe Station, west of Fort Laramie, living with two ladies of disagreeable mien, one his wife. Slade already had the reputation of having killed three men. Burton complained of his treatment by the "ladies," who forced him to sleep in the barn with the drunks. *See, also*, Mark Twain's (Samuel L. Clemens') sketch in *Roughing It* (Hartford, Conn., 1872), Chs. X and XI, and Arthur Chapman, *The Pony Express* (New York and London, 1932), Ch. XII, entitled "Slade, of Julesburg."

ceived with great caution, and never without corroboratory evidence from disinterested sources." . . .

THE START—TUESDAY, 7TH AUGUST, 1860.

Precisely at 8 A. M. appeared in front of the Patee House—the Fifth Avenue Hotel of St. Jo—the vehicle destined to be our home for the next three weeks. . . . [Description of the Concord coach followed].

We ought to start at 8:30 A. M.; we are detained an hour while last words are said, and adieu—a long adieu,—is bidden to joke and julep, to ice and idleness. Our "plunder" is clapped on with little ceremony. . . . We try to stow away as much as possible; the minor officials, with all their little faults, are good fellows, civil and obliging; they wink at non-payment for bedding, stores, weapons, and they rather encourage than otherwise the multiplication of whisky-kegs and cigar boxes.

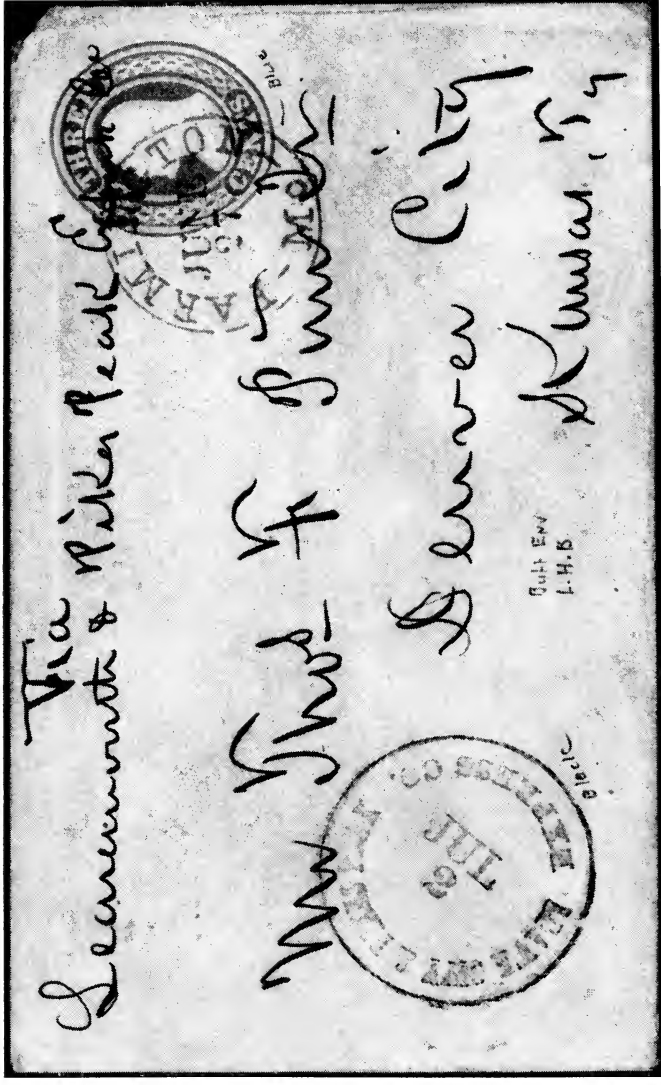
We now drive through the dusty roads of St. Jo, the observed of all observers, and presently find ourselves in the steam ferry which is to convey us from the right to the left bank of the Missouri River. The "Big Muddy" . . . [is] the Plata of this region . . . the great sewer of the prairies. . . . According to Lieutenant [Gouverneur K.] Warren [of the U. S. Topographical Engineers] . . . the Missouri is a superior river for navigation to any in the country, except the Mississippi below their junction. . . . Every where, except between the mouth of the Little Cheyenne and the Cannon Ball rivers, there is a sufficiency of fuel for navigation; but, ascending above Council Bluffs, the protection afforded by forest growth on the banks is constantly diminishing. . . .

Landing in Bleeding Kansas—she still bleeds—we fell at once into "Emigration Road," a great thoroughfare, broad and well worn as a European turnpike or a Roman military route, and undoubtedly the best and the longest natural highway in the world. For five miles the line bisected a bottom formed by a bend in the river, with about a mile's diameter at the neck. The scene was of a luxuriant vegetation. A deep tangled wood—rather a thicket or a jungle than a forest—of oaks and elms, hickory, basswood, and black walnut, poplar and hackberry . . ., box elder, and the common willow . . ., clad and festooned, bound and anchored by wild vines, creepers, and huge lianas, and sheltering an undergrowth of white alder and red sumach, whose pyramidal flowers were about to fall, rested upon a basis of deep black mire, strongly suggestive of chills—fever and ague. After an hour of burning sun and sickly damp,



COTTONWOOD STATION, NEAR PRESENT HANOVER, ON THE ROAD TO OREGON AND CALIFORNIA

Erected in 1857 by George H. Hollenberg, this building was a mail station and stopping place for the Pony Express, stage coaches (see pages 517, 518), freighters and emigrants traveling the old Oregon trail. It was purchased by the state in 1942 and has been partially restored. Photograph through the courtesy of Leo E. Dieker, Hanover.



LETTER CARRIED BY THE LEAVENWORTH & PIKE'S PEAK EXPRESS ON ITS FIRST TRIP
VIA THE PLATTE ROUTE, JULY 2, 1859

This rare cover is owned by L. H. Barkhausen of Chicago. The copy was received through the courtesy of Stanley B. Ashbrook of Fort Thomas, Ky.

the effects of the late storms, we emerged from the waste of vegetation, passed through a straggling "neck o' the woods," whose yellow inmates reminded me of Mississippian descriptions in the days gone by, and after spanning some very rough ground we bade adieu to the valley of the Missouri, and emerged upon the region of the Grand Prairie. . . .

Nothing, I may remark, is more monotonous, except perhaps the African and Indian jungle, than those prairie tracts, where the circle of which you are the centre has but about a mile of radius; it is an ocean in which one loses sight of land. You see, as it were, the ends of the earth, . . . it wants the sublimity of repose so suggestive in the sandy deserts, and the perpetual motion so pleasing in the aspect of the sea. No animals appeared in sight where, thirty years ago, a band of countless bisons dotted the plains. . . . These prairies are preparing to become the great grazing-grounds which shall supply the unpopulated East with herds of civilized kine. . . .

As we sped onward we soon made acquaintance with a traditionally familiar feature, the "pitch holes," or "chuck-holes" . . . which render traveling over the prairies at times a sore task. They are gullies and gutters . . . varying from 10 to 50 feet in breadth, they are rivulets in spring and early summer, and . . . they lie dry during the rest of the year. . . .

Passing through a few wretched shanties called Troy—last insult to the memory of hapless Pergamus—and Syracuse . . ., we made, at 3 P. M., Cold Springs, the junction of the Leavenworth route. Having taken the northern road to avoid rough ground and bad bridges, we arrived about two hours behind time. The aspect of things at Cold Springs,²⁹² where we were allowed an hour's halt to dine and to change mules, somewhat dismayed our fine-weather prairie travelers. The scene was the *rare* "Far West." The widow body to whom the shanty belonged lay sick with fever. The aspect of her family was a "caution to snakes:" the ill-conditioned sons dawdled about, listless as Indians, in skin tunics and pantaloons fringed with lengthy tags such as the redoubtable "Billy Bowlegs"

292. In his itinerary to accompany this account (Appendix I, p. 505), Burton adds concerning Troy: "capital of Doniphan Co., Kansas Territory, about a dozen shanties. Dine and change mules at Cold Spring—good water and grass. Road from Fort Leavenworth . . . falls in at Cold Spring, distant 15 miles. . . ."

Cold Spring was located between Troy and Kennekuk. Burton has twisted the order of stations here, which should read: Troy, Cold Spring, Syracuse and Kennekuk. His following remarks seem harsh, as the lot of a widow upon the prairie was likely to be a hard one, particularly when overtaken by sickness.

wears on tobacco labels; and the daughters, tall young women, whose sole attire was apparently a calico morning-wrapper, color invisible, waited upon us in a protesting way. Squalor and misery were imprinted upon the wretched log hut, which ignored the duster and the broom, and myriads of flies disputed with us a dinner consisting of doughnuts, green and poisonous with saleratus, suspicious eggs in a massive greasy fritter, and rusty bacon, intolerably fat. It was our first sight of squatter life, and, except in two cases, it was our worst. We could not grudge 50 cents a head to these unhappies; at the same time, we thought it a dear price to pay—the sequel disabused us—for flies and bad bread, worse eggs and bacon.

The next settlement, Valley Home,²⁹³ was reached at 6 P. M. Here the long wave of the ocean land broke into shorter seas. . . . A well 10 to 12 feet deep supplied excellent water. The ground was in places so far reclaimed as to be divided off by posts and rails; the scanty crops of corn (Indian corn), however, were wilted and withered by the drought, which this year had been unusually long. Without changing mules we advanced to Kennekuk,²⁹⁴ where we halted for an hour's supper under the auspices of Major Baldwin, whilom Indian agent; the place was clean, and contained at least one charming face.

Kennekuk derives its name from a chief of the Kickapoos, in whose reservation we now are. This tribe . . . are still in the neighborhood of their dreaded foes, the Sacs and Foxes. . . . They cultivate the soil, and rarely spend the winter in hunting buffalo upon the plains. Their reservation is twelve miles by twenty-four; as usual with land set apart for the savages, it is well watered and timbered, rich and fertile; it lies across the path and in the vicinity of civilization; consequently, the people are greatly demoralized. The men are addicted to intoxication, and the women to unchastity; both sexes and all ages are inveterate beggars, whose principal industry is horse-stealing. . . . They have well-nigh cast off the Indian attire, and rejoice in the splendors of boiled and ruffled shirts, after the fashion of the whites. . . .

293. "Itinerary," p. 505: "After 10 miles, Valley Home, a whitewashed shanty." According to W. R. Honnell's "Map of the Pony Express Trail," the station preceding Kennekuk was Syracuse. There were more Pony Express than stage stations on the line.—See list quoted above.

294. Frank A. Root writes in *The Overland Stage* (pp. 190, 191): "Kennekuk was the first 'home' station out from Atchison, and here drivers were changed. It was a little town of perhaps a dozen houses, having a store, blacksmith shop, etc. The Kickapoo Indian agency was one of the most prominent buildings. . . . The old stone mission . . . visible for many miles . . . was less than a mile northwest of the stage station, adjoining the now thriving city of Horton. . . ."

The St. Joseph road here intersected the military road from Fort Leavenworth. Burton's comments on the Kickapoo Indians, which follow, are rather cynical.

Beyond Kennekuk we crossed the first Grasshopper Creek.²⁹⁵ . . . On our line there are many grasshopper creeks; they anastomose with, or debouch into, the Kansas River. . . . This particular Grasshopper was dry and dusty up to the ankles; timber clothed the banks, and slabs of sandstone cumbered the sole. Our next obstacle was the Walnut Creek, which we found, however, provided with a corduroy bridge; formerly it was a dangerous ford . . . and then crossed by means of the "bouco" or coracle, two hides sewed together, distended like a leather tub with willow rods, and poled or paddled. At this point the country is unusually well populated; a house appears after every mile. Beyond Walnut Creek²⁹⁶ a dense nimbus, rising ghost-like from the northern horizon, furnished us with a spectacle of those perilous prairie storms. . . . Gusts of raw, cold, and violent wind from the west whizzed overhead, thunder crashed and rattled closer and closer, and vivid lightning, flashing out of the murky depths around, made earth and air one blaze of living fire. Then the rain began to patter ominously upon the carriages. . . . The thermometer fell about 6° (F.), and a strong north wind set in, blowing dust or gravel, a fair specimen of "Kansas gales," which are equally common in Nebraska. . . .

Arriving about 1 A. M. at Locknan's Station,²⁹⁷ a few log and timber huts near a creek well feathered with white oak and American elm, hickory and black walnut, we found beds and snatched an hourful of sleep.

8TH AUGUST, TO ROCK CREEK.

Resuming, through air refrigerated by rain, our now weary way, we reached at 6 A. M. a favorite camping-ground, the "Big Neme-haw" Creek. . . . It is a fine bottom of rich black soil, whose green woods . . . were wet with heavy dew. . . . "Richland," a town mentioned in guide-books, having disappeared, we

295. Burton's "Itinerary," p. 505: "Four miles beyond the First Grasshopper is Whitehead, a young settlement on Big Grasshopper. . . . Five and a half miles beyond is Walnut Creek, in Kickapoo Co. [probably reservation]; pass over corduroy bridge; roadside dotted with shanties. . . ." Burton's location of Whitehead is obviously in error, this town being near the Missouri river. Burton does not mention Kickapoo stage station, on the Indian reservation twelve miles west of Kennekuk, and it is possible that this was not a stopping point in August, 1860. In 1863 there were only two or three houses visible along the stage line between this and the preceding station. This locality was a garden spot of northern Kansas.—*Overland Stage*, p. 191.

296. The Pony Express station of Granada was not mentioned by Burton, and apparently was not a stop on the stage line.

297. David M. Locknane's station (Log Chain of later accounts) was located on a branch of the Grasshopper river, and was termed by Burton "Big Muddy Station." It is said that an early settler who lived nearby made good money during the spring months by renting his log chains to freighters whose vehicles became mired in the mud of this crossing (interviews of George A. Root with old settlers). This was the home of "Old Bob Ridley" (Robert Sewell), a very popular stage driver on the eastern division between Atchison and Fort Kearny.—*Overland Stage*, pp. 193-195.

drove for breakfast to Seneca,²⁹⁸ a city consisting of a few shanties, mostly garnished with tall square lumber fronts . . . masking the diminutiveness of the buildings behind them. The land, probably in prospect of a Pacific Railroad, fetched the exaggerated price of \$20 an acre, and already a lawyer has "hung out his shingle" there.

Refreshed by breakfast and the intoxicating air, brisk as a bottle of *veuve Clicquot*—it is this that gives one the "prairie fever"—we bade glad adieu to Seneca. . . . That day's chief study was of wagons, those ships of the great American Sahara which, gathering in fleets at certain seasons, conduct the traffic between the eastern and the western shores. . . . The white-topped wain . . . has found a home in the Far West. They are not unpicturesque from afar, these long-winding trains, in early morning like lines of white cranes trooping slowly over the prairie, or in more mysterious evening resembling dim sails crossing a rolling sea. . . . [Burton here described the Conestoga or "Covered" wagon.]

Passing through Ash Point at 9:30 A. M., and halting for water at Uncle John's Grocery,²⁹⁹ where hang-dog Indians, squatting, standing, and stalking about, showed that the forbidden luxury—essence of corn—was, despite regulations, not unprocurable there, we spanned the prairie to Guittard's Station.³⁰⁰ This is a clump of board houses on the far side of a shady, well-wooded creek—the Vermillion, a tributary of the Big Blue River, so called from its red sandstone bottom. . . .

Our conductor had sprained his ankle, and the driver, being in plain English drunk, had dashed like a Phaeton over the "chuck-holes"; we willingly, therefore, halted at 11:30 A. M. for dinner. The host was a young Alsatian, who, with his mother and sister, had emigrated under the excitement of California fever, and had been stopped, by want of means, half way. The improvement upon the native was palpable: the house and kitchen were clean, the

298. Although Burton had no praise for the Seneca station, it became famous for its service and clientele. It was the first town of importance west of Atchison, the station being kept by the "enterprising, shrewd New Hampshire Yankee, John E. Smith," a pioneer of that vicinity. His two-story hotel appeared to be "a mammoth concern," kept scrupulously clean by his wife, who served excellent meals. *The Overland Stage*, p. 197, gives a list of the famous customers. It is probable that this account is later than August, 1860, when Burton stopped there.

299. "Uncle John" O'Laughlin was an early postmaster at Ash Point, between Seneca and Guittard's, and kept a small stock of goods "needed" by emigrants, including whisky. *The Overland Stage* (pp. 565, 566) tells of several thirsty lawyers who "practiced" at Uncle John's bar.

300. Located three miles north of present Beattie, Marshall county, where a monument was dedicated to the Pony Express in 1931, in the ceremonies of which the late John G. Ellenbecker officiated. (Ellenbecker, a resident of Marysville, was a prominent leader in commemorating many historic sites in this vicinity.) George Guittard was a pioneer of that part of Marshall county, and a son, Xavier, became famed as the keeper of the stage station. For a time in later years the stage route followed the Oketo cut-off from this point north.—*See Overland Stage*, pp. 198-200.

fences neat; the ham and eggs, the hot rolls and coffee, were fresh and good, and, although drought had killed the salad, we had abundance of peaches and cream, an offering of French to American taste. . . .

At Guittard's I saw, for the first time, the Pony Express rider arrive. . . . [Burton wrote briefly of this novel means of communication.]

Beyond Guittard's the prairies bore a burnt-up aspect.³⁰¹ Far as the eye could see the tintage was that of the Arabian Desert, sere and tawny as a jackal's back. . . . October is the month for those prairie fires which have so frequently exercised the Western author's pen. Here, however, the grass is too short for the full development of the phenomenon. . . . In the rare spots where water then lay, the herbage was still green, forming oases in the withering waste. . . .

Passing by Marysville, in old maps Palmetto City,³⁰² a county town which thrives by selling whisky to ruffians of all descriptions, we forded before sunset the "Big Blue," a well-known tributary of the Kansas river. It is a pretty little stream, brisk and clear as crystal, about forty or fifty yards wide by 2.50 feet deep at the ford. The soil is sandy and solid, but the banks are too precipitous to be pleasant when a very drunken driver hangs on by the lines of four very weary mules. We then stretched once more over the "divide" . . . separating the Big Blue from its tributary the Little Blue. At 6 P. M. we changed our fagged animals for fresh, and the land of Kansas for Nebraska, at Cotton-wood Creek, a bottom where trees flourished, where the ground had been cleared for corn, and where we detected the prairie wolf watching for the poultry. . . .

At Cotton-wood station³⁰³ we took "on board" two way-passen-

301. In understanding Burton's remarks, the reader should keep in mind the severe drought of 1860. As early as June 15 a traveler who had arrived at Denver told of the severe need of rain, and the lowness of the Platte and its tributaries.—Atchison *Freedom's Champion*, June 30, 1860.

302. Palmetto City and Marysville were adjacent settlements, the latter being one of the oldest and best known towns of northern Kansas, which had been laid out by Frank J. Marshall (*Overland Stage*, p. 199). When the daily stage service was instituted in 1861, the route ran west from Guittard's to Marysville, where it crossed the Big Blue by a rope ferry (in dry weather the river could be forded here). The Pony Express station was located in a small brick structure in Marysville.

303. "Cottonwood Station," also known as the Hollenberg Pony Express station, was named after G. H. Hollenberg, a pioneer settler of Washington county, whose career reads like an epic of fiction. Hollenberg left Germany in 1849, worked for three years in the California gold mines, followed the same occupation in Australia, and thereafter sojourned in Peru, South America. Early in 1854 he settled on the Black Vermillion, in Marshall county, and in 1857 he arrived in Washington county, where he established the Hollenberg ranch, with a trading post and tavern. The Hollenberg ranch house was a regular stop on the Pony Express, but in 1862 Holladay temporarily eliminated it from the Overland line, when the stages followed the shorter Oketo cutoff. This station, located about 1½ miles northeast of present Hanover, was made a state park in 1942 and the ranch house repaired and restored as a Pony Express memorial. A letter of Dr. Howard R. Driggs, president of the American Pioneer Trails Association, to Kirke Mechem (April 30, 1941) adds that

gers, "lady" and "gentleman," who were drafted into the wagon containing the Judiciary. [At the Upper Crossing of the South Fork of the Platte (later Julesburg), where the passengers for the Pike's Peak region left those bound for Salt Lake, Burton remarked: "Conspicuous among them was a fair woman, who had made her first appearance at Cotton-wood Creek . . . with an individual, apparently a well-to-do drover, whom she called 'Tom' and 'husband.' She had forgotten her 'fixins,' which, according to a mischievous and scandalous driver, consisted of a reticule containing a 'bishop,' a comb, and a pomatum, a pinchbeck watch, and a flask of 'Bawme'—not of Meccah. Being a fine young person of Scotch descent, she had, till dire suspicions presented themselves, attracted the attentions of her fellow-travelers, who pronounced her to be 'all sorts of a gal.' . . . It was fortunate for Mr. and Mrs. Mann—the names were *noms de voyage*—that they left us so soon. . . ."]

A weary drive over a rough and dusty road, through chill night air and clouds of musquitoes, which we were warned would accompany us to the Pacific slope of the Rocky Mountains, placed us about 10 P. M. at Rock [in present Nebraska], also called Turkey Creek. . . . Several passengers began to suffer from fever and nausea; in such travel the second night is usually the crisis. . . . Upon the bedded floor of the foul "doggerly" lay, in a seemingly promiscuous heap, men, women, children, lambs, and puppies, all fast in the arms of Morpheus, and many under the influence of a much jollier god. The *employes*, when aroused pretty roughly, blinked their eyes in the atmosphere of smoke and musquitoes, and declared that it had been "merry in hall" that night. . . . After half an hour's dispute about who should do the work, they produced cold scraps of mutton and a kind of bread which deserves a totally distinct generic name. The strongest stomachs of the party made tea, and found some milk which was not more than one quarter flies. This succulent meal was followed by the usual *douceur*. . . .

THE VALLEY OF THE LITTLE BLUE, 9TH AUGUST.

A little after midnight we resumed our way, and in the state which Mohammed described when he made his famous night journey to heaven . . . we crossed the . . . Little Sandy, and five

several other station houses along the route to Sacramento lay claim to Pony Express honors, nevertheless—"None of these relics of a heroic past are better preserved than the old Hollenberg station. . . ." The ground floor of this structure included a store and postoffice, and kitchen, dining room and bedrooms for the Hollenberg family. The six stage employes that were stationed here and the Pony Express riders slept in a common room in the attic, which extended the entire length of the building.

miles beyond it we forded the Big Sandy. About early dawn we found ourselves at another station, better than the last only as the hour was more propitious. The colony of Patlanders rose from their beds without a dream of ablution, and clearing the while their lungs of Cork brogue, prepared a neat *déjeuner à la fourchette* by hacking "fids" off half a sheep suspended from the ceiling, and frying them in melted tallow. . . .

Issuing from Big Sandy Station at 6:30 A. M., and resuming our route over the divide that still separated the valleys of the Big Blue and the Little Blue, we presently fell into the line of the latter. . . . Averaging two miles in width . . . the valley is hedged on both sides by low rolling bluffs or terraces. . . . One could not have recognized at this season Colonel Fremont's description written in the month of June—the "hills with graceful slopes looking uncommonly green and beautiful." . . . All is barren beyond the garden-reach which runs along the stream; there is not a tree to a square mile—in these regions the tree, like the bird in Arabia and the monkey in Africa, signifies water—and animal life seems well-nigh extinct. . . .

This valley is the Belgium of the adjoining tribes, the once terrible Pawnees, who here met their enemies, the Dakotahs and the Delawares: it was then a great buffalo ground; and even twenty years ago it was well stocked with droves of wild horses, turkeys, and herds of antelope, deer, and elk. The animals have of late migrated westward, carrying off with them the "bones of contention." . . . [Burton here discussed the Western Indians.]

Changing mules at Kiowa about 10 A. M., we pushed forward through the sun, . . . to Liberty Farm, where a station supplied us with the eternal eggs and bacon of these *mangeurs de lard*. It is a dish constant in the great West, as the omelet and pigeon in the vetturini days of Italy. . . . The Little Blue ran hard by . . . fringed with emerald-green oak groves, cotton-wood, and long-leaved willow; its waters supply catfish, suckers, and a soft-shelled turtle. . . . We then resumed our journey over a desert, waterless save after rain, for twenty-three miles; it is the divide between the Little Blue and the Platte rivers. . . .

At 9 P. M., reaching "Thirty-two-mile Creek," we were pleasantly surprised to find an utter absence of the Irishry. The station-master was the head of a neat-handed and thrifty family from Vermont; the rooms, such as they were, looked cosy and clean—and the chickens and peaches were plump and well "fixed." Soldiers

from Fort Kearney loitered about the adjoining store. . . . Re-mounting at 10:30 P. M., and before moonrise, we threaded the gloom without other accident than the loss of a mule. . . .

THE PLATTE RIVER AND FORT KEARNEY, AUGUST 10.

After a long and chilly night . . . lengthened by the atrocity of the musquitoes, which sting even when the thermometer stands below 45°, we awoke upon the hill sands divided by two miles of level green savanna, and at 4 A. M. reached Kearney Station,³⁰⁴ in the valley of La Grande Platte, seven miles from the fort of that name. The first aspect of the stream was one of calm and quiet beauty. . . . On the south is a rolling range of red sandy and clayey hillocks, sharp toward the river—the “coasts of the Nebraska.” The valley, here two miles broad, resembles the ocean deltas of great streams; it is level as a carpet, all short green grass without sage or bush . . . ; here it was narrowed by Grand Island. . . .

Without excepting even the Missouri, the Platte is doubtless the most important western influent of the Mississippi. Its valley offers a route scarcely to be surpassed for the natural gradients . . . ; and by following up its tributary—the Sweetwater—the engineer finds a line laid down by nature to the foot of the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains. . . .

After satisfying hunger with vile bread and viler coffee—how far from the little forty-berry cup of Egypt!—for which we paid 75 cents, we left Kearney Station without delay. Hugging the right bank . . . , at 8 A. M. we found ourselves at Fort Kearney. . . .

While at Washington I had resolved . . . to enjoy a little Indian fighting. The meritorious intention . . . was most courteously received by the Hon. John B. Floyd, Secretary of War, who provided me with introductory letters addressed to the officers commanding various “departments.” . . . The first tidings that saluted my ears on arrival at Fort Kearney acted as a quietus: an Indian action had been fought, which signified that there would be no more fighting for some time. Captain Sturgis, of the 1st Cavalry, U. S., had just attacked, near the Republican Fork of Kansas River, a little south of the fort, with six companies (about 350 men) and a few Delawares, a considerable body of the enemy, Comanches,

304. As found by Burton in 1860, Kearny station was not the same as that of 1863, when it had been moved to a site west of the military post, and was a one-story log structure boasting of “one of the best dining stations on the stage route.”—*Overland Stage*, p. 204. Since 1848 Fort Kearny had been an important military post, the location of which on the California and Oregon trail gave it an interesting past. In his “Itinerary” (p. 506) Burton stated that “groceries, cloths, provisions, and supplies of all kinds are to be procured from the sutler’s store.”

Kiowas, and Cheyennes, who apparently had forgotten the severe lesson administered to them by Colonel—now Brigadier General—Edwin V. Sumner, 1st Cavalry, in 1857, and killed twenty-five with only two or three of his own men wounded.³⁰⁵ . . . I had no time to call upon Captain Sully, who remained in command at Kearney . . . ; the mail-wagon would halt there but a few minutes. . . . Intelligence of the fight had made even the conductor look grave. . . .

We all prepared for the "gravity of the situation" by discharging and reloading our weapons, and bade adieu, about 9:30 A. M., to Fort Kearney. . . . [Burton here discussed the American system of military outposts.]

We left Kearney at 9:30 A. M., following the road which runs forty miles up the valley of the Platte. . . . The road was rough with pitch-holes, and for the first time I remarked a peculiar gap in the ground like an East Indian sun-crack. . . . The sight and song of birds once more charmed us after a desert where animal life is as rare as upon the plains of Brazil. After fifteen miles of tossing and tumbling, we made "Seventeen-mile Station," and halted there to change mules. About twenty miles above the fort the southern bank began to rise into mounds of tenacious clay, which, worn away into perpendicular and precipitous sections, composes the columnar formation called O'Fallon's Bluffs. At 1:15 P. M. we reached Plum Creek, after being obliged to leave behind one of the conductors, who had become delirious with the "shakes." The establishment, though new, was already divided into three; the little landlady, though she worked so manfully, was, as she expressed it, "enjoying bad health;" in other words, suffering from a "dumb chill." . . . The whole line [of the Platte] becomes with early autumn a hotbed of febrile disease. . . .

About Plum Ranch the soil is rich, clayey, and dotted with swamps and "slews." . . . Buffalo herds were behind the hills.³⁰⁶ . . . The plain was dotted with blanched skulls and bones, which would have made a splendid bonfire. Apparently the expert

305. See the account entitled "From the Indian Country—Movements of the Southern Column of the Kiowa Expedition," a day-by-day report of the military operations and skirmishes from July 28 to August 10, 1860, written by "Rover," from camp west of Fort Kearny, August 10, in Leavenworth *Daily Times*, August 23, 1860. An earlier letter by "Rover," dated July 22, was written from camp on the Arkansas river, five miles southwest of Camp Alert (Fort Larned) in *ibid.*, August 2, 1860.

306. "Plum Creek was in the heart of the buffalo region, and . . . near this station . . . vast numbers of the animals came out of the sand-hills south of the river and slaked their thirst in the Platte. Buffalo-wallows could be seen in a number of places. . . . The old-time stage-drivers told me that a few years previous they seldom passed Plum Creek without seeing immense herds of buffalo. . . . The enormous travel on the plains in the '60's, however, soon drove the buffalo southward. . . ."—*Overland Stage*, p. 207.

voyageur has not learned that they form good fuel; at any rate, he has preferred to them the "chips" of which it is said that a steak cooked with them requires no pepper.

We dined at Plum Creek on buffalo, probably bull beef, the worst and driest meat, save elk, that I have ever tasted; indeed, without the assistance of pork fat, we found it hard to swallow. . . .

Resuming our weary ride, we watered at "Willow Island Ranch," and then at "Cold Water Ranch"—drinking-shops all—five miles from Midway Station, which we reached at 8 P. M. Here, while changing mules, we attempted with sweet speech and smiles to persuade the landlady, . . . into giving us supper. This she sturdily refused to do, for the reason that she had not received due warning. We had, however, the satisfaction of seeing the *employes* of the line making themselves thoroughly comfortable with bread and buttermilk. Into the horrid wagon again, and "a rollin:" lazily enough the cold and hungry night passed on.

TO THE FORKS OF THE PLATTE, 11TH AUGUST.

Precisely at 1:35 in the morning we awoke, as we came to a halt at Cotton-wood Station.³⁰⁷ Cramped with a four days' and four nights' ride in the narrow van, we entered the foul tenement, threw ourselves upon the mattresses, averaging three to each, and ten in a small room, every door, window, and cranny being shut—after the fashion of these Western folks, who make up for a day in the open air by perspiring through the night in unventilated log huts—and, despite musquetoos, slept. . . . [Description of the buffalo followed.]

The flies chasing away the musquetoos . . . we proceeded by means of an "eye-opener," which even the abstemious judge could not decline, and the use of the "skillet," to prepare for a breakfast composed of various abominations, especially cakes of flour and grease, molasses and dirt, disposed in pretty equal parts. After paying the usual 50 cents, we started in the high wind and dust . . . along the desert valley of the dark, silent Platte, which here spread out in broad basins and lagoons. . . . On our left was a line of sub-conical buttes, red, sandy-clay pyramids, semi-detached from the wall of the rock behind them. . . . Passing Junction-House Ranch and Fremont Slough—whisky-shops both—we halted for "dinner," about 11 A. M., at Fremont Springs,

307. Usually known as Cottonwood Springs, which by 1863 had a very favorable reputation as a "home station," and was also a very good camping place for freighters, because of the abundance of cedar.—*Ibid.*, p. 208. This "Cottonwood Station" is not to be confused with the "Cottonwood Station" in Washington county, Kansas. (See Footnote 303.)

so-called from an excellent little water behind the station. The building . . . two huts connected by a roofwork of thatched timber. . . . The station-keeper, who receives from the proprietors of the line \$30 per month, had been there only three weeks; and his wife, a comely young person, uncommonly civil and smiling for a "lady," supplied us with the luxuries of pigeons, onions, and light bread, and declared her intention of establishing a poultry-yard.

An excellent train of mules carried us along a smooth road at a slapping pace, over another natural garden even more flowery than that passed on the last day's march. . . . We halted at Halfway House, near O'Fallon's Bluffs,³⁰⁸ at the quarters of Mr. M—, a *compagnon de voyage*, who had now reached his home of twenty years, and therefore insisted upon "standing drinks." The business is worth \$16,000 per annum; the contents of the store somewhat like a Parsee's shop in Western India—every thing from a needle to a bottle of Champagne. A sign-board informed us that we were now distant 400 miles from St. Jo, 120 from Fort Kearney, 68 from the upper, and 40 from the lower crossing of the Platte. As we advanced the valley narrowed, the stream shrank, the vegetation dwindled, the river islands were bared of timber, and the only fuel became buffalo chip and last year's artemisia [wild sage]. . . .

At 5 P. M., as the heat began to mitigate, we arrived at Alkali Lake Station, and discovered some "exiles from Erin," who supplied us with antelope meat and the unusual luxury of ice taken from the Platte. We attempted to bathe in the river, but found it flowing liquid mire. . . .

Yesterday and today we have been in a line of Indian "removes." The wild people were shifting their quarters for grass. . . . [Burton described Indians on the move.]

At 6 P. M. we resumed our route, . . . up the Dark Valley, where musquitoes and sultry heat combined to worry us. Slowly traveling and dozing the while, we arrived about 9:15 P. M. at Diamond Springs . . . where we found whisky and its usual accompaniment, soldiers. . . . In these regions the opposite races regard each other as wild beasts; the white will shoot an Indian as he would a coyote. . . .

The Platte River divides at N. lat. 40° 05' 05", and W. long. (G.) 101° 21' 24".³⁰⁹ The northern, by virtue of dimensions, claims to be

308. The road in this vicinity was despised by the stage drivers, as it in places followed an angle of about forty-five degrees through the sand hills. Later a new road was laid out to the south of the bluff, which was longer but more safe for stage travel.—*Overland Stage*, p. 211.

309. Burton was obviously in error as the present junction of the North and South Forks of the Platte is a few miles from North Platte, Lincoln county, Nebraska, in longitude 100° 41' and latitude 41° 7'.

the main stream. . . . Hunters often ford the river by the Lower Crossing, twenty-eight miles above the bifurcation. Those with heavily-loaded wagons prefer this route, as by it they avoid the deep loose sands on the way to the Upper Crossing. The mail-coach must endure the four miles of difficulty, as the road to Denver City branches off from the western ford.

At 10 P. M., having "caught up" the mules, we left Diamond Springs. . . . On the banks large bare spots, white with salt, glistened through the glooms. . . .

This was our fifth night in the mail-wagon. I could not but meditate upon the difference between travel in the pure prairie air, despite an occasional "chill," and the perspiring miseries of an East Indian dawk, or of a trudge in the miasmatic and pestilential regions of Central Africa. Much may be endured when, as was ever the case, the highest temperature in the shade does not exceed 98° F.

12TH AUGUST. WE CROSS THE PLATTE.

Boreal aurora glared brighter than a sunset in Syria. [A vivid description followed.]

Cramped with cold and inaction . . . hungry, thirsty . . . we hear with a gush of joy, at 3:15 A. M., the savage Yep! yep! yep! with which the driver announces our approach. The plank lodgings soon appear; we spring out of the ambulance; a qualm comes over us; all is dark and silent as the grave; nothing is prepared for us; the wretches are all asleep. A heavy kick opens the door of the soon-found restaurant . . . , we ordered [the German proprietor] . . . out of bed, and began to talk of supper, refreshment, and repose. But the "critter" had waxed surly . . . and mastering with pain our desire to give these villain "sausage-eaters" "particular fits," we sat down, stared at the fire, and awaited the vile food. For a breakfast cooked in the usual manner, coffee boiled down to tannin, . . . meat subjected to half sod, half stew, and, lastly, bread raised with sour milk corrected with soda, and so baked that the taste of the flour is ever prominent, we paid these German rascals 75 cents, a little dearer than at the Trois Frères.

At the Upper Crossing of the South Fork ³¹⁰ there are usually

310. The Upper Crossing of the South Fork of the Platte apparently went by several names, including "Laramie Crossing," "Goodale's Crossing," "Morrell's Crossing," and later "Julesburg" or "Overland City," although Julesburg came to be preferred. Julesburg became widely known, the station and stable were then "long, one-story, hewed cedar-log buildings; there was also a store and blacksmith shop. . . . The Pacific telegraph line at this point also crossed the Platte, having been completed through to San Francisco via Fort Bridger and Salt Lake. . . . It cost ten dollars a wagon to get ferried across the Platte [by rope ferry in 1864]."—*Overland Stage*, pp. 219, 220. Julesburg was named after Jules Beni. (See Footnote 291.)

tender adieux, the wenders toward Mormon land bidding farewell to those bound for the perilous gold regions of Denver City and Pike's Peak. . . . The wagons were unloaded, thus giving us the opportunity of procuring changes of raiment and fresh caps. . . . By some means we retained our old ambulance, which, after five days and nights, we had learned to look upon as a home; the Judiciary [Mr. F——, a federal judge], however, had to exchange theirs for one much lighter and far less comfortable. Presently those bound to Denver City set out upon their journey. . . .

We crossed the "Padouca" [South Fork of Platte] at 6:30 A. M., having placed our luggage and the mails for security in an ox cart. The South Fork is here 600 to 700 yards broad; the current is swift, but the deepest water not exceeding 250 [2.50] feet, . . . Having reloaded on the left bank, . . . we set out at 7 A. M. to cross the divide separating the Northern and Southern Forks of the Platte.

We had now entered upon the outskirts of the American wilderness, which has not one feature in common with the deserts of the Old World. In Arabia and Africa there is majesty in its monotony. . . . Here it is a brown smooth space, insensibly curving out of sight, wholly wanting "second distance," and scarcely suggesting the idea of immensity; we seem, in fact, to be traveling for twenty miles over a convex, treeless hill-top. . . .

At 12:45 P. M., traveling over the uneven barren, and in a burning sirocco, we reached Lodge-Pole Station, where we made our "noonin." The hovel fronting the creek was built like an Irish shanty, or a Beloch hut, against a hill side, to save one wall, and it presented a fresh phase of squalor and wretchedness. The mud walls were partly papered with "Harper's Magazine," "Frank Leslie," and the "New York Illustrated News;" the ceiling was a fine festoon-work of soot, and the floor was much like the ground outside, only not nearly so clean. In a corner stood the usual "bunk," a mass of mingled rags and buffalo robes; the centre of the room was occupied by a rickety table, and boxes, turned up on their long sides, acted as chairs. The unescapable stove was there, filling the interior with the aroma of meat. As usual, the materials for ablution, a "dipper" or cup, a dingy tin skillet of scanty size, a bit of coarse gritty soap, and a public towel, like a rag of gunny bag, were deposited upon a rickety settle outside.

There being no "lady" at the station on Lodge-Pole Creek, milk was unprocurable. Here, however, began a course of antelope veni-

son, which soon told upon us with damaging effect. . . . Like other wild meats, bear, deer, elk, and even buffalo, antelope will disagree with a stranger; it is, however, juicy, fat, and well-flavored. . . .

At Lodge-Pole Station, the mules, as might be expected from animals allowed to run wild every day in the week except one, were like newly-caught mustangs. The herdsman—each station boasts of this official—mounted a nag barebacked, and, jingling a bell, drove the cattle into the corral, a square of twenty yards, formed by a wall of loose stones, four to five feet high. He wasted three quarters of an hour in this operation, which a well-trained shepherd's dog would have performed in a few minutes. . . .

At 3 P. M., after a preliminary ringing, intended to soothe the fears of Madame [probably Mrs. Dana, a fellow passenger], we set out *au grand galop*, with a team that had never worked together before. They dashed down the cahues with a violence that tossed us as in a blanket, and nothing could induce them, while fresh, to keep the path. The yawning of the vehicle was ominous: fortunately, however, the road . . . was excellent. . . .

[A lack of space forces a termination of Burton's narrative at this point. He went on to Salt Lake City, where he made an extended sojourn the basis for a detailed account in *The City of the Saints* (pp. 189-443). He finally continued to San Francisco, where he sailed for the Isthmus of Panama, thus bidding farewell to his travels in North America.]

*(The Pike's Peak Express Articles To Be Concluded in the
February, 1946, Issue)*

Historical Encounter and Accounts of the Plains Prairie Dog

THEO. H. SCHEFFER

THE student of history, as well as the dilettante who pursues the subject in his leisure hours, is ever inclined to paint a background of his own fancy for the drama of the prairies. It may help, however, in selecting truer colors to know more of the lives of the lesser actors, the creatures of the plains, and one of these, the prairie dog, is the subject of this sketch.

The first of the American explorers to take notice of the prairie dog were Lewis and Clark. This was at a dome near the later site of Fort Randall, S. Dak., in September, 1804. Quoting from their journals:

As we descended from this dome we arrived at a spot, on the gradual descent of the hill, nearly four acres in extent, and covered with small holes. These are the residence of a little animal called by the French *petit chien* (little dog), which sit erect near the mouth and make a whistling noise, but when alarmed take refuge in their holes. In order to bring them out we poured into one of the holes five barrels of water without filling it, but we dislodged and caught the owner. After digging down another of the holes for six feet, we found on running a pole into it that we had not yet dug halfway to the bottom. We discovered, however, two frogs in the hole, and near it we killed a dark rattlesnake, which had swallowed a small prairie dog; we were also informed, though we never witnessed the fact, that a sort of lizzard and a snake live habitually with these animals.¹

Patrick Gass of the party, who also kept a journal of sorts, says the investigators took with them all the kettles and other vessels of the camp for holding water, and "though they worked at the business till night they only caught one of them."² It is worthy of note here that in this first account of the prairie dog there was mention of some of the associated town dwellers, rattlesnake and horned toad (a lizzard); also that the co-dwelling was not always one of harmonious relations, as some other writers would have us believe.

We cannot dismiss the Oregon-bound party without quoting a bit from Lewis' description of the jackrabbit:

The years are very flexible, the anamall moves them with great ease and quickness and can contra[c]t and foald them on his back or delate them at

1. Wheeler, Olin D., *The Trail of Lewis and Clark, 1804-1804* (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1926), New ed., v. I, pp. 177, 178.

2. Gass, Patrick, *A Journal of the Voyages and Travels of a Corps of Discovery, Under the Command of Capt. Lewis and Capt. Clarke of the Army of the United States . . .* (Pittsburgh, 1807), p. 37.

pleasure. . . . I measured the leaps of one which I surprised in the plains on the 17th Inst. and found them 21 feet. . . . they appear to run with more ease and to bound with greater agility than any anamall I ever saw.³

Another early account of the prairie dog was in the diary entries of Zebulon Pike, on his trip across present Kansas to the famous peak that bears his name, and south from there to contact with Spanish authority. This was in the summer and autumn of 1806.

Pike's expedition was in the vicinity of old Fort Larned on October 24, and while there he wrote one of the first comprehensive accounts of a prairie dog communal village of which we have knowledge. We quote from it, in part:

We ascended the right branch about five miles, but could not see any sign of the Spanish trace. . . . We returned and on our way, killed some prairie squirrels, or wishtonwishes, and nine large rattlesnakes, which frequent their villages. . . . The Wishtonwish of the Indians, prairie dogs of some travellers; or squirrels as I should be inclined to denominate them; reside on the prairies of Louisiana in towns or villages, having an evident police established in their communities. The sites of their towns are generally on the brow of a hill, near some creek or pond, in order to be convenient to water. . . . Their residence, being under ground, is burrowed out, and the earth which answers the double purpose of keeping out the water, and affording an elevated place in wet seasons to repose on, and to give them a further and more distinct view of the country. Their holes descend in a spiral form, therefore I could never ascertain their depth; but I once had 140 kettles of water pored into one of them in order to drive out the occupant, but without effect. . . . Their villages sometimes extend over two and three miles square, in which there must be innumerable hosts of them, as there is generally a burrow every ten steps in which there are two or more. . . . We killed great numbers of them with our rifles and found them excellent meat, after they were exposed a night or two to the frost, by which means the rankness acquired by their subterraneous dwelling is corrected. As you approach their towns, you are saluted on all sides by the cry of Wishtonwish, from which they derive their name with the Indians, uttered in a shrill and piercing manner. . . . It requires a very nice shot with a rifle to kill them, as they must be killed dead, for as long as life exists, they continue to work into their cells. It is extremely dangerous to pass through their towns, as they abound with rattlesnakes, both of the yellow and black species; and strange as it may appear, I have seen the Wishtonwish, the rattlesnake, the horn frog, of which the prairie abounds, . . . and a land tortoise all take refuge in the same hole. I do not pretend to assert that it was their common place of resort, but I have witnessed the above facts more than in one instance.⁴

3. Thwaites, Reuben Gold, ed., *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806* (New York, Dodd, Mead & Company, 1905), v. VI, p. 130.

4. Pike, Maj. Z. M., *An Account of Expeditions To the Sources of the Mississippi, And Through the Western Parts of Louisiana, To the Sources of the Arkansas, Kans, La Platte, And Pierre Jaun, Rivers;* . . . (Philadelphia, 1810), pp. 155, 156. See, also, Coues, Elliott, *The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike,* . . . (New York, Francis P. Harper, 1895), v. II, pp. 429-431.

About five years later an English traveler and naturalist took the field, one John Bradbury. He came, as he said to explore "the interior of Upper Louisiana and the Illinois Territory, for the purpose of discovering and collecting subjects in natural history, either new or valuable."⁵ After some preliminary collecting on the lower Missouri, he joined up with the Astoria expedition of the Pacific Fur Company, under W. P. Hunt, which was ascending the Missouri river. On May 23, 1811, he first writes in his *Travels* of seeing the prairie dog, near the location of present Springfield, S. Dak. To quote, in part:



A Prairie-Dog Town As Sketched in Josiah Gregg's
Commerce of the Prairies (1855).

At a small distance from my route I noticed a space, of several acres in extent, of a more vivid green than the surrounding prairie, and on my nearer approach it had the appearance of a rabbit burrow. From the previous descriptions given by the hunters, I immediately conceived it to be what it proved, a colony of the prairie dog. The little animals had taken the alarm before I reached their settlement, and were sitting singly on the small hillocks of earth at the mouth of their holes. They were very clamorous, uttering a cry which has some resemblance to a shrill barking. I shot at several, but at the instant of the flash, they darted with surprising quickness into their holes, before the shot could reach them. . . . [June 3.] On my route this day I saw numerous colonies of the prairie dog; and from the frequency of the occurrence, I noticed that my approach to their burrows was announced by the screams of a species of corlieu. I shot one, and ascertained

5. Bradbury, John, *Travels in the Interior of America, in the Years 1809, 1810, and 1811*; . . . (Liverpool, 1817), p. 9.

it to be a variety of *Scolopax arquata* [European woodcock]; and perceived, after I noticed the fact, that the alarm was invariably given.⁶

In this third account of a prairie-dog community there is still no mention of the little owl that should be a co-dweller in any well appointed colony. The "species of corlieu" referred to by Bradbury was probably the common killdeer that is under your feet and in your ears wherever you may roam at the time of year indicated.

Another traveler of the same year, 1811, was H. M. Brackenridge, whose *Journal* of a voyage up the Missouri mentions the prairie dog. He had set out, as he says, "in a spirit of adventure," with twenty-five men of the Missouri Fur Company. He says, "I had heard that the magpie, the Missouri rattlesnake, and the horn frog, were observed to frequent these places; but I did not see any of them, except the magpie."⁷ This was way up the Missouri and not on the plains proper, however, and the magpie may have been on the prairie-dog townsite merely looking for a scavenger's breakfast.

Early in 1819 Maj. Stephen H. Long was commissioned by John C. Calhoun, then Secretary of War, to head a military expedition to the Rocky Mountains. With the expedition were two young scientists whose youth was crowned with the glorious privilege of being first in a field of unexplored life. They were Dr. Edwin James, itinerary historian of the party, and Thomas Say, zoölogist. With them was an assistant naturalist, T. R. Peale. For our purposes here we will quote parts of their itinerary reports and add a few personal comments. First, Dr. James:

[June 14, 1820; near Grand Island, in the Platte.] The high and barren parts of this tract are occupied by numerous communities of the Prairie dog or Louisiana marmot. . . . As particular districts, of limited extent, are, in general, occupied by the burrows of these animals, such assemblages of dwellings are denominated *Prairie dog villages* by hunters and others who wander in these remote regions. . . . The hole descends vertically to the depth of one or two feet, whence it continues in an oblique direction downward. A single burrow may have many occupants. We have seen as many as seven or eight individuals sitting upon one mound. . . . When fired upon [at the edge of their holes], they never fail to escape, or if killed instantly to fall into their burrows. . . . As they pass the winter in a lethargic sleep, . . . [they] defend themselves from its rigors by accurately closing up the entrance of the burrow.

[June 16.] We passed a number of prairie dog villages, some of them extending from two to three miles along the river. Though much in want of

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 74, 99.

7. Brackenridge, H. M., *Views of Louisiana; Together With a Journal of a Voyage Up the Missouri River, in 1811* (Pittsburgh, 1814), p. 239.

game, most of our exertions to take these animals were without success. A number were killed, but we were able to possess ourselves of no more than two of them. These we found to be in good condition and well flavoured. Their flesh nearly resembles that of the ground hog, or woodchuck.

[June 24.] We found a constant source of amusement in observing the unsightly figure, the cumbrous gait, and impolitic movements of the bison; we were often delighted by the beauty and fleetness of the antelope, and the social comfort and neatness of the prairie dog.

[July 4.] Rattlesnakes of a particular species are sometimes seen in these villages. . . . This is the species of serpent which travellers have observed to frequent the villages of the prairie dogs, and to which they have attributed the unnatural habit of voluntary domiciliation with that interesting animal. It is true that the *tergeminus*, like many other serpents, will secure a refuge from danger in any hole of the earth, rock, or fallen tree, . . . regardless of the rightful occupant; but we witnessed no facts which could be received as proof that it is an acceptable inmate of the dwelling of the Arctomys.

[July 14.] In all the prairie-dog villages we had passed, small owls had been observed moving briskly about. . . . One was here caught, and on examination found to be the species denominated Coquimbo, or burrowing owl. . . . This fellow citizen of the prairie dog, unlike its grave and reclusive congeners, is of a social disposition, and does not retire from the light of the sun, but endures the strongest midday glare of that luminary, and is in all respects a diurnal bird. . . . With us the owl never occurred but in the prairie-dog villages, sometimes in a small flock, much scattered and often perched on different hillocks, at a distance, deceiving the eye with the appearance of the prairie dog itself, in an erect posture. . . . [They] rise upon the wing, uttering a note very like that of the prairie dog. . . . The burrows, into which we have seen the owl descend, resembled in all respects those of the prairie dog, leading us to suppose either that they were common, though, perhaps, not friendly occupants of the same burrow, or that the owl was the exclusive tenant of a burrow gained by the right of conquest.⁸

Speaking later of a scene near sunset on the Canadian river, James expresses his delight at viewing a large prairie-dog village on which were grazing also many bison, a number of wild horses, and a small herd of antelope. He says, "A scene of this kind comprises most of what is beautiful and interesting to the passing traveller in the wide unvaried plains of the Missouri and Arkansa."⁹

Commenting on James' notes, we may add: (1) The prairie dog does not hibernate, like some of the burrowing squirrels, but may be seen out of his burrow on almost any bright day in winter. James had only reports; he was there in the summer. (2) Neither do these animals close up their burrows in the cold season; burrows

8. James, Edwin, comp., *Account of An Expedition From Pittsburgh To the Rocky Mountains, Performed in the Years 1819 and '20*, . . . Under the Command of Major Stephen H. Long (Philadelphia, 1823), v. I, pp. 451-453, 455, 474, 499, 500; v. II, pp. 36, 37. See, also, Thwaites, Reuben Gold, *Early Western Travels*, v. XV, pp. 221-223, 225, 226, 248, 278, 279; v. XVI, pp. 27, 28.

9. James, *op. cit.*, v. II, p. 148; Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, v. XVI, pp. 158, 159.

choked with trash or drift are unused. (3) The coresidence of the rattlesnake is partially explained, above; the snake is there also for predaceous reasons and is *not* welcome. (4) The owl does not gain a burrow tenancy by conquest, but makes use of abandoned holes for shelter and nesting.

The naturalist Thomas Say, of the Long expedition, investigated more carefully the owl tenancy of prairie-dog towns. He reports, August 3, on the Arkansas river:

A considerable number of the coquimbo or burrowing-owl occurred in a prairie-dog village of moderate extent. . . . On examining the several burrows, at which the owls had been observed to be perched, we remarked in them a different aspect from those at which the prairie dog had appeared; they were often in a ruined condition, the sides, in some instances, fallen in, sometimes seamed and grooved by the action of the water, in its course from the surface to the interior, and, in other respects, presenting a deserted aspect, and, like dilapidated monuments of human art, were the fit abode of serpents, lizards, and owls. The burrows, at which we saw the prairie dog, were, on the contrary, neat, always in repair, and evinced the operations of industrious tenants.¹⁰

Instructions to the Long party were to ascend the Platte to its source and return to the Mississippi by way of the Arkansas and the Red. The expedition had reached the mountains before mid-July and on July 13 and 14 James and two companions made the first recorded ascent of the peak bearing Pike's name. Previous to this the party had kept as a landmark on their way up from the plains another peak which they supposed to be Pike's. This, later, was named Long's Peak, and James was also commemorated by another elevated mountain spur. Near present La Junta the party divided, one of our naturalists, James, going with Long down the Cimarron and the Canadian rivers, and Say following the Arkansas. Unhappily for science, three renegade soldiers deserted from the Say division en route, taking with them some of the naturalist's priceless manuscripts.¹¹

It may be of interest to note here, before leaving the expedition, that in the previous August, 1819, Thomas Say had made a side trip from Fort Osage to the Kansas Indian village, across the Blue from present Manhattan, and had written very interestingly of this tribe, by which he was well received. On this occasion, also, he had been unfortunate in being robbed by the Pawnees on his return journey. He missed the boat toiling its way up to Council Bluffs,

10. James, *op. cit.*, v. II, p. 200; Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, v. XVI, p. 223.

11. *Ibid.*, v. XIV, pp. 13-17.

but later caught up with the party, after wintering at Isle au Vache.¹²

Continuing in order of historical chronology, we find next on the plains one James O. Pattie, the son of a Kentucky Indian fighter who was, in turn, the son of an Indian fighter of the same territory. This Pattie III went with his father and a party of traders and trappers up the Platte and branches of the Republican. He did not contribute much to the lore of the prairie dog, except to jot down on August 27, 1824, somewhere in southwestern Nebraska:

Here we saw multitudes of prairie dogs. They have large village establishments of burrows, where they live in society. They are sprightly, bold and self important animals, of the size of a Norwegian rat.¹³

We may consider this last an odious comparison, besides being inaccurate.

Following these men of lesser rank but of more glory in our estimate, came a prince of the realm to the plains in 1833, Alexander Philip Maximilian, Prince of Wied-Neuwied. He had been an officer in the Napoleonic wars but had a saving penchant for exploration and natural history. Accompanying him was a hunter and a talented Swiss artist, Charles Bodmer. He arrived at Fort Leavenworth on April 22, 1833, for a voyage up the Missouri in a steamboat of the American Fur Company on its annual trip to its trading posts. After a year and a month he was back again at Fort Leavenworth with a wealth of manuscript notes and observations, in German, and treasures of Bodmer's art. But, being primarily an ethnologist, he gave only a modicum of attention to the prairie dog. Here we record it, in translation:

[May 13, 1833, near Ponca creek, South Dakota.] In this neighborhood are many villages of the prairie dogs, in the abandoned burrows of which, rattlesnakes abound. It has been affirmed that these two species of animals live peaceably together in these burrows; but observers of nature have proved that the snakes take possession of abandoned burrows only, which is in the usual course of things.

[May 18.] The buffalo hunters returned to the vessel at the same time with us; they had, indeed, missed their object, but had killed a large buck antelope, as well as a great many prairie dogs, the heads of which were all mutilated by the rifle balls. As these little animals retreat to their burrows, on the approach of any strange object, and only put out their heads, the Americans, with their long rifles, generally hit them in this part; they are a favorite food among them.¹⁴

12. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

13. *Ibid.*, v. XVIII, p. 53.

14. *Ibid.*, v. XXII, pp. 9-17, 292, 299.

If by "Americans" the Prince meant plainsmen, mountaineers and Indians, among them the prairie dog no doubt was a favorite food. The name "dog," however, probably palled on the appetites of later Americans. We have never known fricassee of prairie dog to become popular in this country, except, when associated with corn-dodgers, it by necessity graced the menus of pioneer home-steaders.

Another traveler and writer who contributed to our ken of the prairie dog in the 1830's was Josiah Gregg, whose journals were published under the title *Commerce of the Prairies*. He had been ordered by his physician to take the field for his health; which he did with such beneficial results to himself, and to us, that he followed the Santa Fe trail for eight years as trader and self-appointed journalist. We quote from his journals:

[June 1, 1839, near the Canadian river.] But what attracted our attention most were the little dog settlements, or, as they are more technically called, 'dog towns,' so often alluded to by prairie travellers. As we were passing through their 'streets,' multitudes of the diminutive inhabitants were to be seen among the numerous little hillocks which marked their dwellings, where they frisked about, or sat perched at their doors, yelping defiance, to our great amusement—heedless of the danger that often awaited them from the rifles of our party; for they had perhaps never seen such deadly weapons before.

[June 6.] We had not progressed far before we found ourselves in the very midst of another large 'dog town.' . . . As we sat on our horses, looking at these 'village transactions,' our Comanche guide drew an arrow for the purpose of cutting short the career of a little citizen that sat yelping most doggedly in the mouth of his hole, forty or fifty paces distant. The animal was almost entirely concealed behind the hillock which encompassed the entrance of his apartment, so that the dart could not reach it in a direct line; but the Indian had resort to a manoeuvre which caused the arrow to descend with a curve, and in an instant it quivered in the body of the poor little quadruped. The slayer only smiled at his feat, while we were perfectly astonished.

[From Gregg's chapter on "Animals of the Prairies."] But of all the prairie animals, by far the most curious, and by no means the least celebrated, is the little *prairie dog*. . . . The color ranges from brown to a dirty yellow. The flesh, though often eaten by travellers, is not esteemed savory. . . . Its yelp, which resembles that of the little toy-dog, seems its only canine attribute. . . . Some have supposed, it is true, that like the marmot, they lie torpid during the cold season; . . . but this is no doubt erroneous; for I have the concurrent testimony of several persons, who have been upon the prairies in winter, that, like rabbits and squirrels, they issue from their holes every soft day; and therefore lay up no doubt a hoard of 'hay' (as there is rarely anything else to be found in the vicinity of their towns) for winter's use. . . .

They generally locate upon firm dry plains, coated with fine short grass, upon which they feed; for they are no doubt exclusively herbivorous. . . . They must need but little water, if any at all, as their 'towns' are often, indeed generally, found in the midst of the most arid plains—unless we suppose they dig down to subterranean fountains. . . . Two other animals appear to live in communion with the prairie dogs—the *rattlesnake* and a small *owl*; but both are no doubt intruders, resorting to these burrows for shelter, and to feed, it is presumed, upon the 'pups' of the inmates.¹⁵

To comment again: (1) The prairie dog stores no more than perhaps a lunch, at times. The animal feeds, as does the antelope and the bison upon the buffalo grass and the grama grasses of their habitat, nutritious at any season of the year. (2) They do not dig wells on their townsites; some of the latter are probably as far from water vertically as they are known to be horizontally. Many of the lesser animals can get their needed water supply from their food, even synthetically; and sip the dew when nature offers it. (3) The little owl does not feed upon the "pups" of the prairie dog, but upon grasshoppers and crickets, hunting mainly in the evening and at night.

Not always the layman, but sometimes the missionary of the Cross is attracted to the grass of the fields and the cony of the rocks, even the galaxies of the firmament; and so we have among them amateur naturalists and budding astronomers. Of the former was Father Pierre Jean De Smet, S. J., revered missionary to the Northwest Indians and sponsor of treaties and covenants that made for peace on the plains and mountains. His reports, in French, include observations on the prairie dog, which follow here, in part:

[St. Ignatius river, September 10, 1841.] The Prairie Dog, in shape, color and agility, more resembles the squirrel than the animal from which it has taken its name. They live together in separate lodges, to the number of several thousands. The earth which they throw up to construct their lodges, forms a kind of slope which prevents the rain from entering the holes. At the approach of man, this little animal runs into its lodge, uttering a piercing cry, which puts the whole tribe on their guard. After some minutes, the boldest show a part of their heads, as if to spy the enemy, and this is the moment which the hunter chooses to kill them. The Indians informed us that they sometimes issue in a body, apparently to hold a council, and that wisdom presides over their deliberations. They admit to their dwellings the bird of Minerva, the striped squirrel, and the rattlesnake, and it is impossible to determine what is the cause of this wonderful sympathy. It is said, too, that they live only on the dew of the grass root, a remark founded upon the position of their village, which is always found where the ground is waterless and barren.¹⁶

15. *Ibid.*, v. XX, pp. 118-122, 277-281.

16. *Ibid.*, v. XXVII, pp. 262, 263.

We may say here, as well as anywhere, that the dwelling of the prairie dog is adapted to its observed habits. About two feet down, vertically from the "hillock," is a turning bay gouged out on one side, where the animal retreats and squares about to await developments. From here it can verify its suspicions of danger, or check up on the tocsin of mates or owl tribe that drove it down. The alarm note of the coquimbo is much like that of the prairie dog; but the twilight call of this little owl is questing, weird, mournful. From the turning bay of the burrow the descent is first at a more or less steep angle and then nearly horizontal to the chambers of abode. The vertical depth of the latter may be as much as ten or twelve feet.

The Indians' idea of a council of prairie dogs is probably a conception of their lore and legends. We have observed only family groups at a burrow entrance. The little striped squirrel mentioned by Father De Smet is of practically the same stripe and pattern that we have in Kansas.

In the spring of 1841 the ambitious little Republic of Texas organized an expedition to seek annexation of Santa Fe. The party was of only semi-military composition, being composed in part of business adventurers. At the Rio Grande, however, they met paternalistic and armed Spanish-Mexicans, and that was the end of their plans for conquest. George W. Kendall, a New Orleans editor who was a guest of the expedition, left us this brief record of prairie dogs encountered somewhere along the route. He says:

A singular species of owl is invariably found residing in and about the dog-towns. . . . One . . . [prairie dog] had perched himself upon the pile of earth in front of his hole, sitting up and exposing a fair mark, while a companion's head was seen poking out of the entrance, too timid, perhaps, to trust himself farther. A well-directed ball from my rifle carried away the entire top of the former's head, and knocked him some two or three feet from his post perfectly dead. While reloading, the other boldly came out, seized his companion by one of his legs, and before we could reach the hole had drawn him completely out of sight. . . . Rattlesnakes, too, and of immense size, dwell in the same lodges with the dogs. . . . We killed one a short distance from a burrow, which had made a meal of a half-grown dog; and although I do not think they can master the larger animals, the latter are still compelled to let them pass in and out without molestation—a nuisance, like many in more elevated society, that cannot be got rid of. . . . Finding a dry mesquit, we broke off some of the larger branches, kindled a fire, and cooked for each man a dog. The meat we found exceedingly sweet, tender, and juicy—resembling that of the squirrel, only that it was much fatter. . . .¹⁷

17. Kendall, G. W., *Narrative of the Tezan Santa Fe Expedition*, . . . (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1844), v. I, pp. 191, 193-195.

We are inclined to doubt the vicarious rescue of the headless prairie dog; sounds loco. We are safe in saying, however, that we have never witnessed anything of the sort.

Probably we should close this historical sketch with one more observer of prairie-dog residence and activity on the plains. There have been many others who wrote interestingly of this little social animal and its attendants. But the year is 1845, which about closes an epoch of travel and exploration and brings us to horizons of the Mexican adventure, the Colorado gold fields, the Mormon migration and the Oregon trail. We present, then, some account of the prairie dog by Joel Palmer, in his *Journal of Travels Over the Rocky Mountains, To the Mouth of the Columbia River . . .*, with a company of Oregon trailers:

[June 10, 1845, near forks of the Platte.] In getting to our encampment, we passed through a large dog town. These singular communities may be seen often, along the banks of the Platte, occupying various areas, from one to five hundred acres. The one in question covered some two hundred or three hundred acres. The prairie-dog is something larger than a common sized gray squirrel, of a dun color; the head resembles that of a bulldog. . . . Their food is prairie grass. Like rabbits, they burrow in the ground, throwing out heaps of earth. . . . Some kind of police seems to be observed among them; for at the approach of man, one of the dogs will run to the entrance of a burrow, and, squatting down, utter a shrill bark. At once, the smaller part of the community will retreat to their holes, while numbers of the larger dogs will squat, like the first, at their doors, and unite in the barking. . . . It is singular, but true, that the little screech-owl and the rattlesnake keep them company in their burrows. I have frequently seen the owls, but not the snake, with them. The mountaineers, however, inform me, that they often catch all three in the same hole. The dog is eaten by the Indians, with quite a relish; and often by the mountaineers. . . .¹⁸

In Kansas, at least, the days of the prairie dog's ascendancy have passed and they are probably near extinction, along with the buffalo and the antelope with whom they were so long and intimately associated. But we will not sing their swan song here. We are hopeful, however, that Western ranchers of the Sunflower state will save a small colony here and there, that bonds of nature may still tie us to these social squirrels that shared the plains and the prairies with the pioneers.

18. From Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, v. XXX, pp. 50, 51.

Bypaths of Kansas History

ARMY PAY IN OTHER WARS

From *The Gazette*, St. Joseph, Mo., July 10, 1846.

VOLUNTEERS IN THE INFANTRY SERVICE.—The colonel of a regiment is entitled to a monthly pay of \$75, and is also allowed six rations per day, forage for four horses, and two servants; lieut. col., \$60 per month, five rations, forage for three horses, and two servants; major, \$50 per month, four rations, forage for three horses and four servants; adjutant, in addition to pay, &c. of lieutenant, \$10 and forage for two horses; captain, \$40, four rations and one servant; first lieutenant, \$30, four rations and one servant; second lieut., \$25, four rations, one servant; sergeant major, \$17; qr. master sergeant, \$17; first sergeant, \$16; sergeant, \$13; corporal, \$9; musician, \$8; private, \$7. The commanding officer of a company is entitled to \$10 per month for responsibility of arms and clothing. Officers subsistence is commuted at twenty cents per ration; forage at \$8 per month, for each horse. Officers are entitled to the pay of a private soldier, \$2.50 per month for clothing, and one ration per day, for each private servant. Under the law now before congress, a private will be allowed \$3.50 per month for clothing; it has heretofore been \$2.50. Mounted men are allowed forty cents per day for the use of their horses. The 50,000 volunteers, provided for under the law of May 13th, enroll themselves for twelve months, or during the war. When mustered into the service of the United States, they thereby become soldiers, subject to the rules and articles of war, and they should make themselves familiar, at the start with the duties which this obligation imposes.

From *The Daily Times*, Leavenworth, September 14, 1861.

U. S. REGULAR SERVICE! THREE YEARS

WANTED THREE HUNDRED SOLDIERS for the regular service. Pay \$13 per month, clothing and rations, to serve three years. Apply to commanding officer at Fort Leavenworth.

PRETTY INDIAN WOMEN?

From the *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, August 20, 1857.

The beauty of Indian maidens has been celebrated in song and story, and been told by those who professed to have seen; but we have not as yet, got sight of one of them. If any such can be found, we wish some one would bring her along, just for curiosity. We have seen squaws of all ages and conditions, but the pretty ones must have staid at home. What we have seen, are dirty, slovenly, greasy, slouchy, slumpy things, fit subjects for green-flies, enough to turn the stomach of a white man to look at them, and emitting an effluvia, to use the highly poetical figure of our friend York, "strong enough to knock a dog out of a tan-yard!" Don't talk about pretty Indian women.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

The death of Victor Murdock, editor of the Wichita *Eagle* and former congressman, July 8, 1945, brought to an end one of the most popular history features ever published by a Kansas newspaper. Mr. Murdock's interest in the early history of Wichita and the Midwest resulted in a series of sketches which regularly appeared on the front page of the Evening *Eagle* until crowded to the editorial page toward the end of the war. He had applied himself with such diligence that enough copy was available at his death to continue the series to August 18, when the final article was printed. The series ran for more than thirteen years. Titles of many of the articles were recorded from time to time on these pages.

Baker University and Kansas history is being sketched by Dr. Homer Kingsley Ebright in a series of articles which for the past three years have regularly appeared in *The Baker Orange* of Baldwin under the title, "The Historian's Column."

A series of articles entitled, "Pioneer Families of Panhandle," was a regular feature of the weekly Panhandle (Tex.) *Herald* during the summer and fall of 1945. The articles, by Mrs. Joe E. Boyd, have some Kansas interest and have been called to the society's attention by David M. Warren, publisher of the *Herald*.

Early Wichita history was featured in the July 19, 1945, issue of *Wichita Magazine*, published by the Wichita Chamber of Commerce, in observance of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the incorporation of Wichita as a town, July 21. A copy of the petition and order of incorporation, and excerpts from the city's first ordinance book were printed.

An article by Theodore W. Morse, entitled "Starting With Four Quarter Sections of Kearny County Land And a Home on Wheels, Mr. and Mrs. Joe Burnett Now Have Title to 17,600 Acres After Eighteen Years of Work," appeared in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Daily Drivers Telegram*, August 14, 1945.

Early Stillwater, Okla., history was reviewed by Dr. Berlin B. Chapman in a nine-column article, "Battle To Settle Stillwater Between Cattlemen, Farmers," published in the Stillwater (Okla.) *News-Press*, August 26, 1945.

Biographies of sixteen Clark county men who died while in the military service of the United States were printed in *The Clark County Clipper*, Ashland, August 30, 1945.

Kansas Historical Notes

Frank H. Roberts, 94, Kansas' oldest editor, died September 26, 1945. For eighty-three years he was identified with the *Oskaloosa Independent*, a newspaper established July 11, 1860, by his father, John Wesley Roberts. Today this newspaper, which proclaims under its front-page banner, "Six Months Older Than the State of Kansas; Published 85 Years by Three Generations of the Roberts Family," is now entirely of the third generation, John Wilkins Roberts being the editor. The *Independent* is also the oldest continuous weekly newspaper in Kansas published under the same name in the same town. The weekly *Kansas Chief*, established by Sol. Miller at White Cloud June 4, 1857, is still being printed and is therefore older, but it moved from White Cloud to Troy in 1872. C. C. Calnan is its present publisher. The oldest newspaper retaining its original title through the years is the *Leavenworth Times*, established as a weekly March 7, 1857, and issued as a daily since 1858. The D. R. Anthonys of Leavenworth, another famous family of editors whose third generation is now publishing the paper, did not take over the *Times* until 1871, although the senior Anthony was publisher of other papers in Leavenworth as early as 1861.

New officers of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society of northeast Johnson county elected September 6, 1945, include: Mrs. A. M. Meyers, president; Mrs. K. S. Browne, vice-president; Mrs. E. C. Marlowe, recording secretary; Mrs. Frank D. Belinder, treasurer; Mrs. John L. Barkley, corresponding secretary; Mrs. M. Y. Griffin, historian, and Mrs. A. E. Wedd, curator. Mrs. C. V. Scoville is the retiring president.

The Chase County Historical Society met in Cottonwood Falls, September 8, 1945, and reelected the following officers: George T. Dawson, Elmdale, president; Henry Rogler, Matfield Green, vice-president; Mrs. Helen Austin, Cottonwood Falls, secretary; Tom R. Wells, Elmdale, treasurer, and Mrs. Clara B. Hildebrand, Cottonwood Falls, historian. Mr. Dawson named the following to the executive committee: C. W. Hawkins, Clements; Howel H. Jones, Cedar Point; D. M. Smith and George Miller, Cottonwood Falls, and Mr. Rogler. Because of the war, the society did not meet in 1944.

Junction City officially honored its highest-ranking soldier, Lt. Gen. John C. H. (Cliff) Lee, on the general's visit to his native city September 11-13, 1945. General Lee served under General Eisenhower in World War II as chief of the army services of supply forces in the European theater of operations. Accounts of Lee's reception and biographical information were featured by the Junction City *Union* and *Republic* at the time.

Sen. B. F. Bowers was the featured speaker at the annual meeting of the Franklin County Historical Society in Ottawa, September 12, 1945. Included among the officers who were reelected are: Edmund Lister, president; B. M. Ottaway, vice-president; Mrs. J. R. Finley, secretary, and Miss Clara Kaiser, recording secretary and treasurer. J. M. Conard was elected to the board of directors to fill the vacancy caused by the death of J. E. Shinn. Other directors are: Hiram Allen, Williamsburg; Mrs. Dorothy Needham Belt, Lane, and Mrs. Ada McCracken, Ottawa.

The forty-fifth annual meeting of the Douglas County Old Settlers Association was held at Lawrence September 15, 1945. The presidential address, by Dr. Edward Bumgardner, dealt with the life of Sen. Edmund G. Ross. New officers of the association are: Mrs. Lena K. Huddleston, president; Mrs. Lena Owen, vice-president; I. F. Eberhart, secretary; Mrs. Guy Bigsby, treasurer, and John S. Akers, necrologist.

Officers of the Riley County Historical Association reelected at the annual meeting held in Manhattan, October 3, 1945, include: Walter E. McKeen, president; Mrs. G. H. Failyer, vice-president; Mrs. Medora Hays Flick, secretary; Mrs. Caroline A. Smith, treasurer, and F. I. Burt, curator. Directors are: Clyde K. Rodkey, Mrs. Eva Knox, George A. Filinger, Joe D. Haines, Mrs. F. F. Harrop, Sam C. Charlson, Miss Mary C. Lee, Mrs. Smith and Mr. McKeen. G. H. Failyer, who was elected president emeritus, died October 16. The association has taken the lead in planning for a community "Peace Memorial," honoring the veterans of World War II and other wars.

Newly-elected officers of the Ness County Historical Society which met at Ness City October 4, 1945, are: Mrs. Fred Barrows, president; Mrs. Esther Lennen-Stewart, secretary, and Lea Maranville, treasurer. Directors are: Mrs. Nina Bondurant, Mrs. Grace Beardslee and C. M. Pembleton.

The land and tenant policies of William Scully, member of a prominent land-owning and "moneyed" family of Ireland who bought thousands of acres of land in Illinois, Kansas, Nebraska and Missouri in the latter half of the nineteenth century were reviewed by Paul Wallace Gates, professor of history at Cornell University, in an article "Frontier Landlords and Pioneer Tenants," published in the June, 1945, issue of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Springfield, Ill. Scully purchased land in four Kansas counties between 1870 and 1886, Gates reported. The counties, the number of acres in his holdings, and the cost were: Marion, 55,666 acres, \$179,197; Dickinson, 1,120 acres, \$1,400 (*sic*); Butler 8,605 acres, \$77,410; Marshall, 5,115 acres, \$55,252.

The history of the Missouri-Kansas-Texas Railroad Co., which is celebrating its diamond anniversary this year, has been featured in a 132-page illustrated study by Sylvan R. Wood under the title *Locomotives of the Katy*, issued by the Railway & Locomotive Historical Society, Inc., of Boston, in January, 1944, and in a 32-page illustrated pamphlet *The Opening of the Great Southwest* issued by the company July 1, 1945. The M-K-T, which built south from Junction City, was the first railroad to enter Texas from the north.

Wichita 1866-1883, Cradle Days of a Midwestern City is the title of a recent book of limited edition, compiled and edited by R. M. "Dick" Long and printed by the McCormick-Armstrong Co., of Wichita. One hundred and nine pictures are featured. Mr. Long, who is news editor of the *Wichita Eagle*, also wrote the running story which accompanies the early-day scenes. It is an unusually attractive publication.

Contributors

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Errata in Volume XIII

Page 150, line 19, read "Albert J. Beveridge's."

The photos showing scenes along the line of the Union Pacific *facing* pages 196, 198 and 200 were taken in September and October, 1867, and not in 1868 as the caption suggests. (See Taft, Robert, "Additional Notes on the Gardner Photographs of Kansas," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. VI, pp. 175-177.)

Page 219. Line one is pi and should be struck out.

Page 274, lines 3 and 4, read "*one to two hundred dozen eggs per day*," instead of "one to two hundred eggs a week."

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