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THE  
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# THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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## THE COVER

"An Under-Ground Village" was the title *Harper's Weekly* gave this sketch which appeared in its issue of April 4, 1874. The town is possibly Sargent (now Coolidge), Kan., situated near the Kansas-Colorado boundary. The sketch was made by Paul Frenzeny and Jules Tavernier when they traveled west to the end of track on the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe in October, 1873.

# THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XIV

February, 1946

Number 1

## The Pictorial Record of the Old West

I. FRENZENY AND TAVERNIER

ROBERT TAFT  
(Copyright, 1946, by ROBERT TAFT)

### GENERAL INTRODUCTION

IN beginning this series, it seems advisable to consider how we can determine the value of a picture as a document or a record of the past. Doubtless no one will question that pictorial records are important, although professional historians in general have not often made them a matter of serious study. In fact, the most surprising circumstance is that many historians, professionals and amateurs alike, who are most meticulous about documenting their written manuscripts with source notes and arguments, use illustrations without the least attempt at documenting the source or the authenticity of the illustrations used. This practice is so common that it seems invidious to single out any one case for criticism.

Of the various types of illustrations available in modern times for the historian's use, the photograph is regarded by the author as the most important and I have treated it at length elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> This series of articles deals with the work of the artist, i. e., the illustrator or painter, as he has left us a pictorial record of the past. The past which is here re-presented is chiefly that of the plains and the Rocky Mountain area, although an occasional excursion will be made to the region still farther west. Further, the time period considered will be restricted to the nineteenth century, a century which saw the development and the disappearance of our Western frontier. The type of hand-executed picture with which we shall concern ourselves is that which is of interest to the social historian—realistic scenes from everyday life of the past and usually called by the artistic profession "genre" drawings or paintings, as distinguished from purely portrait, still life, or landscape work.

1. *Photography and the American Scene* (New York, 1938), see especially pp. 314-321; see, also, *The Kansas Magazine*, Manhattan, 1938, pp. 45-64.

From the standpoint of merit these pictures portraying the life and growth of the old West, may be divided into several groups according to the standard of evaluation used:

(1) Illustrations, sketches, drawings, paintings, made by eyewitnesses of a given scene; (2) illustrations that are imaginary but which have been made by contemporary artists who have observed and studied the environment, the characters, and the incidents depicted; (3) illustrations made by modern artists who have based their work on study of contemporary literature and pictures, either hand executed or photographic (this group lies outside the present study); (4) and lastly, illustrations made by contemporary artists which are purely imaginary with little utilization of fact or study. All of these various types may have value but for present purposes they are ranked in importance in the order given. Of course, it should be realized that the artist, unlike the photographer, frequently selects, excludes, and introduces detail at his discretion for the purpose of giving unity and emphasis to the subject depicted. Such artists, chiefly those included in the second of the above groups, can produce pictorial records of very real value if they convey the impressions of the place and time that are the contemporary prevailing ones. Thomas Moran, well known for his landscapes of the West in the period we are considering, has discussed this point and it is worth repeating here:

I place no value upon literal transcripts from Nature. My general scope is not realistic; all my tendencies are toward idealization. Of course, all art must come through Nature: I do not mean to depreciate Nature or naturalism; but I believe that a place, as a place, has no value in itself for the artist only so far as it furnishes the material from which to construct a picture. Topography in art is valueless. The motive or incentive of my *Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone* was the gorgeous display of color that impressed itself upon me. Probably no scenery in the world presents such a combination. The forms are extremely wonderful and pictorial, and, while I desired to tell truly of Nature, I did not wish to realize the scene literally but to preserve and to convey its true impression. Every form introduced into the picture is within view from a given point, but the relation of the separate parts to one another are not always preserved. For instance, the precipitous rocks on the right were really at my back when I stood at that point, yet in their present position they are strictly true to pictorial Nature; and so correct is the whole representation that every member of the expedition with which I was connected declared that he knew the exact spot which had been reproduced. My aim was to bring before the public the character of that region. The rocks in the foreground are so carefully drawn that a geologist could determine their precise nature. I treated them so in order to serve my purpose.<sup>2</sup>

2. G. W. Sheldon, *American Painters* (New York, 1879), p. 125.

Or, to quote another artist, the philosophical Kurtz, who spent several years in the frontier trading posts of the upper Missouri river during the early 1850's:

The artist's task is to improve nature's forms, make perfect her imperfections, strive not only to emulate but to excel her in the creation of beauty. Nature achieves nothing in ideal perfection, but the artist's mind can conceive of ideal beauty and clothe his ideas with correspondingly lovely forms, *i. e.*, idealize them.<sup>3</sup>

The psychological effect of the attitudes expressed by Moran and by Kurtz upon the historian interested in precision of fact is to produce skepticism of the pictorial record as a document of history. The work of such artists, however, does have value and frequently it is of higher artistic merit than that of the literal transcribers included in the first group. Possibly our judgment can best be expressed by stating that if the subject depicted is of an actual event, the historian prefers as literal a transcript as the artist can render. For general impressions of behavior and of place the second group listed above does have important value. In either case it should be remembered that we are seeing, or attempting to see, past life through other skills and from a different viewpoint than that of the written record.

This discussion may have suggested to the reader that still another set of criteria should be made in judging these pictures of the past. In any one class, differences between artists are to be observed and such questions, especially in the first class, as "Was the artist a careful and honest observer (or student)?" and "Was he a competent and satisfactory draughtsman?" must be answered to our satisfaction. The knowledge necessary to answer the first question can be secured by seeking information concerning the artist, his training, his method of work (water color, pencil sketch, etc.),<sup>4</sup> the judgment of his contemporaries, especially those who witnessed an original incident or scene, and were able to compare it with the artist's record of the event.

It is, of course, recognized that different artists in viewing the same scene will reproduce their impressions in different styles and manners. As Audubon philosophically (and resignedly) remarked on comparing George Catlin's paintings of the upper Missouri river with Audubon's own observations as he proceeded up the same river in 1843 "different travelers have different eyes."<sup>5</sup>

3. *Journal of Rudolph Freiderich Kurtz* (Washington, 1937), p. 189.

4. A water color, for example, cannot be expected to show the detail that is present in a carefully drawn pencil sketch.

5. Maria R. Audubon, *Audubon and His Journals* (London, 1898), v. 2, p. 10.

In answering the second question, even the least artistically trained individual can distinguish between a crude drawing and a well-finished one and certainly the well-finished one is to be preferred to the cruder drawing. Even crude drawings, it should be pointed out, can, at times, be tremendously important, as witness the Bruff sketches.<sup>6</sup> These drawings, crudely done and with little sense of perspective, were executed with meticulous attention to detail and portray one pioneer's experience on the overland route to California in 1849. Their importance lies in the fact that they were drawn in detail and are practically the only direct pictorial record extant of this most important and dramatic migration in American history.

Unfortunately, seldom is there available all the information which we would desire in forming a complete and competent judgment on any artist's work so far as its value to the social historian goes. The same comment, of course, can be made on the written record upon which our present histories are based. The same procedures, therefore, in passing judgment on the pictorial record must then be employed as is employed in the examination of the written record, namely, to utilize the information that is available to the best of our ability and intelligence.

The question of passing final judgment in the case of pictorial records, too, is complicated by the fact that many times the *original* work of the artist is not available if the only record of the artist is a reproduction in the form of a lithograph, a woodcut print, or an engraving. These and other forms of reproduction necessitated the hand of at least one intermediary (and usually more) who reproduced the original drawing (or painting) on stone, wood, or metal, and the faithfulness to the original must often be taken into account. Our problem is, therefore, a complex one and we can only make an attempt to open up the field and leave to future historians a more complete judgment as additional data and sources of information are added to our store of knowledge.

We should again keep clearly in mind that our chief concern is not with the artistic merit of any picture in which we are interested but rather with its value as an authentic record of our past life. As Isham has so pertinently pointed out in connection with his discussion of artists of the old West: "The subject is more [important] . . . than the purely artistic qualities displayed in its representation."<sup>7</sup> In fact, many of the artists we shall consider are so obscure

6. Georgia W. Read and Ruth Gaines, eds., *Gold Rush* (New York, 1944), 2 vols.

7. Samuel Isham, *The History of American Painting* (New York, 1927), p. 501.



and their work so poor (from an artistic point of view) that modern artists and art historians daintily hold their nose by thumb and forefinger when these "artists" are mentioned or their work examined.<sup>8</sup>

The series, of which this article is the first, will be followed by studies of other Western artists—from the standpoint of the social historian. The work of collecting data in this field was begun nearly 20 years ago and has been followed more or less persistently ever since. As a result, thousands of notes, letters, photographic copies of Western "pictures" have been accumulated from a group of nearly 200 artists.

As not all of these artists are of equal importance and as a few have been dealt with individually in biographic form, some selection will be made of the remaining individuals. The only plan followed in making the selection will be that of the author's convenience. It is hoped eventually to publish the material given in this series in monographic form and with a more logical order of presentation. The first artists selected for consideration are Paul Frenzeny and Jules Tavernier.

#### FRENZENY AND TAVERNIER

In the fall of 1873 *Harper's Weekly* commissioned two artists, Paul Frenzeny and Jules Tavernier, to make a series of sketches on an expedition that took them from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Their Western trip probably began early in September, 1873, in New York City and was finished in San Francisco sometime in the summer of 1874. Illustrations made on the expedition, however, are found in the *Weekly* for the years 1873, 1874, 1875, and 1876. The *Weekly*, modestly subtitled *A [not The] Journal of Civilization*, announced the expedition by stating:

. . . our artists, Messrs. Frenzeny and Tavernier, will tell the story of an extensive tour, commencing at New York and intended to include the most interesting and picturesque regions of the Western and Southwestern portions of this country. These gentlemen will not restrict themselves to the ordinary routes of travel. They will make long excursions on horseback into regions where railroads have not yet penetrated, where even the hardy squatter, the pioneer of civilization, has not yet erected his rude log-cabin; and the pictorial record of their journeyings will be a most valuable and entertaining series of sketches.<sup>9</sup>

8. It may be that the views of the art historian are undergoing change. In a recent issue of the *College Art Journal*, Menasha, Wis., May, 1945, p. 192, Frederick A. Sweet calls attention to the need of study of the artists of the Western expansion.

9. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 17 (November 8, 1873), pp. 961, 994. As this notice appeared after some of the sketches had already appeared in the *Weekly* (see Footnote 21) and as the artists were in Wichita on October 6, 1873 (see page 15), it is quite probable they left New York in early September or possibly in August.

The *Weekly* was correct, for the illustrations are still "a most valuable and entertaining series of sketches" and give us pictorial records of the West—towns, living conditions, transportation, industries of plain and mountain, emigrant life, Indian troubles and affairs, and minor but revealing incidents of Western life—that are nowhere else available. It is true that most of them are crudely rendered because of the medium employed for reproduction (the woodcut); one original pencil sketch, however, signed by Tavernier alone, has been found and will be discussed later. Sufficient evidence has been assembled to show that most, if not all, of the illustrations are authentic and were made from direct observations of the scenes depicted.

Jules Tavernier at the time of the overland expedition was a young French artist of 29. Born in Paris in 1844, he was for a time a student of Felix Barrias and had achieved some artistic reputation in France before the Franco-Prussian war in which he fought. One account has it that he was Communist and was exiled from France a few months after the conclusion of the war.<sup>10</sup>

Tavernier came to this country in 1871 and soon was illustrating for the newly-established New York *Graphic* and for *Harper's Weekly*.<sup>11</sup>

Of Paul Frenzeny less biographical information is available save that deducible from his published illustrations and a few scattered newspaper references.<sup>12</sup>

Presumably Frenzeny was, like Tavernier, a Frenchman. Presumably, too, he was a comparatively young man, if we may judge by his willingness to undergo the long and arduous Western trip. Frenzeny had been in this country longer than Tavernier for his first published sketches in *Harper's Weekly* appeared in 1868.<sup>13</sup> Between this date and 1873, about 20 Frenzeny sketches appeared in the *Weekly*, and were of varied character but included a number of

10. The biographical data are from obituaries in the San Francisco *Morning Call*, June 11, 1889, p. 3, col. 2, and the New York *Tribune*, June 10, 1889, p. 5, col. 5; see, also, recollections of Amadee Joullin, a well-known California artist and pupil and friend of Tavernier, in San Francisco *Sunday Call*, April 16, 1911, p. 5.

11. Tavernier's first illustration for *Harper's*, a full-page one, "The Christmas Dream," appeared in the issue for December 30, 1871, p. 1233.

12. The Division of Fine Arts, Library of Congress; the New York Public Library; the Museum of the City of New York; the Frick Art Reference Library; the New York Historical Society; the Metropolitan Museum of Art; La Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris; the California State Library; the Bohemian Club of San Francisco; and D. T. Mallett, author of *Mallett's Index of Artists*, were all consulted in 1940 and information concerning Frenzeny from these sources was meager. Examination of the *Art Index* to October, 1945, gives no entry under "Frenzeny." My friend, the late William H. Jackson, of pioneer photography fame, was acquainted with Frenzeny but could tell me little about Frenzeny's personal history or the date of his death; see, also, Footnotes 94-99.

13. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 12 (1868), pp. 200, 733, 823. The first of these sketches "Las Cumbres Railroad, Mexico—Scene in the Pass de la Mula" and the text accompanying it indicates that Frenzeny had been in Mexico before 1868.

New York City views and sketches made in the Pennsylvania coal belt.<sup>14</sup>

One of these illustrations (*Harper's Weekly*, 1869, p. 4) is titled "A Curious Custom Observed by the Greek Church in Russia," which might suggest that Frenzeny was a Russian or at least had visited Russia.

Frenzeny's partnership with Tavernier began before the Western trip, for there are two illustrations with their joint signatures in the *Weekly* prior to September, 1873. One was a double-page and fanciful group of drawings devoted to "Spring" and the other a full-page illustration, "Circus Coming to Town."<sup>15</sup>

The division of labor in this partnership can only be guessed at. Comparison of the sketches by the individuals with those bearing the joint signatures is of little aid as the wood engraver reduced nearly all illustrations to the same level. The work of Winslow Homer, C. S. Reinhart, T. S. Church, Sol Eytinge, Jr., and many others whose illustrations appeared in the same years as those of Frenzeny and Tavernier might all have come from the same pencil as far as the draftsmanship was concerned, after the engraver was through with them. Only the bold lines and grotesque figures of man and animal in the cartoons of Thomas Nast bear any individuality during this period. The magnificent wood engravings that appeared in the 1880's had few counterparts in the middle 1870's.

As the woodcut reproductions of the work of Frenzeny and Tavernier are of little aid, other information must be sought. It is known that Frenzeny was an excellent pencil artist and Tavernier a "colorist" interested in large masses, abilities which suggest that Tavernier was responsible for background and composition and Frenzeny for the foreground detail.<sup>16</sup> It is probable, too, that many of the illustrations used by the *Weekly* were drawn directly on the wood block by the artists before being sent to New York. In fact, one Denver paper reported "The artists draw their sketches on wood before sending them to the engraver."<sup>17</sup> If this procedure was the one followed, probably Frenzeny with his skill with the pencil drew the major portion of the sketch on wood, using a mirror as an aid

14. *Ibid.*, v. 13 (1869), pp. 4, 108, 116; v. 14 (1870), pp. 616, 744; v. 15 (1871), p. 360; v. 16 (1872), pp. 161, 660, 661, 669, 836, 876, 908; v. 17 (1873), pp. 145, 148, 156, 157, 468, 744, 745.

15. *Ibid.*, v. 17 (1873), pp. 296, 297, 865.

16. DeeJay Mackart, a friend of both Tavernier and Frenzeny wrote that Frenzeny "was infinitely more clever with the point than the brush."—*San Francisco Call*, July 10, 1892, p. 13, cols. 7, 8. Paintings were also in the portfolio of Western sketches made by the two artists. See Footnotes 60 and 71.

17. *The Rocky Mountain News*, February 28, 1874, p. 4. Frenzeny and Tavernier spent the winter of 1873-1874 in and around Denver. See pp. 22-24.

to transpose the necessary reversed sketch on wood. The usual signature that appears in many of their reproductions is "Frenzeny & Tavernier," although at times the signature is reversed or changed in other ways. That the artists redrew their sketches on wood is borne out by an examination of their signatures, for rather frequently a letter, either *n* or *z*, is reversed.<sup>18</sup> The reversal would be one more readily made by artists unaccustomed to drawing in reverse than by professionals trained for such work in the wood engraving plant. For their combined efforts the Harper brothers are said to have paid the two artists \$75 for a full-page illustration and \$150 for a double-page one.<sup>19</sup> As we shall see, they sold sketches to other concerns and to individuals as they traveled westward.

In many ways, Frenzeny and Tavernier were alike. Volatile and excitable, susceptible to their surroundings, imaginative and extravagant, they were a queer pair to send on a westward journey to a country about as foreign to Paris and New York as could be imagined. Frenzeny soon after he reached the plains, acquired a pointer, Judy, by name. He became greatly attached to the dog and although she was not particularly intelligent, she had a valiant defender in her owner. One can but wish that a good observer and reporter had been in the background as these two eccentric characters and their dog traveled by train, by stage coach and by horse over the plains and mountains of the West and in localities where it was still wild and woolly. Despite their highly individual personalities, their pictorial reporting is surprisingly complete. The commonplace in the West was unusual to them and they recorded it as they saw it. It might also be pointed out that they possessed an unusual sympathy for the humbler class of individuals seen on their trips; workers, emigrants, pilgrims of the plains in search of new homes, were all treated pictorially with kindness and understanding.<sup>20</sup>

The first two illustrations in the Frenzeny and Tavernier series were made in New York City itself but dealt with Western emigration which was then rapidly increasing. "An Emigrants' Boarding House in New York," a double-page illustration of one of "the

18. In their sketches appearing in *Harper's Weekly* for 1874, I have counted 21 letters reversed.

19. *San Francisco Call*, July 10, 1892, p. 13, cols. 7, 8.

20. Some of these observations will become apparent as we list or discuss the individual illustrations. For the Bohemian character of the two (chiefly concerned with Tavernier) see *San Francisco Call*, July 10, 1892, p. 13, cols. 7, 8; August 12, 1909, p. 6, cols. 6, 7; the *Sunday Call*, April 16, 1911, p. 5; *San Francisco Examiner*, March 3, 1925, p. 7, col. 1, and R. H. Fletcher, ed., *Annals of the Bohemian Club* (1872-1880), 2d ed. (San Francisco, 1900), v. 1, p. 191.

better class" houses, and "The Emigrant Wagon—On the Way To the Railway Station," a single-page illustration depicting the transportation of emigrants from the boarding house to the cars for the Western migration, were the subjects treated.<sup>21</sup> It was the custom of the *Weekly* to make comment on its illustrations, the citation to such a comment being included with the legend beneath the illustration. Occasionally the comment gives useful additional information concerning the subject of the sketch, especially when it is apparent that the information was supplied by the artists themselves.

The two initial views were followed by illustrations in and around Pittsburgh dealing with the manufacture of iron.<sup>22</sup> Included in this same series was an illustration depicting a secret meeting of coal miners—the locality not specifically stated, other than "in Pennsylvania."<sup>23</sup>

The first of the trans-Mississippi sketches appears in the issue of *Harper's Weekly* for November 8, 1873, but to aid in understanding the work of the artists, their general route west from the Mississippi should be traced before giving consideration to the individual illustrations. They apparently crossed the Mississippi river at Hannibal, Mo. From Hannibal, the pair traveled on the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway across Missouri to Fort Scott and Parsons, Kan. They proceeded on the same railroad across Indian territory to Denison, Tex., the terminus of the railroad. Construction of the line to Denison had been completed only a few months before the arrival of Frenzeny and Tavernier. After their visit at Denison, the artists turned northward across the Indian territory and eventually reached Wichita—probably accompanying a cattle drive at least part of the way. From Wichita the general route was west along the Santa Fe railroad through southern and western Kansas to the railroad terminus at Granada, Colo. By stage they then traveled to Pueblo, Colo., and then by rail to Denver. They remained in Denver during the winter of 1873-1874, then visited Fort Laramie in Wyoming territory, the Red Cloud Agency in Nebraska and finally returned to the Union Pacific railroad traveling west to San Francisco, after a side trip to Salt Lake City.<sup>24</sup>

The sketches for the November 8 issue of the *Weekly* include eight

21. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 17 (October 18, 1873), pp. 920, 921, 940.

22. *Ibid.*, v. 17 (November 1, 1873), pp. 964, 965, three illustrations; on p. 993 (November 8, 1873), one illustration of eight views.

23. *Ibid.*, v. 18 (January 31, 1874), p. 105, single page in size. The men depicted were said to be members of the famed "Molly M'Guire Secret Society."

24. The evidence for this route will be presented in the text which follows.

illustrations, one of them being a left-over from the iron manufacturing scenes at Pittsburgh, previously mentioned. The seven remaining views are obviously scenes in southeastern Kansas, "A Sunny Home on the Neosho River," "Herding with Comfort" (depicts a settler with an umbrella herding a few cattle on the prairie), a street scene entitled "A Market Day in Parsons City—18 Months Old," "Taking Water in the Prairie" (locomotive and train on a treeless plain), "Prairie Chickens for Sale," "A Surprise Party," and "Going to Church"—the last three illustrations depicting various incidents of settler life. Unfortunately there are no Parsons' newspapers available for this period as newspaper comment is one of the valuable methods for checking on the accuracy of the scenes depicted. The next group of sketches (four on one page) belong geographically to the above group of seven.<sup>25</sup> They include "In the Emigrant Train," "Switched Off," "Building the Log-Cabin," and "Laying the Fences." The first two are emigrant scenes and were probably made along the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway. The first shows the interior of a passenger car at night filled with emigrants and their belongings; the second, "Switched Off," depicts a group of emigrants "sketched from an actual scene," the text tells us, huddled about a closed depot waiting in the rain for their connecting train. "In this case," the description reads, "the emigrant party, which included old people, delicate women, and children, were compelled to remain all night exposed to a cold, drenching rain." The pictured plight of the distressed travelers may have been due to the lack of coördination in the recently organized M. K. & T. (a combination of many smaller systems) or to the fact that "emigrant cars" were frequently attached to freight trains and the emigrant cars switched off at way stations so that additional freight could be added to the trains; emigrant travel apparently being regarded as a third or fourth-class mode of transportation.<sup>26</sup>

25. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 18 (January 24, 1874), p. 76; the comment will be found on p. 78.

26. For the early history of the M. K. & T. see *The Great South-West* (a monthly house organ of the M. K. & T.), Sedalia, Mo., June, 1874, and subsequent issues; Sylvan R. Wood, *Locomotives of the Katy* (Boston, 1944), pp. 8-19; also *Report of the Commissioners of the M. K. and T. Railway Co.* (New York, 1888), pp. 2, 3; map in *Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway Company, Report To Stockholders, 1903* (Evening Post Job Print, New York); A. T. Andreas-W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), pp. 250, 251.

From *The Great South-West*, we obtain some of our information on Frenzeny's and Tavernier's itinerary as it contains a number of illustrations signed by these artists and which appear in this publication as follows: Views in Hannibal and Sedalia, Mo., issue of July, 1874; depot in Parsons, Kan., November, 1874; Denison, Tex., August, 1874; Arkansas river valley (near Fort Gibson, I. T.), June, 1874; Neosho valley, July, 1874; interior of passenger car, M. K. & T., November, 1874. Several of these illustrations were used a number of times in different issues of *The Great South-West*. I have assumed, as seems reasonable, that these illustrations were made on the trip beginning in the fall of 1873, for there is record of only one trip through the West by these two artists.

The Frenzeny and Tavernier sketches listed below are those found in the *Weekly* showing scenes in Indian territory and Texas and secured as the artists traveled by the M. K. & T. to Denison, Tex.<sup>27</sup> As can be seen, they are not arranged according to the chronological order of their appearance in the *Weekly* but are grouped geographically. The appearance of the sketches in the *Weekly* undoubtedly would be determined solely by the availability of the sketches (dependent upon the promptness of the artists in sending them to New York), and the needs of the individual issues of the *Weekly*.

1. "United States Signal Service—Watching the Storm," Fort Gibson, I. T. (about  $\frac{2}{3}$  p.), *Harper's Weekly*, v. 18 (March 21, 1874), p. 267.

2. "In the Indian Territory," seven outline sketches on one page, including Fort Gibson, *ibid.*, v. 19 (May 15, 1875), p. 396. The sketches are not signed but p. 406 of the text credits them to Frenzeny and Tavernier.

3. "Vigilance Court in Session" (full page), *ibid.*, v. 18 (April 11, 1874), p. 326.

4. "An Oasis Along the Track" (the cover page), *ibid.*, v. 18 (March 21, 1874), p. 249.

5. "Arkansas Pilgrims," from Arkansas to Texas through Indian territory (about  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.), *ibid.*, v. 18 (April 4, 1874), p. 306.

6. "Arkansas Pilgrims in Camp" (about  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.), *ibid.*, v. 18 (April 25, 1874), p. 361.

7. "A Freshet in the Red River, Texas" (about  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.), *ibid.*, v. 18 (April 25, 1874), p. 361.

8. "Sugar-Making in Texas" (about  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.), *ibid.*, v. 18 (April 4, 1874), p. 307.

9. "A Deer Drive in the Texas 'Cross-Timber'" (double page), *ibid.*, v. 18 (February 28, 1874), pp. 206, 207.

10. "A Saturday Noon in a Southwestern Town" (the cover page), *ibid.*, v. 18 (July 25, 1874), p. 613.

11. "The Texas Cattle Trade—Guarding the Herd" (about  $\frac{1}{2}$  p.), *ibid.*, v. 18 (March 28, 1874), p. 272.

12. "Calling the Night Guard," interior of bunk house (about  $\frac{1}{2}$  page), *ibid.*, v. 18 (March 28, 1874), p. 272.

The M. K. & T. ran in a line southwesterly across eastern Indian territory; Fort Gibson being nearly half-way to the Texas line.<sup>28</sup> The U. S. army, then in charge of weather reports and surveys through its signal service, maintained a weather station at Fort Gibson, the only one in the southern plains region until Santa Fe,

27. In addition to the illustrations themselves, and those listed in Footnote 26, we may add as further proof of the artists' actual appearance in Texas, the following item from the *Rocky Mountain News*, Denver, November 6, 1873, p. 4, the day after their arrival in Denver: "Messrs. Frenzeny and Tavernier, artists for Harper's Weekly, . . . have made an extensive tour of Texas, Indian Territory, and southern Colorado, where they have made a large number of interesting sketches of frontier life."

28. See Footnote 26 and map of the West showing army posts and Indian reservations, *Harper's Weekly*, v. 18 (1874), p. 691.

N. M., was reached. The first illustration on the list depicted observers on the tower of the station watching the approach of a storm; a small vignette showed the interior of the station.

"An Oasis Along the Track," probably also sketched in Indian territory, shows a mule-powered pump at a lone way station, storing water in a reservoir for future train use.

The end of the M. K. & T. track, as already has been pointed out, was in Denison, Tex., when Frenzeny and Tavernier traveled west in 1873. Denison was four or five miles south of the Red river, the boundary between Indian territory (Oklahoma) and Texas, and on the Old Texas road that came down from Fort Gibson. Before the coming of the railroad, the Old Texas road was the highway of travel for southern-bound emigrants and still earlier for the Forty-niners.<sup>29</sup> These facts, together with the Denison illustration previously noted (Footnote 26), indicate that several of the remaining sketches listed above were made in or near the vicinity of Denison. There is no precise information now available, save that furnished by the *Weekly* illustration themselves, how much farther into Texas the artists traveled than the border town of Denison. They apparently spent little time in the town of Denison itself as Mr. E. R. Dabney of the University of Texas library has searched for me the files of the *Denison News* for 1873 and 1874 without finding any mention of the names of Frenzeny and Tavernier.

"A Freshet in the Red River, Texas," the two "Arkansas Pilgrims," the "Vigilance Court in Session" (locality stated as near the Indian territory-Texas boundary)—all, it is reasonable to assume, fall in such a group. Denison, too, or the nearby country, marked the beginning of some of the important northward cattle trails<sup>30</sup> and the two sketches of the Texas cattle trade may have been sketched not far from Denison. "Calling the Night Guard" is more than faintly suggestive of Remington's illustrations made many years later. "A Saturday Noon in a Southwestern Town" is not identified save that it was "a border town" but the watermelons and the negroes in the sketch fix its locality as Texas without much doubt. It possibly may be a view of Denison itself. Unfortunately the store signs do not yield a positive method of identification.

The most impressive illustration of this group is the double-page "A Deer Drive in the Texas 'Cross-Timber'." As Denison is near the western edge of the Eastern Cross Timbers, this sketch also

29. *The Denison [Tex.] Guide*, American Guide Series (Denison, 1939), pp. 11-15.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 13.



could have been based on the artists' impressions of the vicinity near Denison. An exceptionally good word description of the Cross Timbers and of deer hunting accompanies the illustration which strongly suggests that part of the material was a report of the artists' own experience.

"The camps at night," the report reads in describing a deer hunt of several days, "present a very picturesque appearance. Bright fires illuminate the scene, the horses are picketed in the rich grass, hunters and hounds gather in groups about the fires, and songs and stories and feasting are kept up till late in the night. Then, rolled in blankets, the men lie down to sleep, and silence reigns in the great forest."

### KANSAS

Upon the completion of the Texas part of the Frenzeny-Tavernier "expedition," the artists turned north again and returned to Kansas. Their first sketches on their return were probably made in and near Wichita, then the cattle-shipping center of this Western industry. The complete list of Kansas sketches, with the exception of those described on page 10, and again arranged geographically, include:

1. Nine sketches on pages 386 and 387, Wichita and the cattle trade, *Harp-er's Weekly*, v. 18 (May 2, 1874). [Several in this group are reproduced in the picture supplement accompanying this article which will be found between pp. 32 and 33.]
2. "A Kansas Land-Office" (cover page), *ibid.*, v. 18 (July 11, 1874), p. 573. [Reproduced in the picture supplement.]
3. "Fighting the Fire" (about ½ page), *ibid.*, v. 18 (February 28, 1874), p. 192.
4. "A Prairie Wind-Storm" (full page), *ibid.*, v. 18 (May 30, 1874), p. 460.
5. "Limestone in Kansas" (about ½ page), *ibid.*, v. 18 (September 12, 1874), p. 760.
6. "'Busted!'—A Deserted Railroad Town in Kansas" (about ½ page), *ibid.*, v. 18 (February 28, 1874), p. 192. [Reproduced in the picture supplement.]
7. "Curing Hides and Bones" (about ½ page), *ibid.*, v. 18 (April 4, 1874), p. 307. [Reproduced in the picture supplement.]
8. "Slaughtered For the Hide" (cover page), *ibid.*, v. 18 (December 12, 1874), p. 1013.
9. "An Under-Ground Village" (about ½ page), *ibid.*, v. 18 (April 4, 1874), p. 306. [Reproduced on the cover of this issue.]

Fortunately, for the first group of sketches listed above, we have valuable contemporary comment which appeared in the *Wichita Eagle* for April 30, 1874 (p. 3, col. 2). The comment reads:

Wichita and her trade has been immortalized by illustration. For some months past *Harper's Weekly* has contained pictorial sketches of the west and southwest, drawn by Frenzeny and Tavernier. Many of these delineations were of scenes connected with the life of the cowboy and the hunter. The supplement of that paper for May 2nd contains nine pictures, all relating to the cattle trade. No. 1 shows the process of branding with a hot iron the initials or the monogram of the owner. No. 2 represents a long winding herd enroute for Wichita. No. 3 represents Clear Water on the Ninnescah, in this county, with John Dunscomb's store in the foreground, and Ward, McKee and Co's grocery store in the back, with a lot of boys scattered around in conversation, while their horses are feeding out of a trough in front of the awning of John's place. No. 4 represents the milling process, or a "rodeo" in which thousands of head of cattle are rounded up and circled around and around,—so often witnessed here. No. 5 shows the process of "cutting out" cattle from the main herd. No. 6 shows a camp of cattle men out on the herd grounds, west of Wichita. The sun is just rising as the boys are taking their breakfast. In the dim distance is the herd. Two are coming off the night-watch, and others in camp are preparing to take their place through the day. No. 7 shows the cars, pens, and the way the cattle are loaded for eastern markets. No. 8 is a view of Main street, Wichita, from its intersection with Douglas avenue looking north. While it does not do that street justice it is nevertheless recognizable. The last cut represents a party of drovers who have sold out their cattle, bought a Moser wagon, loaded in their outfit and are bidding the Wichita boys good bye until another season. The illustrations are vivid and true to life and to the character of the scenes represented, showing that the artists had studied their subjects.

Comment on this group of pictures, possibly the most important set of the entire series, also was made in the *Weekly* which called Wichita "the grand central station for the cattle trade" and pointed out that the drive from Texas through Indian territory took four to five months.

The second of the Kansas sketches, the "Land Office," is a most interesting one as it represents a typical "industry." It also was made at Wichita, for the map in the background bears the legend "Sedgewick [*sic*] County." Wichita, it should be remarked for non-Kansans, is located in Sedgwick county. It will be noted that it was published much later than the other Wichita sketches, a fact supporting our argument on page 11.

It has been possible to determine with considerable exactness from two sources when these Wichita illustrations were actually sketched. The *Emporia News* of October 17, 1873 (p. 3, col. 2), reported on that day:

Paul Frenzeny, and Jules Tavernier, representing Harper's Weekly, are here for the purpose of making sketches of the scenery here for the pages of the great illustrated paper. They have been to Wichita for some days taking

various views of that city, and of droves of Texas cattle, etc. We trust every favor will be shown the talented artists during their stay with us. The enterprise of the Harpers in sending artists this far into the west to make sketches for their great favorite illustrated paper is worthy of special note, and we are glad that the *Weekly* is well patronized here.

From this comment, it appears that Frenzeny and Tavernier were in Wichita during the first few weeks in October, 1873, but we can be more precise about the date than "the first few weeks." The Wichita Public Museum possesses an original pencil sketch signed only by Jules Tavernier in the lower right corner of the sketch; dated in the upper left corner "Oct. 6, 1873"; and in script on the lower left corner is the notation "Maine [*sic*] Street from Eagle Bloc [*sic*]." The view is of Wichita and is the only original sketch included in the Frenzeny-Tavernier portfolio of 1873-1874 which has been located; a portfolio which must have contained hundreds of sketches which would now be priceless.<sup>31</sup>

This Wichita sketch was probably bought by some interested citizen of Wichita as there is additional evidence that the artists sold sketches locally as they made their way West. The existence of the lone Wichita sketch and the fact that no Emporia sketches appeared in *Harper's*, although the *News* comment indicates that the artists were at work in that town, shows this fact quite clearly.

Although no sketches of Emporia appeared in the *Weekly* it is quite possible that sketches three and four of our Kansas list were made near Emporia. Prairie fires were of common experience in the days when much of the open country was unplowed and grass-covered. Autumn fires when the grass was tall and dry at times reached magnificent and terrifying proportions. Indeed, the *Emporia News* reports prairie fires in nearly every issue during October and November in 1873 and on November 14 reported, "Prairie fires have blackened the prairies almost all around us. . . ."

"A Prairie Wind-Storm," depicting a pioneer woman in a horse-drawn wagon, her husband attempting to calm the terror-stricken horses at the approach of a dark and violent storm, is again an incident that was common in the fall on the open prairies. The illustration recalls the far from easy life that our early settlers experienced.

The locality of "Limestone in Kansas" I have not been able to identify with certainty but I believe that it must be either Fort Scott or Florence. The illustration shows a row of huge lime kilns

31. The Wichita sketch was recently reproduced, although incorrectly dated, as illustration No. 33 in *Wichita 1866-1883—Cradle Days of a Midwestern City* (Wichita, 1945), edited by R. M. "Dick" Long.

where "was made two-thirds of all the lime used in the state." Statistical data is lacking that would enable us to determine which of the two towns was meant but more probably it was Fort Scott.<sup>32</sup>

The next four sketches on our Kansas list (Nos. 6, 7, 8 and 9) are to my mind the most interesting of the entire Frenzeny and Tavernier series. They were made as the artists traveled west from Emporia on the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe (which as all Westerners know, does not start from Phil-i-del-fee-aye, as the current popular tune has it). Our evidence for this statement must be proved as no localities are given in the *Weekly* for these illustrations. In the first place the scenes are those of southwest Kansas through which the Santa Fe, in local parlance, made its way. In the second place, the Denver papers, in noting their arrival in that city, state that the artists came from *southern* Colorado,<sup>33</sup> as they would if they traveled the Santa Fe. The only other route to Denver would be by way of the Kansas Pacific which would have brought them into Denver directly from the east. Emporia was on the main line of the Santa Fe and not the Kansas Pacific. The trip west from Emporia would mean retracing their "steps" as far as Newton<sup>34</sup> for we have seen that Emporia was reached after the artists had been in Wichita. To clinch our argument, that the trip was made through southwest Kansas on the Santa Fe, we can point out that the two artists registered at the American House in West Las Animas, Colorado territory, early in November, 1873.<sup>35</sup>

West Las Animas was on the stage route from the end of the Santa Fe rail (which in the fall of 1873 was at Granada, C. T., 12 miles west of the Kansas-Colorado line) and Pueblo (133 miles west of Granada), in southern Colorado, where rail connections could again be made on the Denver and Rio Grande to Denver,<sup>36</sup>

32. The *Fourth Annual Report* (1875) of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture (Topeka, 1875), p. 120, mentions an extensive manufactory in operation at Fort Scott. On the other hand mention of production of lime and limestone at Florence will be found in a pamphlet edited by Stephen C. Marcou, *A Description of Marion County, Kansas* (Marion Centre, 1874), pp. 8, 11; in *Kansas in 1875* (Topeka, 1875), p. 15, the statement is made "3,000 carloads [of stone] were shipped" from Florence in 1874; and in *The Kansas Handbook*, J. S. Boughton, publisher (Lawrence, 1878), the statement is made on page 14 that the most extensive lime kilns and stone quarries in the state were in Florence. It will be noted that Boughton's comment is made some four or five years after the *Fourth Annual Report* (which makes no specific mention of lime kilns or quarries at Florence) and an examination of the data given in Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, pp. 1264, 1265, indicates that extensive quarrying did not begin in Florence until 1873, the year the artists were through Florence on the A. T. and S. F. railroad. Since Fort Scott was on the M. K. & T. it seems more probable the illustration was made there on their original and southward trip through Kansas.

33. *Rocky Mountain News*, November 6, 1873, p. 4.

34. A short branch of the Santa Fe ran north from Wichita to the main line at Newton.

35. Las Animas (Colo.) *Leader*, November 8, 1873, p. 3, col. 2, has this entry under "West Las Animas Items": "The following were the arrivals at the American House this week, as furnished us by the affable Geo. D. Williamson, Clerk; Patrick Shanley, Kit Carson, Col.; . . . P. Frenzeny, New York City; Jules Tavernier, do. . . ."

36. Glenn Danford Bradley, *The Story of the Santa Fe* (Boston, 1920), pp. 140, 141.

some 100 miles or more north of Pueblo. Therefore, there can be little doubt that the Santa Fe was the route traveled by the artists to railhead.

"Busted," I am assuming, was the first of these sketches made on the westward trip from Emporia. As can be seen (see picture supplement) it is at least partly imaginative but the sense of haunting forsakenness created by the illustration makes it one not easily forgotten. I first saw the picture over 15 years ago and its image has frequently flashed across my memory in the intervening years. It was in fact, the illustration that started my first work on these artists. Goldsmith in nearly 400 lines was not able to produce the feeling of utter desolation that can be obtained by a single glance at this illustration of the Great Plains' version of "The Deserted Village."

The deserted town may be a composite view based on several such towns seen by the artists—for Kansas has had its share of "busted" towns—but there is record of a town whose description fits surprisingly well with the illustration. In July, 1872, the town of Zarah, Barton county, was quite a little village and the first town in the county. It was about a mile east of a military reservation on which was located Fort Zarah.<sup>37</sup> The Santa Fe railroad reached Great Bend, about three miles west of Zarah, on August 5, 1872,<sup>38</sup> but missed Zarah by about a mile and Zarah disappeared within a year or so.

"Curing Hides and Bones," I am reasonably sure, was drawn at Dodge City late in October, 1873, for it compares with considerable exactness to the description given by Robert M. Wright, one of the founders of Dodge City and the author of *Dodge City, The Cowboy Capital* (Wichita, 1913, p. 156), which reads:

One of Dodge City's great industries was the bone trade. It certainly was immense. There were great stacks of bones, piled up by the railroad track—hundreds of tons of them. It was a great sight to see them. They were stacked up way above the tops of the box cars, and often there were not sufficient cars to move them. Dodge excelled in bones, like she did in buffalo hides, for there were then ten times the number of carloads shipped out of Dodge, than out of any other town in the state, and that is saying a great deal, for there was a vast amount shipped from every little town in western Kansas.

The fall and winter of 1872-1873 saw professional buffalo hunting reaching its height,<sup>39</sup> and in the fall of 1873, Col. R. I. Dodge,

37. Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, pp. 762, 763, 769.

38. Bradley, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

39. E. Douglas Branch, *The Hunting of the Buffalo* (New York, 1929), p. 158.

after riding out from Fort Dodge, some four or five miles from Dodge City, wrote:

Where there were myriads of buffalo the year before, there were now myriads of carcasses. The air was foul with sickening stench, and the vast plain, which only a short twelvemonth before teemed with animal life, was a dead, solitary, putrid desert.<sup>40</sup>

The buffalo were not yet gone in the fall of 1873 but they were farther removed from the lines of the railroads; and the illustration, "Slaughtered for the Hide," shows a scene of wholesale slaughter of the buffalo almost as bad as that suggested by Colonel Dodge. "Our artists spoke with hunters on the plains, who boasted of having killed two thousand head of buffalo apiece in one season. At this rate of slaughter, the buffalo must soon become extinct," read the description accompanying "Slaughtered for the Hide."<sup>41</sup>

The last of the group of Kansas sketches, "An Under-Ground Village," is unique. I know of no other illustration by any artist which depicts this aspect of town life on the Great Plains. At first glance, one might think that the illustration was the result of the fantastic imagination of the artists but evidence is available which shows that the illustration was probably based on fact. The dugouts which constitute the underground village, were common habitations of the early settlers on the plains. Illustrations of individual dugouts are fairly common; it is the collection of a number of these dugouts together that constitute the uniqueness of the illustration in question.<sup>42</sup>

In a country devoid of timber, yet supplied with an endless quantity of "moving" air, the dugout at first was almost a necessity. If the reader wonders about the nature of a dugout, the following description by a traveler, who made a Western trip but a short time before Frenzeny and Tavernier, can be quoted. The dugout, he reports, "is simply a burrow with a pitched roof of sod, seldom having a window, the door answering this purpose, however inelegant in appearance, is truly a snug place in which to spend the blustery winter days. There your plainsman can lie back at his ease on his bed of robes, and think it a bed of roses and hear with philosophic

40. R. I. Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West* (New York, 1877), p. 133.

41. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 18 (December 12, 1874), pp. 1013, 1023. For the feeble efforts made by the Kansas legislature to control the indiscriminate slaughter of the buffalo, see E. O. Stene, "The Development of Kansas Wildlife Conservation Policies," *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*, v. 47 (1945), p. 291. In 1874, the Topeka correspondent of the *New York Tribune* described the use to which buffalo bones, hides and meat—2,000,000 pounds of it—were put; see "The Buffalo and His Bones," the *Tribune*, November 27, 1874, p. 3, col. 2 (nearly a column).

42. For an excellent illustration of an individual dugout, see Edwin White's sketch in Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 253, or Henry Worrall's sketch in W. E. Webb's *Buffalo Land* (Cincinnati and Chicago, 1872), p. 329.

calmness the peltings of the rude storm without.”<sup>43</sup> The plainsman’s philosophic calmness was no doubt rudely interrupted from time to time as he scratched vigorously, for dugouts soon became the habitation of insect as well as human population. “The land of the free” went the ditty of the dugout dwellers of the 1870’s:

The land of the bedbug, grasshopper and flea,  
I’ll sing of its praises, I’ll tell of its fame  
While starving to death on my government claim.

Another observer who traveled west from Dodge City on the Santa Fe also saw dugouts along the line of the railroad. “On the morning after my arrival in Dodge City,” he wrote late in 1872, “I got into a caboose car and went eighty miles further, within a very short distance of Fort Aubrey.<sup>44</sup> . . . Twenty miles apart, out in this wild country, there are stations, consisting of a water-tank and a dugout. The dugouts are simply holes in the ground, or cellars with roofs over them. They are the most convenient houses for this windy country that can be built, and are exceedingly warm; they are used as boarding houses for the section hands, and at present for eating houses for those who may travel on construction trains.”<sup>45</sup>

Subsequent newspaper accounts, written a few years later, report dugouts at Dodge City, Larned and Kendall; the last two towns being west of Dodge City on the Santa Fe.<sup>46</sup>

There is thus ample evidence that dugouts existed along the line of the Santa Fe westward from Dodge City and the question naturally arises as to whether the illustration depicted any of the towns along the railroad. If it does, the town must be one of three: Dodge City, Sargent (now Coolidge), Kan., or Granada, Colo., the

43. Pleasant Hill (Mo.) *Leader*, November 22, 1872, p. 2, col. 3. The quotation is from a letter dated “Wallace, Kas., Nov. 15, 1872.” Wallace was on the Kansas Pacific north of the Santa Fe line and the traveler reported that at Wallace some of the habitations were dugouts.

44. Fort Aubrey was about eight miles west of the present town of Kendall, Kan.—*Kansas, A Guide To the Sunflower State* (New York, 1939), p. 390.

45. Pleasant Hill (Mo.) *Leader*, January 3, 1873, p. 2. An illustration of one of these way stations on the Santa Fe appears as a wood engraving in Frank Fossett’s *Colorado* (Denver, 1877), p. 446. The account in the *Leader* cited in this note also gives some description of the town of Dodge City.

46. In the North Topeka *Times*, December 20, 1878, are the recollections of a traveler of 1873. “During the year 1873 we ‘roughed it’ in the West,” he writes. “Our first stopping place was the famous Dodge City, at the time a perfect paradise for gamblers, cutthroats and ‘girls.’ On our first visit the buildings in the town were not buildings, with one or two exceptions, but tents and dug-outs. Every one in the town, nearly, sold whisky, or kept restaurant, perhaps, both. The A., T. and S. F. R. R. was just then working its way up the low-banked Arkansas, and Dodge was the frontier town.” “The unsightly dugouts” of early Kendall are mentioned in the *Syracuse Journal*, June 11, 1886, p. 3, col. 3. The same issue of the *Journal* (p. 2, col. 1) mentions “the inevitable tank and . . . a store in a sort of cellar” at Lakin. The dugout store was still there in 1879, when A. A. Hayes, Jr., and W. A. Rogers went through Lakin on the Santa Fe, for Rogers drew a sketch of it; see A. A. Hayes, Jr., *New Colorado and The Santa Fe Trail* (New York, 1880), p. 151.

end of rail. Our reason for this conclusion is that the illustration, as can be seen, depicts a depot and these three towns were the only ones that possessed, at the time of the artists' visit, frame buildings as depots.<sup>47</sup> I do not believe that the underground town could be Dodge City as Dodge had a hotel and dance hall by 1873 (see Footnote 45), and these were probably above ground. It is possible, of course, that more of the town than is actually depicted in the illustration existed but did not appear in the viewpoint that the artists selected.

I believe, too, that the illustration was probably not Granada for a contemporary newspaper account states that the town contained in August, 1873, "about fifty buildings,<sup>48</sup> built mainly in a row about 80 feet north of the railroad track."<sup>49</sup> If the artists did not purposely foreshorten the foreground, the illustration could not represent Granada as the distance from tracks to "town" in the illustration is quite obviously less than 80 feet.

The only remaining alternative then is that the illustration shows the town of Sargent and we will therefore tentatively assign the illustration to this locality.<sup>50</sup> Some reader, I trust, will be able to produce evidence that will establish the locality of the "Under-Ground Village" with certainty.

#### COLORADO TERRITORY

The Frenzeny-Tavernier sketches made in the centennial state, as these artists continued on from Kansas, can be listed as follows:

1. "Staging in the Far West."—Four illustrations on one page entitled: "Throwing Out the Mail"; "Taking the Morning 'Slumgullion'"; "Calling For the Relays," and "Home Station on the Plains," *Harper's Weekly*, v. 18 (July 4, 1874), p. 556.

47. *Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad Co.*, for the year ending December 31, 1874 (Boston, 1875), p. 35. Other stops between Dodge City and Granada were Cimarron, Pierceville, Sherlock, Lakin, and Aubrey. These possessed windmills and water towers only.—*Ibid.*, p. 37.

48. Note that no comment is made on the construction of the "buildings," however.

49. *The Daily Chieftain*, Pueblo, Colo., August 26, 1873, p. 2, col. 2. Another contemporary written description, which offers no further clues, will be found in the *Las Animas (Colo.) Leader*, July 4, 1873, p. 2. It was written two days before the Santa Fe reached Granada.

50. A brief description of the town of Sargent appears in *The Daily Chieftain*, Pueblo, Colo., February 19, 1873, p. 2, but it is of little value in identifying the illustration. Sargent was almost on the Kansas-Colorado line. The Santa Fe was constructed to this point by December 28, 1872; Bradley, *op. cit.*, p. 85. J. H. Conard of Coolidge, long a resident of western Kansas, has been interested in the history of Hamilton county. As Hamilton county contains the towns Coolidge (formerly Sargent), Syracuse and Kendall, all on the line of the Santa Fe, I wrote him some months ago describing the illustration "An Under-Ground Village." Mr. Conard replied that he had talked with J. M. Ward, of Coolidge, who lived in the town in the early days of the Santa Fe. Mr. Ward told him that the picture would fit any of the three towns, Dodge City, Sargent (now Coolidge) or Granada, C. T. "That is about the way all the towns near here started." Some of the results of Mr. Conard's research on the history of Hamilton county from 1873 to 1887 will be found in the *Syracuse Journal*, November 3 and 10, 1944.



2. Mining in Blackhawk, Colo. (nine illustrations on two pages), *ibid.*, v. 18 (May 30, 1874), pp. 456, 457.

3. "Gold and Silver Mining, Colorado—A Honey-Combed Mountain" (about  $\frac{1}{2}$  page), *ibid.*, v. 18 (July 18, 1874), p. 597.

4. "On the Way To New Diggings—Halt in a Rough Pass of the Rocky Mountains" (double-page), *ibid.*, v. 19 (May 1, 1875), pp. 360, 361. [Reproduced in the picture supplement.]

5. "Irrigation in Colorado—Letting Water Into a Side Sluice-Way" (cover page), *ibid.*, v. 18 (June 20, 1874), p. 509.

6. "Trout-Hatching in Colorado" (about  $\frac{1}{2}$  page), *ibid.*, v. 18 (July 4, 1874), p. 565.

7. "A Bear Hunt in the Rocky Mountains" (about  $\frac{1}{2}$  page), *ibid.*, v. 20 (January 15, 1876), p. 45.

8. "Returning To Camp From a Bear-Hunt" (about  $\frac{1}{2}$  page), *ibid.*, v. 19 (May 29, 1875), p. 444.

9. "Shooting Antelopes From a Railroad Train in Colorado" (full page), *ibid.*, v. 19 (May 29, 1875), p. 441.

10. "A Bird Colony [Swallows] on Lake St. Mary" (about  $\frac{1}{2}$  page), *ibid.*, v. 18 (July 18, 1874), p. 604.

Although the individual sketches of "Staging in the Far West" are not identified as to locality I have assumed that they belong to the Colorado group. If I am correct, the originals were then made on the stage route between Granada, the railhead of the Santa Fe, and Pueblo. As we shall see, the two artists made at least one other stage trip (from Cheyenne to Fort Laramie) but the architecture of the building seen in "Throwing Out the Mail" is so distinctly of the Mexican type that southern Colorado seems surely indicated.

The stage route between Granada and Pueblo was well over 130 miles.<sup>51</sup> The trip between the two towns was made three times a week in both directions so that several days were required for the passage.<sup>52</sup> As is evident from Footnote 35, Las Animas or more exactly West Las Animas, was one of the way stations. Possibly the sketch "Home Station on the Plains" was that at Pueblo but the mountains in the background seem somewhat exaggerated if this is the case. The artists do not seem to have stopped at Pueblo (or at least no mention is made of them in the Pueblo *Chieftain*), but went directly to Denver on the narrow-gauge Denver and Rio Grande which had been completed in June, 1872.<sup>53</sup>

The artists were at West Las Animas sometime during the week of November 1-8, 1873, from the record in the Las Animas *Leader*,

51. Bradley, *op. cit.*, p. 141, gives the rail distance as 133 miles and the stage route was undoubtedly longer.

52. Pueblo *Chieftain*, November 5, 1873, p. 4, col. 1.

53. Bradley, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

but they arrived in Denver on November 5, 1873.<sup>54</sup> These dates would mean that, at the longest, four days were required to make the trip from West Las Animas to Denver, but the time of course might be less—depending on their arrival and stay at West Las Animas. Further, since they were at Emporia on October 17 and in Denver on November 5, the entire trip from Emporia was made in slightly less than three weeks. How much of this time was employed in stop-overs to make sketches and how much in traveling we do not know for certain but the travel alone could probably have been accomplished in a week or less.

The artists spent the winter in and around Denver, for there is frequent mention of them in the Denver press, the first notice appearing the day after their arrival and the last on March 20, 1874. They were in and out of Denver on numerous side excursions but rented a studio in "Schleier's block" for much of their work.<sup>55</sup>

All of the sketches which are included in the Colorado list, with the exception of the first group, were probably made on these side excursions. The second, "Mining in Colorado," is identified in the text as the works of the Boston and Colorado Smelting Company at Blackhawk, some 25 or 30 miles west of Denver. The text of nearly a column in the *Weekly* describes at some length the details of the smelting process.<sup>56</sup> The third illustration is not identified as to locality but shows many individual miners with their own shafts literally honeycombing the side of a mountain; a sight that the author saw repeated some dozen years ago when "the great depression" brought back again the individual "miner."

"On the Way To New Diggings," a long mule train in the bend of a mountain road, is the best engraved of all the Frenzeny-Tavernier illustrations and is most realistic in its appearance. "Our artists," wrote *Harper's Weekly* in its comment, "traveled for several days with such a party, and the picture we give is an accurate transcript of an actual scene, both as regards the picturesque and romantic pass where the halt has taken place and the figures and costumes of the miners."<sup>57</sup>

That the artists recorded many phases of the life and activities through which they passed is shown again by the illustration, "Irrigation in Colorado." Again not identified as to locality it could

54. *Rocky Mountain News*, Denver, November 6, 1873, p. 4.

55. Mention of Frenzeny and Tavernier has been found in the following Denver papers: *Rocky Mountain News*, November 6, 1873, p. 4; *Daily Times*, February 16, 1874; *Rocky Mountain News*, February 17, 1874, p. 4; *ibid.*, February 28, 1874, p. 4; *Daily Times*, March 5, 1874; *ibid.*, March 20, 1874. The reference to their studio is made in *ibid.*, March 5, 1874.

56. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 18 (May 30, 1874), p. 461.

57. *Ibid.*, v. 19 (May 1, 1875), p. 362.

represent many of the irrigation projects of that day which directed water from the Front Range down into selected areas on the plains.

The illustration, "Trout-Hatching in Colorado," is not signed nor is it credited to Frenzeny and Tavernier in the text of the *Weekly*. I have assigned it to these artists, however, not only because it fits naturally in the group but because an item from a Denver paper (*Daily Times*, March 20, 1874) reads:

A number of invited guests, making all together quite a good-sized party, among whom were Messrs. Paul Frenzeny and J. Tavernier, of *Harper's Weekly*, made a flying visit, yesterday, to Alderman James M. Broadwell's artificial trout ponds, situated some ten miles down the Platte.

The illustration, "Returning To Camp From a Bear-Hunt," identified as "a lake in the Rocky Mountains," possibly may depict one of the artists, for one of the three figures is arrayed in a costume quite obviously different from the other two. The action of "Shooting Antelopes From a Railroad Train" took place on the plains near Kit Carson, Colo., some 150 miles east of Denver on the Kansas Pacific. Incidentally, this full-page illustration is unique in that it is the only one with which I am familiar which shows the destruction (not hunting) of antelope from a train. There are many sketches and illustrations showing the destruction of buffalo from passenger trains of the Kansas Pacific, but no other one showing similar "sport" in the case of the antelope.

The last illustration on the Colorado list, No. 10, shows that the artists visited Estes Park during their stay in Colorado, for the text so locates the lake.<sup>58</sup>

A number of other sketches were made in Denver, according to newspaper accounts. A double-page illustration was actually prepared on the wood block, ready for the *Weekly's* engravers, but it never was published. The several views drawn on the block included a view of Denver, one in Clear creek canyon, a street scene showing "Larimer street from Sixteenth street west, with the distant foothills in the background" and lastly a view in the Garden of the Gods at Colorado Springs.<sup>59</sup> "The whole presents a fine grouping of views, and will do more to give easterners an intelligible idea of this section than would half the letters written upon them," comments the reporter for the *Rocky Mountain News* who saw the sketches.

58. Another illustration should probably be assigned to the Colorado group. It is, however, signed by Frenzeny alone and appeared in *ibid.* (October 13, 1877), v. 21, p. 808. As the text of the *Weekly*, in describing the picture, refers to the incident depicted, "Sheep Raid in Colorado," as occurring "some time ago" it was probably drawn during Frenzeny's stay in Colorado, 1873-1874.

59. *Rocky Mountain News*, February 28, 1874, p. 4. Note that the last item would indicate a stop or a special side trip to Colorado Springs.

The view of Denver mentioned above was a reduction of a large water color prepared by the artists, a "view taken from near General Bearce's residence, and Cherry Creek, the water works, the full sweep of the city, the plains beyond, and the mountains—showing Pike's Peak and the Buffalo back to the left. The sketch is finely touched with water colors."<sup>60</sup> The water color was offered for sale at \$250 and was on exhibition at "Richards and Co.'s." "The blue of the mountains is most artistically rendered, while Denver is given the air of a metropolis," reports another Denver paper.<sup>61</sup>

#### WYOMING AND NEBRASKA

In this group there are but three illustrations that were published in the *Weekly*. Records of other work of the artists, however, are available. The three in the *Weekly* are:

1. "Driven From Their Homes—Flying From an Indian Raid" (about  $\frac{3}{4}$  page), *Harper's Weekly*, v. 18 (April 11, 1874), p. 321.
2. "An Indian Agency—Distributing Rations" (about  $\frac{1}{2}$  page), *ibid.*, v. 19 (November 13, 1875), p. 924.
3. "Indian Sun Dance—Young Bucks Proving Their Endurance by Self-Torture" (double page), *ibid.*, v. 19 (January 2, 1875), pp. 8, 9.

Although, aside from the illustrations themselves, there is no contemporary and direct evidence of the Wyoming-Nebraska excursion of the artists, there is considerable indirect evidence. "Driven From Their Homes" is described by the *Weekly* as an incident of the Indian troubles of early 1874 and depicts settlers in wintry weather seeking army aid on the road between Fort Russell (near Cheyenne, Wyoming territory) and Fort Laramie. The illustration appeared in the issue of April 11, 1874; the action shown occurred "a few weeks since." These statements agree with the known facts about the Indian troubles around Fort Laramie in February and early March of 1874.<sup>62</sup> However, if the scene depicted was an actual one,

60. *Ibid.*, February 17, 1874, p. 4.

61. *Denver Times*, February 16, 1874. As the historian must at least attempt to be honest we must record the comment of still another Denver paper a few days later: "Everybody who examines that painting of Denver, in Richards and Co's windows, comes at once to the conclusion that the artist must have been cross-eyed to have located the city between the Platte river and the mountains, and near sighted to have the foot hills appear to be immediately joining the suburbs, when they are fully ten miles distant."—*Rocky Mountain Herald*, February 23, 1874, p. 3, col. 1. We can't be sure, of course, that the *Herald* reporter was referring to Frenzeny and Tavernier's painting, as the word "artist" only is specified. We might conclude from the opinion of the other two Denver papers, that the *Herald* reporter was a grouch and unduly hypercritical, if the painting he was discussing belonged to Frenzeny and Tavernier. It should be pointed out also that there was a considerable number of resident artists in Denver in the 1870's. I hope to discuss early art in Denver in a later number of this series.

62. An account of the Indian troubles mentioned above may be found in George E. Hyde, *Red Cloud's Folk* (Norman, Okla., 1937), pp. 210-215; see, also, letter by Col. John E. Smith dated "February 12, 1874, Fort Laramie," *New York Semi-Weekly Tribune*, February 24, 1874, p. 5, col. 2; other mention of the troubles is given in *ibid.*, February 17, 1874, p. 5, col. 4; February 20, 1874, p. 5, col. 3. Troops under Colonel Smith left Fort Laramie on March 2 and arrived at the Red Cloud Agency on March 5 effectively quieting the Indians for the moment.—*Ibid.*, March 10, 1874, p. 5, col. 5.

it meant that the artists made the trip to Fort Laramie and then returned to Denver, for, as we have seen, they were in Denver on March 20. As there is evidence that the artists were in Fort Laramie and the Red Cloud Agency in Nebraska in May and June of the same year, there may be some doubt whether the scene was actually witnessed by the artists. It is possible, of course, that the artists made the relatively short trip from Denver to Cheyenne by rail and were on the trail from Fort Russell to Fort Laramie for only a short distance and then returned to Denver, a second trip northward being made later in the year.

The second and third of the illustrations listed above were made at the Red Cloud Agency, Nebraska, some 145 miles northeast of Cheyenne and 75 miles northeast of Fort Laramie.<sup>63</sup> Presumably they were drawn in May or June of 1874 and I believe were sketched on the spot. "The Indian Sun Dance," one of the earliest illustrations of this ceremonial I have seen, was that of the Oglala Sioux which in the early 1870's was held near the Red Cloud Agency.<sup>64</sup> The description and the illustration of the dance given in the *Weekly* corresponds in general with that given in the standard authorities.<sup>65</sup>

The self-torture, as part of the *public* ceremony, the large and roofless enclosure, the tall center pole and auxiliary side ones, the time of occurrence (June), and the earpiercing of children are all well-known facts of the ceremonial and are shown in the illustration or stated in the text of the *Weekly*. The great number of spectators of the dance is also in agreement with the fact that the Red Cloud Agency was one of the largest of its day. Its reported population in the middle 1870's ranged all the way from 9,000 to 16,000 individuals.<sup>66</sup> Schwatka who saw the sun dance the following year reported that it was "the grandest sun-dance within the memory of the oldest warrior" and that 15,000 to 20,000 spectators witnessed it.

63. The record of the first distance will be found in *Report of the Special U. S. Commission Appointed To Investigate the Affairs of the Red Cloud Indian Agency, July, 1875* (hereinafter cited as *Report of the Special Commission, 1875*), (Washington, 1875), p. 195; the second is from Hyde, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

64. *Report of the Special Commission, 1875* (Footnote 63), p. 496, and Footnote 65. Catlin described the sun dance of the Sioux in 1832 but did not paint it although many Indian dances were portrayed by this early artist. He arrived in Sioux country a few days after the ceremonial had taken place. The dance took place, he reports, under "an awning of immense size—in the center of which was a pole."—George Catlin, *North American Indians* (Edinburgh, 1926), v. 1, p. 262.

65. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 19 (January 2, 1875), p. 10; F. W. Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians* (Washington, 1910), Pt. 2, p. 650; Leslie Spier, "The Sun Dance of the Plains Indians," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* (1921), v. 16, pp. 451-529.

66. The Indian population of the Red Cloud Agency for the year ending June 30, 1874, is listed as 9,177—*Executive Document 6*, House of Representatives, 43 Cong., 2 Sess. (Washington, 1874); see, also, *Report of the Special Commission, 1875*, pp. 435, 821.

Schwatka also reported that the enclosure for the dance "looked not unlike a circus tent, the top of which had been ruthlessly torn away by a cyclone," certainly an apt description of the enclosure depicted by Frenzeny and Tavernier.<sup>67</sup>

The original sun dance sketch made by Frenzeny and Tavernier in 1874 was in the possession of "Deejay" Mackart of San Francisco as late as 1892.<sup>68</sup> Its present location, if still in existence, is unknown.

"Distribution of Rations" is another sketch not signed or credited, but since the *Weekly* stated that it was an occurrence at the Red Cloud Agency, I feel certain that it was drawn by Frenzeny and Tavernier.<sup>69</sup> There are several newspaper references in later years to Frenzeny and Tavernier's experiences in the Indian country of Wyoming and Nebraska, for apparently Tavernier was fond of recalling them.<sup>70</sup> Not only was he fond of recalling them but the material gathered in 1874 was later used by Tavernier in a number of paintings which include:

67. Schwatka's description may be found in the *Century Magazine*, v. 39 (March, 1890), pp. 753-759. The 1875 dance also took place in June, the locality being between the Spotted Tail Agency and "another agency 40 miles to the west." The second agency was the Red Cloud Agency (*Report of the Special Commission, 1875*, pp. 804, 807, 820). It is of interest to note that Remington illustrated the Schwatka article but he did not attempt to depict the sun dance itself. In fact, Remington did not see an Indian sun dance (Blackfoot) until July, 1890, after the illustrations of the Schwatka article were drawn.—*Harper's Weekly*, v. 34 (December 13, 1890), p. 976, and my own exhaustive study of Remington. Oddly enough, Remington did not produce a picture of a complete view of the sun dance until the last year of his life. Evidently, however, the scene witnessed in 1890 made so profound an impression on him that he wrote in his diary (now in the Remington Art Memorial, Ogdensburg, N. Y.) under date of February 28, 1909: "Am starting 'Sun Dance' for the love of Record of Great Themes but I'll never sell it—it will give everybody the Horrors. It is in my system and its got to come out."

68. *San Francisco Call*, July 10, 1892, p. 13, col. 7. Mackart stated that the sketch was published in the *Illustrated London News* as well as in *Harper's Weekly*. I have made some effort to find it in the *News* but so far without success.

69. Another half-page illustration, "Red Cloud Agency—Distributing Goods," is found in the *Weekly*, v. 20 (May 13, 1876), p. 393, and is signed by I. P. Pranishnikopf. My study of Pranishnikopf is not yet complete but he had occasional Western illustrations appearing in various periodicals for many years. In some of these, the illustrations, although signed by Pranishnikopf, also had the added credit line "redrawn after a sketch by" so and so. It is possible that the illustration, "An Indian Agency—Distributing Rations," in the *Weekly* for November 13, 1875, p. 924, was based on observation by Pranishnikopf but on the above basis, I think it is unlikely. I have also considered the possibility that Pranishnikopf redrew a Frenzeny-Tavernier sketch for the illustration of May 13, 1876, but this possibility seems ruled out by the fact that in Pranishnikopf's illustration of the Red Cloud Agency the legend "F. D. Yates Trading Co." appears on one of the buildings; but F. D. Yates did not begin business at the Red Cloud Agency until April 16, 1875, nearly a year after Frenzeny and Tavernier were there.—*Report of the Special Commission, 1875*, p. 330. The Pranishnikopf illustration may have been redrawn from a photograph. It should be pointed out, however, that Pranishnikopf had what apparently was a Denver scene in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 20 (October 14, 1876), p. 836.

70. In addition to the references already noted are the vague recollections of Joullin (*San Francisco Call*, April 16, 1911, p. 6) and a reference to the artist's experiences in 1874 with General Smith, Spotted Tail and Red Cloud that will be found in *California Art Research*, First Series (*San Francisco, 1937*), v. 4, p. 3. The General Smith is undoubtedly the Colonel Smith mentioned in Footnote 62.

Dr. G. R. Gaeddert, formerly of the staff of the Kansas State Historical Society but now of Washington, kindly searched the records in the National Archives for me. He reports that no mention of Frenzeny and Tavernier occurs in the period March 20 to July 1, 1874, in the "Fort Laramie Letter Books and the Red Cloud Agency Letters." These materials, however, are confined almost exclusively to military and agency affairs. Unfortunately no log books of daily happenings and register of visitors at Fort Laramie, which I had hoped to find, are among the collections of the Interior and War branches of the National Archives.

1. Store of Post Trader, Fort Laramie, 1874.<sup>71</sup>
2. Attacked by the Indians.<sup>72</sup> [Reproduced in the picture supplement. The portrait of Tavernier which appears as a vignette in this illustration was first published in the *Annals of the Bohemian Club*, 1898.]
3. Meeting Between Spotted Tail and Red Cloud.<sup>73</sup>
4. Gathering of the Clans at Red Cloud Agency.<sup>74</sup>
5. A Sioux Encampment.<sup>75</sup>

## UTAH AND CALIFORNIA

1. "Mormons at the Communion Table" (about  $\frac{1}{3}$  page), *Harper's Weekly*, v. 18 (September 26, 1874), p. 793.
2. "Brigham Young's Wives in the Great Mormon Tabernacle" (about  $\frac{1}{2}$  page), *ibid.*, v. 18 (September 26, 1874), p. 793.
3. "Quarrying Stone For the New Mormon Temple" (about  $\frac{1}{3}$  page), *ibid.*, v. 18 (December 12, 1874), p. 1024.
4. "A Fresh Supply of Wives—Going Out to the Settlements" (full page), *ibid.*, v. 19 (January 30, 1875), p. 97.
5. "Reading a Ukase in a Mormon Settlement" (about  $\frac{1}{3}$  page), *ibid.*, v. 19 (February 6, 1875), p. 109.
6. "Indians Trading at a Frontier Town" (about  $\frac{1}{3}$  page), *ibid.*, v. 19 (July 3, 1875), p. 537.
7. "Two Bits To See the Pappoose" (about  $\frac{1}{3}$  page), *ibid.*, v. 18 (October 24, 1874), p. 880.
8. "Chinese Fishermen in San Francisco Bay" ( $\frac{1}{2}$  page), *ibid.*, v. 19 (March 20, 1875), p. 240.
9. "Sketches in 'China-Town,' San Francisco" (six illustrations on one page), *ibid.*, v. 19 (May 22, 1875), p. 421.
10. "The Suburbs of San Francisco" (six illustrations on one page), *ibid.*, v. 19 (May 29, 1875), p. 440.

"Two Bits To See the Pappoose" and the Mormon sketches give us the clue to the continued westward journey of the partners. The first sketch (the "pappoose" was a Shoshone) shows the "Union Pacific Hotel" in the background and suggests that possibly the stopping place was either Ogden or some point east of Ogden, as the Central Pacific and the Union Pacific still had a junction at Ogden

71. This painting, on display in San Francisco in 1919, is probably the most authentic evidence that the artists were at Fort Laramie. It was painted on the lid of a cigar box, dated 1874, with the legend on the store "J. S. Collins."—San Francisco *Chronicle*, April 20, 1919, p. 25, col. 5. The Wyoming State Library informs me that Gilbert Collins, a brother of J. S. Collins, was actually in charge of the post-trader's store in 1874.

72. San Francisco *Alta California*, October 22, 1878, p. 1, col. 3. The vicinity of the scene depicted was near Chimney Rock, western Nebraska. The locality would be between Fort Laramie and the Red Cloud Agency. The painting is now owned by the Bohemian Club, San Francisco.

73. *Ibid.*, January 27, 1879, p. 1, col. 3. The account of the painting states "It recently sold for \$2,000."

74. Information from the California State Library, Sacramento. This item, together with other data on Tavernier, was compiled in 1907. The painting was reported then as owned by "H. Belloc, Paris."

75. *California Art Research*, First Series, v. 4, p. 25. Reported as painted about 1880-1882.

in 1874. "Indians Trading at a Frontier Town" is in the same category as the above illustration, for the text indicates that it was drawn at a railroad town; the Indians depicted, however, are Utes and the locality of the scene may have been east of Ogden as the large Ute reservation in 1874 was in western Colorado.<sup>76</sup>

The first two of the Mormon sketches listed above are not signed nor are they credited in the text accompanying them to Frenzeny and Tavernier. Nevertheless, I am assuming that they belong to these artists as they fit naturally into the series both with respect to time and place. A side excursion from Ogden to Salt Lake City on the Utah Central Railway is obviously also indicated. Although the Mormon sketches themselves are not unsympathetic, the text accompanying the five illustrations is anti-Mormon; a reaction, of course, which was well nigh universal throughout the rest of the United States and which was very freely stated in the highly moral *Harper's Weekly*. It is possible that the first sketch, "Mormons at the Communion Table," was imaginary, for it is doubtful if the artists would be permitted to view such a religious ceremony. Possibly, too, this fact accounts for the lack of signature or of credit for the illustration, and for "Brigham Young's Wives in the Great Mormon Tabernacle" which appeared on the same page.

The three California sketches mark the illustrative conclusion of the transcontinental tour of Frenzeny and Tavernier.<sup>77</sup> Both artists obviously had arrived in San Francisco very considerably in advance of the publication date of even the last of the San Francisco sketches. Although no newspaper comment has been found as yet on their arrival in San Francisco, Frenzeny had been elected a member of the famed Bohemian Club of San Francisco on August 4, 1874, and Tavernier on October 6, 1874.<sup>78</sup> As the reputation of these artists, based on the extensive series of illustrations in the *Weekly*, was already established, I am inclined to think the difference in election dates means that Frenzeny arrived in San Francisco before Tavernier. At any rate, both were on the Pacific coast by the fall of 1874, and by spring of the following year mention of both artists' work, especially Tavernier's, was fairly common in the San Francisco press.<sup>79</sup>

76. See map, *Harper's Weekly*, v. 18 (August 22, 1874), p. 691.

77. Contemporary notice in the San Francisco papers has been found for only one of the above sketches. The *San Francisco Bulletin*, May 20, 1875, p. 3, col. 6, makes the brief comment, "*Harper's Weekly*, just at hand, is embellished with a number of graphic views in the Chinese quarter, San Francisco, by the artists Frenzeny and Tavernier."

78. Records of the Bohemian Club, San Francisco.

79. *San Francisco News Letter*, May 1, 1875, p. 12; May 15, 1875, p. 5; *San Francisco Bulletin*, May 22, 1875, p. 2, col. 2; *San Francisco Daily Post*, May 22, 1875, p. 1, col. 3.



## UNCLASSIFIED ILLUSTRATIONS

Two of the Frenzeny-Tavernier series we have not discussed as yet. The first, "Temperance, Industry, and Happiness," is easily disposed of.<sup>80</sup> It is one of a pair of those contrasting "moral" illustrations in which the *Weekly* frequently indulged. It is possible that the subject, a farmer, his family and his homestead, was a topic suggested by the artists' Western trip. Its opposite, in case the reader is interested, was a scene in a tavern, "Intemperance, Idleness, and Misery." It was not drawn by Frenzeny and Tavernier.

The second illustration, "Watching For Montezuma," is said to have been based on a legend of the Moquis (Hopi) Indians.<sup>81</sup> As the scene depicts the pueblo-dwelling Hopi of northwestern New Mexico or northeastern Arizona, I doubt if it was based on actual observation. I have found, as yet, little evidence of a visit to this region by the artists.<sup>82</sup> It should be remembered, however, that the two men are known to have been in Denver nearly five months and possibly longer, and I have by no means accounted for all of their time while in that city. An excursion of two or three weeks from Denver would be a possibility. If such a trip occurred, the scenes of "Staging in the Far West" might be assigned to this suggested period. Tavernier, later in life, produced a painting of nearly the same title, "Waiting For Montezuma,"<sup>83</sup> and still later, another one, "The Coming of Montezuma."<sup>84</sup> Both of these, however, were imaginative, as they depicted life of the ancient Aztecs. Photographs, without doubt, of the New Mexico-Arizona region were available in Denver and these may have served as the basis of the original illustration and the Tavernier paintings.

## LATER LIFE OF THE ARTISTS

The Bohemian life of San Francisco and the California country itself held both artists in that region for some years; Tavernier for nearly the remainder of his life and Frenzeny for some five or six years.

80. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 18 (March 14, 1874), p. 246.

81. *Ibid.*, v. 19 (May 22, 1875), pp. 420, 426.

82. Among the paintings of Tavernier listed in *California Art Research*, First Series, v. 4, p. 25, is "A Scene in New Mexico" which was dated 1880-1882. This painting may be based on a trip to the New Mexico country in 1873-1874 or later, or it may be based on photographs as suggested later in the text.

83. San Francisco *Alta California*, April 2, 1879, p. 1. col. 3. In 1892, a painting, "Montezuma Landscape," by Tavernier, was reported in the possession of one Irving M. Scott.—*The Wave*, San Francisco, v. 8 (January 16, 1892), p. 7, col. 3. Whether this was the painting, "Waiting For Montezuma," or an additional one, is uncertain. It is possible that all three references to the Montezuma titles refer to but one painting.

84. San Francisco *Call*, May 28, 1893, p. 26, col. 1.

Tavernier soon became the boon companion of many California and San Francisco artists of note, including Julian Rix, Joe Strong (a brother-in-law of Robert Louis Stevenson), Amadee Joullin and others. He was, in fact, from the newspaper accounts of his day, the Bohemian of Bohemians and the tales of his behavior have been retold many times in more recent times but in many scattered sources. His most striking characteristic was a detestation of work. "He painted grand pictures in the air with his thumb and grew quite enthusiastic over their value, but it was not until the screws of material existence had tightened upon him to the last thread that he would put these inspirations on canvas," reported one of his friends. The sheriff was continually at his heels, for he was always in debt and to escape them he finally made his way to Hawaii in 1884.<sup>85</sup> Here he painted Mauna Loa and the colorful landscape of the islands but he again became so deeply in debt that he was not permitted to leave. He died in Honolulu on May 18, 1889, of alcoholism.<sup>86</sup>

"Poor Tavernier!" wrote one of his Bohemian Club friends. "The sheriff was continually taking possession of his studio so that he lived more or less in a state of siege. His friends had to go through mysterious rites, give certain knocks on the door and be inspected through peep holes before they could get in. Finally the sheriff made a clean sweep, and Jules' friends, of whom he had many, and none stauncher than fellow-artists as poor as himself, raised the money to send him to the islands. He died there a few years after and the Club erected a granite shaft over his grave in memory of their love for him personally and for his great genius."<sup>87</sup>

Although Tavernier was adverse to work many paintings in the period 1874-1884 are known to have been made. They include landscapes, cartoons, portraits, figure pieces, etc. Among them, in addition to those already listed, are a number which are of interest in the history of the West, some probably based on the trip of 1873-1874.<sup>88</sup> They include the following:

85. *Ibid.*, December 16, 1884, p. 7, col. 6.

86. See Footnote 10.

87. The quotations are from *Annals of the Bohemian Club*, v. 1, p. 191. Other sources of information on Tavernier's later life are found in *California Art Research*, First Series, v. 4, pp. 1-26, a very inadequate and poorly documented account. Among the newspaper references utilized may be mentioned the following (many others are available at the California State Library, Sacramento): San Francisco *Alta California*, July 13, 1877, p. 1, col. 9; January 27, 1879, p. 1, col. 3; San Francisco *Morning Call*, March 10, 1886, p. 4, col. 2; *The Wave*, San Francisco, January 16, 1892, v. 8, p. 7, col. 3; San Francisco *Call*, July 10, 1892, p. 13, cols. 7, 8, which credits Tavernier with the founding of the Monterey art colony; San Francisco *Call*, August 12, 1909, p. 6, cols. 6, 7; the *Sunday Call*, April 16, 1911, p. 5; San Francisco *Examiner*, March 3, 1925, p. 7, cols. 1-3; and obituaries listed in Footnote 10.

88. Tavernier also had an illustration appearing under his own signature in *Harper's Weekly* (July 26, 1879), v. 23, p. 538, "Jeanette' Leaving the Harbor of San Francisco" (full page).

1. The Pioneer, 1877.<sup>89</sup>
2. The Indian Dance, 1878.<sup>90</sup>
3. Frontier Man (unfinished), 1879.<sup>91</sup>
4. Sketches of Northwest Indians, 1882.<sup>92</sup>
5. The Rodeo (1884-1885).<sup>93</sup>

Of Frenzeny's final years we know less than of Tavernier. He took an active part in the affairs of the Bohemian Club of San Francisco up until 1878.<sup>94</sup> His companionship with Tavernier continued apparently as long as he stayed in California.<sup>95</sup> A number of his own illustrations (that is, signed by himself alone and not joint work with Tavernier) appeared in *Harper's Weekly* for the years 1876, 1877 and 1878. They all deal with aspects of life in California and Nevada. The Chinese several times received Frenzeny's attention and one illustration in particular is notable, "A Chinese Reception in San Francisco." It appeared as a double-page drawing in the *Weekly* for June 9, 1877. The Nevada sketches may have been obtained on his westward trip to the coast with Tavernier. The most interesting one of this group is an illustration of a "Camel Train in Nevada" showing remnants of the camel herd introduced into this country in 1856. Several of the Frenzeny sketches depict southern California, one, "Sunday Sports in Southern California," shows a version of the rough and callous pastime of the frontier, "The Gander Pull."<sup>96</sup>

In 1879 Frenzeny began a series of sketches in the *Weekly* depicting Central America.<sup>97</sup> As a sketch of Coney Island appears in the same year it seems reasonable to assume that he returned to

89. Depicts a sick or dying pioneer in rude cabin. For an amusing contemporary criticism of this piece see the San Francisco *Argonaut*, November 24, 1877, p. 3, col. 4. The original painting is now in the possession of The Society of California Pioneers, San Francisco.

90. "Taken From Life" in an underground sweat house of the California Digger Indians near Clear Lake.—San Francisco *Alta California*, June 12, 1878, p. 1, col. 4.

91. *California Art Research*, First Series, v. 4, p. 25.

92. According to *ibid.*, p. 19, Tavernier went to the Pacific Northwest on a hunting trip with Sir Thomas Hesketh and sketches of the Northwest Indians were obtained. No other record of the sketches or paintings resulting from the trip seems to be available.

93. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

94. *Annals of the Bohemian Club*, v. 1, pp. 19, 26, 43, 107, 191. At the end of volume 1, Frenzeny is listed as a member of the board of directors of the club for 1876-1877.

95. Deejay Mackart.—See Footnote 16.

96. Frenzeny's illustrations in *Harper's Weekly* for 1876-1878 are: "The Indian War—Buying Cavalry Horses," near San Francisco (full page), v. 20 (November 11, 1876), p. 924; "Chinese Immigrants at the San Francisco Custom-House" (title page), v. 21 (February 3, 1877), p. 81; "Sunday Sports in Southern California" (full page), v. 21 (March 3, 1877), p. 164; "Chinese Lantern Feast" (½ page), v. 21 (April 25, 1877), p. 332; "Charcoal Burning in Nevada" (½ page), v. 21 (May 26, 1877), p. 405; "Chinese Reception in San Francisco" (double page), v. 21 (June 9, 1877), pp. 444, 445; "A Whaling Station on the California Coast" (title page), v. 21 (June 23, 1877), p. 477; "Camel Train in Nevada" (½ page), v. 21 (June 30, 1877), p. 501; "Nevada Silver Mine—Changing the Shift" (title page), v. 21 (August 25, 1877), p. 657; "Sheep Raid in Colorado" (½ page), v. 21 (October 13, 1877), p. 808; "Mission Indians of Southern California . . ." (½ page), v. 21 (October 20, 1877), p. 821; "The Vintage in California" (double page), v. 22 (October 5, 1878), pp. 792, 793; "On the Way To the Yosemite Valley" (full page), p. 952. For the camel experiment of 1856, see Dan E. Clark, *The West in American History* (New York, 1937), pp. 520, 521.

97. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 23 (August 23, 1879), p. 664; v. 24 (1880), pp. 152, 556, 812.

New York City by way of Central America in 1879.<sup>98</sup> From 1880 to 1887 about 30 of his sketches appear in *Harper's Weekly*. Some of these illustrations are of New York scenes, others of California, and there are still others which are apparently based on his trip of 1873-1874. A number of the illustrations, as the 1880's advanced, are exceptionally good. The art of wood engraving was rapidly reaching its heyday and the individual character of the artist becomes more and more apparent. The Western sketches of Frenzeny appearing in the *Weekly* during the 1880's are of sufficient importance to list:

1. "Muster-Day on an Indian Reservation," from a scene which the artist witnessed on the plains ( $\frac{1}{2}$  page), *Harper's Weekly*, v. 24 (July 24, 1880), p. 476.

2. "Winter Life on the Plains" (two illustrations on one page), *ibid.*, v. 26 (February 11, 1882), p. 89. [One scene is reproduced in the picture supplement.]

3. "After the Thaw—Victims of a Prairie Snow-Storm" (about  $\frac{1}{3}$  page), *ibid.*, v. 26 (June 10, 1882), p. 365.

4. "Fresh from West Point" to the plains ( $\frac{1}{3}$  page), *ibid.*, v. 26 (November 18, 1882), p. 733.

5. "Taming and Training the American Mustang" (11 illustrations on double page), *ibid.*, v. 26 (November 25, 1882), pp. 744, 745.

6. "An Indian Funeral—Off for the Happy Hunting Ground" (double page), *ibid.*, v. 28 (July 26, 1884), pp. 480, 481.

7. "On the Rio Grande—Surrendering a Prisoner To the Mexican Authorities" ( $\frac{1}{2}$  page), *ibid.*, v. 30 (August 28, 1886), p. 556.

8. "Smuggling on the Rio Grande" (about  $\frac{1}{2}$  page), *ibid.*, v. 30 (September 4, 1886), p. 565.

I have no data on Frenzeny illustrations for the years 1887 and 1888, but in 1889 he illustrated Harrington O'Reilly's book, *Fifty Years on the Trail; A True Story of Western Life*, recounting the Western experiences of John Nelson, a character of considerable fame in his day.<sup>99</sup> Over 100 illustrations appear in the book, and in the introduction, dated May, 1889, O'Reilly quotes Frenzeny as saying "[Illustrating this book] has given me more pleasure than any work I have ever undertaken for it is so graphic that it recalls, without any effort on my part, scenes which I am able to draw, not from imagination, but from personal observation;" the only direct quotation now available from either Frenzeny or Tavernier. After the publication of the O'Reilly book Frenzeny drops completely from view and although my search has been extensive no

98. "The Brighton Beach Fair Grounds, Coney Island" (full page), *ibid.*, v. 23 (August 30, 1879), p. 684.

99. The book was published by June of 1889 as there is a brief description of it in the *Publisher's Weekly*, v. 35 (June 29, 1889), p. 833.



ON THE CATTLE TRAIL TO WICHITA, OCTOBER, 1873.

WICHITA, OCTOBER, 1873. LOOKING NORTH ON MAIN STREET WHERE IT CROSSES DOUGLAS AVENUE.





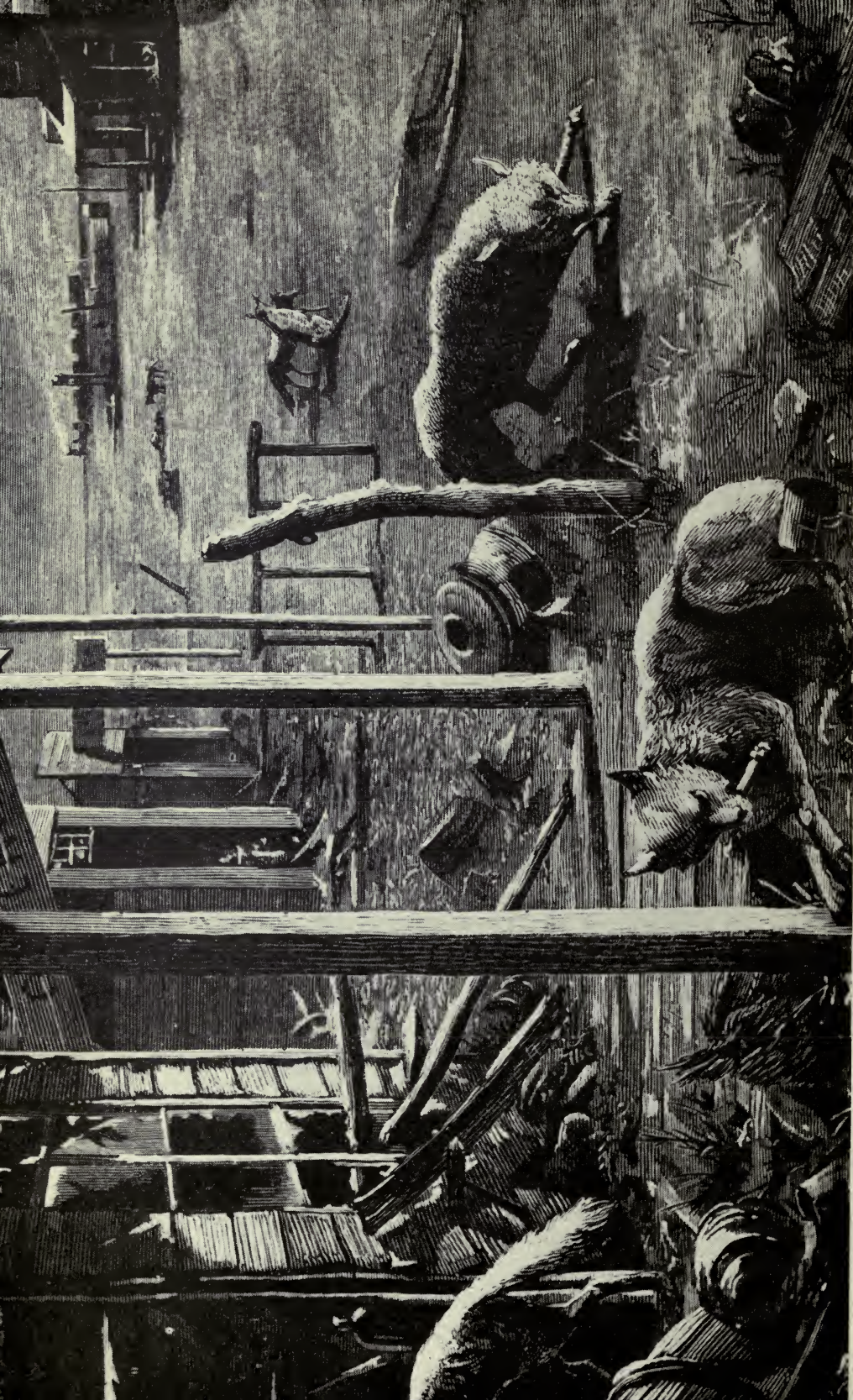
A THRIVING KANSAS INDUSTRY OF THE 1870'S—THE LAND OFFICE IN SEDGWICK COUNTY AS SKETCHED IN OCTOBER, 1873.



TEXAS CATTLEMEN IN CAMP ON THE HERD GROUNDS WEST OF WICHITA,  
OCTOBER, 1873.

THE GROCERY STORES OF DUNSCOMB AND MCKEE AT CLEARWATER, FIFTEEN  
MILES SOUTHWEST OF WICHITA, IN OCTOBER, 1873.





"BUSTED." A DESERTED VILLAGE ON THE GREAT PLAINS. PROBABLY ZARAH, BARTON COUNTY, KANSAS, OCTOBER, 1873.





CURING BUFFALO HIDES AND COLLECTING BONES, POSSIBLY AT DODGE CITY, OCTOBER, 1873.

FRENZEN & MAYER



A ROUGH MOUNTAIN ROAD ON THE WAY TO THE MINES. PROBABLY SKETCHED IN COLORADO IN THE SPRING OF 1874.



SUPPLY TRAIN ON THE PLAINS IN WINTER. SKETCHED BY PAUL FRENZENY IN 1882.



ATTACK BY INDIANS ON THE OVERLAND TRAIL NEAR CHIMNEY ROCK, NEBRASKA. PAINTING BY JULES TAVERNIER. THE INSET IS A

further information is available at present concerning him. I trust these lines will be read by some individual who can supply me with additional facts concerning Paul Frenzeny.<sup>100</sup>

### CONCLUSION

We have presented evidence the majority of which shows (1) that the two artists whose work we have described observed the scenes they depicted; (2) that contemporary statements concerning the work of the artists agree that their illustrations were good representations of the subjects depicted; and (3) that comparison of written contemporary accounts, or of subsequent research, is in satisfactory agreement with the record and information imparted by other illustrations of the artists. We can again repeat, therefore, that the Frenzeny-Tavernier illustrations as a group are important and reasonably authentic pictorial documents of Western history; one can but regret that their medium of reproduction was so crude and that the original drawings apparently no longer exist. It is unfortunate, too, that we can here reproduce only a few of the Frenzeny-Tavernier series. The interested reader and student will, of course, wish to examine the illustrations as they appear in the files of *Harper's Weekly* for the years 1873-1876.

The influence which these illustrations exerted is difficult, if not impossible, to trace. *Harper's Weekly* was one of the most widely read journals of its day; a very real "force in American life" as one student of American journalism has said.<sup>101</sup> The illustrations of Frenzeny and Tavernier were, therefore, well known in their day not only because of the medium of publication, but because their illus-

100. Further data on both artists and upon their work would be most thankfully received by the author. He may be addressed at the University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan.

101. Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism* (New York, 1941), p. 379. The circulation of *Harper's Weekly* estimated by the *American Newspaper Directory* for 1875 (George P. Rowell and Company, New York), p. 249, was 100,000. Mott, *op. cit.*, p. 379, states that its circulation by 1872 was 160,000; A. B. Paine, *Th. Nast* (New York, 1904), p. 204, states that by 1871, the circulation of the *Weekly* had grown to 300,000. Neither Mott nor Paine, however, give any indication of the source of their data. Paine attributes the wide circulation of *Harper's Weekly* to the political cartoons of Nast in exposing the Tweed ring of New York City. It is doubtful if any such claim is justified. The happenings in New York City (to which the Nast cartoons were devoted exclusively), were of general interest to the nation but the widely diversified character of the *Weekly's* offerings, both in print and in picture, were of greater importance in establishing its wide circulation. Paine is undoubtedly correct (p. 204) when he points out that the illustrations of the *Weekly* were to be found "in the most isolated farm-house of the West, in the woodsman's hut and in the miner's cabin" for we have already observed the comment of the *Emporia News* (pp. 14, 15) "we are glad to know that the *Weekly* is well patronized here"; a comment of special significance coming from a small Western village.

For an opinion of the powerful influence of *Harper's Weekly*, more nearly contemporary with the period of Frenzeny and Tavernier than is found in Mott, see the two and a half page review and criticism in the staid *North American Review*, v. 100 (April, 1865), p. 625. The *Review* account concludes with a prophesy now made fact: "Our historical societies and public libraries throughout the country should secure a complete set of the volumes of the *Weekly*,—for every year will add to their value as an illustrated record of the times. . . ."

trations were numerous and unusual and appeared over a period of some years. No effort was made to glamorize the West, an effect many later illustrators of the West were prone to stress; in fact, illustrations such as "Busted," "Slaughtered For the Hide" and the torture shown in the "Sun Dance" were realistic in the extreme and the majority of the illustrations were factual records of Western life in its many aspects.

The Frenzeny-Tavernier illustrations were, therefore, a part of the cultural background of their day. The lure of the West in all its manifold forms was the compelling force that caused the Harper brothers to send the two artists on their Western way, but the efforts of these two artists were by no means all the "Westerns" published by the *Weekly*. In the same years that the Frenzeny-Tavernier illustrations appeared, Western sketches by Theodore R. Davis, W. M. Cary and A. R. Waud were published in the *Weekly*, and the *Weekly's* chief competitor, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, was also recognizing the popular interest in this field.<sup>102</sup>

To those of us of the older generation, Frederic Remington and Charles M. Russell were *the* illustrators and painters of the West. But the fact of the matter is that they were but two of a long line of Western artists, who, including Frenzeny and Tavernier, have contributed their pictorial talents, of varying quality, to one of the most dominant forces in past American life, the Western frontier. Samuel Seymour, the first Western illustrator of note in the 19th century, Catlin, Bodmer, Miller, Stanley, Eastman, Hays, Mathews, Farny, Mary Hallock Foote, Zogbaum, Rogers, Graham, Hansen, Schreyvogel, to name but a few of that long line, all contributed their share of pictorial information, or misinformation, to the field of Western history. Many of the later artists were influenced by their earlier colleagues. Remington, for example, admitted that Catlin was one of the determining forces in shaping his early career,<sup>103</sup> and an examination of Remington's boyhood sketch books preserved in the Remington Art Memorial, Ogdensburg, N. Y., shows crude Western sketches quite patently patterned after those appearing in *Harper's Weekly* and other illustrated periodicals of the day. So great was the influence of this material that we find him writing in 1877 to a boyhood friend, who, like Remington, was interested in

102. *Leslie's*, however, in this period never reached the circulation figures achieved by its competitor. In 1874, the circulation estimated by the *American Newspaper Directory*, 1874, p. 228, was 40,000. Frenzeny-Tavernier never published Western illustrations in *Leslie's*, although I have found one Frenzeny sketch in that publication before the Western tour, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly*, November 16, 1872, p. 149, "Rehearsal For Annual Training in a Village Store Band."

103. *Collier's Weekly*, March 18, 1905, p. 16.

sketching, "Send me [sketches of] Indians, cowboys, villains or toughs. Those are what I want."<sup>104</sup> It was to this general influence and background, therefore, that the Frenzeny-Tavernier illustrations made their contribution which affected the lives of thousands of boys and men—and probably women—in the early 1870's.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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104. *Ibid.*, September 17, 1910, p. 28.

# Pike's Peak Express Companies

## PART IV—THE PLATTE ROUTE—Concluded

GEORGE A. ROOT and RUSSELL K. HICKMAN

### THE PONY EXPRESS AND PACIFIC TELEGRAPH

IN the spring of 1859 the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express Company began operations between Leavenworth and Denver, by way of the Solomon and Republican rivers. Not long thereafter the company took over the Hockaday line to Salt Lake City, necessitating a transfer to the Platte route—the old Oregon and California trail. This road was longer than the initial trail but enjoyed many natural advantages which made possible a more rapid transit between the Missouri river and the Rockies. The company installed improvements along the route and carried on a large business in the transportation of treasure, mail and passengers between Denver and Leavenworth. In February, 1860, the last trips were made by the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express Company, which was now continued as the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company. The story of the latter organization and the accompanying Pony Express and Pacific Telegraph are treated in this issue, with the concluding phases of the Pike's Peak Express companies.

The growing tide of migration to the Oregon country and California led to a growing demand for a railroad to the Pacific coast. As early as 1845 Asa Whitney suggested such a project through the public domain, and a few years later Thomas H. Benton proposed a "Central National Highway" to the Western ocean, to include both a railway and wagon road.<sup>311</sup> During the 1850's repeated proposals of this nature were advanced, but every concrete suggestion as to route foundered upon the rocks of sectionalism. Among the leading advocates of the project was Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, who coupled it with the territorial organization of the Nebraska region, then a part of the Indian country and not open to settlement. In 1852 he introduced a bill to protect the emigrant route and establish a telegraph line and overland mail from the Missouri river to California and Oregon.<sup>312</sup> Despite his strenuous efforts in its behalf, congress

311. John P. Davis, *The Union Pacific Railway* (Chicago, 1894), p. 31.

312. *Ibid.*, pp. 47-59; Frank Heywood Hodder, "Genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska Act," *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* (1912), pp. 69-86. The idea of a combined railroad, telegraph, and wagon road was early conceived, but in later years the wagon road was not urged, although the railroad, overland mail and telegraph project con-



refused to do more than provide for a careful survey of the possible routes, the findings of which suggested five principal roads to the Pacific coast. In January, 1855, Douglas introduced a bill in the senate for a northern, a central, and a southern railroad, but he could not obtain the agreement of both houses. By the late 1850's there was a growing insistence throughout the country that congress act on the matter.

William M. Gwin, veteran senator from California, was associated with Douglas in the matter of a Pacific railroad. He had long championed improved communication to the East for his constituents, who were now particularly desirous of a quicker mail service than that afforded by the Butterfield ("ox-bow") Overland Mail. Many Californians believed the Central route would give them a quicker service—it was clearly growing in popularity the country over, but was still objected to by some as neither free of snow blockades, nor of possible attack by Indians or Mormons.<sup>313</sup> Almost equally as insistent as the people of California were those of western Missouri and Iowa and the territories to the west, particularly such ports of embarkation as St. Joseph and Leavenworth. By the close of 1859 St. Joseph was a leading claimant for the terminal of the Pacific railroad-to-be, then envisaged as an extension of the Hannibal and St. Joseph road, already completed to that city, and a telegraph line to California.<sup>314</sup> The *St. Joseph Weekly West* praised the Central route from that place to Salt Lake City and Placerville (Cal.) as "*the route to the Pacific*" it "*being much shorter and passing over a better watered and grazing country than any of its rivals,*" whereby "*St. Louis and San Francisco can be brought within fourteen days of each other.*"<sup>315</sup> This same route was urged by the

tinued throughout the period, following Benton's plan of a "Central National Highway" to the Pacific. The Kansas-Nebraska act of 1854 erected two new territories instead of one, and gave an equal chance to both the northern and central routes, although Douglas was probably more interested in the former, which would develop Illinois and the city of Chicago.

See, also, Robert R. Russell, "The Pacific Railway Issue in Politics Prior To the Civil War," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Cedar Rapids, Ia., v. XII, pp. 187-201.

313. Frederic L. Paxson, *History of the American Frontier, 1763-1893* (Boston and New York, 1924), p. 462. The Butterfield service had proved quite reliable, but required a trip of some 25 days.—See Leroy R. Hafen, *The Overland Mail* (Cleveland, 1926), pp. 79-99.

314. The Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad reached St. Joseph in February, 1859, far ahead of its rival running west from St. Louis. It was planned to continue the St. Joseph line to the west through Kansas as the "Marysville or Palmetto and Roseport Railroad."—*History of Buchanan County, Missouri* (Union Historical Co., St. Joseph, 1881), p. 578. The pioneer telegraph line from St. Louis reached St. Joseph in March, 1853. The Missouri Telegraph Line (Stebbins Line) from St. Louis arrived at the same point in February, 1860, and its projectors hoped for an early extension to Fort Kearny, and eventually much farther west. This line, of which Charles M. Stebbins was president, had reached Atchison in August, 1859, and seems to have been the only line then operating in that vicinity.

315. Issue of August 13, 1859. On January 21, 1860, it described in glowing terms the construction of a proposed road and the development of the Western country, and inquired if the telegraph line then about to reach St. Joseph was to be extended westward. Such a line was needed to the gold mines, the newspaper argued, and St. Joseph was the proper point. "It is the point from which the Pacific railroad will start whenever it is built, and it is the point from which, by all means, the telegraph, going westward, should start. Let us go to work at once. . . ."

New York *Tribune* as the "most direct and expeditious" for a daily overland mail to California, which could be "easily traversed in sixteen days," and later in fourteen, at an annual cost of not over a million dollars. "Such a mail should have a telegraph working by its side. . . ." <sup>316</sup>

Early in 1855, when hostile acts had been committed by the Western Indians, the problem of proper protection of the emigrant routes to California and Oregon was considered by congress. Senator Gwin introduced a joint resolution in the senate (*Congressional Globe*, January 18, 1855) proposing a "weekly express mail, for rapid communication across the continent, the pioneer of a regular line of mail stages . . ." between St. Louis and San Francisco, and asserted that he would demonstrate its practicability. Already there were telegraph lines to Kansas on the east, and to the Sierra Nevadas at Placerville on the west, which would shorten the time of actual communication from New York to San Francisco to eight days. "In a short time after the express is established, the telegraph will extend, and our communication be brought down to six days."

On December 22, 1859, soon after the opening of the 36th congress, Senator Gwin introduced a measure for a Pacific railroad,<sup>317</sup> and on the following January 18 a bill (Senate No. 84) to facilitate communication between the Atlantic and Pacific states by electric telegraph. The latter measure was considerably altered in the house of representatives, and as finally enacted into law (June, 1860) it authorized the advertising of bids for the use by the government of one or more telegraph lines, to be constructed within two years "from some point or points on the west line of the State of Missouri, by any route or routes which the said contractors may select . . . to the city of San Francisco. . . ." <sup>318</sup> On April 10, 1860, Gwin reported from his committee on the post office and post roads a bill for a 20-day mail service between St. Joseph and Placerville, and the next day insisted on its urgency, wanting the Pony Express, now already in operation, to take back immediately news of favorable action by the senate on a semiweekly mail by the Central route. "It is a matter of such importance to the people of California, that

316. New York *Daily Tribune* editorial, October 4, 1859, concerning the report of Horatio King on the cost of the mails.

317. *Congressional Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., Pt. 1, p. 214.

318. *U. S. Statutes at Large*, v. 12, pp. 41, 42. Gwin's original bill proposed to authorize nine persons—the presidents of important telegraph companies, including Charles M. Stebbins of the Missouri line already extended to the Kansas border, to contract for a line to the Pacific. The close connection of the projected telegraph with the firm of Russell, Majors & Waddell and its subsidiaries was illustrated at the time of the debate in congress: "In building this line of telegraph the company will be compelled to use the stations of the mail company."—*Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., v. 29, Pt. 2, p. 1693.

I dare not, if I wished to do so, postpone it. . . ." <sup>319</sup> In the consideration of these measures, particularly the telegraph proposals, it is more than probable that Gwin conferred with William H. Russell, who was frequently in Washington, concerning a fast pony express service which would supplement the telegraph, until the latter was completed. A combination of the two would make possible, at a very early date, a great quickening of communication, and would help to settle, once and for all, the perennial question of railroad routes to the Pacific. Russell long wanted an improved mail contract, and may well have been given assurances by Senator Gwin toward this end. The success of the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express to Denver and Salt Lake City, with its extension to California, was a potent argument toward this goal. A victory of the Central route and an expedited Pony Express and Pacific telegraph which would entirely eclipse the Butterfield interests would be a "clincher" toward a mail contract by this road. <sup>320</sup>

According to the narrative of Charles R. Morehead, his midwinter trip (November, 1857-January, 1858) across the plains to Utah with Capt. James Rupe to deliver supplies to the army of Albert Sidney Johnston, gave William H. Russell the idea of a pony express:

We now passed through Nebraska and Kansas Territories, and arrived at Fort Leavenworth on the 26th of January, 1858, which was thirty days out from [Fort] Bridger.

William H. Russell, head of the contracting firm, wired us to come on to Washington. We took stage to Jefferson City, Mo., and there took the Missouri Pacific Railroad to St. Louis and the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad to Washington.

In the estimation of all we had made a splendid trip, and we felt very proud of it. We had traveled about 1200 miles, as the road then ran, in thirty days, in the dead of a severe winter, through hostile Indians and ravenous wolves, in snow every foot of the way, without a change of animals and without grain,—indeed, we walked at least two-thirds of the way.

After we completed our report, . . . Mr. Russell took us to see the President, some Senators and members of Congress, and also the Secretary of War and Quartermaster-General. With Mr. Floyd, Secretary of War, the question of the feasibility of a pony express across the continent was presented by Mr. Russell, and fully discussed. Captain Rupe's views were called for, and

319. *Ibid.*, pp. 1628, 1647, 1648.

320. The struggle for an improved mail service to California furnishes the immediate background of the Pony Express. The author of the *Overland Mail* (Leroy R. Hafen) points out (p. 166) the close connection between the Pony Express and a mail contract, and quotes Russell as saying, September 26, 1860, with reference to the imminent expiration of the Salt Lake mail contract (November, 1860): "A mail contract alone would justify us to continue the Pony. . . . We have however attained our principal object, that of practically demonstrating that the route is feasible and practical, and with a good mail contract, and in that way only, the Express can be sustained."

he expressed the opinion that it was entirely practicable at all seasons on this route, all the way to California. . . .<sup>321</sup>

In the popularization of the Central route from Salt Lake City to Placerville, Cal., it is probable that the veteran mail contractor, George Chorpenning, has not been given due credit. He describes his venture and his pioneer Pony Express in his *Brief History of the Mail Service*:

Mr. Chorpenning took a third contract in April, 1858, for a coach service between Salt Lake and Placerville, California, for four years, to commence July 1st following. It was this contract that led him to expend very large sums of money . . . in exploring and opening a new route to California, by which the distance was shortened upwards of one hundred miles; and it was upon this line that he built stations . . . at intervals of about every twenty miles. . . .

At the time Mr. Chorpenning opened and stocked the new route . . . , there was not a single white inhabitant in the entire country between the settlements of Salt Lake and the foot of the Sierra Nevada. . . . The line of mail stations erected at once invited settlers. . . . During this time [22 months] he had opened a complete road, had graded hills and bridged streams. . . .

He projected and put into operation the first "Pony Express" that ever crossed the country, and in December, 1858, delivered President Buchanan's annual message through to California in seventeen days eight and a half hours. It was this then wonderful feat, and the running through of coaches weekly in thirty days, that demonstrated the practicability of overland communication, and brought, for the first time, Mr. Chorpenning and the great importance of his work before the public.<sup>322</sup>

As early as August, 1859, John S. Jones and B. D. Williams of the Pike's Peak Express promoted the idea of a railroad and telegraph to the West, in a meeting at Denver.<sup>323</sup> Late that year the plans for this venture must have been well advanced, as the idea of a telegraph line was then unofficially reported in an Elwood paper:

We are informed from a reliable source that it is the intention of Messrs. Jones, Russell & Co., to establish, early in the spring, a telegraph line from this point to Denver City. With their facilities for the undertaking the estimated cost will be only about \$45,000. . . . Every development of the day

321. William Elsey Connelley, *Doniphan's Expedition and the Conquest of New Mexico and California* (Topeka, 1907), Appendix C, entitled "Personal Recollections of Charles R. Morehead," pp. 613, 614.

322. *A Brief History of the Mail Service, Settlement of the Country, and the Indian Depredations . . . Between Salt Lake and California* . . . (Washington, 1874, microfilm copy, Historical Society; original in Library of Congress), pp. 7-10.

323. "Denver City, K. T.," correspondence, dated August 25, of the *New York Daily Tribune*, September 12; *Leavenworth Daily Times*, September 9, 1859. It was a "large and enthusiastic meeting" (August 24) to consider a memorial to congress for a Pacific railroad to Denver and Auraria, and was presided over by Jones of the Express Company and Villard of the *Cincinnati Times*. General Larimer and others spoke of the future importance of Denver as a way station, but Judge Wyatt termed the whole project a humbug in advance of the times. B. D. Williams believed a railroad a natural follower of the stage line. A second meeting, also presided over by Jones, considered a Pacific railroad by the Central route, and a telegraph line to accompany it. Memorials were to be sent to Washington.

points irresistibly to the central route as the line of the great Pacific Rail Road. . . . 324

One of the best accounts of the founding of the Pony Express is included in the *Memoirs* of Alexander Majors, of the firm of Russell, Majors & Waddell:

During the winter of 1859, Mr. W. H. Russell, of our firm, while in Washington, D. C., met and became acquainted with Senator Gwin of California. The Senator was very anxious to establish a line of communication between California and the States east of the Rocky Mountains, which would be more direct than that known as the Butterfield route, running at that time from San Francisco via Los Angeles, Cal.; thence across the Colorado River and up the valley of the Gila; thence via El Paso and through Texas, crossing the Arkansas River at Fort Gibson, and thence to St. Louis, Mo.

This route, the Senator claimed, was entirely too long; that the requirements of California demanded a more direct route, which would make quicker passage than could be made on such a circuitous route as the Butterfield line.

Knowing that Russell, Majors & Waddell were running a daily stage between the Missouri River and Salt Lake City, and that they were also heavily engaged in the transportation of Government stores on the same line, he asked Mr. Russell if his company could not be induced to start a pony express, to run over its stage line to Salt Lake City, and from thence to Sacramento; his object being to test the practicability of crossing the Sierra Nevadas, as well as the Rocky Mountains, with a daily line of communication.

After various consultations between these gentlemen, from time to time, the Senator urging the great necessity of such an experiment, Mr. Russell consented to take hold of the enterprise, provided he could get his partners, Mr. Waddell and myself, to join him.

With this understanding, he left Washington and came west to Fort Leavenworth, Kan., to consult us. After he explained the object of the enterprise, and we had well considered it, we both decided that it could not be made to pay expenses. This decision threw quite a damper upon the ardor of Mr. Russell, and he strenuously insisted we should stand by him, as he had committed himself to Senator Gwin before leaving Washington, assuring him he could get his partners to join him, and that he might rely on the project being carried through, and saying it would be very humiliating to his pride to return to Washington and be compelled to say the scheme had fallen through from lack of his partners' confidence.

He urged us to reconsider, stating the importance attached to such an undertaking, and relating the facts Senator Gwin had laid before him, which were that all his attempts to get a direct thoroughfare opened between the State of California and the Eastern States had proved abortive, for the reason that when the question of establishing a permanent central route came up, his colleagues, or fellow senators, raised the question of the impassability of

324. Elwood *Free Press*, December 17, in Leavenworth *Daily Times*, December 21, 1859. A contributor to the latter paper, signing himself "Wide Awake," added that such a line would mean "a saving of not less than \$15,000 . . . even at the low estimate of \$150 per mile." This estimated cost is very close to the amount of the government subsidy originally proposed by Senator Gwin's bill.

the mountains on such a route during the winter months; that the members from the Northern States were opposed to giving the whole prestige of such a thoroughfare to the extreme southern route; that this being the case, it had actually become a necessity to demonstrate, if it were possible to do so, that a central or middle route could be made practicable during the winter as well as summer months. That as soon as we demonstrated the feasibility of such a scheme he (Senator Gwin) would use all his influence with Congress to get a subsidy to help pay the expenses of such a line on the thirty-ninth to forty-first parallel of latitude, which would be central between the extreme north and south; that he could not ask for the subsidy at the start with any hope of success, as the public mind had already accepted the idea that such a route open at all seasons of the year was an impossibility; that as soon as we proved to the contrary, he would come to our aid with a subsidy.

After listening to all Mr. Russell had to say upon the subject, we concluded to sustain him in the undertaking, and immediately went to work to organize what has since been known as "The Pony Express."<sup>325</sup>

During January, 1860, the plans for a Pony Express were completed and orders were issued to prepare for a start of the enterprise early in April.<sup>326</sup> The first descriptive dispatch to be published was wrong in asserting that it was to be a government project:

New York, Jan. 25

A dispatch from Washington says the government is about arranging for a horse express from St. Joseph, Mo., to Placerville, California, to connect with the telegraph to San Francisco, thus securing dispatches from the Pacific in ten days.<sup>327</sup>

Russell corrected this two days later in a dispatch from Washington to Leavenworth:

Washington, Jan. 27th, 1860

To John W. Russell—Have determined to establish a Pony Express to Sacramento, California, commencing the 3rd of April. Time 10 days.

Wm. H. Russell.<sup>328</sup>

325. Col. Prentis Ingraham, ed., *Seventy Years on the Frontier, Alexander Majors' Memoirs of a Lifetime on the Border* (Chicago and New York, 1893), Ch. XXII, pp. 182-184. The original telegraph bill as introduced by Gwin proposed a subsidy of \$50,000, later reduced to \$40,000 a year for the operators (which was divided by the Pacific and Overland telegraph companies). California offered an additional subsidy. It is unfortunate that there is no corresponding account of Russell, which might clear up obscure points concerning the origin of the Pony Express.

326. See William Lightfoot Visseher, *A Thrilling and Truthful History of the Pony Express, or Blazing the Westward Way* (Chicago, 1908), p. 22, which asserts that Senator Gwin and several capitalists of New York, and Russell of the overland freighting firm had met in Washington, and founded the Pony Express. Unfortunately it is difficult to pursue this story further without a more exact citation of source, leaving the origin of the Pony Express still wrapped in some obscurity.

327. *St. Joseph Weekly West*, January 28, 1860.

328. Leavenworth *Daily Times*, January 30, 1860. The comments from Leavenworth papers of this date indicate that it was confidently expected that that town would be the terminal of the Express.

In the founding of the Pony Express it appears that Benjamin F. Ficklin had an important role,<sup>329</sup> second only to William H. Russell, as is indicated by the following initial account in the Washington (D. C.) *Evening Star* (January 30, 1860):

#### AN IMPORTANT ENTERPRISE

We learn that Benj. Ficklin, Esq., a gentleman connected with the business of Messrs. Russell and Major, the well known Army contractors, left this city on Saturday last for the Far West, to establish an independent horse express across the Plains, to California, which shall make the trip between the extreme points to which the magnetic telegraph now operates, in eight days; which for the transmission of news will enable parties in New York and San Francisco to communicate with each other in that time, (eight days,) as the time required to communicate by telegraph between New York and St. Joseph's, Mo., and, again, between San Francisco and Sacramento, will be unappreciable, of course.

Between St. Joseph's and Salt Lake City, Russell and Major have stations every twenty-five miles, and between Salt Lake City and Sacramento Mr. Chorporing [Chorpenning], the mail contractor, has stations the same distance apart. Mr. Ficklin proposes to run the horse express weekly. . . . The distance between St. Joseph's and Sacramento is sixteen hundred miles, and it is proposed to make (with the express) two hundred miles in the twenty-four hours, traveling night and day. A hundred letters (embracing telegraph messages) paying \$5 each will pay the expense of the trip; . . . operations will commence in April next. . . . One of the best points in the affair is, that they do not propose to ask Government pecuniary assistance; a new feature, indeed, in any such far western enterprise.<sup>330</sup>

Without further details of the new venture, both Leavenworth papers hailed the news of the Pony Express as a great development, and assumed that Leavenworth would serve as the eastern terminal. The *Times* ran the following headings:

329. Hafen, author of the *Overland Mail*, points out (p. 165) that Gwin in his "Memoirs" (MSS. of Bancroft Library, University of California) refers to Ficklin as the one "who originated the scheme [of the Pony Express] and carried it into operation." In a speech Gwin spoke of the Pony Express as "fostered and nurtured by his [Gwin's] labor."

330. The Washington correspondence, dated January 29, of the New York *Daily Tribune*, January 30, 1860, added: "Messrs. Russell & Majors, government contractors, intend starting a Courier Express between St. Joseph and Carson City, which is the western terminus [the eastern terminus of the line being built from the west] of the California telegraph, by the 3d of April. Preparatory orders have already been given. The distance is 1,600 miles, which it is proposed to travel in eight days, by horse relays every 25 miles, thus reducing communication between New York and San Francisco within ten days. The cost of dispatches to Carson City will be \$5 apiece. It is estimated that the courier can carry 30 pounds of matter. . . ."

## GREAT EXPRESS ENTERPRISE!

FROM LEAVENWORTH TO  
SACRAMENTO IN TEN DAYS!

Clear the Track and Let the  
Pony Come Through!



The seemingly impossible was about to be accomplished; the "superior advantages of Leavenworth . . . are becoming duly appreciated; and to this token of it we are indebted to the enterprise of Wm. H. Russell."<sup>331</sup>

In order to assure a more sound legal basis than had been possessed by the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express, the organizers of the Pony Express applied for articles of incorporation by the legislature of Kansas territory, which were passed by that body and approved by Gov. S. Medary February 13, 1860.<sup>332</sup> In the section on express companies Chapter CXLIII of the private laws for that session constituted the new charter, under which the stage company and the Pony Express were now to operate:

AN ACT to incorporate the Central Overland California and Pike's peak Express Company.

*Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Kansas:*

SECTION 1. That William H. Russell, John S. Jones, Benjamin F. Ficklin, Alexander Majors, Benjamin C. Card, Webster M. Samuel, Jerome B. Simpson, William B. Waddell, William S. Grant, Luther R. Smoot, John W. Russell, Joseph A. Monheimer, and their associates, successors and assigns, be and they hereby are declared to be a body corporate and politic, by the name, [of] "The Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company . . . [statement of the usual corporate powers followed].

331. Cut of messenger on horseback reproduced from Leavenworth *Daily Times*, January 30, 1860; Leavenworth *Weekly Herald*, February 4. The comments in the former paper indicated that its publishers were still in the dark as to details, but when they considered the projectors, who had accomplished other undertakings of great magnitude, they were prepared to believe the announcement.

332. Leavenworth *Daily Times*, February 13, 1860.



SEC. 2. The capital stock of the said company shall be five hundred thousand dollars, and shall be divided into shares of one hundred dollars each . . . , such company may increase its capital stock . . . as may be deemed necessary. . . .

SEC. 3. The said company may commence business as soon as its capital stock shall be fully subscribed for, . . . .

SECS. 4-6. [These referred to officers, meetings and government of the corporation.]

SEC. 7. The said company shall have power to establish, maintain, and operate any express, stage, passenger, or transportation route or routes, by land or water, for the conveyance of persons, mails, and property from, to, and between any place in Kansas, and any place in or beyond the limits of Kansas, and to create and organize branch companies for the same purpose, and to build, hire, establish, and maintain storehouses, warehouses, and other buildings for the safe keeping of goods, wares, and merchandise and other property . . . , and shall have the power of exploring for minerals, and of mining gold and other ores and metals, and cleansing, refining, and manufacturing the same, and assaying gold or other precious metals. . . .

SEC. 8. That the principal office of the said company shall be kept at Leavenworth city, unless . . . changed by the vote of two-thirds of the directors. . . .

SECS. 9, 10. [SEC. 9 concerned meetings of the directors, and SEC. 10 investment of surplus.]

SECS. 11-13. [Regulations for disposal of unclaimed freight; insurance, and change of name.]

SEC. 14. This act shall take effect immediately.

EDWARD LYNDE,

*Speaker pro tem. of House of Representatives.*

W. W. UPDEGRAFF,

*President of the Council.*

Approved February 13th, 1860.

S. MEDARY, *Governor*.<sup>333</sup>

The legislative report of the Leavenworth *Times* remarked that this was "the great bill of the session" which "if carried out to the fullest extent" would "astonish the natives." It would place Leavenworth "in nearly a straight line from the cities East to the gold fields of the West."<sup>334</sup> This account follows:

333. *Private Laws of the Territory of Kansas, 1860*, pp. 254-259. Concerning the charter see, also, Case No. 12,288, entitled Samuel v. Holladay, tried in the United States Circuit Court, District of Kansas, October, 1869, and reported in *The Federal Cases, Comprising Cases Argued and Determined in the Circuit and District Courts of the United States, Book 21* (St. Paul, 1896), pp. 306-312. [Hereafter cited *Federal Cases*.] It is here stated that the capital stock amounted to \$1,000,000, so apparently by July, 1861, the original sum of \$500,000 had been doubled. This decision examines the legal aspects of the charter, and the actions thereunder, and is considered further in the conclusion of this article. Organization of the "C. O. C." may have had as a further motive the escape from the financial troubles then besetting the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express.

334. Dated Lawrence, February 10, in Leavenworth *Daily Times*, February 13, 1860.

## THE GREAT OVERLAND EXPRESS

It is with the greatest pleasure we feel enabled to announce to the public that the Legislature of Kansas has passed the act granting a charter to the Central Overland Express Co., which will run from Leavenworth to the Pacific Coast via the Gold Region. This enterprise is one of a mammoth character, and will play a great part in the rapid development of the vast region lying between the Missouri and the Pacific. In fact we believe we are not predicting too much when we aver that the establishment of this Express Route will *mark the line of the Pacific Railroad*. The beneficent results likely to flow from this enterprise were so thoroughly appreciated by the Legislature that the charter passed both Houses without a dissentient vote—a fact as marvelous as it was creditable, . . .

We are informed that the incorporators of the Express Company will lose no time in effecting an organization and putting this great enterprise into effective operation. . . . It is only necessary for us to say that our honored fellow citizens—Wm. H. Russell, Wm. B. Waddell, John S. Jones and Luther R. Smoot, head the great enterprise, to convince all that the company will accomplish whatever they attempt, and exceed the anticipations of the most sanguine. These great mariners of the Plains represent an executive ability, a comprehensive knowledge of the wants and necessities incident to overland trade and travel, a fearless independence, a profuse liberality, a faith in Western resources and capabilities, which will make their names conspicuous in the growth and progress of an almost illimitable Region of which it may be truly said—

The elements of Empire here are plastic yet and warm,  
The chaos of a mighty world is rounding into form.<sup>335</sup>

A few days later the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company was formally organized under the new charter, the old firm of Jones and Russell was bought out, and a new slate of officers chosen, which included William H. Russell as president.

## THE NEW OVERLAND EXPRESS COMPANY

The Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company was organized yesterday under a liberal charter from the Territorial Legislature, with A. Majors, John S. Jones, Wm. B. Waddell, B. C. Card, W. S. Grant, [Jerome], B. Simpson, and Wm. H. Russell as Directors; Wm. H. Russell, President; J. B. Simpson, Vice President; J. W. Russell, Secretary and Treasurer, and B[enjamin]. F. Ficklin, General Road Agent. They have purchased the old company of Jones, Russell & Co., who are running the Pike's Peak

335. *Ibid.* Continuing, the article said: "If the general benefits to the West are likely to be of this character, our citizens can form a slight idea of the advantages that Leavenworth will derive from being the Grand Depot and Headquarters of the mammoth express this side of the Rocky Mountains.—The trains, outfits and supplies, with the armies of employees essential to the enterprise, will, of necessity, come from or be associated with our city. The overland traffic and travel, which has already assumed the most gigantic proportions, will pass through and centre here. In fact from this enterprise alone we sincerely believe that an impulse will be given Leavenworth which will place her far above rivalry or competition—the acknowledged and accredited metropolis of the Far West.

"The charter obtained by the Overland Express Company is liberal in its provisions and yet free from anything of an exclusive or monopolistic character. . . . It was a slight return for what these representative men, these indomitable pioneers, have done for the great West. . . ."

Express and Utah Male [*sic*] Line, for the sum of five hundred thousand dollars, and will continue to run the same, together with the Pony Express to Sacramento, California. Time to Carson City, *ten* days, and to Sacramento, *twelve* days.<sup>336</sup>

Although the partners of William H. Russell appear to have been reluctant to embark on a venture with so precarious a future, once the matter had been decided and the "C. O. C." organized, the "spade work" was speedily undertaken. In this Benjamin F. Ficklin played a leading role<sup>337</sup> as chief field man under William H. Russell, a position similar to that of John S. Jones as general superintendent of the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express. Even before the new company had been formally organized Jones & Russell advertised for 200 grey mares to be used on the "horse express":

WANTED

TWO HUNDRED GREY MARES, from four to seven years old, not to exceed fifteen hands high, well broke to the saddle, and

WARRANTED SOUND,

With black hoofs, and suitable for running the "Overland Pony Express."

JONES, RUSSELL & Co.<sup>338</sup>

Feb.10-1w

Among the more urgent preliminary matters were those of providing a suitable route for the fast express line and sufficient stations for the riders. A dispatch from St. Joseph, March 15, 1860, indicated that this was well under way:

We learn that the arrangements of Jones, Russell & Co., for a pony express from this place to California are fast being consummated. A portion of their ponies, riders, and agents have arrived here, and yesterday they started to determine the route, and locate the stations. They expect to commence running about the 5th of April, and will go through in ten days. It is thought

336. *Ibid.*, February 21, 1860.

337. A Denver correspondent, signing himself "Platte," on March 1 wrote to the weekly *Leavenworth Herald*, March 17, 1860: "Mr. B. F. Ficklin, general Road Agent of the Express Company, is an accomplished gentleman and an active, thorough business man. It would please you to have seen him make things fly about when he was coming out. With the preparations that are now being made by this gentleman, there will be little difficulty in making the trip from here to Leavenworth regularly in six days, and in five, if need be, after April 1st." Ficklin occupied a key position, since he was also interested in the project of a telegraph by the Central route to the Pacific, and later was an incorporator of the Pacific Telegraph Co.

338. *Leavenworth Daily Times*, February 10, 1860. This paper added that the trip to Carson Valley was to be performed in eight days, where the first telegraph station would forward the messages to Sacramento over the California telegraph line. "Short as the time may appear . . . the trip will be performed. . . ."

In Frank A. Root and William E. Connelley, *The Overland Stage to California* (Topeka, 1901—hereafter cited *Overland Stage*), p. 106, the authors state that Russell bought some 200 ponies at Salt Lake City, and large numbers in California, Iowa, and Missouri. At San Francisco it was announced that W. W. Finney had bought mules and horses. The animals used were almost always referred to as "ponies," but were really fleet American horses, California mustangs—a small, hardy Mexican stock, then regarded as the fleetest animal in the West. See, also, Arthur Chapman, *The Pony Express* (New York and London, 1932), pp. 84-89.

they will locate the starting point of their messenger and fast freight line, but is is not fully decided yet.<sup>339</sup>

Work of a similar nature was proceeding on the Western end of the line between Salt Lake City and Sacramento—the old Chorpenning mail route, which was very inadequately supplied with stations. It was decided to shorten the line at some places—a notable change to be the adoption of the new road surveyed by J. H. Simpson southwest of Salt Lake City.<sup>340</sup> On March 23, 1860, the Sacramento *Union* announced that W. W. Finney, superintendent of the Western end of the line, had already finished plans for his division with the purchase of 129 mules and horses (about 100 of the latter called ponies), and a train had already been dispatched to stock the line as far as Eagle Valley. From there to Salt Lake City this work was to be carried on from the Mormon metropolis. The stations were to be about 20 to 25 miles apart, so that the ponies might travel to the next station and return once a week, and thereby accommodate a weekly service in each direction.<sup>341</sup> In carrying out this work Finney ran into much trouble in the Sierra region east of Placerville, where late snows greatly increased the cost of feed and provisions, much of which had to be packed on the backs of mules. In this extremity Ben Holliday, who was already operating local stages of his own, came to the rescue of Finney by cashing drafts of the Pike's Peak Express Company, and the work of construction was finished according to schedule.<sup>342</sup>

Late in March the New York *Daily Tribune*, in its classified column headed "Steamboats and Railroads," carried the following announcement of the Pony Express and Western telegraph:

339. New York *Daily Tribune*, March 16, 1860. At this date both Leavenworth and St. Joseph hoped to obtain the eastern terminus.

340. See Wm. M. Egan, ed., *Pioneering the West, 1846 to 1878, Major Howard Egan's Diary* (Richmond, Utah, 1917—The Howard R. Egan estate), pp. 194-201, of which narratives 33 and 34 are entitled "Finding the Egan Trail," and "Pony Express."

341. Chapman, *op. cit.*, pp. 112, 113; also Springfield, Mo., dispatch in New York *Daily Tribune*, April 12, 1860. A San Francisco dispatch of March 30 (via Butterfield Overland Mail) in the *Atchison Union*, April 28, 1860, reported that the superintendent of the Overland Pony Express had arrived in Genoa, Carson Valley, where he met the superintendent of the Salt Lake Telegraph, who reported the arrangements as nearly finished, so that the Express and telegraph at each end of the line would be ready to begin operations on April 30.

342. Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 123. The mountain ranges and lack of waterways rendered it very hard to locate a "best" route in the Great Basin region. There were then only a few inhabited places between Camp Floyd and Carson City (the latter place a "city" in name only). After the Pony Express got under way adobe buildings were constructed at Carson, Sand Springs, and Cold Springs, which were far superior to other structures along this part of the route, many of which were merely tents or shacks, or even dugouts in a hillside (*ibid.*, p. 128).

## STEAMBOATS AND RAILROADS

## TO SAN FRANCISCO IN EIGHT DAYS

By

THE CENTRAL OVERLAND CALIFORNIA

AND

PIKE'S-PEAK EXPRESS COMPANY

The first courier of the Pony Express will leave the Missouri River on TUESDAY, April 3, at 5 o'clock, p. m., and will run regularly weekly thereafter, carrying a Letter-Mail only.

The point of departure on the Missouri River will be in telegraphic connection with the East, and will be announced in due time.

Telegraph messages from all parts of the United States and Canada, in connection with the point of departure, will be received up to 5 o'clock p. m., of the day of leaving, and transmitted over the Placerville and St. Joseph telegraph wire to San Francisco and intermediate points, by the connecting Express, in eight days.

The Letter-Mail will be delivered in San Francisco in ten days from the departure of the Express.

The Express passes through Forts Kearney, Laramie, and Bridger, Great Salt-Lake City, Camp Floyd, Carson City, the Washoe silver mines, Placerville, and Sacramento.

Letters for Oregon, Washington Territory, British Columbia, the Pacific Mexican ports, Russian Possessions, Sandwich Islands, China, Japan, and India, will be mailed in San Francisco.

Special Messengers, bearers of letters to connect with the Express of the 3d of April, will receive communications for the Courier of that day at No. 481 10th st., Washington City, up to 2:45 p. m., on FRIDAY, March 30, and in New York at the office of J. B. Simpson, room No. 8 Continental Bank Building, Nassau St., up to 6:50 a. m., of 31st March.

Full particulars can be obtained on application at the above places and Agents of the Company.

WM. H. RUSSELL, President.

Leavenworth City, Kansas, March, 1860.

Office in New York.—

J. B. SIMPSON, Vice-President.

SAMUEL & ALLEN, Agents, St. Louis.

H. J. SPAULDING, Agent, Chicago.<sup>343</sup>

In an editorial comment the *Tribune* remarked that letters and telegraphic messages would be carried for a \$5 fee (incorrect as to telegrams), and added:

For the present, this Express must make the long detour of Laramie and the South Pass, but it will very soon be run by Denver (or some point on the

<sup>343</sup> New York *Daily Tribune*, March 23, 1860, and for several days thereafter. A similar announcement appeared in the San Francisco *Bulletin*, March 17, 1860, concerning arrangements for the Pacific end of the line, which is quoted in Hafen's *Overland Mail*, pp. 170, 171.

South Platte near that city), and so by the White River branch of the Colorado to Salt Lake, saving at least 300 miles, and reducing the express mail time to San Francisco to nine days and the telegraph time to *seven* days. This is a strictly private enterprise, to be sustained by the voluntary patronage of those who may profit by it; but the Government will often use it to great advantage. The men engaged in it are abundantly able to prosecute it, even at a heavy loss. It is to be run weekly in either direction and we heartily commend it to mercantile favor.<sup>344</sup>

A few days later the *Tribune* announced that the first Pony Express would leave St. Joseph at 5 p. m., Tuesday, April 3, and weekly thereafter on the same day and hour, William H. Russell promising a transit to Virginia (Carson) City (then Utah territory), the first station on the California telegraph line, in eight days.<sup>345</sup> The next issue of the St. Joseph *Weekly West* announced the location of the eastern terminal at that place, rather than Leavenworth,<sup>346</sup> a decision which appears to have been forced upon Russell because of the fact that St. Joseph enjoyed a direct railroad connection with the East, even though he personally favored Leavenworth. From this time on the Leavenworth papers greatly reduced the space they devoted to the Pony Express, and it was even charged by some that Russell had given his home city the "cold shoulder"—no doubt an unfair allegation.<sup>347</sup>

On April 2, 1860, it was announced from St. Joseph that arrangements had been completed for the departure of the first pony at 5 P. M. on the next day. The second departure for California would be Friday, April 13, and regularly thereafter on Friday, to avoid a delay over the Sabbath of letters from New York and the East.<sup>348</sup>

344. New York *Daily Tribune*, March 23, 1860.

345. St. Joseph dispatch, March 27, in *ibid.*, March 28, 1860.

346. St. Joseph *Weekly West*, March 31, 1860.

"CENTRAL OVERLAND ROUTE!

"SAINT JOSEPH TO BE THE STARTING POINT!!

"A rumor, confirming information received by us today, authorizes us to announce the important fact that Messrs. Jones, Russell & Co., have determined to make St. Joseph the starting point at this end of their Overland Route. This is a matter of great importance to our city, as it will divert all the business, passengers and freight to this place. There is no doubt that Messrs. J. R. & Co., will reap much benefit from the change as well as ourselves. . . ."

347. Washington, D. C., letter, dated May 30, of a Leavenworth citizen and friend of Russell, in the Leavenworth *Weekly Herald*, June 9, 1860:

"I think our people are doing Mr. Russell great injustice by impliedly charging upon him ingratitude. He feels this very sensibly, too, inasmuch as our young city has been his special favorite. . . . His interest there exceeds that of any other one man, amounting in the aggregate to over \$200,000. . . ."

"Owing to the Rail Road terminus at St. Joseph, he was compelled to start his Pony Express from that point. . . ."

"He has not, and will not remove his passenger and freight express line from Leavenworth. . . ."

348. A short notice of Jerome B. Simpson, vice-president of the "C. O. C.," appeared in the classified section of the New York *Daily Tribune*, April 9, 1860:

The time to Fort Kearny was to be 34 hours; Great Salt Lake, 124 hours; Carson City, 188 hours; Placerville, 226 hours; Sacramento City, 234 hours; and San Francisco, 240 hours. Telegraphic dispatches were to go to any place in California from any point in the East in about 205 hours.<sup>349</sup> The fee for a letter (one half ounce or less) was fixed at \$5, and a dispatch from any point in Eastern United States on telegraph lines to San Francisco, \$6.90 for a 10-word message, and 20 cents for each additional word.<sup>350</sup>

The close coöperation of the Pony Express and telegraph was illustrated by the following announcement of Charles M. Stebbins, superintendent of the Missouri telegraph lines west of St. Louis, which gave the precise details of the sending of dispatches by telegraph:

We learn from Mr. Stebbins, the Superintendent of the lines west of this city, that they commence receiving despatches for the California Pony Express to-day. Each message will be numbered, and will be forwarded from the first station of the telegraph line in Carson Valley in the same order as received here. Parties wishing their despatches to take precedence must therefore send them in early. The lines will receive despatches up to 5 p. m. of Tuesday next. Triplicates will be sent, and every precaution will be taken to prevent their destruction by water or wear and tear. The tariff from St. Louis to any point in California, including express and all other charges, will be \$5.30 for the first ten words, and ten cents for each additional word; and if messages fail to go through ahead of any other route, the money will be refunded. The rates from New York and other Atlantic Cities are \$6.90 for ten words, and twenty cents for each additional word, subject to the same conditions.<sup>351</sup> [On May 22, 1860, the *Tribune* quoted the charge for extra words as 30 cents.]

The Pony Express was inaugurated April 3, 1860, with a celebration at St. Joseph in honor of "the greatest enterprise of modern

"TO CALIFORNIA IN EIGHT DAYS!

By

THE CENTRAL OVERLAND CALIFORNIA

AND

PIKE'S PEAK EXPRESS COMPANY."

Letters would be received up to 3 o'clock Monday afternoon of each week, at the company office, Room No. 8, Continental Bank Bldg., and telegrams up to 7 o'clock Thursday evening at the office of the American Telegraph Co., 2½ Wall St.

349. St. Joseph dispatch in *ibid.*, April 3, 1860. A more complete time table appeared in the Elwood *Free Press* of April 7, with the following added stations: Marysville, 12 hours; Laramie, 80 hours; Bridger, 108 hours, and Camp Floyd, 128 hours.

350. St. Joseph *Weekly West*, April 7, 1860.

351. St. Louis dispatch, March 31, in New York *Daily Tribune*, April 2, 1860. The "Stebbins Line" was being projected as a link in the Pacific telegraph-to-be, as was apparent from its title of "St. Louis, Salt Lake and California Telegraph," but it did not become the main line.

Pony Express dispatches were carried in a specially designed *mochila* attached to the saddle, containing four *cantinas* or boxes of hard leather which could be locked. See description and illustration in Chapman, *op. cit.*, pp. 86, 87.

times," which a border paper hailed as a seeming "impossibility," but one which they were confident would be accomplished, due to the "well known energy" of its president and directors. It promised to "benefit St. Joseph in a very marked and visible degree." Messages would be received up to 4:30 P. M. of the inaugural day, and would be carried across the continent in the quickest time on record.<sup>352</sup>

The first Express was scheduled to leave the United States Express office of Hinckley & Co., in St. Joseph at 5 P. M., but was slowed up by the delay of the messenger from New York and Washington with the Eastern dispatches.<sup>353</sup> While the pony and its rider waited, a great crowd of people gathered. The assembled multitude "being desirous of preserving a memento of the flying messenger, the little pony was almost robbed of his tail."<sup>354</sup> Mayor M. Jeff. Thompson and Messrs. Russell, Majors and others made brief and appropriate addresses, setting forth the advantages to be derived from this "magnificent undertaking."<sup>355</sup>

This is but the precursor, as Mr. Majors justly remarked, of another, a more important, and a greater enterprise, which must soon reach its culmination, viz: the construction of the road upon which the tireless iron horse will start on his long overland journey, opening up as he goes the rich meadows of nature, the fertile valleys, and crowning the eminences of the rocky range with evidences of civilization and man's irresistible mania of progression. . . . Of a truth, "the desert shall blossom as the rose."<sup>356</sup>

At about 7 P. M. the messenger arrived, making possible a departure at 7:15, thereby delaying the first Pony Express only about two and a quarter hours.

At 7¼ o'clock, the bag containing voluminous telegraphic dispatches from all parts of the country for *The Sacramento Union*, *The San Francisco Bulletin* and *The Alta California*, together with 49 letters, 5 private telegrams, and some papers for San Francisco and intermediate points, was, by the request of W. H. Russell, placed upon the pony, a spirited bay mare, by Mayor

352. St. Joseph *Weekly West*, April 7, 1860. "The magnitude of this enterprise can scarcely be conceived. . . . Pending the completion of the overland telegraph line, the transmission of messages over this route will be the most speedy known to modern times."

353. St. Joseph dispatch, dated April 4, to the New York *Daily Tribune*, April 5, 1860; also a special account in the *Weekly West*, April 7, 1860, which added: "The messenger from New York, with the through dispatches left that city on Saturday morning, but was detained twenty-four hours in Detroit, reaching this city at five [seven] o'clock last evening, via the Palmyra Branch and Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad, making the distance from the Mississippi to the Missouri in the unprecedented time of four hours and fifty-one minutes. . . . The train consisted of only the engine and one passenger car, running something over forty miles an hour. . . ." (See, also, Chapman, *op cit.*, pp. 102-104.)

354. St. Joseph *Weekly Free Democrat*, April 7, 1860.

355. St. Joseph *Weekly West*, April 7, 1860; New York *Daily Tribune*, April 5, 1860.

356. St. Joseph *Weekly West*, April 7, 1860. The *Tribune* added (April 5): "All telegraphic dispatches . . . are duplicated on paper, beside a triplicate being taken on linen prepared for the purpose in indelible ink, and carefully sealed. Water-proof copies are thus forwarded to different points in order to guard against any chance of delay or miscarriage."



Thomason [Thompson], amid great enthusiasm, when the little bay dashed off at a rapid rate, bearing her burden toward the Golden State.<sup>357</sup>

The *St. Joseph Weekly West* gave further details about "Billy" Richardson, the Pony Express rider on this occasion, and the "fine bay mare" that was to run the first lap of the long journey:

Horse and rider started off amid the loud and continuous cheers of the assembled multitude, all anxious to witness every particular of the inauguration of this . . . enterprise. . . . The rider is a Mr. Richardson, formerly a sailor, and a man accustomed to every description of hardship, having sailed for years amid the snows and ice bergs of the Northern ocean. He was to ride last night the first stage of forty miles, changing horses once, in five hours; and before this paragraph meets the eyes of our readers, the various dispatches contained in the saddlebags, which left here at dark last evening, will have reached the town of Marysville on the Big Blue, one hundred and twelve miles distant—an enterprise never before accomplished even in this proverbially fast portion of a fast country.<sup>358</sup>

On the same day that the "spirited bay mare" left St. Joseph with "Billy" Richardson the rider, a "little nankeen-colored pony" left the San Francisco office of the Alta Telegraph Company, on Montgomery street, with James Randall as its rider, on a like mission to the East.<sup>359</sup> The 2,000 miles of plains, mountains and deserts that intervened between the Missouri river and the Pacific coast included some of the wildest regions of North America, the worst part of which was the desert and mountainous stretch between Salt Lake City and Sacramento. For a long distance, however, the route followed was largely that of the Oregon and California trail by way of the Platte, which was relatively improved, and was substantially

357. *New York Daily Tribune*, April 5, 1860. The *Leavenworth Daily Times* of the same date remarked: "Our neighbors of St. Joseph had a jolly time, April 3d, over the starting of the Pony Express . . . with forty-nine letters, nine telegrams, and newspapers for the California Press. A large undertaking this! An enterprise great as the country!" The *Atchison Union* (April 7) remarked that the first Express arrived at Kennekuk, 44 miles from St. Joseph but only 22 miles from Atchison, in four hours and fifteen minutes. "If the Government had provided for running this express from and to Atchison, the extreme Western Rail Road and Telegraph point, over two hours would have been saved in the transit. . . ." The existing arrangement seemed to have been ordered "to subservise certain local interests." In February, 1860, the Hannibal & St. Joseph railroad was extended to a point opposite Atchison, necessitating the use of a ferry until a bridge was constructed across the Missouri river, continuous service not being inaugurated until June 13, 1860.

An additional account from the *St. Joseph Gazette*, April 4, 1860, is quoted by Howard R. Driggs, in *The Pony Express Goes Through* (New York, 1935), pp. 38, 39.

358. *Weekly West*, April 7, 1860, quoted above. The identity of this rider was long in dispute, it being maintained that Johnny Frey was the first messenger, riding a coal black horse. The accounts quoted above agree that it was a spirited "bay mare," although only one names the rider. These mooted points were carefully examined by Louise Platt Hauck in 1923, at the behest of the Pony Express celebration committee, and are reviewed in her article in the *Missouri Historical Review* (v. 17, pp. 435-439), of Columbia, entitled "The Pony Express Celebration." She concluded that "Billy" Richardson was undoubtedly the first rider, and Johnny Frey probably the second. It is possible that an error of memory arose in many of the accounts, due to the fact that on the same day that the second pony left St. Joseph (April 13), with Frey the rider, a celebration was in progress in honor of the safe arrival from California of the first eastbound express.

359. San Francisco *Alta California*, April 4, 1860, quoted in Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 116. Randall carried 85 letters, but his pony took the boat to Sacramento, where the first real rider, William Hamilton, began the long, arduous journey. The San Francisco ceremonial was really a bit of stage play to properly inaugurate the Express, since the permanent terminal was placed at Sacramento, from which letters were thereafter sent by water to the Golden Gate. (Telegraphic dispatches were sent from points still farther east.)

the same road as that of the overland mail to Salt Lake City and California. The following description of the Pony Express trail is probably one of the best accounts:

The route from St. Joseph, after crossing the Missouri river, lay a little south of west until it struck the old overland military road at Kennekuk, forty-four miles out. Thence it diverged a little northwesterly across the Kickapoo Indian reservation *via* Granada, Log Chain, Seneca, Ash Point, Guittard's, Marysville, and Hollenberg; up the charming Little Blue valley to Rock Creek, Big Sandy, Liberty Farm, and over the rolling prairies to Thirty-two-mile Creek; thence across the divide and over the prairies and sand-hills to the Platte river and due west up the valley to Fort Kearney. . . .

Westward from Fort Kearney the road for 200 miles was along the Platte river, near the south bank of the stream, *via* Plum Creek, Midway, Cottonwood Springs, Fremont Springs, O'Fallon's Bluffs, Alkali, Beauvais Ranch, and Diamond Springs, to old Julesburg. Here the South Fork was forded, and the pony moved northwesterly and went up Lodge Pole creek, across the country to Thirty-mile Ridge, and along it to Mud Springs; thence to Court-house Rock, past Chimney Rock and Scott's Bluffs, and on to Fort Laramie; thence over the foot-hills at the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains, *via* South Pass, to Fort Bridger, Salt Lake City, Camp Floyd, Ruby Valley, the Humboldt, Carson City, Placerville, Folsom, and Sacramento, where the pony was changed for the steamer to San Francisco.<sup>360</sup>

As the ponies on the first trip sped toward their destination, reports of their passage were brought back by the mail coaches they met along the way, which indicated that from the start the Pony Express had adhered to its schedule.<sup>361</sup> Around midnight, May 14, 1860, when the pony reached San Francisco by the boat *Antelope* from Sacramento, a great throng roared an enthusiastic welcome, the band played "See, the Conquering Hero Comes," bonfires were lighted, the speechmakers "studied their points," and a riotous celebration continued until nearly morning.<sup>362</sup>

360. Root and Connelley, *Overland Stage*, p. 113. See Mary Pack, "The Romance of the Pony Express," *Union Pacific Magazine*, v. II, August, 1923, pp. 6-9, 28, 29, which gives a map indicating the similarity of routes of the Pony Express and the San Francisco Overland Limited of the Union Pacific railroad, along with an interesting account and many illustrations; also Footnote 284 and adjacent text in the November, 1945, issue. W. R. Honnell of Kansas City constructed probably the best "Map of the Pony Express Route," and also wrote a short account which is published in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. V, pp. 66-71.

361. See Mark Twain (Samuel L. Clemens), *Roughing It* (Hartford, Conn., 1872), which gives a colorful account of his trip by Pike's Peak Express to Carson City, and describes the Pony Express, pointing out that, while the stage coach travelled 100 to 125 miles per day, the pony rider made about 250 in the same time. His famous description (p. 72) follows:

"Away across the endless dead level of the prairie a black speck appears against the sky, and it is plain that it moves. . . . In a second or two it becomes a horse and rider, rising and falling, rising and falling—sweeping toward us nearer and nearer—growing more and more distinct, more and more sharply defined—nearer and still nearer, and the flutter of the hoofs comes faintly to the ear—another instant a whoop and a hurrah from our upper deck, a wave of the rider's hand, but no reply, and the man and horse burst past our excited faces, and go winging away like a belated fragment of a storm!

"So sudden is it all, and so like a flash of unreal fancy, that but for the flake of white foam . . . we might have doubted whether we had seen any actual horse and man at all. . . ."

362. Chapman, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-148; Hafen, *Overland Mail*, pp. 173-174.

Just ten days after its departure from San Francisco the first east-bound Pony Express arrived in St. Joseph and was awarded a most enthusiastic welcome. A St. Joseph newspaper remarked:

The Pony Express arrived in our city at five o'clock yesterday afternoon, just ten days from San Francisco. The event was duly and grandly celebrated last night, by fire-works, firing of cannon, parade of the military, and illumination of Market square. . . . Twenty, or even ten years ago, the man who would have suggested such an event would have been termed a lunatic.

Hurrah, then, for the Pony Express and its enterprising proprietors. Long may they live, and soon be the time when the "Iron Horse" shall supersede the Pony.<sup>363</sup>

The Leavenworth *Daily Times* remarked that now the Pacific was in close proximity to the Atlantic. The run from San Francisco to Salt Lake City was made in two days and twenty hours and had there been no snow in the mountains the whole trip would have been completed in eight days.

Nor is this great triumph to be without fruit. . . . Government is laggard. In all that relates to the interest of the West . . . , it has been niggard as well as laggard. It can be so no longer. This great success of private energy will prick the mind of the country to the necessity of Western wants, and compel Government to attend to these wants quickly and well.<sup>364</sup>

The initial dispatches by Pony Express and telegraph from the Pacific coast did not appear in the St. Joseph *Weekly West* until the following week (April 21), with a schedule of arrivals en route, and words in appreciation of the work of Benjamin F. Ficklin as general superintendent.

The number of letters brought through was eighty-five. The complete success which has attended the first trip . . . is due in no small degree to the efforts of Ben. Ficklin, the efficient superintendent, who has been over the route and has the general management of the enterprise.<sup>365</sup>

A summary of Pacific news followed, dated San Francisco, April 3, 1860, which set the pattern for later Pony Express dispatches. This same news appeared in the New York *Daily Tribune*, April 16, being delayed a day by the activities of a band of horse thieves be-

363. St. Joseph *Weekly Free Democrat*, April 14, 1860; New York *Daily Tribune*, April 16, 1860. The St. Joseph *Weekly West* asserted this would demonstrate the practical nature of transcontinental communication in less than one-half the previous time, which would be reduced by the telegraph "until New York and San Francisco are joined in the fraternal embrace of progress. . . ."

364. Leavenworth *Daily Times*, April 16, 1860. On April 24, 1860, M. Jeff. Thompson, mayor of St. Joseph and president of a Pacific railroad being projected to the West, presided at a celebration at Elwood inaugurating the enterprise.

365. *Weekly West*, April 21, 1860. In another column this same paper discussed "The Pony Express and the Pacific Railroad," and pointed out that because of the success of this venture, "we are glad to see a new impulse to the Pacific Railroad feeling in different parts of the Union." They had "never had the shadow of a doubt but that the route from this place by way of Salt Lake was that upon which the road ought to be built," and now "the result of this last enterprise . . . has placed the question beyond dispute. The road must start from St. Joseph. . . ."

tween Kansas City and Leavenworth, who cut the wires in several places. The publication of this news only 13 days after its transmission at San Francisco meant a great victory of the Pony Express and its collaborators, the Pacific and Overland telegraph companies, for the Central route, over the Butterfield line.<sup>366</sup> From this time on, as long as the Pony Express was in regular operation, the Pacific and Oriental news was sent by this route, which with the telegraph on both ends made possible a marked saving of time, a trans-continental transit now being possible in about 10 days. This was a potent demonstration of the desirability of the Central route, which could be understood by everyone.<sup>367</sup> A few weeks later the majority report of the special committee of congress on the Pacific railroad was made public. It favored the central route by the Platte valley and Great Salt Lake, with branches from the western boundaries of Iowa and Missouri. The committee concluded that this was by far the most important emigrant route, with many settlements along the way, including the Pike's Peak and Washoe mining areas, and enjoyed the advantages of easy grade and few streams to bridge.<sup>368</sup> As one historian concludes: "No single influence did more to give prominence to the Platte trail than the decision to use it for the pony express, which was started in 1860."<sup>369</sup>

From the very start the Pony Express attained a regularity of service which could be depended upon. When for any cause it was delayed immediate concern and disappointment was voiced by the

366. The one and a half column article in the *Tribune* was headed:

"FROM CALIFORNIA  
SUCCESS OF THE PONY EXPRESS  
ARRIVAL OF THE JAPANESE EMBASSY  
THE SILVER AND GOLD MINES

"St. Joseph, Mo., Saturday, April 14, 1860.—The first messenger on the Central Overland Pony Express arrived here at 4 o'clock yesterday afternoon, with California dates to April 3, and Carson Valley dates to the 4th.

"This messenger came through in ten days to a minute, he having left San Francisco at 4 p. m. on April 3."

The dispatch from Carson City remarked: "The Pony Express is greeted with great enthusiasm by the people of the Valley . . . as we have had but a semimonthly mail during the past winter." The telegraph had already reached a point 30 miles east of that city, and its early extension would probably reduce the time from St. Joseph to San Francisco to eight days.

367. The Butterfield Overland Mail had long been the means of transmitting the California news, but now was superseded by the swifter Pony Express, with the exception of the period of the Pah Ute Indian war in Nevada (then western Utah). A telegraph was now projected along this line from Springfield, Mo., to Fort Smith, Ark., Fort Yuma (Ariz.), and Los Angeles, which it was hoped would soon afford equally good service (probably with a second Pony Express to complete the connection).—New York *Daily Tribune*, April 6, 9, 1860. The western end of this telegraph was soon completed to Visalia (Cal.), where it halted for some time.

368. St. Joseph *Weekly West*, April 28, 1860; Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 90, 91. The congressional report mentioned St. Joseph as a suitable eastern terminal.

369. Paxson, *op. cit.*, p. 465.

public. The following dispatch from St. Joseph illustrates this feeling:

The Pony Express, due here yesterday, has not yet arrived, and is now twenty-four hours behind time. The delay is probably caused by high water in the mountain streams. The last express coming East, while going at a rapid rate in the night, the horse stumbled over an ox lying in the road, throwing the rider, and the horse fell upon him, so badly crushing him that it was feared he would soon die. Notwithstanding this accident, the express arrived here on time. The express leaving here tonight will take out a full summary of news and detailed accounts of the great prize fight [Heenan vs. Sayers] and other European advices up to the 18th. This will put the news from London and Liverpool through to California in the short space of twenty days.<sup>370</sup>

The Pony Express considerably improved communications with both Europe and the Orient, particularly when it made good connections with a departing messenger. Oriental news along with that from California, Oregon, British Columbia, and occasionally from Mexico, was regularly dispatched to the East, while Eastern and European news went by this medium to the Pacific. The Pony Express with San Francisco dates of May 11, 1860, reported:

The Japanese corvette sailed homeward via Honolulu on the 7th inst., having been completely repaired at the Navy Yard free of charge. A farewell festival was given to her officers. . . . She started immediately after the arrival of the Pony Express. . . . Her homeward trip will be a complete transmission of news around the world in quicker time than ever before made.<sup>371</sup>

In May, 1860, the directors of the Pony Express opened an office in New York City where letters would be received up to the close of business on Tuesday, and telegrams to a corresponding time on Saturday, to be dispatched on the westbound Pony Express at 11 P. M. on Saturday, and announced the following schedule of rates:

The tariff is as follows: for ten words, [by telegram] \$6.90, and for each additional word, thirty cents. The express charges are: letters weighing half an ounce or under, \$5; over half an ounce and under an ounce, \$10; in all cases to be inclosed in government stamped envelopes, and all express charges

370. St. Joseph dispatch, April 28, in *New York Daily Tribune*, April 30, 1860. The same issue of this paper gave details of the prize fight in England, in which John C. Heenan, "the Benecia Boy," won over his opponent Tom Sayers in a 37-round bout, in which the victor knocked down his adversary 13 times.

Almost every California news summary by Pony Express during the first weeks of operation remarked that the news by steamboat or overland stage (Butterfield route) had been anticipated by the pony and telegraph. That arriving at St. Joseph on May 14 asserted that the last previous westbound pony had arrived at the outer telegraph station in Carson Valley in only seven days and four hours from St. Joseph.

371. St. Louis dispatch to *ibid.*, May 22, 1860. At that time a visiting delegation from Japan was being lionized wherever it appeared. The *St. Joseph Weekly West*, April 21, 1860, announced the transmission of a dispatch by Pony Express and telegraph with news of the arrival in San Francisco of the clipper ship *Andrew Jackson*, 99 days out of New York. This account claimed that previously no return was expected in less than six months, after a voyage of 18,000 miles around Cape Horn.

prepaid. Persons sending letters by this express should see that they are thoroughly dried, to prevent mildew.<sup>372</sup>

Almost from the beginning the Pony Express was threatened by Indian attack, since its route traversed the Indian country for long distances. In April, 1860, rumors of impending hostilities were general in the West. The war actually began May 7 with an attack by Pah-Ute Indians on the station of J. O. Williams, in which seven men were killed and the house burned.<sup>373</sup> The westbound Pony Express apparently got through ahead of the main outbreak, with news of the attack, which quickly spread over a wide territory of Carson Valley and forced the closing of numerous stations along the route toward Salt Lake City. The Express due at St. Joseph, May 28 arrived a day late, bringing dispatches from Salt Lake, but none from California, and with the following note attached to the Salt Lake way bill:

The rider has just come in. The Indians have chased all the men from the stations between Diamond Spring and Carson Valley. The pouch in which the express matter is carried is lost.<sup>374</sup>

The problem of "chastizing" the Indians was naturally beyond the resources of the Express company. W. W. Finney, division agent at San Francisco, told of attacks along the line and described his efforts to obtain aid from General Clark, in command at the San Francisco Presidio. Finney admitted that the Pony Express was an individual enterprise, with no right to call for protection, but since it used the same route as that of the United States mail he believed it deserved government protection, which might be accomplished with 75 armed men. Since Clark could not spare that many Finney despaired of the consequences.<sup>375</sup> When news of the attack on the Pony Express arrived in Washington a number of congressmen requested the intervention of the War Department. Sec. John

372. New York *Daily Tribune*, May 22, 1860.

373. Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of Nevada, Colorado and Wyoming* (San Francisco, 1890—*Works*, v. XXV), p. 209 *et seq.*; Effie Mona Mack, *Nevada—a History of the State* . . . (Glendale, Cal., 1936), p. 302—the chapter headed "Last Stand of the Nevada Indian." The latter author points out that the real cause of this attack is not definitely known, but two stories exist, both of which blame the occupants of Williams' station. One account charges that they seized several young Bannock squaws (allies of the Pah-Utes), leading to a punitive expedition by the red men, and another that the station keeper, J. O. Williams, himself stole a horse of a Pah-Ute, leading to retribution on this score. Even before this attack it was reported that 30 horses belonging to the Pony Express had been stolen by the Indians (San Francisco dispatch, April 27, in New York *Daily Tribune*, May 8, 1860). William H. Russell replied that inasmuch as the Express still operated, there could be no foundation for the rumor.—Leavenworth *Daily Times*, May 10, 1860. To the red man the Pony Express was the visible symbol of a civilization that was threatening to displace him from his homeland.

374. St. Joseph dispatch to New York *Daily Tribune*, May 31, 1860. On the last trip the Indians were reported to have killed two Express riders. The distance of 1,200 miles between Salt Lake and St. Joseph was made by this Express in five days and seven hours.

375. San Francisco dispatch, May 28, via Butterfield overland mail to *ibid.*, June 18, 1860, a detailed account from the San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin*, May 26, 1860.

B. Floyd directed the commandant at Camp Floyd to dispatch enough men to protect the route through the zone of trouble.<sup>376</sup> The settlers sent a small force against the Indians, which met destruction in an engagement near Pyramid Lake, causing a wave of panic throughout Carson Valley.<sup>377</sup> A large force supported by regulars then decisively defeated and scattered the Indians under Winnemucca in fighting along the Truckee river, June 2, but did not end the Pony Express troubles, which continued for about a month thereafter. During this time additional stations were destroyed, several more agents were killed, and stock was run off.<sup>378</sup>

On June 1, 1860, an announcement was made at San Francisco that Pony Express service had been suspended until the route could be properly safeguarded.<sup>379</sup> Both Sacramento and San Francisco advanced funds to reopen the line,<sup>380</sup> and a company of "twenty picked men, well armed," left Carson City to accomplish this, and to cooperate with the federals from Camp Floyd. On June 22 the first westbound Express arrived at Carson Valley with all the mail of the detained Expresses, bearing St. Louis dates to June 9, and the prospect of reestablishing the enterprise was a matter of general congratulation.<sup>381</sup> An Express reached the Pacific coast June 30, but a two weeks' interruption followed, which caused much concern, the politicians being "almost frantic for intelligence from the Baltimore convention, having received news only up to the time of organization, and that by all the routes, ocean and overland."<sup>382</sup> Finally the Express of July 1 arrived at San Francisco on the 16th, with letters carried by the preceding pony, and reported that the delay was due to waiting west of Salt Lake for an escort of soldiers. Traveling with them it was possible to make only 40 miles per day. The route between Carson Valley and Salt Lake was then cleared of Indians and well stocked, promising well for the future.<sup>383</sup> This undertaking was not finished, however, until William C. Marley

376. Weekly Leavenworth *Herald*, June 9, 1860.

377. Mack, *op. cit.*, pp. 303-305.

378. *Ibid.*, p. 308. A San Francisco dispatch of June 4, in New York *Daily Tribune*, June 26, 1860, reported the stations abandoned beyond Sand Springs toward Salt Lake. The station at Simpson Park was burned, and the horses driven off; the station keeper at Dry creek was murdered.

379. San Francisco dispatch to *Tribune*, June 23, 1860. The Express of May 18 and 25 had already passed eastward through Carson Valley, but the latter was reported to have turned back because of the destruction of the stations.

380. *Ibid.*, June 23, 1860.

381. San Francisco dispatch, June 25, via the Butterfield overland mail to *ibid.*, July 16, 1860. For some time Ruby Valley station, 300 miles west of Salt Lake was the one farthest west (this side of the trouble zone) not interfered with by the Indians. At this time it was announced that the Pony Express would begin semiweekly trips from St. Joseph (apparently to take care of the emergency).

382. *Ibid.*, July 27, 1860.

383. *Ibid.*, August 1, 1860.

returned to San Francisco in the fall of 1860, after completing the work along 400 miles of the line eastward from Carson Valley.<sup>384</sup> Late in August Col. F. W. Lander reported having interviewed the principal Pah-Ute chief, Numaga, who promised to keep his warriors quiet for a year, until the dispute could be probed at Washington, thereby ending further danger to the Pony Express and overland route.<sup>385</sup>

The Pah-Ute war necessitated a large additional outlay by the Express Company, said to have been upwards of \$75,000.<sup>386</sup> Although temporary, it was a distinct setback and gave the Butterfield overland mail a brief chance to regain its lost business, and "anticipate" the news dispatches of its rival, while the telegraph by this southwestern route was being extended at both ends of the line, in a race for supremacy.<sup>387</sup> The general public did not blame the company for the suspension of service. It resulted in a keener appreciation of the need of better federal protection of the overland routes, gave the Pony Express even more publicity, and demonstrated the high regard in which it was already held by the people along the way, particularly in California.<sup>388</sup>

By August 1, 1860, popular confidence in the regularity and permanence of the Pony Express had been generally restored—it now served as a regular carrier of the California and Oriental news,<sup>389</sup> just as the Pike's Peak Express did that of the Colorado region. Accidents did occur, however, as the one chronicled in the following dispatch:

The pony which should have brought the express letters, with St. Louis dates to Aug. 4, arrived at Carson River on the morning of the 15th, without rider or letter bags. The supposition is that the horse threw the rider and got away, or else that the Indians killed the rider, took the letter-bags, and allowed the horse to escape—the latter part of the theory not being probable, as the Indians would have kept the horse also. The pony arrived at the

384. San Francisco dispatch, September 26, to *Tribune*, October 9, 1860. A San Francisco dispatch, dated August 11, of the *Leavenworth Daily Times*, August 25, 1860, read: "The patronage of the Pony Express is greatly increasing, since their trips are made in due time and news received of the safe arrival of all letters sent Eastward. The new buildings being put up . . . for three hundred miles East of Carson Valley . . . are sixty feet square, with stone walls eight feet high . . . to serve as forts when necessary."

385. Telegraph and Pony Express dispatch to St. Joseph *Weekly Free Democrat*, September 15, 1860; Bancroft's *History of Nevada, Colorado and Wyoming*, p. 216. Lander's agreement was ratified by Major Dodge, Indian agent for this region.

386. Root and Connelley, *Overland Stage*, p. 122.

387. Early in June, 1860, the Pacific and Atlantic telegraph was completed to Visalia, Cal., 280 miles from San Francisco, and by the following July the poles were up nearly to Los Angeles on the Butterfield route, while the Missouri and Western telegraph on the eastern end of the same line had reached Fort Smith, Ark.

388. A memorial was sent to congress for a daily overland mail, and governmental encouragement of the Pony Express.

389. Thus the Pony Express that arrived at St. Joseph August 6, carried California advices to July 25, Japan to June 26, and China to May 26, 1860, and in addition dispatches from western Mexico.—New York *Daily Tribune*, August 7.



station only a few hours behind time; so that the accident, or whatever was the matter, must have happened but a short distance east of Carson Valley.<sup>390</sup>

The importance of the Pony Express as a carrier of news to the people of California was heightened by the presidential campaign of 1860. By October of that year there was intense anxiety in that state concerning the result of the Pennsylvania election, which was held a month early, because of its bearing upon the spirited contest in California.<sup>391</sup> When the news arrived by telegraph and Pony Express it created a sensation, making the Republicans exceedingly jubilant and encouraging them to put forth their greatest efforts to carry the state for Lincoln.<sup>392</sup> The first eastbound pony after the November election with California returns passed the outer telegraph station at Fort Kearny early on November 22, but failed to leave its news dispatches, causing a wail of disappointment.<sup>393</sup> These first dispatches reported a very close contest, with Lincoln leading over Douglas by only a few hundred votes, and an official recount necessary.<sup>394</sup> About a month after the election an Express arrived at Fort Kearny with news that Lincoln had a safe plurality, ending public suspense.<sup>395</sup> Besides the regular westbound Express with pre-election news which left St. Joseph November 5 for California, an extra left Fort Kearny the day after that event, with considerable ceremony, as related in the following account:

An extra Pony Express with the election returns for California left here for Carson Valley at 1 o'clock today. . . . Both rider and horse were tastefully decorated with ribbons, &c, and they departed amid the cheering of a large and enthusiastic gathering. The run is expected to be quicker than ever yet made between here and the outer station of the California telegraph lines. The ponies leaving St. Joseph on Thursday, 8th, and Sunday morning, 11th, are also to make double quick time, calling here for the latest telegraph dates."<sup>396</sup>

This Express arrived in Salt Lake City, 950 miles distant, in three

390. San Francisco dispatch, August 18, to *ibid.*, September 1, 1860. Occasional reports of Indian troubles persisted—Agent Bromley in the Fort Laramie area asserted that his ponies had been run off by the Indians, delaying the Express 24 hours. The theft of horses was not confined to the aborigines, however.

391. San Francisco dispatch, October 17, to *ibid.*, October 31, 1860. This Express was 40 hours late when it arrived at St. Joseph, due to a storm on the plains.

392. California dispatch, October 24, in *ibid.*, November 7, 1860.

393. St. Louis dispatch in *ibid.*, November 23, 1860. "The press, as well as the public, are under heavy obligations to Messrs. Russell, Majors & Co., the gentlemanly and efficient managers of the Pony Express, and they will, we doubt not, give such orders to their assistants as will effectually prevent the recurrence of the present and past omissions to deliver the public news from the Pacific to the nearest telegraph station, which at present is at Fort Kearney."

394. *Ibid.*, November 24 and 26, 1860.

395. *Ibid.*, December 11, quoting a San Francisco dispatch of November 28, 1860. Final official returns were published in the December 20 *Tribune*, and gave Lincoln a plurality of 757 votes over Douglas, and 4,750 over Breckinridge. Lincoln's California vote surprised the politicians of that state.

396. Fort Kearny dispatch in *ibid.*, November 8, 1860.

days and four hours,<sup>397</sup> and reached the outer telegraph station at Fort Churchill November 14, 1860, thereby making a record passage by Pony Express and telegraph of six days, with the news of Lincoln's probable election.

At 8 o'clock today [14th] the Express arrived at Fort Churchill, Utah, whence news of the result of the Presidential election was sent to San Francisco, and published in the extra *Bulletin* and *Alta* before nine o'clock, the news having been expressed from St. Joseph to the telegraph station in the unprecedented time of six days. It produced a great sensation. The Republican State Central Committee issued an address urging a general illumination of San Francisco tomorrow evening.<sup>398</sup>

With the approach of winter operation of the Pony Express was threatened by the heavy snows that prevailed along portions of the route. As early as late October a severe storm of wind, hail and snow struck the Julesburg area, forcing the emigrant trains to gather around the stage station, and detaining the Pony Express five hours.<sup>399</sup> On December 1, 1860, William H. Russell officially announced a change of schedule of the Pony Express for the winter months, with an increase of time to 15 days between St. Joseph and San Francisco, and 11 days between the outer telegraph stations of Forts Kearny and Churchill.

This Schedule will be continued running as now semi-weekly trips during the winter, or until Congress shall provide for a tri-weekly Mail Service, which alone will enable the company to return to present or a shorter schedule, the present mail service between Julesburg and Placerville being only semi-monthly, which is not sufficient to keep the route open during winter.

WM. H. RUSSELL,  
President.<sup>400</sup>

Late in December a Pony Express rider was reported to have frozen to death.<sup>401</sup> Yet despite the storms of winter the Expresses

397. St. Joseph dispatch to *ibid.*, November 26, 1860. The next regular Express made the 1,200 miles from St. Joseph to Salt Lake City in four days and 23 hours. A special trip of the Pony Express was made to Denver, the distance of 696 miles being run in two days and 21 hours, with news of Lincoln's election, partially anticipated by a coach of the Western Stage Company from Fort Kearny. Neither Denver nor Salt Lake City patronized the Pony Express to any great extent, as compared to California.

398. San Francisco dispatch, November 14, in *ibid.*, November 26, 1860. A dispatch of November 17 from the same place (*ibid.*, November 29) reported that news of Lincoln's election had greatly quieted political feelings in that state. The Republican illumination in honor of his election had been a complete failure—not over 50 houses responded, the Republicans not being in an exultant mood. All parties feared serious trouble in the future.

399. Leavenworth *Daily Times*, November 1, 1860.

400. Advertisement dated Leavenworth City in *ibid.*, December 1, 1860. A reduction of Express rates was announced at the same time. Compare also Russell's statement (cited above), September 27, 1860, concerning the imminent expiration of the Salt Lake mail contract (November, 1860): "A mail contract alone would justify us to continue the Pony. . . . We have however attained our principal object, that of practically demonstrating that the route is feasible and practical, and with a good mail contract, and in that way only, the Express can be sustained." The Pony Express itself was independent of any direct government support.

401. Fort Kearny dispatch to New York *Daily Tribune*, December 27, 1860. Due to snow over nearly the entire route, the Express that passed that place on January 20 was almost two days late, and soon thereafter the westbound messenger was also reported late, but such cases were decidedly exceptional.

arrived with marked regularity, later in the season often reaching their destination considerably in advance of the slower winter schedule, thereby confounding the enemies of the Central route who had argued against the possibility of such a feat.

The election of Lincoln was the signal for a great flood of secession threats and moves in the Southern states, the news of which formed the general topic of conversation on the Pacific coast. During the following months, when the issue of secession hung in the balance, the Pony Express and Western telegraph played an important role in the rapid dispatch of news, thereby aiding in the retention of California in the union.<sup>402</sup>

The message of President Buchanan to congress was sent by telegraph and Express across the country in about 12 days and published in the San Francisco papers, thereby increasing public anxiety, although the press in general favored moderation and the preservation of the union.<sup>403</sup> Several arrivals of the Pony Express were delayed, occasioning immediate concern, whereupon both houses of the California legislature passed a resolution asking financial aid of congress.<sup>404</sup> The Pony Express carried news to the East of a great union celebration in San Francisco, February 22, 1861, which was as generally observed as a Fourth of July ceremony. A California dispatch asserted:

California entirely repudiates the project of a Pacific Republic as visionary, mischievous and impossible; that the true attitude of the people of California at this time of trouble is that of fraternal kindness toward the people of all the States. . . . It is generally conceded that this impromptu Union demonstration was the largest mass meeting ever held in San Francisco.  
 . . .<sup>405</sup>

As the day of Lincoln's inauguration approached the people of California grew increasingly fearful of a dissolution of the union and followed the Eastern dispatches by Pony Express with growing anxiety. The speeches of Lincoln and Jefferson Davis, and news of

402. See Bancroft, *History of California*, v. VII (San Francisco, 1890—*Works*, v. XXIV), pp. 275-286; Glenn D. Bradley, *The Story of the Pony Express*, Ch. V, entitled, "California and the Secession Menace." From the start there appears to have been a preponderance of union sentiment in the state.

403. Fort Kearny dispatch to New York *Daily Tribune*, January 5, 1861. There was some talk of organizing a Pacific republic, but a "vast majority" favored preserving the union. The *Tribune* of February 6 carried a San Francisco dispatch of January 19, asserting that letters of Congressmen Scott and Burch in favor of such a republic had been widely published, and in general severely denounced by the press of the state.

404. San Francisco dispatch, February 9, to *ibid.*, February 25, 1861. The two delayed Expresses arrived at Carson Valley on February 8, with St. Louis dates to the 22d ult. Despite the delay the last outgoing Express had carried over 90 letters, and that day's load was expected to total 150. The Express of February 2 from Fort Kearny carried news of the passage of the Pacific railroad bill in the United States senate, which was joyfully received in California. The bond scandal (*see* below) which had engulfed William H. Russell probably prompted the California legislature to enact its memorial.

405. San Francisco dispatch, February 23, in *ibid.*, March 11, 1861.

the latter's inauguration at Montgomery, Ala., brought widespread despair.<sup>406</sup> Perhaps the greatest feat of the Pony Express service was the delivery of President Lincoln's inaugural address in record-breaking time. In order to surpass all previous performances, each horse along the line was led out from the different stations, and each traveled a stretch of only about 10 miles. Every precaution being taken to prevent delay, a transit was accomplished in the unprecedented time of seven days and seventeen hours over the 1,950-mile course.<sup>407</sup>

The announcement of the make-up of Lincoln's cabinet gave general satisfaction to the people of California, and renewed their hope that war might be averted. These anticipations were rudely shattered by the outbreak of hostilities, which became the engrossing topic of conversation.

As each pony arrives, and the news is received by telegraph, thousands of people congregate in the streets and central localities, continuing for hours discussing the points.

The sentiment here is almost universal to sustain and encourage the Administration in its present policy.<sup>408</sup>

In May, 1861, a demonstration in support of the union was staged in San Francisco which surpassed anything previously held.<sup>409</sup> When military campaigns and battles became the order of the day California awaited the arrival of the pony with great eagerness.<sup>410</sup> The historian, Hubert Howe Bancroft, paid a tribute to the Pony Express for its work in keeping the people of California properly informed:

News was received every ten days by pony. That coming by the Butterfield route was double the time; what came by steamship was from three to four weeks old when it arrived. . . . It was the pony to which every one looked for intelligence; men prayed for the safety of the little beast, and trembled lest the service should be discontinued. Telegraphic dispatches from New York were sent to St. Louis, and thence to Fort Kearney, whence the pony brought them to Sacramento, where they were telegraphed to San Francisco. Great was the relief of the people when Hale's bill for a daily mail was passed, and the service changed from the southern to the central route.

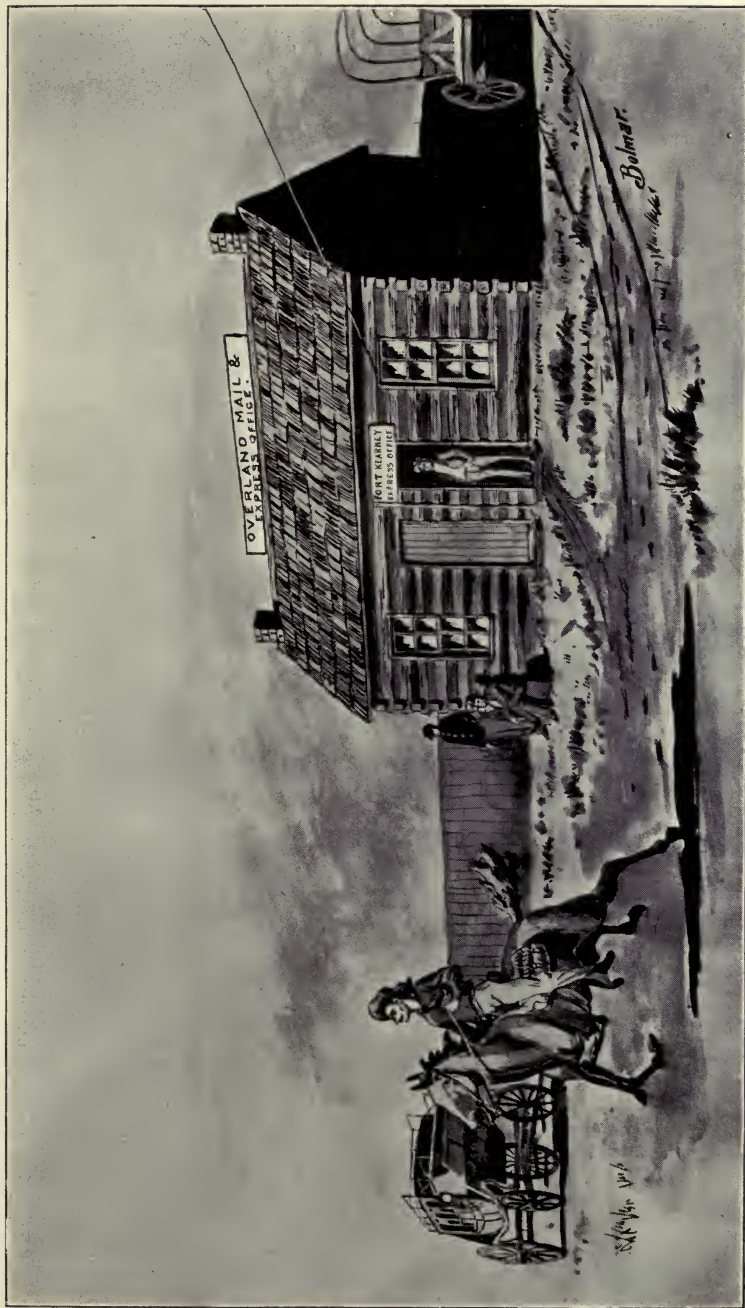
406. *Ibid.*, March 22, 1861.

407. W. F. Bailey, "The Pony Express," *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, October, 1898, p. 891; *New York Daily Tribune*, April 2, 1861.

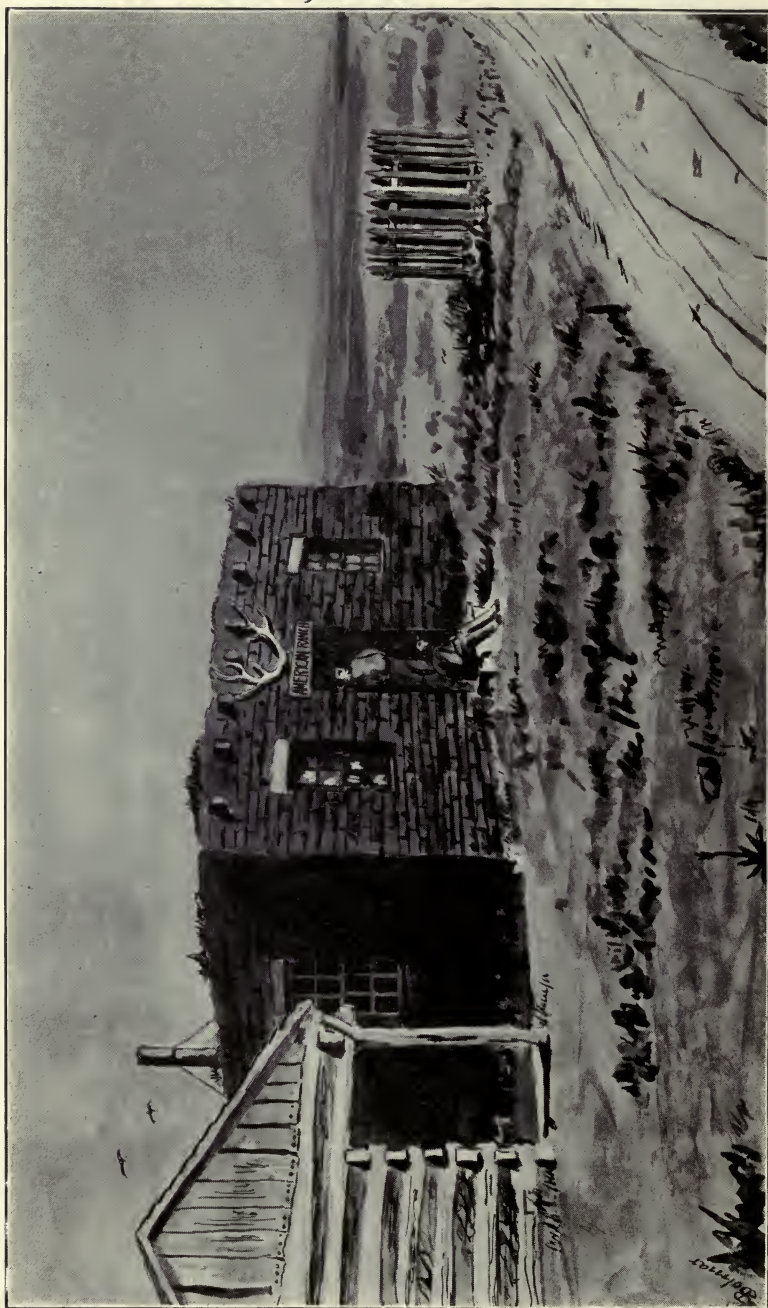
408. San Francisco dispatch, May 8, in *ibid.*, May 20, 1861.

409. Dispatch of May 11, in *ibid.*, May 22, 1861. "Business is totally suspended; all the men, women and children of the city are in the streets. . . . A procession marched through the principal streets, composed of thousands of men. . . . All political parties joined in the demonstration. . . ."—*See, also*, v. VII of Bancroft's *California*, p. 279.

410. San Francisco dispatch, June 1, in Leavenworth *Daily Times*, June 12, 1861. "Everybody is waiting with intense anxiety for Eastern news, and as each pony arrives, the announcement of attack on Harper's Ferry, Norfolk, or some other movement toward retaking public property captured by the South, is expected."



AN ARTIST'S CONCEPTION OF A PONY EXPRESS AND OVERLAND MAIL OFFICE  
Sketched by Carl Bolmar for *The Overland Stage To California* (1901), by Frank A Root and William E. Connelley.



ANOTHER BOLMAR SKETCH OF A TYPICAL STATION ON THE PLATTE ROUTE

. . . After all it was to the flying pony that all eyes and hearts were turned; and to the praise of the St. Joseph company be it recorded that they kept up the service, at a loss, until the telegraph was completed across the continent in October, 1861. . . <sup>411</sup>

Early in March, 1861, congress passed a law (essentially Hale's bill) providing for a daily mail by the Central route to California and a semiweekly Pony Express, at a total annual compensation of \$1,000,000. The Butterfield mail line was to be moved north to the Central route, to function thereafter as the Overland Mail Company, with a government contract. This firm entered into a sub-contract with the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company to run a daily mail and Pony Express from the Missouri river to Salt Lake City, while the Butterfield firm, now better known as Wells, Fargo & Company was to continue the service from Salt Lake to Sacramento.<sup>412</sup> The Pony Express section of the law provided:

They [the contractors] shall also be required during the continuance of their contract, or until the completion of the overland telegraph, to run a pony express semi-weekly at a schedule time of ten days eight months and twelve days four months, carrying for the government free of charge, five pounds of mail matter, with the liberty of charging the public for transportation of letters by said express not exceeding one dollar per half ounce."<sup>413</sup>

Pony Express rates were now drastically reduced to \$2 for a half ounce or less, and some months later (July, 1861) to \$1 for the same amount.<sup>414</sup>

As had been envisaged by its founders, the Pony Express was only a temporary arrangement, to be automatically terminated by the completion of a telegraph line to the Pacific. In June, 1860, congress passed the initial measure for a Pacific telegraph, which authorized the advertising of bids for one or more telegraph lines from western Missouri to San Francisco.<sup>415</sup> Early in October it was announced that Hiram Sibley, the president of the Western Union Telegraph Company and long a champion of a Pacific telegraph,

411. Bancroft, *History of California*, v. VII (*Works*, v. XXIV), p. 281.

412. Hafen, *Overland Mail*, p. 189; Alvin F. Harlow, *Old Waybills, The Romance of the Express Companies* (New York, London, 1934), p. 239.

413. *U. S. Statutes at Large*, v. XII, p. 206.

414. Harlow, *Old Waybills*, p. 239. Under the new arrangement Wells Fargo issued Pony Express stamps for its end of the line. Concerning this see Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 288, and plate opposite.

415. See Footnote 318 and adjacent text. On September 15, 1860, the *St. Joseph Weekly Free Democrat* gave an extended account of the bids submitted to the Secretary of the Treasury. Among the bidders was Benjamin F. Ficklin of St. Joseph, also of the Pony Express, who offered to run a Pony Express after the first 600 miles of line was finished, at the usual telegraph rates, until the wire was completed.

was the successful bidder.<sup>416</sup> During the winter of 1860-1861 measures were taken to speedily complete a telegraph line to the Western coast. Jephtha H. Wade of Western Union arranged the consolidation of the California telegraph lines into the California State Telegraph Company, with the Overland Telegraph Company incorporated as a subsidiary, in order to erect a line to Salt Lake City.<sup>417</sup> To provide for the eastern end of the line the Pacific Telegraph Company was incorporated by the legislature of Nebraska to enforce the provisions of the Sibley contract.<sup>418</sup> The problem of a suitable route was an urgent matter, concerning which Sibley had already deputed Edward Creighton to examine the one via Fort Smith, and another via Memphis. Neither proving desirable, Creighton and W. R. Stebbins personally surveyed the Central or Pony Express route to California and in April, 1861, Creighton reported his willingness to construct a telegraph line by this road,<sup>419</sup> although efforts were still made in favor of the old Butterfield route.<sup>420</sup> The whole idea of a transcontinental telegraph was ridiculed by some, particularly as courting attack by the Indians. President Lincoln told Hiram Sibley he thought it a "wild scheme"—that it would be "next to impossible to get your poles and materials distributed on the plains, and as fast as you build the line the Indians will cut it down."<sup>421</sup>

The building of a telegraph line to the Pacific meant the final extinction of the spectacular and heroic Pony Express. After all pre-

416. Leavenworth *Daily Times*, October 5, 1860. The government subsidy for the conveyance of its dispatches from the Missouri river to the Pacific coast was to be \$40,000 a year. Sibley and Ezra Cornell had founded the Western Union Telegraph Company in 1854, but Sibley did not obtain the united support of his associates for a Pacific telegraph, although his company later absorbed the Western extension (1864). See James D. Reid, *The Telegraph in America* (New York 1886), Ch. XXXVII; also Alvin F. Harlow, *Old Wires and New Waves* (New York, London, 1936).

417. Reid, *op. cit.*, pp. 501, 502; San Francisco dispatch of March 20 to Elwood *Free Press*, April 6, 1861.

418. Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 492. Sibley and Wade of Western Union were among its incorporators, indicating the close connection of the two firms, also Charles M. Stebbins of the Missouri and Western Telegraph—the "Stebbins Line," already completed to Fort Kearny, and Benjamin F. Ficklin of the Pony Express. The Pacific Telegraph Company was formally organized at Rochester, N. Y., April 17, 1861, with Wade, president, and Sibley vice-president (New York *Daily Tribune*, April 18, 1861).

419. Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 493. "Messrs. Edward Creighton and W. R. Stebbins, general agents respectively of the Pacific and Missouri and Western Telegraph companies, left here this afternoon, bound westward. They will survey the entire route to Salt Lake, thoroughly, and make contracts for the construction of the line as far as Julesburg early in the spring."—Fort Kearny dispatch, November 20, 1860, in Leavenworth *Daily Times*, November 22. Wade arranged for the building of the California end of the line.

420. Before a public announcement was made in favor of the Central route, it was reported that a Los Angeles party subscribed \$10,000 for a telegraph line via the old Butterfield road (New York *Daily Tribune*, November 7, 1860). The St. Louis *Democrat* published the program of the Pacific and American Telegraph Co. for a line via Fort Smith, Ark., and Yuma (Ariz.). When the Pony Express superseded the Butterfield Overland Mail, the Fort Smith telegraph no longer paid expenses. A telegraph line along this route would be more easily kept in repair, it was argued, and would avoid the "dangerous thunder storms and atmospheric influences upon the Upper Platte river."—New York *Daily Tribune*, October 26, 1860.

421. "The Story of Western Union," a manuscript history of the Western Union Telegraph Co., p. 2, submitted by the courtesy of D. D. Daly, manager Topeka office.



liminary details had been arranged,<sup>422</sup> large gangs of men were organized to begin work along the route. An expedition of 228 head of oxen, 26 wagons and 50 men left Sacramento for Carson Valley, May 27, 1861, to begin laying wires toward Salt Lake.<sup>423</sup> On July 11, 1861, the first pole for the Overland Telegraph in the Salt Lake area was planted in the main street of that city.<sup>424</sup> East from that point for a distance of 400 miles W. H. Stebbins directed construction work, and about the same time (July 4, 1861) Edward Creighton performed a like function on the section from Omaha westward.<sup>425</sup> Late in August the outer telegraph station on the eastern end was established 95 miles west of Fort Kearny, and soon thereafter the eastern leg of the Pony Express west of St. Joseph was abandoned.<sup>426</sup> The same process went on at the western end, with the moving of the outer station eastward. By the last of July it had reached a point 125 miles east of Carson Valley and was progressing at a rate of 25 miles a day.<sup>427</sup> By early October the outer station on the east was only 340 miles east of Salt Lake City, indicating the rapid progress made in completing the line.<sup>428</sup> The final joint in the

422. See Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 495. Not less than 25 poles of good quality were to be used per mile, along with a good grade of wire. The whole undertaking was to be completed by July 31, 1862.

423. San Francisco dispatch, May 29, in Leavenworth *Daily Times*, June 11, 1861. James Gamble directed the two construction parties on the western end of the line, from Virginia City eastward, and was the first to reach Salt Lake City, thereby winning the prize offered for this accomplishment.—Driggs, *op. cit.*, Ch. IV, entitled "Talking Wires," p. 52 *et seq.*

424. Salt Lake City dispatch, July 11, in New York *Daily Tribune*, July 27, 1861. James Street, Pacific Telegraph agent, reported it was a quiet affair—any celebration would come later. He had held several "confabs" with Shokup, chief of the Shoshones, and believed there was nothing to fear from the Indians in that vicinity.

The *Alta California*, July 9, 1861 (quoted in the St. Louis *Missouri Democrat*, August 6), published the details of one of these meetings at Robert's creek. Shokup was very friendly, but pointed out that before the white man arrived his tribe was happy and enjoyed plenty of game and roots; now the game had disappeared and the roots were almost extinct, making him unhappy, as his people were hungry. One of his wives was dangerously ill, and her doctor blamed the Overland Mail as the cause. The interpreter denied that this could be possible, and invited Shokup to ride on the stage to San Francisco. He accepted, but on arriving at Carson City resolved to return. He called the telegraph the "wire-rope express," and could not believe that, after arriving at San Francisco he could talk with his wife almost as quickly as if he were at her side. He supposed the Express to be an animal, and when told it consumed lightning, could not understand what sort of beast it was. He wired the "Big Captain" at San Francisco that his Indians would not trouble the line, and wished to be the friends of the whites. General Carpenter, president of the Overland Telegraph, ordered presents sent to Shokup and his tribesmen.

425. Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 495. Nearly a thousand oxen were necessary to transport needed supplies for the various parties that began work July 4, 1861.

426. New York *Daily Tribune*, August 27, 1861. In September, 1861, a blunder by the postmaster either at New York, St. Louis or St. Joseph resulted in the dispatch of all Pony Express letters for California by overland mail (*ibid.*, September 23, 1861).

427. San Francisco dispatch, July 31, in *ibid.*, August 12, 1861. The *Tribune* of August 21 asserted that the wire had reached Reese river, 140 miles east of Fort Churchill. For a list of the terminals, see Stanley B. Ashbrook, *The United States One Cent Stamp of 1851-1857*, v. II, quoted by Emerson N. Barker in his "Highlights in the Postal History of the Trans-Mississippi Region," *International Stamp Review*, St. Joseph, Mo., November 1, 1941.

428. New York *Daily Tribune*, October 4, 1861. This message carried San Francisco news of September 25, indicating there were still delays along the line. The *Tribune* of October 7 carried California dispatches from Pacific Springs, 260 miles east of Salt Lake, as did also the issues of October 11 and 14. A traveler who passed over the route wrote a detailed account of the progress of the telegraph (San Francisco *Bulletin*, September 21, in *Tribune*, October 19, 1861). The poles were then already up from the Missouri river to considerably west of

eastern section was made at Fort Bridger, Utah, October 17, 1861, and the next day Brigham Young sent a message to Jephtha H. Wade, congratulating him on the completion of the Pacific Telegraph to Salt Lake City, and assuring him of the loyalty of Utah to the union.<sup>429</sup> On October 24, 1861, the first message from the Pacific to the Atlantic was sent by Chief Justice Field of California to President Lincoln:

The people of California desire to congratulate you upon the completion of the great work. They believe that it will be the means of strengthening the attachment which binds both the East and the West to the Union, and they desire in this, the first message across the continent, to express their loyalty to the Union, and their determination to stand by the Government in this, its day of trial. They regard that Government with affection, and will adhere to it under all fortunes.

Stephen J. Field,  
Chief Justice of California.<sup>430</sup>

The next day it was officially announced at San Francisco that the Pacific and Overland telegraph lines had been completed, with the following salutation:

The Pacific to the Atlantic sends greeting, and may both oceans be dry before a foot of all the land that lies between them shall belong to any other than our united country.<sup>431</sup>

Pres. J. H. Wade of the Pacific Telegraph announced that over 200 private messages passed over the line on the first day, and continued as fast as the operators could transmit them.<sup>432</sup> A celebration of the event had been planned in San Francisco, but was postponed because of the untimely death of Sen. Edward D. Baker.<sup>433</sup> A dispatch from that city remarked:

Fort Laramie, excepting a short interval between Cottonwood Springs and Julesburg, which the contractor, Edward Creighton, promised would be soon completed. He had recently started a gang of men working east from Salt Lake City; west of that point Mr. Street had been equally energetic and poles were being set at a rate of eight miles per day despite some difficulty in their procurement.

429. New York *Daily Tribune*, October 21, 1861, which quoted the messages of Young and Wade, also that of Acting Governor Frank Fuller to Lincoln, and the President's reply. Brigham Young's message appeared in the *Tribune*, October 19, 1860.

430. Sacramento dispatch, October 24, in *ibid.*, October 29, 1861.

431. Manuscript, "History of Western Union," p. 2; San Francisco dispatch, October 26, in New York *Daily Tribune*, October 28, 1861. The Sunday edition of the New York *Herald* apparently beat this announcement of the *Tribune* one day.

432. New York *Daily Tribune*, October 29, 1861. The *Achison Freedom's Champion*, November 2, added that, because of the rush, it had been found impossible to send messages as fast as received. The rate from New York to San Francisco was \$5.85 for the first ten words, and 46 cents for each additional word, and from Achison to San Francisco these charges were \$3.75 and 28 cents respectively.

The completion of a telegraph line to the Pacific meant a "vast accession of strength and prestige" to Western Union, whose line now spanned the continent, even though a formal merger came later (1864 for the Pacific Telegraph, and 1866 the California State Telegraph Company—the successor of the Overland Telegraph). See Reid, *op. cit.*, pp. 496, 497, and a series of articles by H. Hamlin in *The Pony Express*, Placerville, Cal., May and October, 1944, and April, 1945.

433. San Francisco dispatch, October 27, in New York *Daily Tribune*, October 30, 1861. Bancroft states (*California*, v. VII, p. 293) that the "first through despatch on the completed overland telegraph brought the intelligence of his death." He was killed in action in the Civil War.

The completion of the last link of the American Telegraph connects Cape Race with the Golden Horn, traversing nearly 5,000 miles with one continuous wire, and bringing those two points within two hours telegraphic time of each other.

The next westward extension of the line will be by the way of Behrings Straits to the mouth of the Amoor River, to which point the Russian Government is already constructing a line, commencing at Moscow. This is the extension which Mr. P. D. Collins projected. . . . [This] will leave scarcely anything further to achieve in telegraphic enterprise. It will unite America with Europe via Moscow, and . . . with all the important points in China, India, Yedo, in Japan, and even Melbourne in Australia.<sup>434</sup>

Pres. Bela M. Hughes of the "C. O. C." announced the following telegraph stations on the route to the Pacific (excluding the terminals): Fort Kearny, Cottonwood Springs, Overland City, Fort Laramie, Horse Shoe, Pacific Springs, Fort Bridger, Salt Lake City, Camp Floyd, Ruby Valley, Fort Churchill, Carson City, and Placerville.<sup>435</sup> The Pony Express was now ended but in its death it enjoyed the honor of giving way to one mightier than itself, a medium which could do in minutes what it took days to accomplish with horseflesh. The St. Louis *Democrat* reviewed the great progress in overland communication of recent years—the Butterfield stage line in 25 days, the Pony Express and telegraph in 12 days (or less), and now the Pacific and Overland Telegraph in some 100 minutes. "If any one doubts that this is a fast age, he can here find a striking illustration."<sup>436</sup> As a Kansas paper remarked concerning the "Progress of the Telegraph":

It was thought last year, and truly too, that the Pony had accomplished wonders when he had given us a communication with the Pacific coast in from six to seven days. But now the Pony has become a thing of the past—his last race is run. Without sound of trumpets, celebrations, or other noisy demonstrations, the slender wire has been stretched from ocean to ocean, and the messages already received from our brethern on the Pacific coast, most conclusively show that the popular heart beats in unison with our own, on the absorbing question of the preservation of the Union.<sup>437</sup>

On October 26, 1861, the San Francisco office of Wells, Fargo & Company, operators of the western end of the Pony Express, was directed to stop its service, but it was not until November 20 that

434. San Francisco dispatch, October 25, in New York *Daily Tribune*, October 26, 1861. Hiram Sibley of Western Union attempted to obtain an Asiatic connection by way of Bering Strait and Siberia, and with this in view visited Russia, where he was cordially received by the czar. Wires were actually strung in Alaska and Siberia when the completion of the Atlantic cable (1866) led to the collapse of the venture at a heavy loss (absorbed by Western Union).—*Dictionary of American Biography*, v. XVII (New York, 1935), p. 146, "Hiram Sibley."

435. Atchison *Freedom's Champion*, October 12, 1861.

436. Quoted in New York *Daily Tribune*, October 26, 1860.

437. *Freedom's Champion*, November 2, 1861.

the last pony left Sacramento on the boat for San Francisco.<sup>438</sup> Financially it had not been a success, as the following words of Alexander Majors indicate:

As anticipated, the amount of business transacted over this line was not sufficient to pay one-tenth of the expenses, to say nothing of the capital invested. . . . [It] was undertaken solely to prove that the route over which it ran could be made a permanent thoroughfare for travel at all seasons of the year, proving, as far as the paramount object was concerned, a complete success.<sup>439</sup>

The projectors did achieve a signal victory in advertising the Central route, which was adopted by the Pacific and Overland Telegraph lines, and later the Union Pacific railroad. Having obtained a subcontract from their rivals, they thus achieved the coveted goal of a daily mail to the Pacific which with the Pony Express and telegraph went a long way toward ending the isolation of that section. It was another step in man's conquest of nature, as great for the nineteenth century as his conquest of the air is for the twentieth.

The courser has unrolled to us the great American Panorama; allowed us to glance at the future home of a hundred million people, and has put a girdle around the earth in forty minutes.<sup>440</sup>

#### THE CENTRAL OVERLAND CALIFORNIA AND PIKE'S PEAK EXPRESS COMPANY

Late in February, 1860, the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company took over the running of Jones and Russell's Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express. There was no interruption in service, which continued as before, but henceforth the prefix "overland" came into more frequent use, although strictly speaking this term was applicable only to the western extension to Salt Lake City and California.

Early in the spring of 1860 there were reports of an unprecedented tide of people on the move to the new land of gold—by March great crowds were congregating at the "jumping off" places such as Leav-

438. Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 301, which publishes a press tribute in memory of "a fast and faithful friend." Completion of the telegraph, however, did end the trips across the plains.

439. Ingraham, *op. cit.*, p. 185. The *Overland Stage*, Root and Connelley, suggests a loss of \$100,000 (p. 118). Considering the expense involved, the Pony Express was not sufficiently used, except by the people of California, to render it a financial success. No doubt the projectors charged this to necessary expense towards a larger goal—a daily mail contract.

440. St. Joseph *Weekly Free Democrat*, October 27, 1860, a memorial article entitled "The Pony Express—On Horsepitiable Thought Intent!," quoted at some length in Glenn D. Bradley, *The Story of the Pony Express*, pp. 49, 50. In addition to the Hollenberg station in Washington county, two other principal buildings remain as memorials to the Pony Express—the station house at Gothenburg, Neb., and the terminal building at Sacramento, Cal., the latter a presentation to that city by the Western Union Telegraph Company. The buildings used as stables at St. Joseph, Marysville, and Fort Bridger are other important structures still remaining along the route.

enworth and St. Joseph.<sup>441</sup> Early that month it was reported at Leavenworth:

The Overland Express from this city is crowded to excess, all the seats being engaged to April 1st, at which time the proprietors will commence running coaches thence [tril weekly, and soon thereafter a daily line. The running time to Denver is seven days.<sup>442</sup>

The crowding of the westbound coaches led one traveler to remark that no "particle of fault" could be found with the arrangements made by the company although a load of nine passengers lengthened the trip one day.<sup>443</sup> Another advised prospective passengers to "make a contract prohibiting the company from putting into the coach more than six persons, for I had the (*exquisite?*) pleasure of riding all the way with two others on the same seat, and speak advisedly of the comfort (?) and convenience (?) thereunto attached."<sup>444</sup> Eastbound traffic was naturally much less, but often amounted to four or five passengers, several of whom were usually well supplied with "dust." Benjamin F. Ficklin now made a considerable improvement in the direct management of the line, the former superintendent, John S. Jones, concerning himself chiefly with his freight express to Denver (Jones & Cartwright).<sup>445</sup> The rush of emigrants induced the city of Leavenworth to survey a new and better road by way of the Smoky Hill to Pike's Peak, but it was never popular enough to compete with the older Oregon and California trail and in 1860 was of no particular concern to the Pike's Peak Express Company.<sup>446</sup>

441. Leavenworth *Daily Times*, March 30, 1860: "Eager gold hunters pour into the city from every steamer . . . by fifties and hundreds. Fortunate landlords and unfortunate waiters are at their wits end, and the hurry and scurry, the fuss, flurry and fume, of one dinner table is no sooner over, than scores of hungry mouths demand instant relief in the shape of beef and potatoes. . . . Charming chambermaids carefully carry countless cots to unused corners. . . . Leavenworth . . . is as busy as a swarm of bees. . . ." The *St. Joseph Free Democrat* reported (May 12): "The emigration to the Pike's Peak region is becoming immense . . . an average of over 100 emigrant wagons crossing daily, besides large droves of horses and cattle. . . ." The *New York Daily Tribune*, March 30, 1860, published a three-column review of the Pike's Peak region by A. D. Richardson.

442. Leavenworth dispatch, somewhat garbled, in *ibid.*, March 10, 1860. Emigrants planning to cross the plains were advised to avoid the troubles of the previous year by waiting until May 1, when the grass would be sufficient (the drought prevented this). Rumors were then afloat that the stage line terminal would soon be changed to St. Joseph, but this was officially denied by the secretary at Leavenworth.

443. Denver City, March 15, in Leavenworth *Daily Times*, March 23, 1860. With the "gentlemanly" express messenger, J. S. Stephens, and the driver, a total of 11 people rode this coach, including two children. A traveler who arrived at Denver in August, 1860, complained about the crowding of nine or ten passengers into the coach, with carpet sacks and express matter in the bottom "until your chin and knees came close enough together to make the one serve as a pillow for the other." In addition there were at times two "substantial ladies weighing about two hundred pounds avoirdupois, with all the crinoline fixings. . . ." However, the rate of travel was most pleasing. Those not caring for a seven-day-a-week diet of pork and beans, varied by beans and pork—the standard dish at all station houses, should take "a few cans of fruit, a few bottles of pickles, and many bottles of Bourbon or Otard."

444. Denver City, J. T., March 28, in *St. Joseph Weekly West*, April 14, 1860.

445. Weekly Leavenworth *Herald*, April 21, 1860.

446. Many Leavenworth citizens were convinced of the necessity for their town of a road via the Kansas, Smoky Hill and Forks of the Republican, rather than the more remote Platte

By virtue of its charter the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company was authorized to convey "persons, mails, and property" to any destination desired. It now assumed the Hockaday contract for a weekly mail service to Salt Lake (reduced by the government to fortnightly, but later partially restored), and in May, 1860, the George Chorpenning contract for the Salt Lake City to Placerville route was declared forfeited, and a semimonthly service was awarded to William H. Russell. The "C. O. C." now had complete control of the Pacific mail service by the Central route.<sup>447</sup> It inherited the Pike's Peak mail business—a private service without government contract supported by a 25-cent fee on each letter handled, in addition to the government charge. In early 1860 the mail to Denver became very heavy and the Washington authorities recognized the need of an improved service by advertising a U. S. mail route directly to California. The Utah contract forced the Express Company to route its overland mail to St. Joseph, where it was picked up or deposited by

route. Early in April the city of Leavenworth employed Green Russell, the famed Pike's Peak pioneer prospector, to locate a suitable road to the new mining region. At the same time two citizens of Leavenworth went to Washington to obtain a grant for a railroad by this same route. On May 5, 1860, Russell made a detailed report of his survey, which was entirely favorable.—*Ibid.*, May 19, 1860. See, also, the account of James Brown, in *Leavenworth Daily Times*, August 28, 1860. On June 22, an expedition under the command of H. T. Green left Leavenworth to open this road. Late in the summer the *Rocky Mountain News* (August 28 in the *Times* of September 6) gave a detailed account of the report of Green, with reflections on the earlier Pike's Peak Express route as contrasted to the new Smoky Hill road, and the following spring (1861) the report was published in pamphlet form, in the interest of the emigrant trade. The western extension of this proposed road—from Denver to Salt Lake City, then became of much interest to the officials of the "C. O. C."

447. Hafen, *Overland Mail*, pp. 156, 157, 207. The contract with George Chorpenning had been annulled because of alleged failures, which Chorpenning vigorously denied in his *A Brief History of the Mail Service* (microfilm copy in Historical Society; original in Library of Congress). See, also, *Overland Mail*, pp. 67, 68.

The regular correspondent of the St. Louis *Missouri Democrat* went over the line in June, 1861, and wrote from Denver to his paper (issue of July 9): "Taking into consideration the distance and the nature of the country through which this Company has located its route, it is without doubt the most convenient and best equipped of any on the continent. The road itself cannot be surpassed; there is but one bad place in it from St. Joseph to Denver. I allude to what is called the "Narrows," which are on the [Little] Blue, about two hundred miles from St. Joseph, and are caused by the near approach of the river to the bluffs. . . . This is no doubt a dangerous pass for an inexperienced driver; but none such are employed by the company. . . ."

"In passing the Narrows, our party experienced no little uneasiness . . . and by dark we had fully made up our minds to receive a bath. . . . The moon went down . . . the night became so black that it was impossible to see a foot from the coach, the wind came howling wildly over the prairie, and the incessant flashes of lightning, together with the sharp peals of thunder, breaking seemingly just overhead. . . . Charley [the driver] lighted the coach lamps, meantime answering indefinitely questions put in agitated tones. We gathered, however, that we must get through the Narrows before the rain reached us. . . . Presently we knew the coach to be entering a gulch, close to one side the lightning revealed the waters of the Blue, on the other the rough sides of the bluff, and as we slowly passed a crevice the bright eyes of a coyote, crouched a few yards from the window, flashed in menacing upon us. . . . Suddenly there was a cry from the box to 'lean to the right.' No set of frightened school boys ever obeyed more quickly the commands of a severe pedagogue. . . . As we moved the coach took an abrupt turn, the lash was vigorously applied to the mules, and the next moment the cheering cry of 'all right' relieved us of all further anxiety. In making this turn the near wheels come within a foot of the bank, the road inclines toward the river, so that if the ground happens to be wet there is no way to prevent the coach sliding off into the water, or too short a turn upsetting the institution and its contents. . . ." (A map of the Narrows is given in Root and Connelley, *Overland Stage*, p. 364.)

the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad, and at times the mail for Leavenworth was thereby delayed, to the benefit of Atchison and St. Joseph.<sup>448</sup>

The mail facilities enjoyed by the settlers in the Pike's Peak region still left much to be desired, causing considerable criticism of the "C. O. C.," as was evinced by the following dispatch of Albert D. Richardson, July 3, 1860:

The express brings in and takes out about five thousand letters per week, for which the writers and recipients are compelled to pay twenty-five cents each, in addition to the Government postage. The recent "letting" of the mail contract to this place is believed to be merely a nominal affair, it is expected that the Pike's Peak Express Company will control it, and compel us to submit to this heavy tax through the season.<sup>449</sup>

In August, 1860, E. F. Bruce concluded the first government contract to carry the United States mail from Julesburg, where it was left by the C. O. C. and P. P. Express, to Denver. He seems to have been forced to engage the C. O. C. to complete the service to that city, the first coach with the United States mail leaving Denver for Leavenworth August 14, 1860.<sup>450</sup> Hinckley & Co. carried the mail from Denver to the various mining camps. Richardson described the situation in his regular letter to the *Tribune*:

Up to the present time the gold-seekers on the mountains have been supplied with their letters and papers by Hinckley & Company's Express. That line has sometimes forwarded seventeen hundred letters in a single day, and during the month of July it paid the Central Overland and Pike's Peak Express nearly \$5,000 for letters and papers. . . . Upward of twenty thousand miners are recorded in its books. . . .

The people of Denver were surprised and pleased on Friday, by the reception of the first United States Mail ever brought to this region. It contained six thousand letters, and came through from the Missouri River in six and a half days. It was brought by the Pike's Peak Express Company, which, after all, is to supply us mail matter. The contract time from the river is fourteen days, and the intention was to throw off the mail sacks some two

448. Atchison *Union*, March 24, 1860. In the fall of 1861 the terminal was moved to Atchison, where it remained during the later years of the Overland Mail. Lack of a Leavenworth connection for a time in 1860 caused that city to voice a strong objection in the *Weekly Herald*, May 19, 1860: "We understand that Wm. H. Russell, Esq., President of the C. O. C. and P. P. Express . . . has telegraphed to the agents of the Company to place on a tri-weekly line of coaches . . . to run from this point. We believe the recent removal of headquarters and withdrawal of the coaches were made without the knowledge or consent of Mr. Russell, only to suit the whims of Mr. Ficklin, Road Agent.—However it may be, we have certainly got a connection again, but how long we will retain it against the combination now formed against Leavenworth by her enemies, we know not. . . . The first coach starts on Tuesday."

449. Lawrence *Republican*, July 26, 1860. A second dispatch from Denver of the same date, probably also by Richardson and appearing in the New York *Daily Tribune* of July 17, added that the contract had been let for the nominal sum of \$800—about a twentieth of the estimated cost, causing much disappointment.

450. Hafen, *Overland Mail*, p. 160. This first eastbound United States mail contained over 4,000 letters.

hundred miles east of Denver, and permit them to lie there a week; but there was no messenger on the coach, and they were brought through by mistake.<sup>451</sup>

When Bruce could not carry out the terms of his contract a second agreement was concluded by the Post Office department with the Western Stage Company, whose line ran west from Omaha to Fort Kearny and now became the chief competitor of the Pike's Peak Express Company for the Colorado trade.<sup>452</sup> Early in September, 1860, a regular United States mail left St. Joseph weekly and a Pike's Peak Express triweekly, letters being sent by express if so requested at an extra charge of 25 cents, but by the middle of that month this fee was reduced to 10 cents.<sup>453</sup>

During the summer of 1860 the coaches of the "C. O. C." carried larger and larger shipments of gold dust from the Pike's Peak region, notably exceeding those of the previous year. Starting with a few thousand dollars worth, the amounts of treasure grew to some \$12,000 or \$15,000 a trip. This included gold in private hands and that shipped by express in the care of an express messenger, who with the driver tended to become a regular fixture of each coach. A coach arrived at Leavenworth late in August with \$35,000 in the care of the messenger, and \$100,000 in private hands.<sup>454</sup> One reached St. Joseph about three weeks later with \$45,899 in its official care, plus some \$50,000 in private hands.<sup>455</sup> Many passengers apparently preferred to carry their own treasure, although in September it was announced that the company would thereafter regularly maintain a messenger in its triweekly coaches.<sup>456</sup> The Rocky Mountain coaches of Hinckley & Co. first brought gold dust from the mining camps to Denver, where it could be coined at the new mint of Clark, Gruber & Co. Besides that transported in the form of dust by Pike's Peak Express to Leavenworth, Atchison or St. Joseph, growing amounts were now being taken to Omaha by

451. New York *Daily Tribune*, August 25, 1860. "The Pike's Peakers are subjected to a good deal of tribulation in connection with their mail matters, between the tender mercies of the Express Company and the Post Office Department; but as a friend wrote . . . 'we look forward to the election of old Abe Lincoln, as a redress for this, and all our other grievances.'"

452. Hafén, *Overland Mail*, p. 160.

453. Announcement of S. K. Huson, postmaster at Lawrence, September 8, in *Lawrence Republican*, September 13, 1860; *Leavenworth Daily Times*, September 15, 1860.

454. *Ibid.*, August 28, 1860. Among the passengers was Doctor Cartwright of the freighting firm of Jones & Cartwright.

455. St. Joseph dispatch to the New York *Daily Tribune*, September 22, 1860.

456. *Ibid.*, October 1, 1860. A Denver dispatch of August 21 asserted that from \$40,000 to \$50,000 was then leaving for the Missouri river each week, most of it in private hands. The October 1 *Tribune* told of two miners, one (Stevens) a former driver on the Salt Lake mail route, who engaged the Pike's Peak Express Company to transport east the result of their summer's labor—\$27,000 in gold dust and nuggets, carried in sacks on the shoulder like bags of corn. In the preceding spring they had started "from scratch," and later had employed 30 to 40 men to help them work their rich claim. A dispatch from Mammoth City, near the Gregory Diggings (September 26 *Tribune*), gave the dark side of the Colorado gold mines—many did not even make their board.



Hinckley & Co.'s express via the coaches of the Western Stage Company.<sup>457</sup> This growing competition apparently cut into the income of the "C. O. C." in all three lines of business—express, mail and passenger, and threatened the future of the stage company.

Late in July, 1860, William H. Russell presided at a meeting of the directors of the C. O. C. & P. P. Express Company in Leavenworth, at which it was resolved to reduce the passenger fare from the Missouri river to Denver to \$75, and also the fee on letters by Pony Express.<sup>458</sup> This began a program of rate reduction apparently aimed to regain lost trade—in September the express fee for letters to Denver was lowered from 25 cents to 10 cents in an announcement headed "Speed Increased! And Rates Reduced."<sup>459</sup> The triweekly coaches were scheduled to make the trip in 12 days, the winter schedule being considerably slower than the regular one.

In November, 1860, Albert D. Richardson made a trip over the stage line from Denver to St. Joseph, and wrote a vivid sketch of what he found:

On the morning of the 6th inst. I left the metropolis of the gold region for this city [St. Joseph], by one of the tri-weekly Concord coaches of the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company. As there were twelve passengers beside the drivers and express messenger, and the regulations of the line forbid carrying more than six persons in a coach, two vehicles left that morning, and came through together. . . . The travel eastward from the mines is now so heavy that the company is compelled to send through an extra with almost every regular coach.

Nearly all the passengers brought in gold dust; and though the express messenger carried only \$3,000 or \$4,000, there was upward of \$30,000 on the two coaches. The route (the Platte) is now enlivened by hundreds of miners, on their way to the States, by private conveyance, to spend the Winter; and long caravans of wagons bound for the gold region, and laden with flour, sugar, coffee and whisky. A few stray buffaloes, journeying toward the South,

457. Omaha dispatches, dated September 26 and October 20, to *ibid.*, September 28 and October 22 respectively. The earlier dispatch reported the United States Express as entering into this business, and bankers at Omaha purchasing an average of about \$20,000 a week from returning miners, plus large amounts received daily by the merchants in exchange for goods. A Denver dispatch of August 19 (Leavenworth *Daily Times*, August 27), reported Clark, Gruber & Co. as buying about \$2,000 worth of dust a day, other bullion brokers smaller amounts, while Hinckley & Co. had delivered not less than \$20,000 to the "C. O. C." during the preceding month.

458. *Ibid.*, August 1, 1860. At this time Benjamin F. Ficklin resigned as superintendent, and J. H. Clute was appointed in his place. Clute came to have quite a reputation for efficiency.

459. *Ibid.*, September 15, 1860. "From and after the 15th of September, the Tri-Weekly Coaches of this Company Leaving Leavenworth City & St. Joseph, on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, and Denver City on same days, will each be in charge of a Trusty Messenger, for the purpose of forwarding each trip and way, Treasure, Express Matter, Letters, &c., Through in Six Days!" Letters weighing one-half ounce or less, enclosed in government envelopes, would be carried for ten cents, and newspapers five cents. The company planned at an early date to run coach lines from Denver to the various mining districts. The weekly U. S. mail then required a 12-day trip. This announcement was signed by John W. Russell, secretary of the company. In December, 1860, there was a further reduction of express rates.

scores of sly and sullen wolves, and great herds of agile, spotted antelopes, were seen from the road, before reaching the "settlements."

The company keeps in active service, upon the Pony Express and the Stage Line to Denver (exclusive of its Salt Lake and California routes), 906 mules, 439 horses, and 55 coaches. If the next Congress shall give it . . . a daily mail contract to California, it will . . . astound "old fogyism." Nature and commercial laws have settled the question that the Pacific Railroad *must* pass through this central region. . . . The route from Denver to St. Joseph and Leavenworth is better stocked, I believe, than any other stage line in the United States. . . .<sup>460</sup>

The winter of 1860-1861 was a very severe one on the plains, causing the delay of the Pike's Peak Express coaches on a number of occasions. A driver on the overland route to Salt Lake City was reported to have frozen to death near Fort Laramie, and heavy snow in the mountains west of Carson Valley and along the Platte also caused trouble.<sup>461</sup> On the whole, however, fairly good service was maintained, although the C. O. C. & P. P. was now confronted with keener competition for the Rocky Mountain trade from the Western Stage Company and Hinckley & Company's Express.

The congressional session of 1860-1861 failed to provide for a daily mail to California by the Central route. Many Californians regarded the defeat of "Hale's Bill" a bitter pill and blamed Senator Gwin as chiefly responsible. Gwin may have been thinking of another alternative which would bring him the glory of obtaining an improved service by this route—he at least urged Buchanan to conclude a contract with Russell, Majors & Waddell for a triweekly mail by the Central route.<sup>462</sup> The partisans of the Central route renewed their efforts in the short session of congress of 1860-1861 and achieved their goal in the Post Office Appropriation Act, enacted March 2, 1861.<sup>463</sup> This law ordered the discontinuance of service on the Butterfield route by the following July 1 and the substitution of a daily mail on the Central route, such service to be "six times a week on the central route, said letter mail to be carried through in

460. St. Joseph dispatch, November 23, in *New York Daily Tribune*, December 1, 1860. On January 21, 1860, the *St. Joseph Weekly West* asserted that on the Salt Lake route the firm had upwards of 400 mules and 30 coaches; on the Denver line 850 mules and 80 coaches. Hinckley & Hall were then the agents at St. Joseph, at the office of the United States Express Company, indicating that at both ends of the Colorado line the "C. O. C." and Hinckley & Co. were quite closely connected.

461. Dispatches to the *New York Tribune* and *Leavenworth Times*, December, 1860, and January, 1861.

462. Hafen, *Overland Mail*, pp. 204, 205. This may well date back to "promises" made by Gwin to Russell at the time of instituting the Pony Express.

463. *U. S. Statutes at Large*, v. XII, pp. 204-207. An earlier law of the same congress to provide for post routes (Ch. LVII, Sec. 15) authorized the Postmaster General to advertise for bids "for the daily transportation of the entire mail, overland, between Saint Joseph, Missouri, or some other point on the Missouri river, connected by railroad with the East . . . and Placerville, California, over the central route. . . ."

twenty days time, eight months in the year, and in twenty-three days the remaining four months of the year, from some point on the Missouri River connected with the East, to Placerville, California, and also to deliver the entire mails tri-weekly to Denver City, and Great Salt Lake City. . . ." <sup>464</sup> A few days later a contract was concluded with the Overland Mail Company, representing the Butterfield interests, which made the federal statute effective. <sup>465</sup>

Preparations were quickly made so as to be ready for the beginning of service July 1, 1861. The Overland Mail Company now signed a subcontract with the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company whereby the Pike's Peak firm was to continue operation on that part of the line from Salt Lake City eastward at an annual compensation of \$475,000. West of that point the Butterfield people were to assume complete control. A message from Washington asserted:

W. H. Russell, President of the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company, and founder of the Pony Express, has concluded a contract with the Overland Mail Company, transferred by the last Congress to the Central route, to run the Mail and Pony from the Missouri River, connecting with the Overland Company at Salt Lake City. <sup>466</sup>

Early in April it was announced that the last coach on the Butterfield route had left 10 days before and that the stock, coaches and other supplies were then being removed. <sup>467</sup> Considering the short period of time before the daily mail contract was to become effective, details of route and improvements along the way were urgent matters. The people of Denver wanted the mail to pass directly through their city and on behalf of the Express Company John S. Jones proposed that they construct the new stations and bridges necessary for this change. <sup>468</sup> Russell and the officials of the

<sup>464.</sup> The following clause providing for a semiweekly Pony Express service has been quoted above in the Pony Express section of this installment. "For the above service [daily mail and Pony Express] the said contractors shall receive the sum of one million dollars per annum. . . ."

<sup>465.</sup> The modified contract, dated March 12, 1861, is in 46 Cong., 3 Sess., *Senate Executive Documents*, v. I (Serial 1941), No. 21, p. 7.

<sup>466.</sup> Washington dispatch to New York *Daily Tribune*, March 20, 1861. The exact terms of this agreement are conjectural, but the following summary states in the case of Samuel v. Holladay, 1869 (*Federal Cases, Book 21*, p. 307—Case No. 12,288): the company "had a contract for carrying the United States mail over its route, from which it was to receive \$475,000 in quarterly payments." The Leavenworth *Daily Times* announced (March 19) that as soon as the new contract became effective, the company would run a daily express. Travel eastward from Pike's Peak was then very small—no passengers arrived on the last coach from Denver, this being the off season for travel in that direction. Westbound coaches were well filled, however, again illustrating the seasonal nature of this traffic.

<sup>467.</sup> *Elwood Free Press*, April 6, 1861. That this transfer had not been completed by late May is indicated by a San Francisco dispatch (May 18) which asserted that the Overland Mail Company had sent a detachment of men from Los Angeles to Salt Lake City with eight six-horse teams and 40 horses. Concerning the transfer of the western end of the Pony Express to Wells, Fargo & Co., see notice of May 16 quoted in Chapman, *The Pony Express*, p. 268.

<sup>468.</sup> Denver dispatch to Leavenworth *Daily Times*, April 30, 1861; Hafen, *Overland Mail*, pp. 219, 220. The citizens of Denver made contributions toward this goal.

Pike's Peak Express fully realized the strategic importance of Colorado to their firm and scheduled a meeting of the stockholders at Denver, April 26, 1861. At this meeting the board of directors was reorganized by the election of Bela M. Hughes to the presidency, in place of Russell.<sup>469</sup> Hughes was a cousin of Benjamin Holladay and his presidency apparently inaugurated a transitional period in the history of the company, in which Holladay's large loans made him virtually a silent partner. The directors were so favorably impressed with preliminary reports of a route by the way of Denver that they instructed a party of surveyors and teamsters to carefully examine the terrain so as to avoid the necessity of stocking the route between Julesburg and Camp Crittenden (late Camp Floyd), while still supplying Denver as required by their contract.<sup>470</sup> Hughes and Russell arrived in Denver May 6, 1861, and a few days later an expedition commanded by Capt. E. L. Berthoud, and including the famous scouts, James Bridger and Tim Goodell, left under Pike's Peak Express Company auspices to locate a suitable route over the "Snowy Range." Soon thereafter Berthoud discovered the pass which bears his name,<sup>471</sup> and Russell, who had been touring the mining districts, took a trip by coach up Clear creek to the principal range—the contemplated route for the overland mail, and made a very favorable report.<sup>472</sup> He then hurriedly returned to Leavenworth and laid the matter before the directors of the company, who decided on a more detailed survey of the route from Denver to Salt Lake, to be directed by Berthoud and Bridger. An expedition under their command left the eastern slope of the Rockies on July 6 and returned to Denver September 27, 1861, with the report that an entirely favorable route for a wagon road had been found, over the central range, which was "shorter, nearer and more accessible than the most sanguine could expect."<sup>473</sup> Bela M. Hughes

469. *Ibid.*, quoting the *Rocky Mountain News*, May 8, 1861. After the bond scandal of the preceding winter (described below) Russell spent an extended sojourn in Colorado, where he was feted by the people.

Bela M. Hughes, a lawyer of St. Joseph, later became a railroad promoter and prominent politician of Colorado.

470. St. Louis *Missouri Democrat*, quoted in the *Leavenworth Daily Times*, May 3, 1861.

471. Hafen, *Overland Mail*, pp. 220, 221. Chapter X of this work, entitled "The Million Dollar Mail in Operation, 1861-1862," is based upon Colorado and federal documents, and is the outstanding account of this phase of the history of the C. O. C. & P. P. Express Company. In 1859 Berthoud surveyed a route as far as Lawrence for the Leavenworth, Pawnee and Western railroad (*Leavenworth Herald*, November 19, 1859).

472. Dispatch from "Leavenworth Gulch, Colorado Gold Mines," June 10, in *Leavenworth Daily Times*, June 28, 1861. Russell was accompanied by Governor Gilpin, and had been given a "hearty welcome everywhere." The dispatch added: "In a few weeks we may expect to see the coaches and pony express passing through this way, and a telegraph will no doubt follow the same route. It is much nearer than by way of the South Pass, and it is expected that fully as good a road can be made."

473. *Rocky Mountain News*, reprinted in the *Atchison Freedom's Champion*, September 28, 1861—a good account.

added that from Denver to Salt Lake City this route "far surpasses the present troubled road," and gave "facilities for a continuous line of settlement the whole way from Denver westward" which would eventually shorten the distance to Salt Lake and California approximately 300 miles.<sup>474</sup>

A careful survey of the route from Denver to Salt Lake City via Berthoud pass would necessitate an extended reconnaissance. The contract for daily mail service was to become effective July 1, 1861, and this forced the "C. O. C." to take recourse to the old Platte route. Extra coaches were now distributed along the line, to make possible an increase of trips.<sup>475</sup> Stocking of the stations under the Butterfield contract began in April, with the plan of having them average some 15 miles apart, according to the terrain of the country, each to be well supplied with men, horses and coaches, a trip across country to be completed in 15 days.<sup>476</sup> The first through daily coaches on the Central route left St. Joseph and Placerville simultaneously on July 1, 1861, and both arrived at their destination on July 18, in a few hours over seventeen days—well ahead of the contract schedule of 25 days.

The initial departure from St. Joseph apparently attracted little attention, although the first eastbound mail from Placerville was accorded a great ovation at that end of the line:

The first overland-mail coach started from Placerville on the 1st, escorted out of town by an immense concourse of citizens, with bands of music and cannon firing. The coach and horses were decorated with American flags. There were six bags of letter mail and twenty-eight bags of newspaper mail, in all weighing 1,776 pounds.<sup>477</sup>

A Salt Lake City dispatch heralded the first arrivals at that point and conceded that so far as time was concerned the overland mail was already a success.

474. The detailed report of Berthoud was published in the *Champion* of November 2, with a foreword by Hughes, who asserted that the cost to the company had been some \$3,000 for outfit and wages, and the stringency of the times prevented them from constructing a road west from Denver. Berthoud's report concluded that a wagon road from the South Platte to Provo (Utah) was entirely practical, that if extended to California it would shorten the distance 200 miles, and would be entirely feasible for the overland mail and telegraph, but a railroad would require a tunnel under the main range (not realized until the 1920's). In 1865 Hughes did construct a wagon road by this route to the western entrance of Berthoud Pass, and later was interested in railroad development by this route.—See Frank Hall, *History of the State of Colorado* (Chicago, 1889), v. 1, p. 409 *et seq.* The Butterfield Overland Dispatch stage line adopted the Smoky Hill and Berthoud Pass route. In a "Letter from Colorado," October 5, 1861, Berthoud carefully reviewed his part in the movement for an improved road to Denver by this route, particularly his explorations for its extension to Salt Lake City.—Leavenworth *Daily Times*, January 30, 1862.

475. Elwood *Free Press*, June 8, 1861. This dispatch asserted that 25 coaches left the city on the previous Wednesday, to be distributed along the route.

476. San Francisco dispatch of April 20 by Pony Express, in New York *Daily Tribune*, May 2, 1861.

477. San Francisco dispatch, July 4, in *ibid.*, July 20, 1861. About the same amount of mail was received at St. Joseph, according to a dispatch from across the river at Elwood (in the *Free Press* of July 20).

The first Overland Daily Mail Stage arrived in the city this afternoon, between 5 and 6 o'clock, and in a few minutes after started West again, having nine days to accomplish the journey, which the Western daily stage has made in less than seven days. The first Overland Mail from the West arrived here on Sunday evening last, about 10 o'clock, and today it arrived at 4 p. m. So far, then, as time is concerned, the Central Overland Mail is a success. Passengers arriving from the West have some hours to rest in this city, as it is considered impracticable to attempt during the night the passage through the mountain defiles that lead into the city from the East. . . .<sup>478</sup>

The first coach across the continent to arrive at St. Joseph carried three passengers, among whom was Maj. J. W. Simonton, an editor of the San Francisco *Bulletin*. Bela M. Hughes said the Express line "solved the problem of overland transportation," and was "the avant-courier of the great railroad line."<sup>479</sup>

Beginning in September, 1861, the Post Office Department ordered the dispatch of the overland mail from Atchison rather than St. Joseph, since the Kansas town was 14 miles farther west on an extension of the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad. The terminal of the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company was accordingly moved to the new location, partly because it would be more free from involvement in the Civil War than raging in Missouri.<sup>480</sup> President Hughes replied to an attack upon him and the company, denying that when the office of the firm was located in St. Joseph it discriminated against union men and branding as entirely false the charge that four-fifths of the employees were secessionists.<sup>481</sup> The future of the company necessarily demanded a clear record in this matter.

The overland mail service to California was performed with con-

478. Salt Lake City dispatch, July 11, in New York *Daily Tribune*, July 27, 1861. The writer deprecated the ten-cent postage rate then becoming effective as "very pernicious" for that area, isolating it from the East and injuring the working classes.

479. Root and Connelley, *Overland Stage*, p. 43. A San Francisco dispatch of July 27 (New York *Daily Tribune*, August 8, 1861) remarked: "The Overland mail continues to arrive regularly. The price of passage from Sacramento to St. Joseph has been fixed at \$150. Passengers who come through in the mail stages seem to regard the trip as one of no great hardship, although they are compelled to ride continually night and day for eighteen days." Another dispatch remarked that the first night was usually the most tiresome, that thereafter "nature asserted itself," and the passengers obtained plenty of sleep.

480. Root and Connelley, *Overland Stage*, p. 44. During the war the mails were forwarded fairly regularly through Missouri, although provision was made for additional service by way of Omaha. The railroad reached a point opposite Atchison in February, 1860, but did not actually enter the town via the new bridge across the Missouri until the following June.

481. Atchison *Freedom's Champion*, November 2, 1861. At that date only two of their employees had refused to take the oath of allegiance. Hughes pointed out he had left Missouri for residence in another state (announced in the *Champion* of September 22). The secretary of the company, J. W. Russell, moved to Atchison at the same time. The *Champion* of November 16 condemned "the vindictive spirit of the St. Joseph *Journal* and the Denver *Herald* against the C. O. C. & P. P. Express Company. . . . The public has been regaled over and over again with their senseless and unreasonable abuse, but never until now has any representative of the company deigned to reply. . . ." (Benjamin F. Ficklin, the former superintendent, became identified with the confederacy.)

"Paul Jones," a correspondent writing from St. Joseph, October 17, to the *Missouri Democrat* (October 22, 1861), berated Hughes as a rascal secessionist, and charged that the destruction of the Platte river bridge had "jarred the festering treason from his soul, or the

siderable efficiency during the first months of its operation, for which it received due praise.<sup>482</sup> In the fall of 1861 an article appeared in the Atchison *Champion* expressing the determination of the officers to adhere to the regular schedules:

#### OVERLAND MAIL

The trip from here to Placerville still continues as a general thing to be made in several hours less than the advertised time, which is seventeen days. The officers of the company are determined to keep within their advertised time, and with the ample means in their possession and their indomitable energy, this will be accomplished. A large number of sleds of the best description were sent west some time ago, and distributed at different points where needed, so that the interruption will be slight, if any, from the fall of snow. With careful drivers, experienced and courteous conductors, and comfortable coaches, the trip in pleasant weather is but a holiday excursion, and crossing the continent under these circumstances is a trifling affair, occupying but little time and attended with no danger.<sup>483</sup>

During the winter of 1861-1862 service on the overland route was sometimes delayed by heavy snow and floods, at the worst of which newspapers arrived a month late. The Postmaster General stated that the mails had been fairly regular, although the service had "not been entirely satisfactory to the department."<sup>484</sup> Despite complaints, the California legislature made a clear-cut declaration on the importance of the daily mail to that state, and the stage stations to the continuance of the telegraph.<sup>485</sup>

The Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company's financial troubles were growing in urgency by the fall of 1861. About the middle of October it announced "greatly reduced rates" to California and intermediate points, the fares from the Missouri river being: To Fort Kearny, \$25; Overland City, \$50; Denver City, \$75; Fort Laramie, \$75; Fort Bridger, \$110; Salt Lake City, \$125;

fear of losing his salary of \$5,000 per annum, causes him to be a thorough Union man. . . . While located in this city, that company were very careful that not a dollar of Uncle Sam's money went into a loyal man's pocket. . . . Why is Mr. Slade kept in their employ? . . . a division agent . . . having charge of the entire route from the crossing of the South Platte to the Pacific Springs. He is a vile-mouthed, rabid secessionist. . . ."

482. San Francisco *Atta California*, January 14, 1862, quoted in Hafen, *Overland Mail*, p. 225.

483. *Freedom's Champion*, November 28, 1861. During the previous winter the company tried sled runners, the Leavenworth *Conservative* of February 8 asserting: "The Pike's Peak Express Company made the last trip from Denver to Leavenworth on runners the whole distance. We believe this has never been done before."

484. "Report of the Postmaster General," December 2, 1861, in 37 Cong., 2 Sess., *Senate Executive Documents*, v. III (Serial No. 1119), No. 1, pp. 560, 561. The contractors agreed to carry only the California letter mail, regardless of weight, but they later stated that if this fell short of 600 pounds, they would take other mail. For this reason some papers were carried and others delayed, causing some complaint. It was also alleged that bags of printed matter were thrown off en route, to accommodate passengers and express matter, but this charge was denied by the contractors. See the Postmaster General's remarks, entitled "Overland California Mail."

485. Hafen, *Overland Mail*, p. 226.

and Placerville, \$150. Although this made no change in the fares to Denver or California, which had been previously reduced, it apparently was the first public announcement, aimed to popularize the stage line for long distance travel, since passengers for the Pacific coast were usually few in number. The time to Denver was six days and to Placerville 17 days.<sup>486</sup>

In commenting upon this announcement the *Freedom's Champion* indicated that the financial soundness of the company was then being questioned, and branded as false the rumor that there had been an attempt to rob a Pike's Peak Express coach:

It is useless to speak of the excellence of this line, the safety of its transportation, and the obliging character of its employees.

Absurd falsehoods have been started to injure the Line, but they die out before the force of truth. This line is of great advantage to Kansas, and we may expect assaults on it in various ways. . . .

The mail pay alone for *each ninety days* service is \$120,000. The Company has earned a quarter's pay, which was due September 30th, and will be paid in a few days. It has a claim for back pay, which we learn will be allowed to it, of \$93,000, and on the 31st day of December, another \$120,000 will be due to it, thus throwing into circulation in Kansas in a very few weeks \$333,000 of Uncle Sam's money.

There are persons inimical to the Government, who are predicting that it will not be able to pay the Mail Contractors, &c, &c.

We have authority for stating that the pay of all the mail contractors in the Union will be promptly met as soon as the certificates of the service are sent forward to the Post Office Department.

Now we have a report of an attempted robbery of a Coach on the Plains and of five robbers being killed by the passengers! This has gone out all over the land as a fact, when it is a remarkably unblushing impudent *lie*. . . .<sup>487</sup>

It should be pointed out that the newspapers at least printed almost no accounts of robberies of the Pike's Peak stages, leading one to believe that fiction writers may have later invented such episodes, which became a body of legend, rather than fact.

486. Atchison *Freedom's Champion*, October 12, 1861. This announcement appeared regularly for many weeks thereafter. Passengers could lay over at any point and resume seats when vacant. Meals were "provided at convenient distances" at prices averaging 60 cents. The rates for transporting gold dust, bank notes and drafts and freight were also quoted—only 25 pounds of baggage being carried free of charge. The advertisement was signed by B. M. Hughes, president, and Isaac E. Eaton, superintendent.

In its issue of March 24, 1862, the St. Louis *Missouri Democrat* complained of the "extortionate charges demanded by the Pike's Peak or Overland Express Company on small parcels . . . a day or two since we received a small parcel of gold remitted on subscription from Denver, amounting to \$7.20, and weighing including wrapper, about half an ounce, on which the charge was \$1.75." It added that because of this state of affairs undeserved blame was often laid on other companies receiving parcels at Atchison, and thought "a good opposition line from Atchison westward would remedy this extortion." This complaint was made at about the time of the sale of the company to Holladay.

487. Atchison *Freedom's Champion*, October 12, 1861. Newspaper accounts of robberies being practically nonexistent, one is forced to conclude that such incidents were at least of very rare occurrence. It is probable, however, that the press of either Leavenworth or Atchison, when the company headquarters was located there, was under strong pressure to not print such reports. That it was amenable to such pressure at the time of the transfer to the Platte, seems very probable.



The rigors of the winter season of 1861-1862 appear to have administered the final "*coup de grace*" to the already tottering finances of the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company. One writer points out that "unprecedented floods, deep snows and blizzards broke up the service for days at a stretch and increased expenses," delaying the mails and holding up the contractor's pay.<sup>488</sup> The history of the previous years had been one of repeated and heavy outlays, without a corresponding income. As Majors stated in his memoirs:

It so transpired that the firm of Russell, Majors & Waddell had to pay the fiddler, or the entire expense of organizing both the stage line and the pony express, at a loss, as it turned out, of hundreds of thousands of dollars.<sup>489</sup>

Laying out the initial route by way of the Solomon and Republican valleys entailed a large expense—probably not less than \$75,000, but no exact figures are available. Majors states that this was done on credit, Jones & Russell giving their notes, payable in 90 days, but that when these obligations fell due they were unable to make payment. It then became necessary for the parent firm of Russell, Majors & Waddell to assume the obligations and management of the stage line in order to save their partner and the funds they had advanced.<sup>490</sup> It has been said that the expenses of operating this line were \$1,000 a day<sup>491</sup>—at least the income nowhere near equalled the cost. Before the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express had hardly gotten under way, Jones & Russell took over the Hockaday firm, for which they paid \$144,000, necessitating a transfer to the Platte that probably required an additional expenditure of some \$75,000. One writer has estimated the cost of founding the Pony Express and maintaining it for 16 months as \$700,000, against which can be credited a probable income of some \$500,000,<sup>492</sup> patronage never being heavy, particularly by Eastern residents.

488. Harlow, *Old Waybills*, p. 244.

489. Ingraham, *Seventy Years on the Frontier*, p. 167. If the parent firm of Russell, Majors & Waddell had adhered to the more lucrative freighting business, the results might have been different.

490. *Ibid.*, p. 165. It is very possible that Ben Holladay made advances at this time—he certainly did later. That Russell, Majors & Waddell were the real proprietors of the stage line was frequently stated, and is a reasonable deduction, judging from the interlocking nature of the directorates. Holladay asserted that the freighting firm was the chief owner of stock of the "C. O. C.," which would have made it, in consequence, virtually a holding company with reference to the Pike's Peak Express companies. The financial affairs of the parent firm at the close of 1860 are discussed in some detail in 36 Cong., 2 Sess., *House Reports*, v. II (Serial No. 1105), No. 78, entitled "Abstracted Indian Trust Bonds" (henceforth abbreviated "A. I. T. B. Report")—a 365-page summary. A lack of definite data beclouds this whole matter.

491. Root and Connelley, *Overland Stage*, p. 155.

492. Bradley, *The Pony Express*, p. 174. He includes the following items:  
To equip line, \$100,000 (probably rather high, as many of the stations were also used by the stage line).

Maintenance at \$30,000 per month, \$480,000.

War with Pah-Utes and allies, \$75,000.

Sundry expenses, \$45,000.

Chapman (*op. cit.*, p. 304) believes the Pony Express entailed a loss of more than \$200,000.

From the start the company charged \$125 for passenger fare from Leavenworth to Denver, later reduced to \$100 and still later to \$75 (from Atchison), but the service could never have been very remunerative, due to the limited number of passengers that could be carried (only six with entire comfort), and the seasonal nature of the travel to Pike's Peak—largely westbound in the spring and summer, and eastbound in the fall and winter. After the contract to Salt Lake was acquired there were a few passengers transported in the overland coaches, but neither these nor those later carried to California when the company enjoyed a share of the Pacific trade were large in numbers. The income from express is difficult to estimate—initial rates were as high as one dollar a pound, but the total volume could not have been great. The fee for letters to Denver long remained at 25 cents each and when the volume increased this must have been a sizeable source of revenue, although various tricks were occasionally employed by the settlers to avoid payment. Charges on treasure and drafts transported became considerable in 1860, but more was carried by private passengers than by the regular messengers of the company. By 1861 Hinckley & Co. were serious competitors for this business, by way of the Western Stage line from Omaha. After the firm obtained the Hockaday contract (July 1, 1859) it enjoyed a government subsidy of \$125,000, later increased to \$150,435 (July 24, 1860).<sup>493</sup> In May, 1860, the contract of George Chorpenning for a mail service between Placerville and Salt Lake City was annulled and a new contract was concluded with William H. Russell for a semimonthly service at an annual subsidy of \$33,000 (later increased to \$38,164).<sup>494</sup> When the "Million Dollar" mail contract became effective with the Butterfield firm (legally the Overland Mail Company), July 1, 1861, a subcontract was concluded by this concern with the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company to carry the mail to Denver and Salt Lake City for \$475,000.<sup>495</sup>

493. 37 Cong., 2 Sess., *House Executive Documents*, v. XI (Serial 1139), p. 556—"Report of additional allowances made to contractors." The official name of the contractor was then Hockaday & Smoot, after the sale the assignee of the Hockaday firm.

494. *Ibid.*, p. 557; Hafén, *Overland Mail*, p. 157; George Chorpenning, *A Brief History of the Mail Service*, p. 9. The latter made serious reflections upon the character of his rivals in the following statements: "Numerous efforts were now begun to be made to secure Mr. Chorpenning's interest and position in the work, but failing in this by direct purchase, influences were brought upon the Post Office Department, and under the most shameful and positively false pretexes his contract, still having over two years to run, and his pay just on the eve of being increased from \$190,000 per annum to \$400,000, was annulled, and all his life's earnings . . . confiscated . . . and absolutely given to persons who had never been in the country a day. . . ."

495. Ben Holladay to Angus Cameron, April 6, 1882, quoted in J. V. Frederick's *Ben Holladay, The Stagecoach King* (Glendale, Cal., 1940), pp. 65, 66; *New York Daily Tribune*, May 20, 1861. The details of this subcontract cannot be obtained, but the amount probably was \$475,000 (*Federal Cases*, cited above, *Book 21*, p. 307—Case No. 12,288); see, also, 47

No exact conclusion as to financial matters can be arrived at without access to the books of Russell, Majors & Waddell and their subsidiary companies, which so far as is known do not exist. Perhaps the greatest amount of data concerning this organization appeared in connection with the scandal that rocked Washington and the nation at Christmas time, 1860, when it was announced that \$870,000 worth of Indian Trust bonds had been abstracted by Godard Bailey from the Department of the Interior, in which he was a clerk, and had been delivered to William H. Russell of the firm of Russell, Majors & Waddell.<sup>496</sup> Russell and Bailey were quickly arrested (the former was later released on bond), and an extended congressional investigation followed. In carrying on their extensive freighting business for the United States, particularly in supplying the army outposts in the West, Russell, Majors & Waddell had become financially embarrassed, and in 1858 they induced the Secretary of War, John B. Floyd, to accept their drafts in anticipation of their earnings. These "acceptances" were in effect statements that a specified sum would be due on the execution of certain services under the transportation contracts of the firm, i. e., when the freighting trains completed their trips. The Utah war necessitated the prompt transportation for the army of tremendous amounts of supplies, and since the army had to eat, regardless of congressional appropriations, Floyd regarded it incumbent upon him to authorize the issuance of acceptances to Russell, Majors & Waddell to facilitate their business, as no other firm was so well equipped to carry on a transportation project of such immensity.<sup>497</sup>

Due to the hard times and the volume of acceptances authorized by Floyd, their negotiation on the market became increasingly difficult.<sup>498</sup> By the summer of 1860 some \$200,000 worth of these

Cong., 1 Sess., *Senate Reports*, v. III (Serial 2006), No. 403, p. 1, entitled "Report of Committee on Claims." The latter is in error, however, in making the annual compensation \$450,000. This report gives precise figures on the stocking of the line under the Hockaday regime, and losses due to Indian attacks.

496. The "A. I. T. B."—"Abstracted Indian Trust Bonds Report" mentioned above is too tremendous a document to be carefully reviewed here. The select committee of the house of representatives, Isaac N. Morris, chairman, made a unanimous report of 20 pages, and appended a large volume of testimony. The issue of acceptances to the Russell, Majors & Waddell firm is a critical subject of this report.

497. There is a brief discussion in James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States From the Compromise of 1850*, v. III (New York, etc., 1895), pp. 237, 238. See, also, the testimony of Thomas W. Pierce, of the Boston commission firm of Pierce & Bacon, who were large purchasers of the acceptances, in "A. I. T. B. Report," pp. 359-362; Robert M. Hughes, "Floyd's Resignation from Buchanan's Cabinet," *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, v. V, No. 2, January, 1921, pp. 73-95; James Buchanan, *Mr. Buchanan's Administration on the Eve of the Rebellion* (New York, 1866), pp. 186, 187, and "John B. Floyd," in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. VI (New York, 1931), pp. 482, 483.

498. The "A. I. T. B. Report" found that nearly \$7,000,000 worth of these acceptances were issued by Floyd, of which at least \$1,445,000 were still outstanding, and declared them to be "unauthorized by law and deceptive and fraudulent in character." Buchanan warned Floyd of their impropriety, but he continued to issue them. In 1868 the supreme court in a divided decision declared them a violation of the law.

drafts were about to mature, and Russell feared they would be protested, "the government still withholding the large sums of money due us."<sup>499</sup> In this extremity (July, 1860), Russell conferred with Luke Lea, of the Washington banking firm of Suter, Lea & Co. (which was closely connected with the Leavenworth banking house of Smoot, Russell, & Co.), and who had formerly served as Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Lea seems to have confirmed the notion of Russell that Godard Bailey, who had charge of the Indian Trust fund bonds, might be of assistance. (In his later testimony Lea was such an unwilling and artful witness that the select committee found it well nigh impossible to "pin anything" on him.) At any rate Russell and Bailey did confer on the matter, with the apparent object of avoiding any reflection upon "Governor" Floyd incident to a large scale protest of the acceptances.<sup>500</sup> Thereupon Bailey delivered to Russell at his private residence in Washington \$150,000 of state bonds, for which Russell gave the note of his firm, and then directed his assistant Jerome B. Simpson, vice-president of the "C. O. C.," to immediately hypothecate them on the New York market.

In September, 1860, Russell told Bailey he could not provide for the bonds previously given, and Bailey then (allegedly) informed him for the first time that they were Indian Trust bonds.<sup>501</sup> To save "Governor" Floyd (a relative of Bailey) and to extricate Russell from the financial morass which was now engulfing him, Bailey took up the \$150,000 note and advanced bonds worth \$387,000, for which Russell gave the note of his firm for their par value. The bonds were then so depreciated in value that their hypothecation brought only a limited sum, while at the same time it rendered their return to the government extremely doubtful. On December 4 Russell took another installment of bonds, the total then standing at \$870,000, for which he deposited the acceptances of Floyd in like amount as security.<sup>502</sup> Irregularities in the coupons

499. *Ibid.*, pp. 317-327, 334. From the abstract of payments made to the firm it is not apparent that the government was holding up any payments, although Russell repeatedly made such a charge. During the severe weather of the winter of 1861-1862, it is probable that it was obliged to take this step, because of delays of the mail. By March, 1861, Russell claimed the total withheld amounted to \$1,349,548.

500. *Ibid.*, pp. 45-76. The chief interview between Russell and Lea apparently took place in July, 1860, on a train between Washington and New York. This testimony, although very incomplete, makes it hard to believe Russell's assertion that he was at the start ignorant of the nature of the bonds. See, also, the committee's summary, in *ibid.*, p. 5.

501. Testimony of William H. Russell, *ibid.*, pp. 263-288. The hypothecated bonds were about to be sold, and in the meantime other acceptances were falling due. Russell made a public explanation, which was liberally quoted in the New York *Daily Tribune*, March 30, 1861. At the time of the delivery of the first installment of bonds, he claimed he did not understand their real nature, but at the later deliveries he fully realized his predicament, and the danger to himself and firm. He could not turn back, however, once he had embarked on his dangerous course.

502. Rhodes, *op. cit.*, v. III, p. 237.

on the abstracted bonds led to a discovery of the scandal. The select committee appears to have committed a grave blunder in requesting the testimony of Russell and Floyd, since a law of 1857 specifically exempted witnesses before congressional committees from criminal prosecution. Both eventually used this statute to dissolve criminal actions begun against them, although the Secretary of War clearly had had no part in the bond scandal.<sup>503</sup>

Rightly or wrongly, the disclosure of the "Great Robbery" cast a sinister light over the financial affairs of Russell and his firm. It was said that while they were receiving extra allowances by way of the acceptances they were also being regularly paid for services rendered.<sup>504</sup> The issue of acceptances was ended, stopping further revenue from this source. There is little doubt that this affair, aggravated by the financial difficulties of the time and the accumulated irregularities of the past, virtually destroyed the credit of Russell, Majors & Waddell and made their financial failure a certainty, precisely as Russell had feared. Can there be any wonder that the government declined to give a new contract for the overland mail to a firm which had condoned such practices? There were allegations that it was a frameup to "get" Russell, and defeat his efforts to obtain the mail contract,<sup>505</sup> but the implications of the bond scandal leave little doubt as to why it was awarded to others.

503. The various complications of the "Great Robbery" led to numerous articles and dispatches for several months. Jerome B. Simpson, vice-president of the "C. O. C." and in general charge of the New York office of the Pony Express, who had carried on the marketing of the bonds on the New York curb, quickly disappeared, and could not be located. Several witnesses later testified that he had gone to Europe "for his health." The criminal charges against Russell were abstraction of the bonds (with Bailey), receiving them, and conspiring (with Bailey and Floyd) to defraud the United States government. Floyd was made the general scapegoat of the whole affair, far more than was Russell, as he soon was identified with the confederacy, but he was freed of all criminal charges, and there is no doubt that he "had no connection whatever in thought, word, or deed, with the abstraction of the Indian trust funds. . . ." The select committee tried to obtain more information from Russell, but he later refused to testify without the presence of his counsel, and declined to reveal whether he had made payments or presents to persons attached to the War Department, in the obtaining of contracts (a violation of federal statute), unless congress specifically empowered its committee to this effect. Unfortunately congress failed to grant its committee further power—the approach of the Civil War overshadowed the whole affair. Bailey was not asked to testify, but his statement was taken—he had been known as the negotiator of the Florida bonds for Mr. Yulee, and the Chiriqui acceptances, which congress refused to legalize.

504. The "A. I. T. B. Report" states (p. 17): "The facts, therefore, are, that Russell, Majors & Waddell not only absorbed all the sums earned by them under their contracts, and sold all the bonds they received from Mr. Bailey, but also raised very large sums of money upon the acceptances issued by the Secretary of War."

505. "William H. Russell, Originator and Developer of the Famous Pony Express," *Collector's Club Philatelist*, New York, January and April, 1929. At the time many had similar views, particularly in the West, where Russell was called "The Brains of the Border" and the "Napoleon of the West." Whether or not he at the start made a felonious arrangement with Godard Bailey, it is probable that he honestly intended to return the bonds, but each step made this more impossible. As far as the acceptances were concerned, the firm cannot be blamed for anything more than very loose business, which was sanctioned by the Secretary of War in the interest of properly supplying the army. The depreciation of these acceptances on the market, and inability to regain the bonds proved too much. The affair left the United States treasury in a precarious state, as the courts ruled that bona fide purchasers of the bonds could not be questioned. Early in 1861 it was even charged on the floor of congress that this scandal was the prime cause of the depleted state of the treasury.

Russell's usefulness in the matter of finances having been largely destroyed, he was replaced in April, 1861, and Bela M. Hughes was made president of the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company.<sup>506</sup> Soon thereafter Holladay advanced money for better equipment and in July the directors placed a mortgage upon the entire firm, so as to safeguard his advances.<sup>507</sup> The details of this important meeting are well described in the following account:

These provisions of the charter and of the bye-laws being in force, and when the whole number of directors was seven,—that is, on the 5th day of July, 1861,—a special meeting of the board, attended by five of its members, was held at the company's office in Leavenworth. The meeting was called verbally about twenty-four hours before it convened. At this time the corporate property, consisting of animals and vehicles, stations and buildings scattered along its stage route, and used in the course of its business, was of the value of about \$500,000; and it had a contract for carrying the United States mail over its route, from which it was to receive \$475,000 in quarterly payments. But its affairs had become seriously embarrassed, and Holladay had advanced to it considerable sums of money, and had become liable as indorser and acceptor of its paper for considerable sums further, in all amounting to about \$200,000. At this special meeting, by the unanimous vote of all the directors present, the president was authorized to execute to Holladay a bond and deed of trust upon all the corporate property, to secure him on account of the said advances and liabilities, and for such further sums as he should thereafter advance, and such further liabilities as he should thereafter assume. Accordingly, on the 22d day of November, 1861, the president made to Holladay a bond of the company for the payment of all sums which he had become or should become liable for, and of all sums which he had paid or should pay on its account, and also made to Theodore F. Warner and Robert L. Pease a deed of trust in the name of the company, conveying all its property, including the contract for carrying the mail. In this deed of trust it was provided, that if the company should make default in the performance of the condition of the bond, the trustees, Warner and Pease, upon Holladay's request, should take possession of the property conveyed, thereafter continue the business, and, upon a notice of twenty days, to be advertised in a newspaper published at Atchison, sell all the property, and out of the proceeds pay what was going to Holladay, and render the surplus to the company. . . . Holladay claiming that default had been made in the condition of the bond, on the 6th of December the trustees took possession of the line, business, and property of the company, and advertised a sale for the 31st of December.<sup>508</sup>

A legal notice appeared in the Atchison *Freedom's Champion*, announcing a forthcoming sale of all the property of the "C. O. C.,"

506. Russell was received as a conquering hero at Denver and vicinity, where he made an extended sojourn. The Russell, Majors & Waddell firm had long been regarded as a leader of Western business, since thousands looked to it, directly or indirectly, for their support.

507. Frederick, *Ben Holladay, The Stagecoach King*, pp. 63, 64. All evidence points to the increasing power of Holladay over the Pike's Peak firm, particularly after the bond scandal.

508. *Federal Cases, Book 21*, p. 307—Case No. 12,223.

to satisfy the conditions of a penal bond to Benjamin Holladay, executed a few weeks before, the conditions of which had been broken:

Whereas, on the 22d of November, A. D., 1861, the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company, made, executed, and delivered to the undersigned as Trustees, a deed conveying to said Trustees all the horses, mules, cattle, coaches, wagons, buggies, sets of harness, hay, grain, provisions, lumber, tools, materials and furniture, held and used by said Company in carrying the overland mail from Atchison in Kansas, to Salt Lake City in Utah, and from Overland City [Julesburg] to Denver, and from Denver to Central City and to Tarryall, in Colorado Territory, together with all the stations on said several roads, which said deed is made to secure the payment of a penal bond to Benjamin Holladay, of even date with said deed, for the sum of Four Hundred Thousand Dollars and for the performance of the conditions of said bond and the covenants of said deed. And whereas the conditions of said bond and the covenants of said deed have been broken and said penalty is unpaid; in pursuance of said deed the undersigned as such Trustees will on Tuesday, the 31st day of December, A. D. 1861, at the Massasoit House, in the city of Atchison, in the State of Kansas, proceed to sell all the above conveyed property in one body to the highest bidder for cash in hand to satisfy the conditions of said deed.

T. F. WARNER } Trustees.  
ROB. L. PEASE }

Atchison, Dec. 6, 1861.<sup>509</sup>

The officials of the Pike's Peak Express obtained an injunction in the United States district court restraining the trustees from proceeding with the sale on the date announced.<sup>510</sup> The sale was repeatedly postponed, apparently in the hope that conditions would improve so that Holladay's loan could be paid, but such did not prove to be the case.<sup>511</sup> Finally the injunction was dissolved, and on March 22, 1862, a public sale of the entire property was held in front of the Massasoit House in Atchison. Holladay was the highest bidder and is said to have purchased the line for \$100,000, thereby protecting his large investment.<sup>512</sup> He later explained that soon after the Overland Mail company had made a subcontract with the

509. Atchison *Freedom's Champion*, December 7, 1861, and regularly thereafter.

510. Root and Connelley, *Overland Stage*, pp. 465, 466. When called upon by Holladay to take possession in his name, Warner declined to act, and Pease then proceeded alone. Robert L. Pease was a trusted employee of the stage company, who continued his financial duties after the sale to Holladay.

511. The frequent notices of sheriff's sales in the Kansas papers at this time indicated the bad financial conditions then prevalent.

512. So far as is known, not a word appeared in any Kansas paper concerning the sale, at least not at the time. The newspaper code of ethics enjoined complete secrecy in such matters, although it must have been well known to Atchison and Leavenworth residents. The total debt to Holladay seems to have been slightly over \$200,000. On the basis of Colorado sources the author of the *Overland Mail* (p. 227) places it at \$208,000. At least the penal bond to Holladay was about double the actual debt, rendering him entirely safe. After the credit of Russell, Majors & Waddell had been shattered, undoubtedly Holladay was the chief source of ready cash.

Pike's Peak firm (as a part of the Million Dollar daily mail to California), he had agreed to loan the C. O. C. & P. P. Express Company sums of money from time to time. To safeguard these loans the company gave him a mortgage on its personal property and a deed of trust on its real estate. In carrying out this arrangement Holladay lent the company considerable sums and also accepted drafts of the "C. O. C.," but when the parent firm of Russell, Majors & Waddell got into difficulties, its creditors brought suit, and the public sale and financial dissolution of the Pike's Peak firm was a direct result.<sup>513</sup>

That the parent firm was in a bad financial state is indicated by the numerous legal actions to recover sums of money, particularly in the First district court of Kansas at Leavenworth, against the assignees of Russell, Majors & Waddell and allied firms.<sup>514</sup> This great firm was clearly passing out of the picture and early in 1862 the overland freighting contracts were let to another organization—Irwin, Jackman & Co., of Leavenworth.<sup>515</sup> The Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company was no doubt affected by the general debacle, although the exact details are lacking. It had long been beset by financial troubles—failure to pay its employees promptly led to the charge that the C. O. C. & P. P. stood for "Clean Out of Cash and Poor Pay."<sup>516</sup> Now the great resources of Benjamin Holladay were to achieve a magic change.

Upon assuming complete management, Holladay paid the debts of the Pike's Peak Express Company, including back pay of the employees—making a total of over \$500,000, and additional sums for feed and provisions previously contracted for.<sup>517</sup> There was an immediate reorganization—Robert L. Pease continued his work of settling financial matters contracted during his trusteeship, Bela M. Hughes was retained as legal adviser, and the original management

513. Holladay's statement in 1882, quoted above. He pointed out that Russell, Majors & Waddell were the chief owners of the stock of the C. O. C. & P. P. Express.

514. Leavenworth *Daily Times*, December 21, 1861, and February 27, 1862. The Leavenworth banking firm of Smoot, Russell & Co. also failed about this time. From time to time there had been rumors of the failure of Russell, Majors & Waddell. A. B. Waddell of Lexington, Mo., assigned all his property to pay the firm's indebtedness in that city and county.

515. *Ibid.*, March 9, 1862. The receiving of bids had been announced in the previous fall. The December 15 *Times* quoted the Secretary of the Treasury as asserting that contractors should be subject to "rigorous responsibility."

516. Root and Connelley, *Overland Stage*, p. 584. One voiced his discontent in verse, with telling effect:

"On or about the first of May,  
The boys would like to have their pay  
If not paid by that day,  
The stock along the line might stray."  
(A little did stray after the sale to Holladay.)

517. Frederick, *op. cit.*, pp. 66, 67. Root and Connelley add in the *Overland Stage* (p. 466) that Holladay settled a large number of debts of the firm. Despite his payments to employees, some "helped themselves to stock and outfits and went west with them. . . ."



passed completely out of the picture.<sup>518</sup> Holladay now managed the firm as the Overland Stage Line, although he continued its operation under the Kansas charter of the "C. O. C." until February, 1866, when he obtained a new charter from the territory of Colorado, under the name of the Holladay Overland Mail and Express Company.<sup>519</sup> The terms of the sale were not agreed to by two of the stockholders of the "C. O. C.," Webster M. Samuels and Alexander Street, who on April 1, 1862, applied to the directors to institute legal proceedings to recover the property transferred. When this request was refused these parties brought suit, in July, 1862, to declare the sale void and return the property to the original owners, on the grounds of illegality. In May, 1868, the United States Circuit Court, district of Kansas, in an action in equity, found the sale to have been "without authority, and was a violation of their trust, for which they [the trustees] and Holliday, as purchasers, can be called to account in a court of chancery, which has special jurisdiction of trusts."<sup>520</sup> A further action took place in the same court in October, 1869, entitled "Samuel v. Holladay," in which more detailed findings were brought, but which in the main confirmed the previous decision declaring the sale "without authority."<sup>521</sup> Both actions were of necessity dismissed because the Express Company, although the party wronged, had not been served with process, as the marshal "could not find the defendant in his district. Yet there is good reason to believe that it might be served with process."<sup>522</sup> Apparently the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company had entered a precarious stage of existence preceding complete disappearance.

518. *Ibid.*, pp. 465, 466. William H. Russell set up business in New York City (of all places!). A native of Vermont, he had migrated with the family to Missouri, and by the late 1840's was engaged in freighting on government contracts. In 1855 he formed a partnership with Alexander Majors, another freighter, which became the nucleus of the great freighting firm. He died at Palmyra, Mo., in 1872. A short biographical sketch by Charles R. Morehead with an accompanying photograph may be found in the "Appendix" of *Doniphan's Expedition*, by William E. Connelley (cited above). See, also, *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, v. XX (New York, 1929), pp. 451, 452, and the *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. XVI (New York, 1935), pp. 252, 253.

519. Frederick, *op. cit.*, p. 68; Root and Connelley, *Overland Stage*, p. 56.

520. Webster M. Samuels and Alexander Street v. The Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company, Ben Holladay and others, in James McCahon, *Reports of Cases Determined in the Supreme Court of the Territory of Kansas* (Chicago, 1870), pp. 214-229. This work includes a chapter on actions in the "Circuit Court of the United States for the District of Kansas," during the year of 1868. The above decision pointed out that the Express Company was the only party that could make such a settlement, but it was not before the court, since the subpoenas issued upon it could not be delivered.

521. *Federal Cases*, Book 21, p. 310—Case No. 12,288. Holladay's demands against the company then amounted to \$200,000, but the other debts exceeded the value of the property "he wrongfully converted." Furthermore, the conduct of the plaintiffs in the matter did not recommend them to a court of equity.

In 1882 Holladay stated (Frederick, *op. cit.*, p. 66) that his ownership of the property had been confirmed by the court, in which all persons concerned had acquiesced. It seems probable that there was further legal action, of which it is impossible to find a published statement.

522. *Federal Cases*, Book 21, p. 310—Case No. 12,288.

Since the stage line continued to operate as usual, the world at large seems to have paid little attention to the sale to Holladay. Thus closed a stirring chapter in pioneer transportation and communication which demonstrated beyond question the desirability of the Central route from the Missouri river to the Pacific Ocean and paved the way for the telegraph and railroad. The Pike's Peak Express Company, with its rival the Butterfield line and their successors, signalled the end of the isolation of the West, which the railroad brought to more complete fulfillment.

## The Annual Meeting

THE seventieth annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society and board of directors was held in the rooms of the Society on October 16, 1945.

The meeting of the directors was called to order by President Ralph R. Price at 10 a. m. First business was the reading of the annual report by the secretary.

### SECRETARY'S REPORT, YEAR ENDING OCTOBER 16, 1945

This is the seventieth annual meeting of the Society and the end of my fifteenth year as secretary. Perhaps it is the place for a review of accomplishments but we have so many new projects under way that it seems better to look toward the future. Since it is customary to celebrate 75th anniversaries it may be that by 1950, when we have had five years of peace, a diamond jubilee will be more in order. It is enough to say that the Kansas Society is among the largest state associations in the country, is possibly the best-balanced, and that it is being developed systematically in all departments. The new microfilm division, for which the 1945 legislature appropriated \$33,800, is in line with the latest archival procedure. The new *Annals of Kansas*, now being compiled through an initial appropriation of \$8,000, will be a valuable addition to our published history. And repairs and redecoration for the Memorial building through an appropriation of \$11,500, will again put the Society's physical plant in first-class condition.

Now that the war is over the Society is looking forward with the rest of the country to more normal operations. The demand for birth certificates, required by all war workers, has already decreased, and it may soon be possible for employees in this department to get back to tasks that have had to be neglected. Two members of the staff are still on leave in the service. Lt. Edgar Langsdorf is in France. Ens. Josephine Louise Barry, USNR, is in California.

### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND BOARD OF DIRECTORS

President Ralph R. Price reappointed Judge John S. Dawson and T. M. Lillard to the executive committee. The members holding over were Robert C. Rankin, Charles M. Correll and Gen. Milton R. McLean.

Four members of the board of directors died during the year. They were John G. Ellenbecker, Marysville; Isaac B. Morgan, Kansas City; Victor Murdock, Wichita, and Mrs. George Norris, Arkansas City. Mr. Ellenbecker was president of the Kansas council of the American Pioneer Trails Association. Mr. Morgan was a well-known Kansas City educator. Victor Murdock was a former congressman and long-time editor of the *Wichita Eagle*. His historical articles, published almost daily for thirteen years, were a popular front-page feature of the evening *Eagle*. Mrs. Norris, a pioneer Arkansas City resident, was long active in women's club work in the state.

## THE LEGISLATURE

As mentioned, the legislature made an appropriation for a new microfilm division. A discussion of this project will be made at the afternoon meeting.

Work on the new *Annals of Kansas*, which was authorized by the legislature, began on July 1, with Jennie Owen in charge. The following are acting as an advisory committee: Fred Brinkerhoff of Pittsburg, Cecil Howes of Topeka, Dr. J. C. Malin of Lawrence and Justice William A. Smith of Topeka. One meeting has been held.

The appropriation for the Memorial building provides for repointing all stone and terra cotta and repairing and painting all exterior woodwork. Specifications have been drawn and bids are now being asked for this work. Money is also available for repairing and redecorating many of the interior walls and ceilings. Since they are not subject to damage by the weather the state architect has recommended that this work be postponed until labor and materials can be contracted to better advantage.

Another appropriation of \$7,000 provides for the installation of a new section of steel shelving in the newspaper division.

Salary increases of from five to fifteen percent were given to members of the staff. Although there are still discrepancies, this appropriation helps bring salaries for most positions more nearly in line with what is being paid for similar work in other state institutions. Slight increases were also given to the custodians of Old Shawnee Mission and the First Capitol building.

Two other increased appropriations are: \$500 a year added to the book fund; and money for the salary of an additional janitor. Other appropriations remain the same.

The Society is greatly indebted to the 1945 legislature for these appropriations and especially to the members of the committees on ways and means, fees and salaries, state affairs and buildings and grounds.

## THE ELIZABETH READER BEQUEST

Last November the Society received a bequest of \$5,634.79 from the estate of Elizabeth Reader, who died August 17, 1943, in San Diego, Cal. The net amount after California inheritance taxes were deducted was \$5,251.19. With the approval of the executive committee, \$5,200 of this money was invested in U. S. savings bonds.

Elizabeth Reader was the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel J. Reader. Mr. Reader came to Kansas in a covered wagon in the spring of 1855 and settled on a farm near Indianola, north of Topeka, where he lived until his death in 1914. A diary which he had kept from the time he was thirteen years old was presented to the Society by Miss Reader a number of years ago. This diary and a journal of reminiscences are among the most interesting manuscripts the Society possesses. They are invaluable to any one doing research in the territorial period. The proceeds from Miss Reader's bequest will be used to purchase books and documents relating to this field.

## LIBRARY

During the year 1,724 persons did research in the library. Of these about 700 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. More than 85,000 cards

were filed in the Library of Congress catalog. From October 1, 1944, to July 1, 1945, 3,303 clippings were mounted and cataloged.

An exhibit of early Kansas printing was prepared for display in the museum during International Printing Education week. Photographic copies of early maps of the United States and Kansas owned by the Society were made at the Topeka Army Air Field for lectures by Capt. Carl J. Holcomb. Typed and printed genealogical records were presented by the Society of Colonial Dames, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Daughters of Founders and Patriots and the Daughters of American Colonists. Other gifts to the library include collections of books and pamphlets from Mrs. H. J. Haskell, Mrs. Lillian Ross Leis, Mrs. Effie Van Tuyl, Mrs. John Tasker, Mrs. Pearl Keller, Mrs. J. J. Ralph Schnebly, Wendell Johnson, B. F. Young and the E. A. Austin estate. Mrs. W. B. Culbertson presented records of the work of the Topeka USO.

#### PICTURE COLLECTION

During the year 336 pictures were classified, cataloged and added to the picture collection. One hundred of these were pictures of General Eisenhower's homecoming celebration, taken en route from New York and Washington to Abilene. The picture collection is in constant use by publishers of newspapers, books and magazines. During the year copies of pictures of early-day Kansas scenes were made for the following: A book on the Santa Fe railroad to be issued by *Look*; *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia*, by F. E. Compton and Company, Chicago; *This is the U. S. A.*, by the Museum of Modern Art, New York; *Album of American History*, by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York; and the *World Book Encyclopedia*, by the Quarrie Corporation, Chicago. Also, the Kansas Power and Light Company used many early Topeka pictures in an advertising series called "Then and Now in Topeka."

#### STATE ARCHIVES

The principal accessions for the year were the Kansas statistical rolls for 1937 and 1938 consisting of 6,100 manuscript books. These statistics are compiled currently by assessors of the state board of agriculture.

#### PRIVATE MANUSCRIPTS

Five manuscript volumes and 100,288 individual manuscripts were received during the year.

The Douglas County Historical Society gave typed copies of tombstone inscriptions, 1854 to 1940, from twenty-nine rural cemeteries in Douglas county. They were indexed by the Betty Washington chapter, D. A. R., of Lawrence.

D. D. Murphy sent inscriptions from markers in a cemetery six miles north of Oswego in Labette county.

Records of marriages in Russell county, 1880 to 1882, were given by Judge J. C. Ruppenthal.

Dr. Riverda H. Jordan of Avon Park, Fla., presented a biography of Benjamin Harding, his grandfather, a pioneer of Doniphan county.

Fifty-one documents were received from the Shawnee county commissioners through their chairman, Ed Camp. They include land patents, deeds and mortgages in Shawnee county from 1854 to 1870. The names of C. K. Holliday, John Ritchie, Thomas Ewing, James H. Lane and Edmund G. Ross appear in these documents.

Will T. Beck of Holton, Frank Motz of Hays and Judge J. C. Ruppenthal of Russell responded to the Society's request for William Allen White letters.

Other manuscripts were received from Mrs. Mary O. Derrick Coleman, Lee H. Cornell, Clara B. Eno, Mrs. Ella M. Ensminger, Mrs. Ethel M. Fox, C. S. Gibbens, Ada Bel Tutton Gifford estate, Charles M. Harger, Claud W. Hibbard, E. H. Hulburd, *Kansas Farmer*, Karl Kennedy, Leavenworth City Library, Helen M. McFarland, Vallie McKee, Mrs. Flora V. Menninger, Mrs. Percy Miller, Minnesota Historical Society, Bert Moore, Mabel Moss, Jennie Small Owen, Frances I. Sands, Mrs. Faye McCartney Shaw, Mrs. William L. Smith, Robert Stone, Harriet A. Tomson, Mrs. B. H. Unrich, Mrs. F. J. Warren, The Woman's Kansas Day Club, Rea Woodman and Clayton Wyatt.

#### NEWSPAPER AND CENSUS DIVISIONS

More than three thousand patrons were served by the newspaper and census divisions during the year. Forty-six hundred single issues of newspapers and 3,100 bound volumes were consulted; 4,768 census volumes were searched and from them 2,501 certified copies of family records were issued.

Eighty-nine reels of microfilm, purchased from the State Historical Society of Colorado, have been added to the Society's collections. They cover the weekly *Colorado Chieftain*, Pueblo, June 1, 1868, to June 12, 1873, and February 25, 1875, to January 20, 1876; *The Daily Chieftain*, from April 28, 1872, to December 31, 1898. These papers contain many references to western Kansas.

The 1945 *List of Kansas Newspapers and Periodicals* was published in September. It showed the issues of 695 newspapers and periodicals being received regularly for filing, nine more than were shown in the 1944 *List*.

Of the 695 publications in the 1945 *List*, 52 are dailies, seven semiweeklies, 411 weeklies, one three times monthly, 33 fortnightlies, 16 semimonthlies, two once every three weeks, 104 monthlies, 13 bimonthlies, 24 quarterlies, 27 occasionals, two semiannuals and three annuals, coming from all the 105 Kansas counties. Of these, 134 are listed republican, 24 democratic and 241 independent in politics; 107 are school or college, 38 religious, 22 fraternal, nine labor, six local, 14 military, eight industrial, 14 trade and 78 miscellaneous.

On January 1, 1945, the Society's collection contained 50,367 bound volumes of Kansas newspapers and more than 10,000 bound volumes of out-of-state newspapers dated from 1767 to 1945.

In addition to the 695 publications regularly received by the Society as gifts from Kansas publishers, miscellaneous newspapers have been received, including several early and rare issues from Michigan, New York and Wisconsin, the gift of Mrs. Daisy Lamb, of Douglass, and other papers from Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.; Mrs. Henry J. Haskell, Kansas City, Mo.; Dr. Edward Bumgardner, Lawrence; Walter E. McKeen, Manhattan; the Topeka City Library, Lt. Col. John W. Carrothers, Irvin L. Cowger, N. E. Saxe and Mrs. Charles R. Sneller, of Topeka.

#### MUSEUM

The attendance in the museum for the year was 32,805. There were 28 accessions. From January 15 to May 27 the museum was open from 2 to 5 Sunday afternoons.

Among the accessions was a wood conveyor from the Paxico flour mill which was built in 1878 by the Strohwig brothers. Wm. W. Snead of Topeka donated

a bull whip which was used by early-day freighters. The handle is heavily loaded and the end is tipped with wire. The Woman's Kansas Day Club gave a Winchester rifle which was used by Dr. Arthur Hertzler of Halstead. The pen with which Governor Ratner signed the merit law was presented by Mrs. William Allen White of Emporia.

## SUBJECTS FOR RESEARCH

During the year the following have been subjects for extended research: *Biography*: William Allen White; Gen. Dwight Eisenhower; W. E. Campbell; William Mathewson; Jesse James. *County and town history*: History of Smith county; history of Axtell, Kan.; history of Stillwater, Okla. *Education*: History of Park College. *Churches*: Presbyterianism in Kansas; German Methodist churches; Baptist churches. *General*: Missouri river; negroes; salt and its effect on the Trans-Mississippi West; Populist party; Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad.

## ACCESSIONS

October 1, 1944, to September 30, 1945

## Library:

Books .....	970
Pamphlets .....	2,394
Magazines (bound volumes) .....	386

## Archives:

Separate manuscripts .....	6,100
Manuscript volumes .....	None
Manuscript maps .....	None

## Private manuscripts:

Separate manuscripts .....	100,288
Volumes .....	5

Printed maps, atlases and charts .....	326
Newspapers (bound volumes) .....	649
Pictures .....	336
Museum objects .....	28

## TOTAL ACCESSIONS, SEPTEMBER 30, 1945

Books, pamphlets, bound newspapers and magazines .....	422,805
Separate manuscripts (archives) .....	1,558,506
Manuscript volumes (archives) .....	28,820
Manuscript maps (archives) .....	583
Printed maps, atlases and charts .....	12,686
Pictures .....	21,672
Museum objects .....	33,238

## THE QUARTERLY

*The Kansas Historical Quarterly* is now in its fourteenth year. Owing to the war, the 1944 and 1945 numbers were printed with fewer pages, and both years will be bound and indexed together as Vol. 13. With its August, 1945, number the *Quarterly* appeared for the first time in a slick-paper illustrated

cover, featuring General Eisenhower, with photographs of his homecoming celebration inside. Much of the credit for the high rating of the magazine 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. The *Quarterly* is widely quoted by the newspapers of the state and is used in many schools.

#### OLD SHAWNEE MISSION

Now that gasoline is no longer rationed more visitors are being received at the Mission, although it will be some time before they reach prewar numbers. Minor repairs and improvements continue to be made on the property.

This year marks the one hundredth anniversary of the completion of the North building. It is the newest of the three brick buildings now standing and was first used as a dormitory where girls of the various Indian tribes lived while attending school at the mission. Some of the Methodist missionaries, who were teachers in the school, also lived there. Later it was the home and office of Andrew H. Reeder, first territorial governor. In 1940 the building was restored and in 1942 it was refurnished in the period of 1850. The Kansas D. A. R. is conducting a centennial celebration at the building on October 17. Mrs. Dorothy Berryman Shrewder, the present state regent, is a direct descendant of the Rev. Jerome C. Berryman who was superintendent of the Mission at the time the building was erected.

#### FIRST CAPITOL OF KANSAS

During the war general traffic through the Fort Riley reservation was prohibited and visitors to the old capitol building were limited to soldiers of the post and their families. Last year the registration was only 521. The building and grounds have been maintained in good condition.

#### THE STAFF OF THE SOCIETY

In closing this report I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to the members of the staff. During the course of a year many persons from out of the state visit the Society to do research and almost invariably they go out of their way to praise the spirit of coöperation they find in every department.

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 Price then called for the report of the treasurer, Mrs. Lela Barnes. The report, based on the audit of the state accountant for the period August 31, 1944, to August 30, 1945, follows:



## TREASURER'S REPORT

## MEMBERSHIP FEE FUND

## Balance, August 31, 1944:

Cash .....	\$1,586.75	
U. S. savings bonds, Series G .....	3,500.00	
		\$5,086.75

## Receipts:

Memberships .....	466.00	
Bond interest .....	112.50	
Reimbursement for postage .....	443.50	
Elizabeth Reader bequest .....	5,251.19	
		6,273.19
		\$11,359.94

Disbursements .....	764.85
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## Balance, August 30, 1945:

Cash .....	1,895.09	
U. S. savings bonds, Series G .....	8,700.00	
		10,595.09
		\$11,359.94

## JONATHAN PECKER BEQUEST

## Balance, August 31, 1944:

Cash .....	\$128.01	
U. S. treasury bonds .....	950.00	
		\$1,078.01

## Interest received:

Bond interest .....	27.33	
Savings account .....	.93	
		28.26
		\$1,106.27

Disbursements, books .....	23.25
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## Balance, August 30, 1945:

Cash .....	133.02	
U. S. treasury bonds .....	950.00	
		1,083.02
		\$1,106.27

## JOHN BOOTH BEQUEST

Balance, August 31, 1944:		
Cash .....	\$49.04	
U. S. treasury bonds.....	500.00	
		\$549.04
Interest received:		
Bond interest .....	14.38	
Savings account .....	.48	
		14.86
		<u>\$563.90</u>
Disbursements, books .....		25.50
Balance, August 30, 1945:		
Cash .....	38.40	
U. S. treasury bonds .....	500.00	
		538.40
		<u>\$563.90</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.

## ELIZABETH READER BEQUEST

Received from the Elizabeth Reader estate, March 13, 1945		\$5,251.19
Balance, August 30, 1945:		
Cash in membership fee fund .....	51.19	
U. S. savings bonds, Series G (shown in total bonds, membership fee fund) .....	5,200.00	
		<u>\$5,251.19</u>

Interest on the bonds purchased with this bequest will be credited to the membership fee fund. It will be expended for historical materials in accordance with the terms of the bequest.

## STATE APPROPRIATIONS

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 not made by the treasurer of the Society, but by the state auditor. For the year ending June 30, 1945, these appropriations were: Kansas State Historical Society, \$34,750; Old Shawnee Mission, \$3,750; First Capitol of Kansas, \$1,074.

On motion of T. M. Lillard, seconded by John S. Dawson, 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 12, 1945.

*To the Board of Directors, Kansas State Historical Society:*

The executive committee being directed under the bylaws to check the accounts of the treasurer, states that the state accountant has audited the funds of the State Historical Society, the First Capitol of Kansas, and the Old Shawnee Mission from August 31, 1944, to August 30, 1945, and that they are hereby approved.

JOHN S. DAWSON, *Chairman.*

On motion of Standish Hall, 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 12, 1945.

*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: Jess C. Denious, Dodge City, president; Milton R. McLean, Topeka, first vice-president; Robert T. Aitchison, Wichita, second vice-president.

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.

## 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, Ralph R. Price.

The address by Mr. Price follows:

## Address of the President

## THREE KANSAS STATE SCHOOLS

RALPH R. PRICE

ON January 29, 1861, Kansas entered the union as the thirty-fourth state. Kansas was a real example of "To the Stars Through Difficulties." Financial difficulties continued to be very real in this state till after the panic of 1873 and the grasshoppers of 1874. And yet within three years after its birth this new state out on the very frontier of civilization, and in the midst of a great Civil War, had established, or at least determined the location of, three state institutions of higher education: The University of Kansas

at Lawrence, the Kansas State College at Manhattan and The Kansas State Teachers College at Emporia. For many years these three schools were generally called K. U., the Agricultural College and the Normal School. It is hard for us of today to realize the poverty, the sparse population and the primitive conditions of those early days in Kansas. For example, Emporia was a town of 500, and had only a triweekly stage to Lawrence, and the first railroad did not reach Manhattan till 1866. So it is but natural that these schools had a hard struggle in their early years, especially in the matter of financial support. But they do show forth the spirit and the high ideals of Kansas as revealed in its very earliest years.

I happen to have a personal interest in each of these three schools, and when I learned that I was to prepare a paper for today's occasion I promptly decided that I wanted to take these three schools as my theme. I was born on a farm ten miles south of the University of Kansas. I did two years of graduate work at this institution. I also did my first teaching there, where for two years I taught sections of the famous old class in English history. We used that splendid text that the author, John Richard Green, called *A Short History of the English People*. This was a fortunate beginning for one who had chosen for his life's work the teaching of history and government.

Then in 1903 I was elected to be head of the department of history and government at the Kansas State College at Manhattan, in which capacity I served the state for thirty-nine years. I am still teaching American history and government on a part-time basis at this institution, where I have thoroughly appreciated my opportunity to serve many generations of college students, always regarding them as the future leaders of the state of Kansas.

And, to complete the trilogy of my interest in these schools, it so happened that just forty years after I joined the faculty at the Kansas State College at Manhattan the Board of Regents called my son, James F. Price, to serve as president of the Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia. Thus you see why I was interested in preparing a paper on these three Kansas schools.

#### THE CONTEST FOR THE LOCATION OF THESE THREE SCHOOLS

By the act admitting Kansas as a state in 1861, the federal government had donated to the state seventy-two sections of public land "for the use and support of a state university." In this year 1861, a bill passed both houses of the state legislature locating the state university at Manhattan. This bill was vetoed by Governor

Robinson, whose home was in Lawrence, and there the matter of locating the university rested till 1863. It would seem that there might be grounds for claiming that here is where the rivalry between Lawrence and Manhattan had its beginning. In this connection, it is interesting to note that Gov. Charles Robinson, of Lawrence, wanted I. T. Goodnow, of Manhattan, then State Superintendent of Public Instruction, to agree to locate the university at Lawrence and the state capital at Manhattan.

On July 2, 1862, President Lincoln signed the so-called Morrill act, providing for a grant to each state from the federal government of 30,000 acres of public land for each United States senator and representative from that state, for the endowment of what came to be known as the land grant colleges. Kansas, then having one representative and two senators, thus received 90,000 acres for the endowment of such a college. This law stated the object of such colleges to be "without excluding other scientific and classical studies and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts." Now it so happened that members of the Methodist church had by this time established at Manhattan a school called Bluemont Central College, with a provision in its charter including in its curriculum the teaching of agriculture and the mechanic arts.

On the passage of the above noted Morrill act, the trustees of Bluemont Central College promptly offered to give to the state the whole institution, including one hundred acres of land with its three-story stone college building and its library and other equipment if the state would locate the new land-grant college at Manhattan. This offer was accepted by the state in a legislative enactment approved February 16, 1863, and what was at first known as The Kansas State Agricultural College was thus located at Manhattan.

Meanwhile, the state university had not yet been officially located, and Emporia now made a strong effort to secure this institution, offering the state eighty acres of land for this purpose. A bill to locate the state university at Emporia was before the committee of the whole in the house of representatives of the state legislature, when a Douglas county representative moved to substitute the Lawrence bill for that of Emporia, and the motion carried by a close vote.

Lawrence offered the state fifteen thousand dollars and forty acres for a campus if the state would locate the university in that city. The bill was then passed by the legislature to the effect that

if Lawrence actually delivered title to the forty acres and actually deposited the fifteen thousand dollars within six months therefrom, the university would be located at Lawrence; otherwise the Emporia offer would be accepted and the university would be located in that city. Charles Robinson now offered the forty acres on Mount Oread in exchange for other property in the city of Lawrence. Amos A. Lawrence, of Massachusetts, and treasurer of the old New England Emigrant Aid Company, gave \$10,000 in notes owed to him by another college, and the citizens of Lawrence signed notes for a total of \$5,000, thus providing the required \$15,000 and the forty acres of land. Then the governor, on November 2, 1863, finally declared the state university located at Lawrence.

Under the circumstances, it was very natural that the State Normal School, as it was then called, was located at Emporia by an act of the legislature, approved March 3, 1863. Thus were located the three Kansas state colleges in 1863, after much rivalry between these three towns. And that in itself is quite a chapter in Kansas history.

#### CONCERNING THE FINANCIAL SUPPORT OF THESE STATE COLLEGES

As already noted, the federal government had given the State University an endowment of 72 sections of public land, and the Agricultural College an endowment of 90,000 acres. The federal government had also given to the state as a possible endowment for a normal school salt springs "not exceeding twelve in number, with six sections of land adjoining each." In this connection, I find a statement that "The Kansas State Normal School is the first state normal school to receive as endowment land granted by the act admitting the State to the Union." By the end of 1863 the state had located each of these three schools, but for many years the legislators seemed to think that these schools should live on the income from their land endowments, together with such tuition or fees as they might collect from their students. However, for years these schools had very few students; and during these early years there was practically no income from their land endowments. In some cases the towns where these state institutions were located found it necessary to give substantial financial assistance to keep "its" particular state school in operation. This is a discouraging chapter in the history especially of the University and Normal.

We must remember that these schools were born during the Civil War, and that Kansas suffered heavy financial losses before and

during this war, including, for example, Quantrill's raid on Lawrence. Then came Indian wars, droughts, the panic of 1873, the grasshoppers of 1874 and prairie fires, not to mention mortgages so characteristic of a young state, the deflation following a long war, and the handicaps that always accompany frontier life.

Take, for example, the case of the University. Its first building long known as Old North College, was completed by the fall of 1866, not by any state appropriation but by funds secured from various sources. The legislature of 1866 made the first appropriation for the University. It included a total sum of \$4,000 for the salaries of the faculty. Each of the three members of the then faculty, Snow, Rice and Robinson, was to receive a salary of \$1,200 a year. This legislature of 1866 also appropriated the sum of \$3,000 for the purchase of apparatus, library and furniture. In 1868 the regents asked for \$13,800, but the legislature appropriated only \$7,500. Finally, in 1870 the citizens of Lawrence voted that city bonds should be issued to the amount of \$100,000 for the erection of a new, much-needed university building, later named Fraser Hall after the then chancellor. After the city had paid interest on these bonds amounting to \$90,000, the state assumed this debt. However, the legislature of 1873-1874 refused to vote \$35,000 to complete this building. Moreover, this legislature reduced the appropriation for salaries of the faculty members, so that the faculty was reduced from nine members to six.

The records show that Emporia had similar financial burdens on account of the Normal School. Emporia donated twenty acres of land to the state for a campus. When the Normal School opened its doors in 1865 it literally had no doors to open. The city of Emporia permitted the use of one of its public school buildings for the new Normal School. In 1872 the legislature appropriated \$50,000 for a new building, provided Emporia would contribute \$10,000 more for this building. In 1874 the president's salary was reduced to \$2,200, the two professors' salaries were reduced to \$1,400 each and the two women teachers to \$900 each. Two years later the legislature declared that the appropriation of 1876 was to be the last appropriation ever to be made for the support of the State Normal School at Emporia. As late as 1893 the legislature made an appropriation of \$50,000 for a new wing to the main building. But the citizens of Emporia raised \$1,500 to pay for the additional land needed for this building.

Reverting to the salt springs land endowment of the Normal

School, the *Emporia News* of March 7, 1863, says that "The endowment of this institution, in land, is fifty-nine sections." And the state law approved March 3, 1863, turning this land over to the Normal School as an endowment, provides that when this land should be sold the money received for said land should be invested in stocks yielding "not less than six per centum per annum upon the par value of said stocks."

As to Manhattan and the Agricultural College, you will recall that this institution started with the land, buildings and equipment of Bluemont Central College; and with a nominal public land endowment of 90,000 acres, which ultimately amounted to about half a million dollars. I do not find that Manhattan was ever called upon to contribute directly to the support of the Agricultural College. However, the attitude of the state legislature toward this college is shown by the following summary of early appropriations, quoted from pages 26 and 27 of Dr. J. T. Willard's excellent *History of the Kansas State College*. He says "The legislature of 1863 made no appropriation whatever for the College; that of 1864 appropriated \$2,700 for salaries 'for the years . . . 1863 and 1864,' \$125 for insurance of buildings, library, and apparatus, and \$60 for lightning rods. In 1865, \$125 was appropriated for insurance, and \$3,200 for salaries and 200 copies of the catalogue. In 1866 the appropriations were: \$125 for insurance, and \$60 for lightning rods; \$4,000 for current expenses, contingent on its receipt in income from the investment of the land endowment funds; and provision was made for state bonds to the extent of \$5,500, which it was expected would be repaid by income from the endowment to be received in the future. These bonds were to cover arrearages and the current expenses for 1866."

After discussing the appropriation by the legislature of 1867, Dr. Willard notes the following interesting provision: "Besides the sums thus definitely allowed [for buildings, fences, insurance, etc.], \$5,200 was provided for salaries 'to be taken and deemed a loan from the State of Kansas to the State Agricultural College, to be reimbursed to the State after the State shall have been reimbursed for the \$5,500 lent to said college for the year 1866.'"

#### THE NEW DAY AND THE NEW PRESIDENTS OF THESE SCHOOLS

Possibly I should have limited this paper to the early history of these three schools. But one reason why I chose this subject was rather to note, though briefly, the reason, or justification, for these schools in our day, when one of the great problems with which we



are confronted is that of *making democracy safe for the world*. Our boys have done their full share of winning the war, and thus making the world safe for democracy. Are these three Kansas state schools, supported as they are largely by the national and state governments, doing their full share in winning a permanent peace and in making democracy safe for the world? Our recent experience with Germany and with Japan has made us, as never before, conscious of the great importance of education in matters of government, peace and prosperity, or of a world at war.

Thoughtful students of our American institutions have noted that the time has come when, more than ever before, in our new industrial society and in our new world relations, we must have more well trained leaders in our political and governmental affairs if our democracy is to survive and if the new world is to live in peace. These students also note that it is in our colleges that the men and women are being trained who will be the leaders of our new world. Every college student, from the very fact that he has attended college, becomes for life a leader—either a positive leader for the better things, or a negative leader as an educated man who refuses to work in the church or other community enterprises or to take an active, helpful part in political parties, elections and government as not being worthy of his best efforts.

Students of our college policies also note that the tendency of our state schools has been more and more to devote themselves to training men and women in the art of making a living more easily, of becoming more and more efficient in their technical education. And now the question is being raised whether the time has definitely come when these schools, supported largely by state and nation, should devote more attention and effort specifically to training their students, the leaders in our democracy, in much better and more thorough understanding of our history, our government, and our world relations. In this connection, training and leadership are also imperative in the matter of the spirit and attitude and moral responsibility toward society and government.

Our State Board of Regents, charged as it is with fixing the broad general policies of our state educational institutions, has recently selected a new leader for each of these three schools. (This part of this paper was written some months ago.) In each case they chose, not a strictly professional educator, trained simply in the older tradition of the schoolmen, but in each case they chose a younger man with a viewpoint from the outside, practical, business world of

real life; apparently with the idea of re-orienting or re-directing in part the function, the purpose or objective of these schools. In doing this they selected in each case a man from the Middle West, in fact from Kansas. Each of these new leaders had been born in Kansas and had received his undergraduate training in Kansas schools.

In the case of the University, they chose as chancellor, Deane Malott, a graduate of the University over which he was now called to preside. In the case of Kansas State College at Manhattan, they chose Milton Eisenhower, a graduate of that institution. And in the case of the Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia they chose James Price, also a graduate of the Kansas State College at Manhattan. Each comes to the leadership of his school as a young man, with a considerable business and world-wide experience in addition to his scholastic training and educational preparation. Deane W. Malott, at the age of forty-one, assumed the duties of chancellor of the University of Kansas, July 1, 1939. Milton S. Eisenhower became president of Kansas State College July 1, 1943, at the age of forty-three. And in 1943 James F. Price was elected, at the age of thirty-six, to the presidency of the Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia.

#### AND WHO WERE THESE NEW LEADERS?

Deane W. Malott was born in Abilene, where he received his public school education. He received his A. B. degree from the University of Kansas in 1921, and his M. B. A. degree from the Harvard school of business administration in 1923. He served as assistant dean of this school from 1923 to 1929, when he was elected vice-president of the Hawaiian Pineapple Company of Honolulu. He served in this capacity till 1933, when he returned to Harvard as associate professor and where he inaugurated a course in agricultural industry. While a student at the University of Kansas he was a member of many organizations, including Beta Theta Pi, Delta Sigma Rho, Alpha Kappa Psi, the glee club, the dramatic club, etc. In 1939, he was called back to his alma mater as chancellor of the University of Kansas. The presidents of the other four state schools have all been appointed since that year, 1939.

Milton S. Eisenhower was born September 15, 1899, also in Abilene, and in the schools of this town he also received his public school education. He was graduated from the Kansas State College in 1924 with a bachelor of science degree in industrial journal-

ism. He was on the college staff in 1923-1924, until he resigned to become American vice-consul at Edinburgh, Scotland. In May, 1926, he entered the career service of the federal government and two months later became assistant to Secretary of Agriculture William M. Jardine. He became director of information of the Department of Agriculture in December, 1928.

In 1938, at the request of Sec. Henry A. Wallace, Mr. Eisenhower became coördinator of the land-use programs of the Department of Agriculture, continuing also as director of information until January, 1941, when he resigned the latter position. In March, 1942, he was appointed by President Roosevelt to direct the War Relocation Authority; he organized and directed the relocation of Japanese-Americans evacuated from the Pacific coast. As soon as the Japanese-American evacuation was organized and under way, the President appointed Mr. Eisenhower associate director of the Office of War Information. In December, 1942, shortly after the Allied invasion of North Africa, President Roosevelt sent Mr. Eisenhower on a special mission to study refugee relief and relocation problems in Algeria and Morocco. Mr. Eisenhower resigned his position as associate director of the OWI on June 30, 1943, to become president of the Kansas State College at Manhattan.

James F. Price was born in Manhattan, May 28, 1906, where he received his public school education. He completed the four-year work in high school in three years. While doing this, he played on the high school football and basketball teams, was a member of the glee club, debate team, and dramatics; and he made a record grade of straight A's in every subject he took in high school. He spent his freshman year at Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania, where he held the Dudley Perkins scholarship, with the highest stipend this school offered. His sophomore and junior years were spent at Kansas State College, where he played on the varsity football and basketball teams, was a member of the glee club and the debate team, and took the leading part in a college operetta. During his senior year he was a student on the University Afloat, where he spent the college year studying and traveling around the world under well-guided direction. He served as president of the student body during the year. This gave him unusual contacts at the ports of the nations they visited all around the world. It also gave him valuable administrative experience.

Mr. Price was graduated from Kansas State College in 1927, "with honors," and was elected to the all-school honor scholarship society

of Phi Kappa Phi, as well as to other honorary societies, including Phi Mu Alpha, Pi Kappa Delta, Alpha Kappa Psi, the "K" fraternity and Purple Mask. Later, as a student at Stanford University, he was also elected to the law fraternity Delta Theta Pi and to the national educational fraternity Phi Delta Kappa. He spent the summer of 1927 studying at the University of Paris and traveling in Europe. He was in Paris the night Charles A. Lindbergh dropped out of the sky.

After having been graduated from Kansas State College, Mr. Price spent three years in the graduate school of law at Stanford University in California, receiving the LL. B. degree in 1930. He was admitted to the bar for the practice of law in California and Kansas. He was at once employed as legal adviser for a group of American and English financiers in Shanghai, China, where he lived for nearly three years. Here he was admitted to the practice of law in China. He was in Shanghai when Japan dropped bombs on a part of that city in 1931. Next, Mr. Price held a partnership seat on the New York Stock Exchange for two years. During this time he also held seats on the Cotton Exchange and on the Wheat Exchange. He then returned to Stanford University for another graduate year of study in law, and was awarded the master of laws degree in 1937. During his period of work in Stanford University, Mr. Price also worked in coöperation with the school of education of that institution.

Meanwhile, Mr. Price was elected head of the department of business and social studies of Menlo Junior College, and instructor in law in the night school of the University of San Francisco school of law. Two years later he was elected professor of law on the regular faculty of the University of San Francisco school of law. Then in the spring of 1941 he was elected dean of the school of law of Washburn Municipal University of Topeka. And in 1942 he was drafted to serve as director-secretary of the Kansas Industrial Development Commission. This commission plans to make Kansas the cross-roads of the airways of the nation as well as of automobile travel. The commission carries as its slogan: "Kansas—Where East Meets West, and Farm Meets Factory." Finally, in the spring of 1943 the State Board of Regents selected Mr. Price as president of the Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia, and he entered on the duties of this office July 1 of that year.

These three younger leaders of these three state schools immediately developed a fine spirit of coöperation in working together

for improved team work in the three schools for the state and for the nation. Time does not permit any elaborate discussion of their work, but we might note specifically that at the University, under Chancellor Malott, a new course in Western civilization goes into operation this year, training for world understanding. The University is also inaugurating a new course of lectures on America at Peace.

At Kansas State College, under President Eisenhower, four new comprehensive courses go into effect this year. One of these is Man's Physical World. Another is Biology in Relation to Man. One eight-hour course is Man and the Cultural World. And the fourth is an eight-hour course of study in Man and the Social World. In addition to these, there is a \$200,000 endowment at the Kansas State College especially for the teaching of American citizenship. This endowed Institute of American Citizenship also goes into operation this year. Also this year the students of Kansas State, under the guidance of Prof. A. Bower Sageser, and with strong outside lecturers to help, are organized in study groups of the International Security Assembly to understand better the world in which we live.

At the State Teachers College of Emporia, under the leadership of President Price and Dean Robert Bush, and after long and thorough consideration by the whole faculty, it was agreed that in all of their courses and in all of their teaching there should be a more conscious effort in the spirit and direction of preparation for better home and family life, and for better leadership in government.

Also, during President Price's second year of leadership, the Teachers College developed a new plan of radio classroom education for the rural and elementary schools of the state. This new step in education, directed from the Teachers College at Emporia, also has gone into operation this year, under the special direction of Prof. Russell Porter and in coöperation with the State Board of Education and the Kansas state radio network. This new step forward in public school education gives promise of greatly improved interest, method, and content in all rural and elementary schools of the state. Once more, Kansas takes the lead.

On account of his wife's health, President Price found it necessary to move his family to Colorado. So he resigned the presidency of the Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia, effective July 1, 1945. He most sincerely regretted that he was not able to remain in Kansas to carry on the plans he was developing here. Mr. Price

was at once appointed by the University of Denver as dean of the school of law, of the school of commerce, accounts and finance, and director of public administration.

The Board of Regents then elected David L. MacFarlane as the new president of the Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia, effective July 1, 1945. Mr. MacFarlane was born in Scotland, but when he was five years old his parents brought him to America and they settled in Massachusetts. Mr. MacFarlane received his B. A. degree from Northwestern University in 1916, his degree of bachelor of sacred theology at Garrett Theological Institute at Northwestern University in 1917, and his Ph. D. degree from Edinburgh University of Scotland in 1931. Meanwhile he entered the ministry of the Methodist church. In 1922 he became head of the department of history and government at Southwestern College, Winfield. In 1935 he became a member of the history department of the Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia, and the next year was made dean of men at that institution. In 1943 he was drafted temporarily from this position to become chairman of the Kansas Board of Social Welfare. And in 1945 he returned to the Teachers College as its president.

Thus ended the period when each of the five Kansas state schools had as its president a man who had been born in Kansas.

#### SOME ADDITIONAL NOTES OF INTEREST IN CONNECTION WITH THESE THREE KANSAS STATE SCHOOLS

You will recall that Kansas had more constitutional conventions than any other state that ever entered the union—four of them. It is interesting to note that in the first of the constitutions, prepared by the Free-State men at Topeka in 1855, it was provided that "The general assembly may take measures for the establishment of a university . . . for the promotion of literature, the arts, science, medical and agricultural instruction." And this same constitution also stated that "Provision may be made by law for the support of normal schools."

The University of Kansas was the first state university in the great plains region. It was co-educational (largely because of financial limitations) and was the third state university in the nation and one of the first institutions of higher learning to become co-educational.

The law creating our university was copied largely from a similar law in Michigan. This provided for the office of a chancellor. Kansas did not quite know just what the duties of this office were. The

first chancellor, the Rev. R. W. Oliver, did not do any teaching, in fact was not a member of the faculty, but served as president of the Board of Regents, and drew no salary as chancellor.

The first University faculty consisted of three young men, E. J. Rice who later became president of Baker University; D. H. Robinson, who became the first dean of the state University; and F. H. Snow, who served as chancellor of the University from 1890 to 1901.

In the beginning most of the students of these three state schools were below college grade. There were few high schools in Kansas to prepare students for college work. All three of these schools had preparatory departments for many years. The University, for example, discontinued its preparatory department in 1891. When the University opened its first session September 12, 1866, there were 55 students, 26 women and 29 men, all in the preparatory department. They met in old North College.

The State Normal School opened February 15, 1865, with only one member on its faculty and with eighteen students, all below the college level. They met in one of the public school buildings of Emporia in a room equipped with borrowed furniture.

Kansas State College was the first of these three state schools to open, it being practically the continuation of Bluemont Central College. Its first catalogue, that for the year 1863-1864, gives the names of 94 students in the preparatory department and fourteen in the college proper, with six teachers on the faculty. In fact, Kansas State College claims to be the third institution of higher learning in the state. St. Mary's College claims to be the first, and Baker University the second. Three attempts were made at Lawrence to found a college before the University got started: one by the Presbyterian church, one by the Congregational church and one by the Episcopal church.

The University and the Normal School each graduated its first class in 1873, and each had four students in its first class.

In the early years of the Agricultural College both Greek and Latin were taught in this institution. It was the Rev. John A. Anderson, who served as president from 1873 to 1879, when he resigned to enter congress, who was one of the leaders in transforming the college at Manhattan from a classical to what was more emphatically an agricultural and industrial institution. This change was considered as nothing less than revolutionary in that day.

At first every student attending the State Normal School was

required to sign a pledge that his purpose in attending was to fit himself to become a teacher. This pledge was discontinued in 1901.

For many years each representative in the state legislature could select one student from his district to attend the State Normal School for twenty-two weeks, tuition free. The student was to receive a teacher's certificate on completion of the twenty-two weeks.

The school at Lawrence has always been called the University of Kansas. The school at Manhattan was at first designated as the Kansas State Agricultural College, but by an act of the legislature, approved March 5, 1931, the name was changed to the Kansas State College of Agriculture and Applied Science. By another act of the legislature approved a few days later, in 1931, the Kansas State Teachers College of Hays was renamed the Fort Hays Kansas State College. At first the school at Emporia was called the Kansas State Normal School, but in 1923 the name of this institution was changed to the Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia. And this same year, 1923, the institution that had been started at Pittsburg in 1903 as the Kansas State Manual Training Normal School was changed to the Kansas State Teachers College at Pittsburg.

In 1876 the Concordia State Normal School and the Leavenworth State Normal School were to cease to be state institutions. It was in this connection that the legislature also declared that the appropriation of 1876 would be the last ever to be made to the Normal School at Emporia.

In 1900 congress gave the Fort Hays military reservation to Kansas for educational purposes, and in 1901 the legislature gave 4,000 acres of the reservation for a western branch of the State Normal School.

By 1891-1892 the Normal School at Emporia had 1,404 students enrolled, and was claimed to be "the largest normal in the United States." In 1925, notwithstanding the establishment of the schools at Pittsburg and at Hays, the Normal at Emporia was still the third largest.

As early as 1891 there was a beginning of a summer school at the Normal. In 1901 the legislature made its first specific appropriation for this summer school in the amount of \$10,000. By 1908, practically the entire faculty had to be retained for the summer school. The University and the Agricultural College also started their summer schools at the beginning of the century.

At the University a school of religion was established in 1921. "This was one of the first to be established in a state school. . . .



It now ranks as a major department of the University." University credit, not to exceed six hours, is allowed for work done here. The Rev. Edwin F. Price is now dean of this school, and between 300 and 400 students are annually enrolled. The six different churches in Lawrence assume all the expense of this school. At the Kansas State College the Methodist church and the Presbyterian church has each had for many years an assistant pastor in charge of the student work at this institution. A definite movement is on foot both at Lawrence and at Manhattan to erect a chapel building on the campus of each school.

To all this, I have attached the names and terms of those who have served as the chief executives of these three Kansas state colleges. They are as follows:

CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

Rev. R. W. Oliver*	1865-1867
Gen. John Fraser	1867-1875
James Marvin	1875-1883
Joshua A. Lippincott	1883-1889
W. C. Spangler, acting	1889-1890
Francis H. Snow	1890-1901
W. C. Spangler, acting	1901-1902
Frank Strong	1902-1920
Ernest H. Lindley	1920-1939
Deane W. Malott	1939-

PRESIDENT OF THE KANSAS STATE COLLEGE

Rev. Joseph Denison†	1863-1873
Rev. John A. Anderson	1873-1879
George T. Fairchild	1879-1897
Thomas Elmer Will	1897-1899
Ernest R. Nichols	1899-1909
Henry Jackson Waters	1909-1917
J. T. Willard, acting	1918
William M. Jardine	1918-1925
Francis David Farrell	1925-1943
Milton S. Eisenhower	1943-

PRESIDENT OF THE KANSAS STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE OF EMPORIA

Lyman B. Kellogg‡	1865-1871
George W. Hoss	1871-1873
C. R. Pomeroy	1874-1879
R. B. Welch	1879-1882
Albert R. Taylor	1882-1901
Jasper N. Wilkenson	1901-1906
Joseph R. Hill	1906-1913

\* Not a member of the faculty.

† Had been prominently connected with Bluemont Central College.

‡ Principal.

Thomas Walter Butcher.....	1913-1943
James Francis Price .....	1943-1945
David L. MacFarlane .....	1945-

Following the address of the president the report of the committee on nominations was then called for:

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS FOR DIRECTORS

*To the Kansas State Historical Society:*

OCTOBER 16, 1945.

Your committee on nominations submits the following report and recommendations for directors of the Society for the term of three years ending October, 1948:

Bailey, Roy F., Salina.  
 Beezley, George F., Girard.  
 Bowlus, Thomas H., Iola.  
 Brinkerhoff, Fred W., Pittsburg.  
 Browne, Charles H., Horton.  
 Cron, F. H., El Dorado.  
 Ebright, Homer K., Baldwin.  
 Embree, Mrs. Mary, Topeka.  
 Gray, John M., Kirwin.  
 Hamilton, R. L., Beloit.  
 Hardesty, Mrs. Frank, Merriam.  
 Harger, Charles M., Abilene.  
 Harvey, Mrs. A. M., Topeka.  
 Haucke, Frank, Council Grove.  
 Long, Richard M., Wichita.  
 McFarland, Helen M., Topeka.  
 Malone, James, Topeka.

Mechem, Kirke, Topeka.  
 Philip, Mrs. W. D., Hays.  
 Rankin, Robert C., Lawrence.  
 Ruppenthal, J. C., Russell.  
 Sayers, Wm. L., Hill City.  
 Schulte, Paul C., Leavenworth.  
 Simons, W. C., Lawrence.  
 Skinner, Alton H., Kansas City.  
 Stanley, W. E., Wichita.  
 Stone, John R., Topeka.  
 Stone, Robert, Topeka.  
 Taft, Robert, Lawrence.  
 Templar, George, Arkansas City.  
 Trembly, W. B., Kansas City.  
 Walker, B. P., Topeka.  
 Woodring, Harry H., Topeka.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN S. DAWSON, *Chairman.*

Upon motion by John S. Dawson, seconded by John F. Doane, the report of the committee was accepted unanimously and the members of the board were declared elected for the term ending October, 1948.

The annual report of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society was given by its president, Mrs. C. V. Scoville.

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 Price, who asked for a rereading of the report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society. The report was read by John S. Dawson, chairman, who moved that it be accepted. Motion was seconded by Frank A. Hobbie and the following were unanimously elected:

For a one-year term: Jess C. Denious, Dodge City, president; Milton R. McLean, Topeka, first vice-president; Robert T. Aitchison, Wichita, second vice-president.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

DIRECTORS OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
AS OF OCTOBER, 1945

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.	Oliver, Hannah P., Lawrence.
Brock, R. F., Goodland.	Owen, Dr. Arthur K., Topeka.
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, Wichita.	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.	Price, Ralph R., Manhattan.
Beck, Will T., Holton.	Raynesford, H. C., Ellis.
Capper, Arthur, Topeka.	Redmond, John, Burlington.
Carson, F. L., Wichita.	Russell, W. J., Topeka.
Chambers, Lloyd, Wichita.	Shaw, Joseph C., Topeka.
Dawson, John S., Hill City.	Smith, William E., Wamego.
Durkee, Charles C., Kansas City.	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.	

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1948

Bailey, Roy F., Salina.	Mechem, Kirke, Topeka.
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.	Sayers, Wm. L., Hill City.
Cron, F. H., El Dorado.	Schulte, Paul C., Leavenworth.
Ebright, Homer K., Baldwin.	Simons, W. C., Lawrence.
Embree, Mrs. Mary, Topeka.	Skinner, Alton H., Kansas City.
Gray, John M., Kirwin.	Stanley, W. E., Wichita.
Hamilton, R. L., Beloit.	Stone, John R., Topeka.
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.
Long, Richard M., Wichita.	Walker, B. P., Topeka.
McFarland, Helen M., Topeka.	Woodring, Harry H., Topeka.
Malone, James, Topeka.	

## Bypaths of Kansas History

IT WAS EVER THUS!

From the White Cloud *Kansas Chief*, January 6, 1859.

We understand that, at the Iowa Point Ball, last week, several young gentlemen and ladies, in dancing a Schottische, tried which one could out-dance the others. One young man keeled over, and came very near "kicking the bucket"; and, we understand, has been laid up ever since. How many deaths are caused by such foolishness in dancing?

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### A MAIL CONTRACT

The following letter, probably written about 1860, was lent to the Historical Society for copying by Mrs. Evelyn Whitney of Topeka, a granddaughter of J. B. Whitaker.

FRIEND WHITTAKER—

Dear Sir—

In regard to the proposed carrying of the mail I came up to see you a while ago— Not having heard any thing from you I knew not your intention. But aside from that it becomes necessary for me to explain that the exigencies of the case *today* obliged me to close an arrangement for carrying the same until 1st July next with the person who has lately been on the route— He & Pardee [or Pardu?] had a falling out and both mails were likely to be greatly retarded *this week*— I finally made an arrangement by which he is to put on the route to Fort Riley a *two horse passenger hack*, and gives me & my wife the privilege of riding therein to Fort Riley or up country occasionally, free of expense— This I supposed was better than you would do— But I had to close it today— I trust you will excuse me for not finding you sooner—

Yours truly

E. HOOGLAND

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### SALUTE FOR KANSAS

From the Washington (D. C.) *Evening Star*, February 2, 1861.

At noon, today, a national salute was fired at the Columbian armory, in honor of the admission of Kansas into the union. The noise of the firing caused much inquiry upon the streets as to the occasion of it. The salute was fired by Lieut. Fry's company of light artillery now quartered in Dr. Lawson's house, first ward. As the troops rode through the streets, large crowds flocked from all quarters to see them, and followed to the armory grounds. The thoroughgoing military appearance of the soldiers was the subject of admiring comment by all who witnessed the turn-out.

## THE OLD TIME RELIGION

From *The Congregational Record*, Lawrence, July, 1861, p. 56.

Western ministers, in log school-houses, sometimes have their solemnity rather hard pressed. One of them gives us the following bit of experience in this line:

"Imagine, for instance, a huge *rat* coming out from a hole in the desk floor, and running up to my feet, so that I have to kick at him and frighten him away. Think of this same rat taking a circuit of the front of the desk floor, and being caught sight of by a little dog, who starts for him, just loses his game in the hole, and sets up a bark, right in the midst of the sermon, and just too far away to be reached by my foot!"

From the *Hope Dispatch*, November 12, 1886.

The Methodist folks have tacked cards on the walls of their church calling attention to the fact that you are not expected to spit on the walls of the building or throw nut hulls around promiscuously. They intend to break up this practice if it takes all winter.

## GENERAL SHERMAN A KANSAS BOOSTER

From the *Ford County Globe*, Dodge City, October 28, 1879.

On the return trip of the presidential party from its Kansas visit, General Sherman addressed a multitude at the Illinois state fair at Springfield. Here is his reference to Kansas:

"When out on the plains where the Indians were but yesterday, where the buffalo roamed, and the elk and the antelope found a home, it appeared to us that it would be proper for us to say words of cheer to the brave soldiers and to the men who went to that land and made fields of corn and wheat, and made the earth to blossom. To them we felt willing to say words of cheer and words of praise, because they had made those prairies to blossom as a rose. You in Illinois found when you were born a country partially cultivated, and you have gone on doing what your fathers did, and I hope you will go on to the end of time. [Cheers.] But you don't hold a candle to those fellows out there in Kansas. [Laughter and cheers.] Whenever you get too much crowded in this state, I want the president to tell you that there is plenty of room in Kansas for 2,000,000 or 3,000,000 more. We found 1,000,000 of brave and hardy people out there, and not a single man, woman or child complaining. Every one swears that he is living in the very best county in the very best state in the union, and that he has the best farm in the country. [Laughter and cheers.] There is not a discontented soul in Kansas. [Laughter and cheers.] They had plenty of cornbread to eat and plenty of beef, and all of them worked hard."

## DODGE CITY HUNTING PARTY OF 1879

From the Dodge City *Times*, November 29, 1879.

The hunting party, consisting of Mayor J. H. Kelley, A. B. Webster, Samuel Marshall, Jim Anderson and George Sullivan, which left here on the 16th, returned Tuesday evening, having been absent ten days. The party had an adventurous trip. They killed a bear, a panther, a coon, three deer, 40 turkeys, and severely punished a demijohn. The first day's drive brought them to the ranch of John Glenn, 27 miles out, on Bluff creek. Here they were finely entertained by Mr. Glenn. The next night found them at Red Clark's ranch on the Cimarron. Red entertained his guests in his usual happy style. The third night found them at Ft. Supply; their teams, by order of the commanding officer, were put in charge of Mr. Stewart; while the party were taken possession of by the entire fort and right royally entertained by officers and men. . . .

Some of the incidents of the trip were full of interest. The party went out 40 miles east of Supply. Their first day's hunt was on Oak creek. Mr. Webster shot a turkey, and Mr. Sullivan killed a coon. In the afternoon Mess. Marshall and Sullivan went to find the deer Sullivan reported he had killed. On the way Marshall espied a coon in a tree; and of course he promptly brought down that coon, which to his surprise was cold. Sullivan said all the coons in that country were cold coons, whether dead or alive. The coon had been killed with a club and showed no marks of shot. Web put the coon in the tree, and he declares he is even on those "decoy ducks" which Sam set in the Arkansas river last summer. The coon hunt enlivened the hunters' camp after supper, and yet is a subject spoken of.

Kelley's exploit with a bear is told with a gusto. He was hunting quail and his gun was loaded with small shot. He found a bear cub in the jungle. He shot that bear, but his fowling piece might just as well have been loaded with salt. The bear was shot all over, and yet he didn't die. Kelley had a desperate encounter with this cub, and lashed with the butt end of his gun, and yet the bear wouldn't die. The bear and Kelley embraced; and wouldn't let go until Jim Anderson and his dog "Cute" came to the rescue. "Cute" is a very small dog, but he is heavy on bear cubs.

The last camp made before reaching Supply on their return was made under a tree, a few feet from an Indian burying ground. As the party was preparing for a night's rest an owl set up a terrible screech. This was the signal of distress. The owl watched over the graves as he does a prairie dog village. Some members of the party thought the camp was haunted. One of the number declared he saw the ghost of Tecumseh. Another commanded silence, while there appeared weird spirits, flashing tomahawks, and hoop-las; and in the profound wonder and silence which followed, the screech was declared to be that of a cayote; but it was an owl, and you can't get Jim Anderson to sleep on an Indian grave any more. He says they were good Indians, because they were dead Indians.

The owl, the coon, the bear, and the Indian graves furnished the party with a fund of merriment. At one camp they were mistaken for the President and his party, as invitations had been given to His Excellency to visit the camp; but when the lady found they were a party of hunters from Dodge, she thought her calico wrapper was good enough to receive them in. We have told the story about as it was related to us, and drew very little on the imagination. The facts are there.

## Kansas History as Published in the Press

Biographical information on Lucy Hobbs Taylor, "The First Woman Dentist," written by Dr. Edward Bumgardner of Lawrence, was published in *Oral Hygiene*, of Pittsburgh, Pa., in the May, 1943, issue. Mrs. Taylor, who was born in New York, was a resident of Lawrence from 1867 until her death in 1910. Dr. Bumgardner has given Mrs. Taylor's diploma and a manuscript copy of the article to the Kansas State Historical Society.

An article on the founding of Colby marking the sixtieth anniversary of the city was printed in the Colby *Free Press-Tribune*, April 11, 1945.

A three-column sketch of the life of Charles J. "Buffalo" Jones, southwest Kansas townsite promoter and rancher of the 1880's, appeared in the Hutchinson *News-Herald*, April 29, 1945. The story, written by Henry L. Carey, describes Jones' experiments in cross-breeding buffalo and cattle.

Increased coal production was the theme of the "Seventeenth Annual Coal Edition" of the Pittsburg *Headlight*, September 24, 1945, and the Pittsburg *Sun*, September 25. Stories of the work at the various mines and pictures of some of the buildings and equipment were featured.

The history of the First Congregational Church of Topeka, founded October 14, 1855, was sketched by Russell K. Hickman for the Topeka *Daily Capital*, October 12, 1945.

John G. Whittier's interest in "the prairies of the West and in the life of the peoples who dwelt on them" is the subject of a comprehensive study by Miss Cora Dolbee of Lawrence, being printed currently in *The Essex Institute Historical Collections*, of Salem, Mass. Publication of the paper, entitled "Kansas and 'the Prairied West' of John G. Whittier," commenced in the October, 1945, issue and is scheduled to be concluded in the April, 1946, number. Miss Dolbee is a member of the library staff of the University of Kansas.

The names of more than 3,200 men who served in the armed forces from Butler county were featured in a thirty-four page "Home Front" edition issued by the El Dorado *Times*, October 23, 1945. Of these, 148 lost their lives.

Parsons honored the M.-K.-T. railroad with a special week of celebration October 29 to November 3, 1945, in observance of the "Katy's" diamond anniversary. The Parsons *Sun* of October 27 printed an M.-K.-T. edition replete with pictures and stories illustrating the early history of the railroad and the city.

A picture of the remains of a pre-Civil war government building on the Plaza at Fort Scott after damage caused by a recent fire appeared in the November 20, 1945, issue of the Fort Scott *Tribune*. The east half of the structure is being razed. The west side was only slightly damaged.

A fiftieth anniversary edition of 112 pages was published by the Burlington *Daily Republican*, December 10, 1945. The issue features historical articles dealing with many phases of early-day community life in Burlington and Coffey county and also contains a list of 1,460 men and women of the county who served in the armed forces in World War II. John Redmond has been editor and publisher of Burlington newspapers since the late 1890's. Feature articles dealt with the laying out of the Burlington townsite in 1857, the arrival of the first railroad train over the Missouri, Kansas and Texas railroad in 1870, the casting of ballots by four Ottumwa women for a presidential candidate in 1868, Western Christian University at Ottumwa, the hotly-contested elections for the county seat, and the Burlington battery of the Kansas National Guard. The diary of Charles Puffer for 1858 also appears in this anniversary edition.

The stories of two Kansas families have been sketched in the "Series of Old Time Carson County Pioneer Families" printed in current issues of the Panhandle (Tex.) *Herald*. The Robert W. Ware family of Severance was featured in the issue of December 14, 1945, and the George W. Garretson family of Robinson, December 21.

The Dodge City *Journal* reached another milestone with the publication of its issue of December 27, 1945. Founded under the name of the Dodge City *Democrat*, the newspaper was launched in 1883. W. F. Petillon was listed as the first business manager. Joseph G. Berkely and Herbert N. Etrick are editors and publishers of the *Journal*. The anniversary number carried several early-day Dodge City views.



An article on Howard R. Barnard and Entre Nous school which he established in Rush county in the early 1900's, by Leota Motz, appeared in the *Hays Daily News*, December 23, 1945. Barnard, now 83 years old, is librarian of the La Crosse city library.

The *Fredonia Daily Herald* issued a ninety-six page edition December 24, 1945, featuring news and pictures of hundreds of the men and women from Fredonia and vicinity who served in the armed forces.

## Kansas Historical Notes

The fourth annual "Pioneer Mixer" of the Clark County Historical Society was held in Ashland, October 20, 1945. The society's newly-elected officers are: John E. Stephens, president; Mrs. Ethel Gardiner Wilson, vice-president; Mrs. Effie Walden Smith, first honorary vice-president; Mrs. Ruth Clark Mull, second honorary vice-president; Mrs. Melville Campbell Harper, recording secretary; Mrs. Lillie Skelton Nunemacher, corresponding secretary; Sidney E. Grimes, treasurer; Sherman G. Ihde, auditor; Mrs. Dorothy Berryman Shrewder, historian, and Mrs. Bertha McCreery Gabbert, curator. The township directors for 1945-1948 are: M. G. Stevenson, Ashland; Frank Pittman, Appleton; Miss Lena E. Smith, Brown; Mrs. Ruth Harvey McMillion, Center; Mrs. Grace Wright Randall, Cimarron; I. Jennison Klinger, Edwards; A. L. Roberts, Englewood; John E. Stephens, Lexington; William J. Weikal, Liberty; Mrs. May Seacat Jackson, Sitka, and Mrs. Ruth Clark Mull, Vesta. Mrs. Mull was also the retiring president.

Dr. O. P. Dellinger of Pittsburg was elected president of the Crawford County Historical Society at the annual meeting held October 22, 1945, at Pittsburg. Other officers elected were: Ralph Shideler of Girard, vice-president; Mrs. C. M. Paris of Pittsburg, recording secretary; Mrs. C. D. Gregg of McCune, corresponding secretary, and Mrs. George Elliott of Pittsburg, treasurer. Directors named for three-year terms were: H. W. Shideler, Girard; Mrs. L. H. Dunton, Arcadia, and Mrs. Grover Exley of Pittsburg. George F. Beezley of Girard was the retiring president.

Two hundred persons attended the old settlers' reunion of the Kiowa County Historical Society at Greensburg, October 27, 1945. New officers of the society are: C. Morford, Mullinville, president; Herbert Parkin, Greensburg, Mrs. Bruno Meyer, Haviland, and Mrs. Sam Booth, Wilmore, vice-presidents; Mrs. Benj. O. Weaver, Mullinville, secretary, and Mrs. Charles T. Johnson, Greensburg, treasurer.

The Protection Historical Society was organized November 5, 1945, at a celebration in observance of the anniversary of the founding of the town. The following officers were elected: Fred Denney, president; Claude Rowland, first vice-president; Maude Carpenter, second vice-president; W. T. Maris, third vice-president; Nell Riner,

fourth vice-president; Pirl Baker, fifth vice-president; Blanche Towner, recording secretary; Theo. Shrauner, corresponding secretary, and Harry Large, treasurer.

Officers of the Hodgeman County Historical Society were reelected at the annual business meeting held at Jetmore, November 9, 1945. They are: L. W. Hubbell, president; Mrs. O. W. Lynam, vice-president; E. W. Harlan, secretary; Mrs. Ora L. Teed, treasurer, and Margaret Haun Raser, historian. The directors are: E. W. Harlan, S. H. Pitts, Ora L. Teed, L. H. Raser, Mrs. O. W. Lynam, Elfrieda Kenyon, Mrs. Mary E. Newport, Lee G. Jackson and L. W. Hubbell.

Members of the Pawnee County Historical Society held their first meeting in nearly four years November 10, 1945, at Larned. The genesis of the public schools in Pawnee county was reviewed by Miss Bertha Marymee, county superintendent, who said the first school was held in a saloon. Mrs. Jessie Grove spoke on the county's contribution to the armed forces in World War I and the Spanish-American war. The society elected the following officers: A. H. Lupfer, president; A. A. Doerr, first vice-president; Charles Peterson, second vice-president; Mrs. Jessie Grove, secretary; Mrs. Leslie Wallace, treasurer, and Miss Lois Victor, custodian. Directors chosen were: E. E. Frizell, Dr. J. A. Dillon, Mrs. A. H. Moffet, H. L. Reed, Mrs. George Bindley and Harry Hunsley. Lists of recent donations to the society, including relics, photographs, books and documents, were published in the Larned *Tiller and Toiler*, November 29 and December 27, 1945, and in the Larned *Chronoscope*, December 6 and 20.

Facts concerning the proposed marker at Lamb's Point, east of Detroit, near the Union Pacific right-of-way and Highway 40, were presented at the annual meeting of the Dickinson County Historical Society held November 15, 1945, at Abilene. Officers reelected were: Mrs. Carl Peterson of Enterprise, president; Mrs. Elsie Rohrer of Elmo, vice-president, and Mrs. H. M. Howard of Abilene, secretary and treasurer. The society took under advisement the proposal of John Cregan of Chapman that the Dickinson County Pioneers and Dickinson County Historical Society be merged. Cregan is president of the Pioneers group.

Doris Fleeson of Washington, D. C., was the featured speaker at the twenty-eighth annual meeting of the Native Sons and Daughters of Kansas held in Topeka, January 28, 1946. Newly-elected

officers are: Native Sons—Frank Haucke, Council Grove, president; Warren W. Shaw, Topeka, vice-president; Will T. Beck, Holton, secretary; William Ljungdahl, Menlo, treasurer; Native Daughters—Mrs. John C. Nelson, Topeka, president; Mrs. C. I. Moyer, Severance, vice-president; Mrs. Kenneth McFarland, Topeka, secretary; Miss Abbie Bellport, Abilene, treasurer. Judge Homer Hoch, Topeka, and Mrs. W. H. von der Heiden, Newton, were the retiring presidents.

The erection of a Peace Memorial auditorium in Manhattan was favored four to one in a recent city-wide survey conducted by the Riley County Historical Society.

*Facts You Should Know About Kansas* is the title of a 29-page booklet by W. G. Clugston which deals largely with the political background of the state. The booklet was issued by the Haldeman-Julius Publications of Girard.

A 566-page biography of Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, *Soldier of Democracy*, by Kenneth S. Davis, was recently published by Doubleday, Doran & Company. The author describes the moving of the Jacob Eisenhower family from Pennsylvania to Kansas, the marriage of the general's parents in Leocompton, his birth in Texas, and childhood and youth in Abilene. Eisenhower's military career, beginning with West Point and World War I, was traced step by step to his appointment as the commanding United States general in the European theater and to his subsequent leadership in the allied conquest of North Africa, Sicily and the all-out invasion across the channel through France and into Germany.

*Santa Fe—The Railroad That Built an Empire* is the title of a 465-page book by James Marshall describing the dream of Cyrus K. Holliday of a great railroad linking the Southwest which was fulfilled with the creation of a system extending from the Great Lakes to the Pacific coast and the Gulf of Mexico. Many pioneer figures and Western characters of the period are mentioned as well as the land-run to the Indian territory. The author also describes the introduction of the diesel locomotive. An appendix shows names of towns derived from those of officials, employees or members of their families, and a historical list of Santa Fe trains showing date of inauguration and when discontinued, if not now operating. The chronological development of the system is traced step by step in a section comprising 54 pages.

## Contributors

DR. ROBERT TAFT, of Lawrence, is professor of chemistry at the University of Kansas and editor of the *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*. He is author of *Photography and the American Scene* (Macmillan, 1938), and *Across the Years On Mount Oread* (University of Kansas, 1941).

GEORGE A. ROOT and RUSSELL K. HICKMAN are members of the staff of the Kansas State Historical Society.

RALPH R. PRICE of Manhattan, president of the Kansas State Historical Society for the year ending in October, 1945, was for thirty-nine years head of the department of history and government at Kansas State College. He continues to teach American history and government on a part-time basis at the college.



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### THE COVER

"Group of Buffalo," painted by W. J. Hays in 1860. The original painting measures 4' 10" x 3' and is owned by the American Museum of Natural History of New York City. (See page 164 of this issue.) In reproducing the painting for the cover it was necessary to omit some of the detail at the margins.



# THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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## Dust Storms Part One, 1850-1860

JAMES C. MALIN

DUST storms are among the natural phenomena of the Great Plains. They are a part of the economy of nature and are not in themselves necessarily abnormal; at least, not in the sense in which the subject was exploited during the drought decade of the 1930's. The top-soil materials of the Great Plains, in their condition prior to occupation by man, were the product of natural processes essentially continental in scope. They were derived largely from materials carried out from the Rocky Mountain formation by the water of melting glaciers, were deposited upon the bed rock, and were wind-blown prior to their being covered by vegetation and from time to time thereafter. Of course, no soil blows when the surface is fully covered by vegetation. In desert areas, under natural conditions, the vegetation was widely spaced by reason of the scanty supply of moisture, most of the soil surface being exposed to the action of the elements. In low rainfall areas, not deserts, the vegetation was widely spaced, but afforded more coverage, and as the effective moisture increased eastward the grass assumed a bunch habit, the distance between the bunches being determined by moisture, soil, topography, plant specie adaptation, and other factors. The short grasses such as the buffalo or blue grama closed up the spaces and formed an effective sod with a relatively scant amount of moisture, while the bluestems did not change from a bunch to a substantial sod condition until much farther eastward and with still additional moisture.

The vigor of vegetation and its effectiveness as a soil cover was influenced by a number of factors such as long-term weather fluctu-

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tuations, prairie fires, burrowing animals, overgrazing and tramping by wild and later domestic animals, especially during prolonged dry periods. When the soil was exposed to the action of winds by these factors, especially by cumulative combinations of them, dust movements of varying proportions occurred. Various theories of dust storms have been advanced and attempts made at classification according to type characteristics, but with only a limited success. Superficially, there are at least two kinds; one where the dust is carried along the surface, and the other where the dust is lifted high into the atmosphere, often several thousand feet, and carried sometimes hundreds of miles, before it is dropped at some point distant from the place of origin. In connection with the first type, violence and persistence of the wind are conspicuous features, and the effects may be primarily local. In the latter type, high velocity of the wind is not necessary, the dust-lifting power being associated with the turbulence of the air-mass and general air-mass movements. Of course, sometimes both types of dust storms occur at the same time and place and the separate characteristics are difficult to distinguish. Air-mass analysis at high altitudes became practical and important only with the development of the airplane and so far as the application of principles of air-mass analysis to the dust-storm problem was concerned, only beginnings were made during the dust period of the 1930's. So far as the condition of the soil contributed to dust storms, theories differed; but varying emphasis was placed upon one or more of the following: exhaustion of the organic or humus factor in the soil, break down of the soil structure into separate soil particles, drying out of the soil by prolonged drought, and electrical phenomena. It is not the purpose of this article to discuss these theories or to pass judgment upon their validity, only to describe historically something of the frequency, extent and intensity of recorded dust storms.

The most difficult handicaps to the historical study of dust storms are the problems of terminology and of records. The difficulty in terminology turns on indefiniteness of words used in newspapers, letters, diaries, and reports describing the weather. Standardization of terms was being established only near the end of the nineteenth century. Sometimes references to dust blowing meant only that the dirt of unpaved streets was disagreeable, and such an interpretation was occasionally made explicit by the suggestion that the town should buy a street sprinkler. Another kind of difficulty in interpreting these weather descriptions was the sensitiveness of the

boomer spirit to admission of the existence of dust storms or the ruining of crops by blowing. Furthermore, there was no quantitative measure of the seriousness of the dust blowing even when the fact was admitted. Prior to 1874 and 1879 the United States weather service made no attempt to gather certain kinds of weather data. In the former year systematic collection of data began on prairie fires, droughts (30 successive days without more than 0.25 inches), and electrical phenomena. In the latter year in June, the reporting of dust and sand storms began. Evidently these innovations were in response to a demand growing out of the severe and prolonged drought period beginning in 1873, and belated addition of dust and sand storms in 1879 was evidence in itself of the widespread prevalence of that kind of phenomena even if the historian did not have other evidence. These reports on dust storms were not printed for the years 1890-1894 inclusive, but were resumed in a different form in 1895.

The formal weather records present their difficulties, for the earlier years, because competent observers were not obtainable for all stations, and there were not enough stations in operation to provide an adequate coverage. The full-fledged federal weather service really was being set up for the first time in the reorganizations beginning in 1887, the service not being effected in some states until later. It was only after these dates that uniform data were available for the United States, or to put it differently, that there was a systematic attempt to secure reports on the weather from observers who were reporting on the basis of a uniform set of instructions, terms and definitions. Even after several years of effort, standardization was admitted to be imperfect. As respects the records of particular weather stations kept at Western army posts, beginning in the 1830's and 1840's, any careful study should reveal their inadequacies. Sometimes they seem to have been recorded faithfully, but at times it is evident that they possess no validity whatsoever, and attempts to use them only falsify the picture. Also, many typographical errors occur in the printing of the weather records. The whole body of early printed records should be revised and reprinted, with full and candid explanations of the nature and the extent of the deficiencies, if they are to serve adequately as a basis for study of climate and history.

It is obvious that there could be little data assembled on dust storms prior to the settlement of the Western country and easy communications. Travelers and explorers of the first half of the

nineteenth century usually entered the Indian country in the spring, after grass had started sufficiently to support their wagon teams, and too late to experience the March-April windy season, returning or reaching the mountains prior to the early winter windy season. An adequate record of dust would be possible only from year-round records covering long periods of years, including the successions of wet and dry years.

Little dependence can be placed in Eastern records of phenomena similar to the experiences of the 1930's, because no one a century or a century and a half earlier was dust-storm-conscious. Unless there was something that directed attention particularly to the phenomena they usually passed unnoticed. The same is true of Kansas. On several occasions since the passing of the drought decade of the 1930's the present author has noted substantial dustfalls and other evidence of dust storms that were not recorded by the weather bureau and were not the subject of comment in the press. They were as severe as many of the dust storms of the mid-1930's, the only difference being that people were not at that moment interested in dust storms.

There were fairly numerous occasions when the Eastern United States experienced dark days of sufficient severity to become the subject of comment, especially on October 21, 1716; October 19, 1762; May 19, 1780; October 16, 1785, and July 3, 1814. These have been attributed usually to forest fires, although the evidence is not necessarily conclusive. Besides dust storms and forest and prairie fires, another cause of dustfalls or dark days may include volcanic ash from active volcanoes.

Within the Kansas area the most explicit record of early dust storms was the journal of Isaac McCoy covering his experiences on an expedition surveying the Delaware Indian reservation boundary during October and November, 1830. Two factors were emphasized in his descriptions, the intensity of the drought that destroyed vegetation and the prairie fires; both of these, separately and jointly destroyed the vegetational cover and contributed to the exposure of the dry surface soil to the action of the winds.<sup>1</sup> Fuller local records became available with settlement of Kansas after 1854. The most notable droughts of definite record prior to the 1930's were 1860, 1864-1865, 1874, 1901, 1911, 1913, 1917, 1919, and 1922-1923. The greater apparent frequency in the twentieth century seems to be the

1. Lela Barnes, "Journal of Isaac McCoy For the Exploring Expedition of 1830," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. V (1936), pp. 364-372.

result of completeness of records. The state-wide federal weather service in Kansas was inaugurated in 1887, but several years were required to develop a stable and reasonably adequate coverage.

The great drought of 1860 was not an isolated dry year, but was the culmination of a period of dry years beginning definitely in 1854 and possibly in 1853. Of the intervening seasons only that of 1859 seems to have been a favorable crop year. The year 1850 is listed as one of low rainfall in the records of the Fort Scott and Fort Leavenworth stations and two men living in Kansas during the Indian period (Wilson and Dyer) recorded it as a half-crop year or almost failure, and the Osage Mission records showed a corn and potato failure. The next two years, 1851 and 1852, were reported good. For 1853, the evidence is incomplete, Wilson and Dyer reporting good crops, and the Osage Mission and Fort Leavenworth a drought. The agreement is complete as respects 1854, the first year of Kansas settlement; drought, grasshoppers and crop failure.<sup>2</sup> The drought and crop failure of 1854 was quite general throughout the United States, the best summary of its impact upon the West, by a Western paper, is to be found in the *St. Joseph (Mo.) Gazette*, issues of August and September, especially those of September 13 and 20. A report from Fort Scott, dated August 25, declared that

As regards the emigration to Kansas Territory, I do not think many will be able to settle in this part for the next twelve months, there being almost an entire failure in the crops throughout this section of country. Prospects are really dismal here for all kinds of produce. There will not be "hog and hominy" enough for the old inhabitants, much less for a large influx [of] emigration.<sup>3</sup>

At the same time a report by a man just in from Fort Laramie, stated that

the drouth, from which we suffer, here, had prevailed severely on the Plains, accompanied, as here, by intensely hot weather. There is scarcely any grass to be found, it having been almost literally burned up by the heat.<sup>4</sup>

A resident of Manhattan wrote, May 22, 1854, that "A fairer, more genial climate, we think, cannot be found on earth, though early in the spring we are told 'high winds' and clouds of dust were a great annoyance."<sup>5</sup>

2. Sister Mary Paul Fitzgerald, *Beacon on the Plains* (Leavenworth, 1939), pp. 83, 92; A. T. Donohue, "A History of the Early Jesuit Missions in Kansas" (MS. Ph. D. thesis, University of Kansas, 1931); J. W. Dyer, *Waterville Telegraph*, reprinted in the *Weekly Champion & Press*, Atchison, February 19, 1870; Robert Wilson, letter dated January 14, 1861, *Topeka State Record*, January 26, 1861.

3. *St. Joseph Gazette*, September 20, 1854.

4. *Ibid.*

5. Julia Louisa (Mrs. Charles H.) Lovejoy, "Letters From Kansas [to the *Independent Democrat*, Concord, N. H.]," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. XI, pp. 38, 39.

The spring of 1855 was dry and backward, John Everett writing from the vicinity of Osawatomie that there had been no rain of consequence for ten months prior to mid-May.<sup>6</sup>

The interpretation given to this situation by the *Kansas Free State*, Lawrence, January 31, 1855, was unusual:

The strong south winds that we experience here are our greatest annoyance. They frequently last for several days, and are loaded with the black dust from the burnt prairie, which penetrates every corner of our houses, and makes every one who is exposed to it as *sooty* as a collier. This annoyance, however, will not be so great when the surrounding country is brought under cultivation, and the prairies cease to be burned.

It seems scarcely reasonable that the ashes of burned grass alone would have produced so endless a supply of black dust. As McCoy's description of 1830 had indicated, the prairie fires removed the protection of a vegetational cover, and top soil as well as ashes of the burned grass provided the material of the dust storms. The *Kansas Free State* editor's views on cultivation only tend to emphasize his misunderstanding of the whole situation. By April 21, he was no longer confusing the two aspects of the dust problem:

We have had some strange weather in Kansas. No rain yet. The air, in consequence of the winds, is filled with dust—a very strange appearance to those of us who have lived always in the States, and have been accustomed to seeing rainy and muddy weather at this season.

The following week (April 30) the same editor commented: "High winds, no rain yet, and everything in our office covered with dust."

The rival editor, G. W. Brown of the *Herald of Freedom*, commented on the situation April 14, 1855, referring to last Friday [apparently April 6] as a hot day with an office temperature of 90° in mid-afternoon: "extremely dry weather, and superabundance of dust, accompanied by high southern winds. . . ." On April 21 he wrote that there had been no rain of consequence since May, 1854, a matter upon which he could speak only from report, but he revealed most clearly the two-fold aspect of the dust storms—prairie fire and dust exposed after the burning of the grass cover:

The High winds which have prevailed in this vicinity for the last few weeks, accompanied with heavy clouds of dust, have no doubt been a source of very great annoyance to strangers who have been on a visit to the Territory, as well as to the citizens. Whether those winds are common to Kansas in the spring we are not informed, probably they are; but the dust, which is the most annoying, is a resultant of the burning of the prairies, and will not

6. "Letters of John and Sarah Everett," April 28, July 27, 1855, in *ibid.*, v. VIII, pp. 8, 9, 13, 14.

exist after the annual fires have abated. Neither will they harm us after the grass shall get high enough to prevent the wind from taking up the surface, and hurling it with so much force through the atmosphere.

We are frank to confess that we have felt more inconvenience from the wind and dust, since our arrival in Kansas, than from any other source. Our houses are all open, and the wind whistles in at every crevice, bringing along with it a heavy load of fine particles of charcoal, ashes, etc., and depositing it on our type, paper, library, furniture, and in fact not regarding our dinner, but liberally covering it with a condiment for which we have no relish.

A few months will give us tight houses, and then adieu to these annoyances; till then we must bear with patience those sources of vexation. Those who cannot do this of course will go out of the Territory complaining it is the worst climate they ever knew.

The drought ended in May, the *Herald of Freedom* announcing it May 5, but the *Kansas Free State* was convinced only by more substantial rains which were recorded in its issue of May 21. Both papers agreed that it was the end of an eleven-month drought. June was the loveliest of months, and the *Herald of Freedom*, June 30, commented that except for April, the editor's seven and one-half months in Kansas had been "all we could have desired. On account of the high winds through that month it was the most unpleasant one we can call to mind. . . ." He returned to the theme two weeks later in connection with an editorial condemning the faint hearted who had become discouraged and returned to the East. He admitted that upon his arrival in Kansas City in November, 1854, he had had misgivings about Kansas, but they were dissipated upon leaving that town and "From that time forth, save during a single day in April, when the winds enveloped everything about our premises with dust, have we felt anything bordering upon regrets." R. G. Elliott of the *Kansas Free State* was similarly impressed and the next year, March 3, commented with evident feeling upon the contrasting rains of early 1856: "An exquisite satisfaction, it would have been to us one year ago, when we were choked and blackened with clouds of dust."

The drought condition of Kansas was not local in 1855 and the evidence of it was a matter of record in the East. Professor Fairchild of Oberlin College, Ohio, reported February 7, upon a black snow, icy pellets which had a smoky taste.<sup>7</sup> No satisfactory explanation of this phenomenon was forthcoming, whether the black snow had its origin in forest or prairie fires or in a combination fire and dust storm.

The year 1856 in Kansas was notorious for the presidential cam-

7. *Kansas Free State*, Lawrence, May 14, 1855.

paign and the Kansas civil war, in both of which slavery was made the center of the political controversy. Under these circumstances explicit commentary on the weather as such was slight and the crop failure or short crop of that year was usually charged to aggression of the enemy in diverting farmers from their work in the fields or to destruction of crops in the course of hostilities and reprisals. As already pointed out, the *Kansas Free State*, March 3, contrasted the mud of 1856 favorably with the dust of 1855, but later in the spring the rains did not come, the same paper commenting April 28 on the first season of rain that spring. The private letters of John and Sarah Everett, living near Osawatomie, presented a discouraging crop outlook. On July 22 Sarah wrote home that "It is very dry. We have had no rain to do much good for over 5 weeks. If we do not have some soon our crops will present a totally ruinous look," and on August 1, "The weather here continues very dry and hot! Newcomers are mostly getting down sick."<sup>8</sup> The summer drought was quite general over the country at large, numerous reports being gathered in the *New York Tribune* during the late summer.

The next year, on April 25, 1857, the *Herald of Freedom* reported that,

The weather continues cold and cheerless. Vegetation has not yet made its appearance. Cattle are suffering. . . .

and the following week

The winds continue to blow, the dust flies, and the prospect is quite cheerless. We need rain and warm weather.

Another two weeks brought encouragement:

The weather is more humid than it has been, and the dust, which has been penetrating every crevice, and making the old residents almost sick of Kansas, has been laid to rest. Kansas would sell at a great advance from last week's prices.

Not until the end of the month, however, was there more substantial improvement, when on May 30 the same paper recorded that "some fine showers during the fore part of the week has laid the dust, and given a new impetus to vegetation. Cattle and horses now subsist anywhere on the prairies, without the aid of grain." In another place the editor said that the emigration came a month too early, and, as the season is backward, instead of finding "verdure and beauty . . . they found dust and blackened fields, and cold winds. . . . We regret that the thousands who came and have

8. Everett letters, in *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. VIII, pp. 144-147.



gone back disappointed with Kansas, could not be here *now*. . . .” In retrospect he continued “a person living for a day in the clouds of dust which infest our city at times during dry periods, and when the winds are high, feels the force of the Scriptural remark, ‘Dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return.’” The rains of May called out too much optimism, and June 27 the paper reported the continuance of severe drought in the Lawrence area, although southern Kansas received its usual spring rains. Scarcity and starvation prices stared the population of Kansas in the face.

The season of 1858 promised well, but a frost on May 18 and a wet season in early summer cut the wheat crops, and a dry summer cut the corn crop to about one half or less.<sup>9</sup> The dry fall brought prairie fires in numbers and earlier than usual.<sup>10</sup> The *Weekly Kansas Herald* of Leavenworth, October 9, 1858, complained about the dust: “It fills our eyes, ears, nose, and mouth; settles upon our broadcloth; turns black brown; seasons our victuals, and endows us with a little of the grit. Save us from high winds and dusty streets.”

The year 1859 was the only one in the decade that did not bring complaint, and, with only occasional exceptions, all crops were reported abundant. The fall of 1859 was dry, however, the beginning of the notorious drought of 1860, the climax of the 1850's. The *Lawrence Republican*, February 23, 1860, summarized the winter of 1859-1860: “No rain, no snow, and much open, thawing, mild weather, alternated with sharp, though brief [cold] snaps. . . .”

The first days of April, 1860, seemed to bring the climax of the spring wind, several papers emphasizing the dust. The *Fort Scott Democrat*, April 5, said in comment on the storm of April 3 that it was “one of the most severe, and by far the most disagreeable we ever experienced. For the space of half an hour the cloud of dust was so intense, that it was impossible to distinguish objects at the distance of a dozen yards. . . .” The *Leavenworth Weekly Herald*, April 7, said that the “Wind and dust seemed to be on a regular ‘high’ yesterday.” Apparently that was April 6. The *Freedom's Champion*, of Atchison, April 7, gave the fullest and most vivid characterization of the season's dust experience:

We once thought that the worst thing in Kansas was mud, and certainly did get enough of it. . . . But we are willing to compromise on the original mud, now. In fact we would consider a slight sprinkling of mud with

9. Dyer, *loc. cit.*; Kansas City (Mo.) *Western Journal of Commerce*, May 29, 1858; Emporia *Kansas News*, July 3, 24, November 6, 27, 1858.

10. *Ibid.*, September 18, October 9, 23, 1858.

feelings of reverence just now. During nearly three months we have had dry weather, with hardly even a sprinkle of moisture. And now that the soil is perfectly dry, the wind is doing its best to blind every inhabitant of this section of country with dust. And such clouds of it! It penetrates everywhere; and has grown to be a most intolerable nuisance. We, one of the begrimed and bedusted sufferers, protest against it. We can stand a little "throwing of dust in our eyes," but we don't like the mammoth wholesale business old Boreas has been conducting for the past week. Will take mud, any time, and thankfully, after this dust. . . .

Although the focus of this dust story is upon the Kansas scene, the drought was general, with the characteristic attendant phenomena. At Syracuse, N. Y., April 5, there was a "black rain, . . . the drops resembling faint ink. Everybody and everything was spattered."<sup>11</sup> These dates coincide closely with the high mark of Kansas dust, irrespective of whether or not the black rain was explained as ashes of forest or prairie fires or combinations with dust. A late frost in Kansas May 9 killed much of the fruit, crop prospects were discouraging, "the grass upon the high prairie is drying up" and a plea was made for Kansans to stay and develop the territory, not to return East or go to the mines in the West.<sup>12</sup>

Terrific storms, a particular intensity centering in the country west of Osawatomie, were experienced early in June. Houses were blown down at Stanton where three persons were killed. One account said that "The air was filled with bricks, barrels, boxes, tubs, signs and boards which were blown about like chaff, and the dust so beclouded the air as to shut out the light of day."<sup>13</sup>

July brought another round of extremes of heat, wind, and drought. In an address prepared by G. W. Martin, probably about 1906, but not published, he described a dust storm which he dated July 11, 1860:

The year 1860, known as the great drought and famine year, was quite remarkable for these hot winds. At Topeka, July 11th of that year, the thermometer at 11 a. m. stood at 85 degrees, when a heavy dust cloud came from the south with great force. The air was so filled with exceedingly fine dust that a person could scarcely be seen one hundred yards. At 1 p. m. the thermometer stood at 112 degrees in Topeka; at Fort Scott 115; and at Fort Riley about the same as at Topeka. Domestic fowls and animals suffered terribly, and in some places many perished. Business in some sections was entirely suspended for from five to six hours.<sup>14</sup>

11. *Emporia News*, May 5, 1860.

12. *Lawrence Republican*, May 10, 17, 1860.

13. *Kansas City (Mo.) Western Journal of Commerce*, June 14, 21, 1860; *Lawrence Republican*, June 28, 1860.

14. "G. W. Martin Papers," in the Manuscripts division of the Kansas State Historical Society.

Explicit contemporary confirmation of all details of Martin's story is lacking, but the records show particularly intense days July 4 and 9, and an eclipse of the sun July 18. There might have been some confusion of memories which linked the storms with the eclipse, but the descriptions of the storms as printed in several papers, Atchison, Leavenworth, Oskaloosa, Lawrence, and Topeka, are of such a nature as not to challenge seriously Martin's version. The several descriptions are printed in the order listed.

*Freedom's Champion*, Atchison, July 14, 1860.

EXTRAORDINARY PHENOMENON.—Kansas was visited, on Monday last, by one of the most extraordinary wind storms we have ever felt, or ever heard of except in the desert of Sahara. At about 12 o'clock, as we were sitting in our office, we felt a gust of wind so hot and scorching that we at first supposed some building close by must be on fire, and rushed to the window to ascertain. We found, however, that it was nothing but the air, but such an air! Scorching, withering, blighting in its effects, it rapidly drove every one within doors, and forced them to close every aperture through which it could gain admittance. The wind blew very strong, but it was the first time in our life that we experienced a breeze in summer that was oppressive and intolerable. It continued until between three and four o'clock and during the whole of that time the breeze could be compared to nothing but a simoon of the desert. We understand that in some parts of the country all vegetable matter was withered and shriveled as though by fire, and it is feared much damage is done to the crops. What was the cause of this strange freak of nature, we are unable to explain. We hope, however, never to see the like again.

*The Daily Times*, Leavenworth, July 10, 1860.

The heat of yesterday was almost intolerable. It was the remark of every one that they had never experienced anything like it. The wind was dry and burning; and the atmosphere betokened a severe storm or hurricane. The thermometer stood as high as 108°.

Leavenworth *Dispatch*, reprint in *Topeka State Record*, July 14, 1860.

The hot, burning breeze of yesterday (Monday) [July 9] was unprecedented . . . and can not be accounted for by the oldest of the old inhabitants. It seemed as if the gates of Hell (metaphorically speaking) had been thrown open. . . . To us it is unaccountable.

*The Independent*, Oskaloosa, July 11, 1860.

On Monday afternoon last this region of Kansas was visited by so extraordinary a wind storm as to seem out of the course of nature, except on the burning deserts of Africa. So suddenly did the storm come up, and so hot was the wind that many persons at first supposed some building near by them was on fire. Others, though the weather was very warm, closed their doors and windows to keep the scorching air out of their houses. For some time the inmates of our dwelling took refuge in the cellar from the oppressive heat

of the almost scalding wind. The leaves of plants were literally parched up and killed, as if by a heavy frost. —Three years ago the wind at times blew very warm about the middle of the day, but never before has it been our misfortune to experience such severe blasts of heated air. Every breath we drew seemed to almost dry up the vital moisture of our lungs, and leave only an inward burning sensation.

Lawrence *Republican*, July 12, 1860.

During the past week, the weather has been hotter than we have ever known it before in Kansas. Last Monday was a terrible day. The wind blew a gale from the south, and was as hot as though directly from the mouth of a blazing furnace. Thermometers exposed to it in the shade ran up to 115 degrees. Such heat is almost insupportable. Were it not for our cool nights, these fierce summer heats would be most disastrous. But the earth cools off with remarkable rapidity, and the hot, burning days are succeeded by the most delicious nights.

Topeka *Tribune*, July 14, 1860.

Monday last may be set down as the hottest day of the season. It was an intensely warm one, the wind blowing strongly from the South, bearing a degree of heat which would compare favorably with the raging sirocco which sometimes sweeps the southern portions of Europe from the heated deserts of Africa. —Mercury rose to 106° . . . , and we almost fancied we could smell brim-stone and hear the bubbling, seething and foaming of those naughty old chaldrons which used to loom up so frightfully in the days of our youthful disobedience.

In the evening, however, the wind shifted around into the North, when the sufferings of the day were soon forgotten and forgiveness granted for the "bad words" which the day had provoked. —For the greater part, this season, we have been favored with quite agreeable days, and decidedly cool and refreshing nights.

Topeka *State Record*, July 14, 1860.

We had on Monday last [July 9], the severest storm of wind ever known in this country. It was not so hard a blow as has several times visited us this Spring and Summer, but its peculiarity, as well as severity, lay in its temperature, being heated almost to suffocation. Penetrating every crevice, it was impossible to escape, entirely, its baleful effects. The clouds of dust, also, which it raised, were blinding to those who were compelled to be out of doors. Such was the severity of the wind and dust combined, that it was impossible to perform any out-of-door labor, or even to remain out of doors for any length of time. We have heard of several instances of animals and poultry being completely prostrated by it, and even of the young shoots of fruit trees being withered and literally *burned* by this terrible wind. The storm continued from 10 in the morning until 6 in the evening, when it slackened, and a fine fresh breeze sprung up from the North-west, which was a most welcome relief, infusing new life and vigor where before was exhaustion and prostration.

Only the last of these, the *Topeka State Record*, admitted explicitly the dust, the primary occasion for the editorials being a com-

mentary on the unusual, which was the hot wind. They were all boomers at heart and were not admitting any more than seemed necessary. It should be apparent that Martin's account is not proved wrong and may have been only more candid than the contemporary accounts. At any rate it is plausible with the date shifted from July 11 to July 9. These summer winds were occurring in the season of the year when the vegetational cover was most complete and on that basis there should have been the least possible hazard of a general dust storm. Even in a drought year there is no reason to assume that the grass of eastern Kansas had been killed out sufficiently to expose the top soil of large areas, the prairie fire season would do that later. But farther west, the situation was different, and it is from that area that the essential information is lacking. None of the comment quoted was from any point west of Topeka. Some indirect evidence of scarcity of grass in the plains is available in the comment of the *Topeka Tribune*, June 23, that buffalo were unusually numerous and of the *Lawrence Republican*, August 30, which was more explicit in its statement that on account of the drought the buffalo had migrated east earlier than usual. This shifting of the buffalo migration eastward to the tall grass country was nature's adjustment of wild life to food supply and was essentially the same kind of thing that was done by cattlemen during later drought periods in driving or shipping their livestock east to pasture and feed, and Kansas in 1860 was to do likewise later in that season.

Two more hot winds of somewhat similar intensity occurred later in the summer, July 30 and August 26, but they were not described in such detail as that of July 9. It would only have been repetition, except that in connection with a storm of August 8, the *Leavenworth Times*, August 10, emphasized the electrical phenomenon which disturbed the operation of the telegraph. On September 6 the *Kansas City Western Journal of Commerce* gave a dust description that may appropriately close this section of the incidents of 1860:

At no period of this unprecedentedly dry season has the drouth and its attendant dust been so desperately oppressive. With every gust of wind the dust whirls up in suffocating clouds. The continued heat and the constant motion of animals, vehicles and footmen upon the streets, has rendered the dust a perfect powder and the slightest breeze sets it in motion. All moving objects are enveloped in it like a cloud. . . . Here it comes—in at the window, in at the door, over the furniture, over the floor; rolling and curling and whirling it flies, stopping your guzzle and closing your eyes; we breathe

it, we drink it, we swallow it down, we "gol-darn" the weather and "gol-darn" the town; turning our noses in supreme disgust; but thus must it dust and dust thus it must. Kerwhang, bang! there went ther masheen, and—phew! ke-chew! booh! ah!—the dust!

Certain facts about the dust problems of the decade of the 1850's stand out clearly. All that McCoy had revealed in his descriptions of dust storms in north central Kansas in 1830 was confirmed over and over again during this decade when scarcely any sod had been broken. Drought, animals and prairie fires impaired the vegetational cover sufficiently to expose the dry top-soil to the action of the wind. Certain other facts about the dust problem were not explicit in these accounts which are drawn exclusively from eastern Kansas, and the exact meaning of some of the descriptions await the more complete perspective of experience in the next two decades. The kind of data is lacking which would be essential for quantitative comparisons of the severity of these and later storms, but the contemporary descriptions determine beyond question a high degree of both severity and frequency. Similar studies of the frontier to the north and south, Minnesota, Dakota, Nebraska, and Texas, would establish as explicitly a similar situation all along the Great Plains front where settlement was providing slowly for the first time a continuous body of records.

The degree of crop failure in 1860 varied somewhat, but for the most part approached completeness. Relief committees were organized and private capital was brought to the aid of farmers in need of seed. Thaddeus Hyatt, a New York philanthropist, who had headed the National Kansas Committee of 1856, again in 1860 came to the aid of the territory in giving freely of his time to relief work. Also he dramatized the situation by a poem:

#### THE DROUTH IN KANSAS

##### A PRAYER FOR RAIN

Cover thy Sun, O God!

Oh! cover it with thy hand!

For it scorseth man, and it scorseth beast,

And it burneth up the land!

It glowers and simmers: a Sun in its name,

But a hell in its wasting, its fierceness and flame!

An oven it gloweth at morn;

A furnace it glareth\* at noon!

It roasteth the clouds, and it baketh the air,

Till the heavens turn brass in its terrible glare,

And the zephyrs smite† like a simoon!

Then, cover thy Sun, O God!  
 O! cover it with thy hand,  
 That its fearful heat‡ may no longer curse  
 This parched and perishing land!  
 That this demon-like Sun no longer may glare  
 On thy desolate ones in their silent despair!

The cattle vainly roam  
 In search of spring and stream;  
 But nothing they find, though fainting and blind,  
 Save dust and the Sun's red gleam;  
 For the springs are dry, and the streams are bare,  
 And all moisture is burnt from the fiery air!

Rain! rain! O God, send rain!  
 For the vault above is brass;  
 And the earth below lies sore with wo,  
 With neither corn nor grass;  
 And the very eyes of the cattle look  
 Like globes of crimson glass!

Rain for the land, O God!  
 O! send thy pleaders rain!  
 Let not their piteous cries come up  
 Before thy Throne in vain!  
 Speak to thy clouds, O God!  
 And bid them seek the sea,  
 And charge thine Ocean, Lord, to send  
 Its waters up to thee,  
 That thou mayest send them back again  
 To earth, in showers of welcome rain!

Rain, Lord! for the mourners, rain!  
 Rain!—Rain for the wretched and lost!  
 Let them hear the sound of thy coming rain,  
 Like the tramp of a mighty host!  
 Let not thy people plead in vain!  
 Rain, Lord! O! send thy people rain!  
 For rain the Earth would climb to Thee!  
 For rain the Heavens would seek the Sea!<sup>15</sup>

The people who settled Kansas came mostly from the Ohio valley and the Middle Atlantic states, a forest country, where corn culture provided the core of their agricultural system.<sup>16</sup> Corn required a substantial amount of rainfall. In entering Kansas it became evident that they were dealing with a climate in which, because of low rainfall, corn was a marginal crop. Except for the eastern part of

15. The poem was printed first in the *Lawrence Republican*, September 13, 1860. Subsequently three words were changed and it is the revised version that is printed here. The original words are indicated: \* gleameth, † strike, ‡ heats.

16. *Topeka State Record*, June 16, 1860, called corn "that never-failing staple of a new country," and the *Lawrence Republican*, August 23, 1860, referred to its position as "the staple commodity of the country generally."

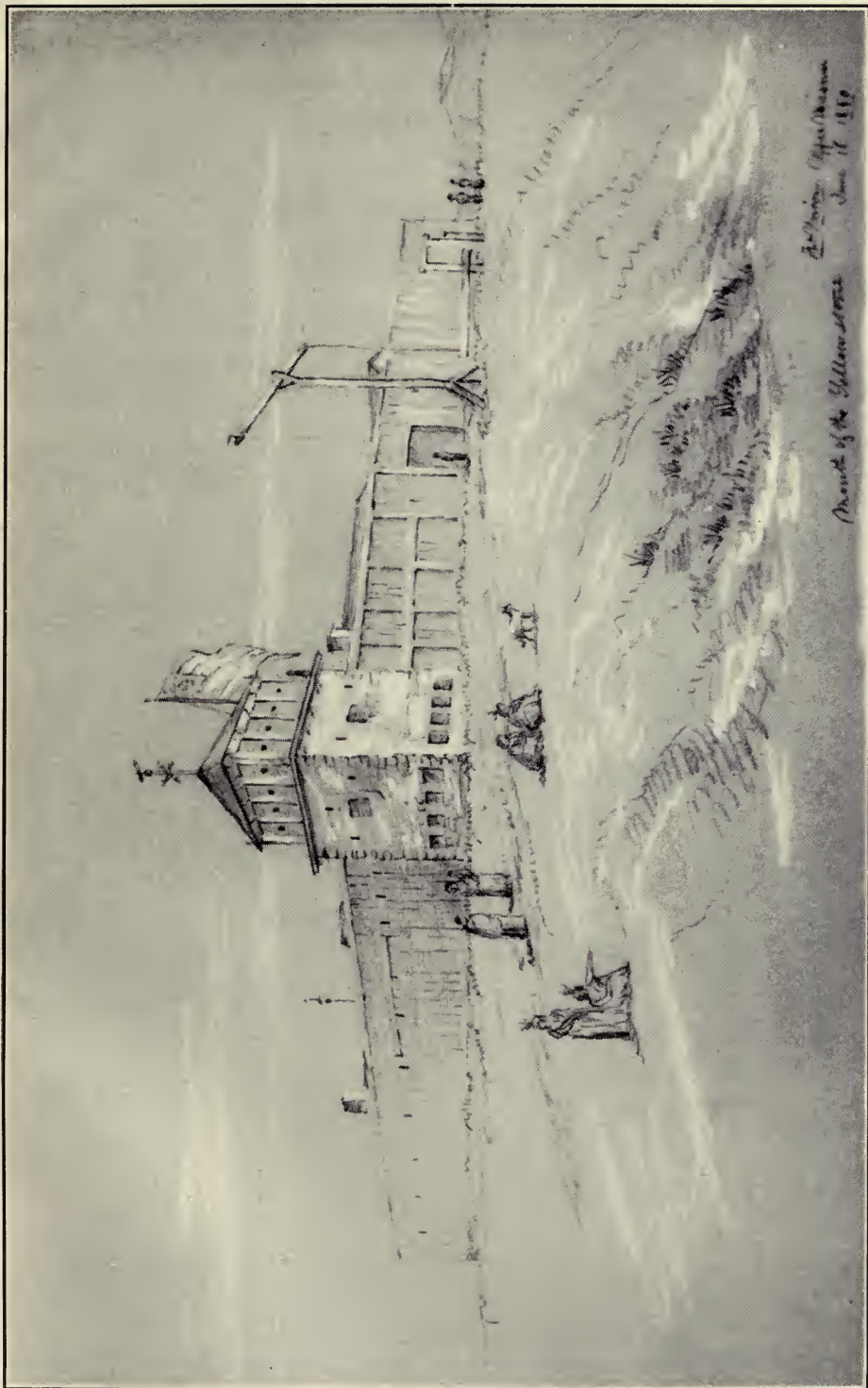
the state, the region was subhumid for corn, and for the other crops which were usually associated with the corn economy. It became traditional on that kind of a standard of measurement, to refer to the low rainfall areas of the west as subhumid. It was to require some years to reorient thinking in relation to the geographical environment and to arrive at the realization that grass was the normal vegetation, and that the country was not subhumid for grass, nor for agricultural crops of similar water requirements such as hard wheat and the sorghums. These people who were entering the grassland did not submit to the idea of geographical determinism or climatic determinism. They thought it possible to find new ways of living in this country that behaved so strangely. With Hyatt, they prayed for rain:

Rain for the land, O God!  
O! send thy pleaders rain!

They prayed, but they acted also upon the ancient Irish proverb that even God needs encouragement. They pointed out the need of better tillage methods, and of different crops, pointing to the possibilities of wheat, sorghum and other crops. They stayed, and by learning to capitalize upon the differences between the grass and forest environment, achieved eventually a good measure of understanding of the mysteries of the grassland.

*(A Second Article Will Follow Dealing With "Dust Storms, 1861-1880," And a Third, "Dust Storms, 1881-1901")*





"MOUTH OF THE YELLOWSTONE, FORT UNION, UPPER MISSOURI, JUNE 16, 1860." ALL ILLUSTRATIONS, UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED, ARE FROM THE HAYS PORTFOLIO OF FIELD SKETCHES, 1860.



Fort Clark July 14, 1860.

Fort Primeau Upper Missouri July 14, 1860.

UPPER: "FORT CLARK, JULY 14, 1860." LOWER: "FORT PRIMEAU, UPPER MISSOURI, JULY 14, 1860."

# The Pictorial Record of the Old West

II. W. J. HAYS

ROBERT TAFT

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WILLIAM JACOB HAYS, known chiefly as a painter of animal life, owes his reputation as an artist to material gathered on a trip up the Missouri river in the summer of 1860. His work is but little known at present, but in his prime (1855-1875) he received considerable recognition both at home and abroad. Tuckerman devotes over a page and a half to his work and dismisses the work of George Bingham in five lines and the work of John James Audubon in a dozen lines;<sup>1</sup> yet the latter two are far better known at present than is Hays. A London paper in 1865 commenting on one of Hays' pictures then on display in London, said, "English artists must look to their laurels, or America will rob them of some of them in landscape and animal painting in which they have hitherto held their ground almost undisputed."<sup>2</sup> The *Art Journal* in 1875 called Hays "one of the most able painters in the country."<sup>3</sup> S. G. W. Benjamin in his review of American art stated that "William Hayes [sic] showed decided ability in his representations of bisons, prairie dogs, and other dogs. Weak in color, he yet succeeded in giving spirit and character to the group he painted, and holds among our animal painters a position not dissimilar to that of Mount in *genre*."<sup>4</sup> The only modern comment on Hays with which the author is familiar is his biographical sketch in the *Dictionary of American Biography*;<sup>5</sup> the inclusion of his name in this distinguished work is in itself recognition of the fact that Hays was important in his day.

In this series of articles we are not so much concerned with his reputation as an artist as we are with his Missouri river trip of 1860 and the graphic materials he gathered. There are still extant, sketch

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For a general introduction to this pictorial series, see *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, February, 1946, pp. 1-5.

1. Henry T. Tuckerman, *Book of the Artists* (New York, 1867), pp. 495, 496.
2. *London Weekly Times*, June 18, 1865.
3. *The Art Journal*, New York, n. s., v. 1 (1875), p. 127.
4. S. G. W. Benjamin, *Art in America* (New York, 1880), p. 85.
5. *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1932), v. 8, pp. 463, 464—W. H. Downes was the author of the sketch; see, also, *Appletons' Cyclopedia of American Biography* (New York, 1887), v. 3, p. 147.

books, letters, and contemporary newspaper accounts that are important in adding to our store of knowledge of the pictorial and written record of the old West.<sup>6</sup>

Hays was born on August 8, 1830, and died March 13, 1875, spending most of his life in New York City.<sup>7</sup> He received some training under the artist John Rubens Smith and had begun exhibiting by 1852, a piece—"Head of a Bull-Dog"—winning him considerable renown.<sup>8</sup>

Hays has left no evidence available to the writer that would indicate a reason for selecting the Missouri river route for his westward travels. It can be pointed out, however, that even as late as 1860 the upper Missouri country was, by virtue of small steamships and the absence of railroads, the most accessible region for an examination of the flora, fauna and aborigines of the Far West. It was no unknown country, for fur traders and visitors had exploited or described this region so extensively that it was internationally famous. The region, as a fur-trading country, had passed its prime when Hays visited it in 1860. In its heyday, the 1830's and 1840's, the upper Missouri country witnessed some of the most extraordinary spectacles of the past American scene. Here lived, at Fort Union, Kenneth McKenzie, Scotch "Emperor of the West," who "ruled over an extent of country greater than that of many a notable empire in history."<sup>9</sup> Scarcely less picturesque in the fur trade was James Hamilton, an English "gentleman," reticent and fastidious, with a scorn and hatred of the native Indians; and Lucien Fontenelle, fur-trade partisan, leader of the mountain brigades of fur hunters and trappers. Up the Missouri before the Hays trip came an almost ceaseless flow of notables for sport, for science, for humanity, for art, or for adventure:<sup>10</sup> Prince Paul of Wurttemberg; Maximilian,

6. It is a curious fact that Downes (see Footnote 5) reports that Hays visited Colorado, Wyoming and the Rocky Mountains in 1860. Downes was apparently basing this statement on the obituary of Hays in the *Art Journal* for 1875 (Footnote 3). Thus are errors propagated. A student looks up a previous account and without verification repeats the earlier statement; a type of error which we all are prone to make. Hays was never in Colorado, Wyoming or within several hundred miles of the Rockies, for his 1860 trip up the Missouri river was his only Western trip. Although the Missouri does eventually reach the Rockies, there is no evidence that Hays went any farther west than Fort Stewart on the Missouri (see page 155) which was still many hundreds of miles from the Rockies proper.

7. *New York Tribune*, March 16, 1875, p. 7, col. 6; *Art Journal* citation in Footnote 3 and *Dictionary of American Biography* cited in Footnote 5.

8. Tuckerman, *op. cit.*, p. 495.

9. For much of the material in this paragraph, I am indebted to Dr. Annie Heloise Abel's "Historical Introduction" in *Chardon's Journal at Fort Clark, 1834-1839* (Pierre, S. D., 1932), pp. xv-xlvi. (Dr. Abel's work, it should be remarked, is one of the most exhaustive and scholarly studies of original sources in the literature bearing on the early history of the West.) The closing quotation above is from H. M. Chittenden's *The American Fur Trade of the Far West*, hereinafter cited as *American Fur Trade* (New York, 1935), v. 1, p. 385.

10. My comment above "of the most extraordinary spectacles of the past American scene" should not be taken to mean "the most romantic spectacles," although the discussion in the text, I grant, would make such inference correct. Life in the upper Missouri country

Prince of Wied, with his artist Karl Bodmer; a young son of Pres. William Henry Harrison; the famous Audubon, naturalist and bird artist, and still others, including "Blackrobe," Father Pierre-Jean De Smet. Of powerful physical build, of forceful personality, of singleness of purpose, De Smet traveled up and down the Missouri river, crossing and re-crossing the Rocky Mountains, establishing Indian missions, and spreading his peaceful doctrine from St. Louis to the Northwest coast from 1838 until his last trip to the Indian country in 1870. To further his work, he wrote a number of accounts of his missionary experiences in the years 1841-1863.<sup>11</sup>

Probably, however, the most important visitor of all to the upper Missouri country as far as spreading knowledge of this region goes, was George Catlin, author and artist. Without making any critical examination of his work as an artist or as an author, it can be said that Catlin was the great publicist for this region. As a result of a trip to the upper Missouri in 1832, there was published in 1841 his book (of varying title)<sup>12</sup> which in its earliest edition was called *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians* . . . "with four hundred illustrations, carefully engraved from his original paintings." Between 1841 and 1860, this book in various modifications was published in nearly 20 American, English, German, French and Belgian editions.<sup>13</sup>

In addition to this book, Catlin published in the same period a fascinating set of large colored lithographs, the *North American Indian Portfolio*, also in several editions.<sup>14</sup> It is no small wonder

also had its extraordinary spectacles of exploitation, of unbridled rivalry, of debauchery, of viciousness, and of corruption. The white invaders of the Indian country (traders, trappers and engages), as Dr. Abel remarks in the conclusion to her "Historical Introduction," relapsed into barbarism rather than making any attempts to assist the red man to emerge from that state.

11. Some six publications of Father De Smet published before 1865 are listed in the bibliography, Henry R. Wagner's *The Plains and the Rockies*, rev. and ext. by Charles L. Camp (San Francisco, 1937). The most extended account of "Blackrobe's" life will be found in H. M. Chittenden and A. T. Richardson, *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, S. J.* (New York, 1905), 4 vols. Some measure of the magnitude of the extraordinary journeys of Father De Smet is given in his own words in summarizing his travels (upon his return to St. Louis) for a single year, 1842: "From the beginning of April I had traveled 5,000 miles. I had descended and ascended the dangerous Columbia river. I had seen five of my companions perish in one of those life-destroying whirlpools, so justly dreaded by those who navigate that stream. I had traversed the Willamette, crossed the Rocky Mountains, passed through the country of the Blackfeet, the desert of the Yellowstone, and descended the Missouri; and in all these journeys I had not received the slightest injury."—*Ibid.*, v. 1, p. 402.

12. Catlin states that the book was based on eight years' travel among the Indians of North America (1832-1839), which is correct. However, half of the work (sometimes in two volumes; sometimes in one) was devoted to his 1832 trip in the upper Missouri country.

13. Thomas Donaldson, "The George Catlin Indian Gallery in the U. S. National Museum"—Part V of "Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, . . . To July, 1885," in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 49 Cong., 1 Sess. (Washington, 1886), pp. 786-793. It should not be inferred that there were no other editions of Catlin published. There are many subsequent to 1860. In fact, one was published in Edinburgh (cited later in this article) as late as 1926.

14. There are at least three editions and probably more. Public exhibitions of Catlin's work at home and abroad was a third publicity factor not mentioned above. Catlin will have future consideration in this series.

with this record of publication that I find Catlin's name the most frequently mentioned in biographical accounts of later artists of the West or for that matter one of the most frequently referred to authorities on the early history of the upper Missouri country. If one could make a guess, then, at Hays' incentive for his Western trip, a very good one would be that a knowledge of Catlin was an important factor in making his final decision.

Whatever the cause, the desire to broaden his field presumably led Hays to turn West, and in the spring of 1860 he arrived in St. Louis accompanied by one Terry,<sup>15</sup> and made plans for his trip up the Missouri river. The artists left St. Louis May 3, 1860, on the steamboat *Spread Eagle* which was accompanied by two small "mountain" steamboats, the *Key West* and the *Chippewa*.<sup>16</sup> On May 9 Hays wrote his father as follows:

On board Steamer "Spread  
Eagle" May 9th, 1860

Dear Father,

We are now about 350 miles on our way. The thermometer has fallen from 90° to 50°. Stoves and over coats comfortable, the wind is blowing a gale and it looks like a sand storm on shore, yesterday it blew so hard that the steamers were blown ashore and remained so for nearly five hours, so that we only made thirty miles all day— when they get out of fuel and there should happen to be no wood yard near, they send men ashore to cut it, at night this is done by fire light, the effect is very picturesque. It is not likely that we will reach fort Randall in less than a fortnight. There is some chance of trouble with the Sioux as they are dissatisfied with last years pay, but as our party numbers about 600 men I think they will find it dangerous to molest it; however I hope they will try it. The troops are under the command of Major Blake of the dragoons,<sup>17</sup> a fine old gentleman, who with the other officers is a

15. I have made some effort to identify this Terry. Hays speaks of him in one of the letters published later in the text and the St. Louis correspondent of the *Crayon*, New York, v. 7 (July, 1860), p. 206, reports: "Hays and Terry, artists of your city, passed through here on their way to the Yellowstone River. They will have a splendid trip, as several tribes will show up for the first time. . . ." Terry possibly may have been W. E. Terry, a wealthy amateur animal painter who lived for a time, at least, in Hartford, Conn.—H. W. French, *Art and Artists in Connecticut* (Boston and New York, 1879), p. 163. Recent inquiry directed to the Hartford Public Library gave me no further information than that given by French.

16. The *Tri-Weekly Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, reports in the column, "Port of St. Louis," in its issue of May 5, 1860, p. 1, col. 10, that the *Chippewa*, *Key West* and *Spread Eagle*, upper Missouri boats, left St. Louis Saturday morning, which would presumably mean that the three steamships left before May 5. The same newspaper for July 28, 1860, reports under "River News," p. 1, col. 10, the return to St. Louis of the *Key West* and states, "She left this port [on the upriver journey] with the *Spread Eagle* and *Chippewa* on the 3rd of May"; see, also, Footnotes 23 and 54. I am indebted to William S. Wight of the University of Missouri Library, Columbia, who made the search of the *Republican* for me.

17. Major Blake and the soldiers mentioned in Hays' letter of June 20, without doubt, were a group of 300 U. S. recruits sent by steamboat up the Missouri river to Fort Benton (the first time troops had been thus transported), and then overland to Fort Walla-Walla in the Military Department of the Pacific.—*Senate Executive Documents*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess.—Special Session (Washington, 1861), v. 4, No. 2, p. 3. Major "Blake" is the name given in the Executive Document No. 2. It is difficult to tell from Hays' handwriting whether the name is "Blake" or "Blade." In the account in the *Missouri Republican* (see Footnote 23) the typography is so poor that one is uncertain whether "Bruce," "Blice" or something else is meant. From the Executive Document, Major Blake was shown as the commanding officer of the overland force, and I have used the spelling given there.

graduate of West Point and has seen service in Florida, Mexico, and the Indian country. I am very well, and the time passes very pleasantly, give my love to all

Your affectionate son  
W. J. Hays

P.S. It is hard to write the boat shakes. we expect to reach Lexington today when I will mail this letter.<sup>18</sup>

Two days later the *Spread Eagle* reached Fort Leavenworth and Hays again wrote his father:

On Board Steamer  
"Spread Eagle" May 11th, 1860

Dear Father

To day we reached Fort Leavenworth, and remained there several hours, I spent the time walking around the fort, which is no fort at all, but simple an enclosure with barracks and parade ground. Tomorrow we expect to reach St. Joseph where I shall mail this.

Our progress has been slow as the river has never known to be so low as now. At Fort Leavenworth they have had no rain since February, and further up the river none in eighth months. The weather today is very warm. I hope you have sent me some papers to Fort Randall.

All well, give my love to all

Your affectionate Son  
W. J. Hays

A. B. Hays, Esq.

The frontier and river towns of St. Joseph and Sioux City were passed as was Fort Randall, a military post about 30 miles (by land) above the entrance of the Niobrara river into the Missouri (in present Charles Mix county, South Dakota).<sup>19</sup>

Terry and Hays apparently made no stops of any length, however, until they reached Fort Union on the Missouri river, three or four miles above the mouth of the Yellowstone river.<sup>20</sup>

The date of arrival at Fort Union—over 1,800 miles by boat from St. Louis—is established as June 15 in Hays' letter of June 20 (reproduced later). The trip from St. Louis to Fort Union was a tedious one as they traveled up the river—westward across Missouri, northward between Iowa and Nebraska territory, northwesterly through the present Dakotas to the junction with Yellowstone river, near the boundary line of present Montana and North Da-

18. The four Hays letters and the sketches discussed or reproduced in the present article were obtained from H. R. Hays of New York City, grandson of W. J. Hays. Mr. Hays kindly placed at my disposal a considerable fund of information and was most helpful in many other ways in collecting material for this article.

19. The position of Fort Randall is given in Frederick T. Wilson's "Old Fort Pierre and Its Neighbors," in *South Dakota Historical Collections* (Aberdeen, S. D., 1902), v. 1, pp. 291, 292, and by Elliott Coues, ed., *Forty Years a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri; the Personal Narrative of Charles Larpenteur* (New York, 1898), v. 2, p. 355, Footnote 1 (written by Coues); see, also, Footnote 51.

20. Charles De Land's "Editorial Notes on Old Fort Pierre and Its Neighbors," in *South Dakota Historical Collections*, v. 1, p. 351.

kota. The time necessary to make the upriver trip to Fort Union (from St. Louis) varied considerably. Records show that in the late 1840's the time required was from 40 to 44 days,<sup>21</sup> but Larpenteur in 1864 reported that he left St. Louis on March 26 and did not reach Fort Union until May 31.<sup>22</sup> The length of Hays' trip from St. Louis to Fort Union (May 3 to June 15) thus appears to have been of average duration. Hays wrote his father again from Fort Stewart on June 20, the letter giving some of the interesting details of his upriver trip:

Fort Stewart, Upper Missouri  
June 20th 1860

Dear Father

My last letter was dated Fort Pierre.<sup>23</sup> I was present at a grand council between the Indian agent and about six hundred of the Sioux Indians who are friendly to the whites, since then I have been present at two more councils vix Forts Clark and Berthold, I have seen the Rees, Mandans, Gros Ventres, and Assinobines The day before we reached Fort Union we saw the first buffalo, the same afternoon we met two buffaloes swimming in the river and soon killed them. There was a perfect volley of balls poured into them. They were taken on board. The meat was very good. We have had plenty of elk, antelope and deer meat. A gentleman on board shot a big horn or mountain sheep from the deck of the steamer with a soldiers musket at the extraordinary distance of more than six hundred yards. We arrived at Fort Union on the

21. Chittenden, *American Fur Trade*, v. 2, p. 956.

22. Coues, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 355, 359, 360. Larpenteur's trip was slow, however, as his boat was delayed by unusually low water and was held up for three days at Fort Sully because of Indian troubles.

23. Although Hays' Fort Pierre letter is apparently no longer extant, some extremely interesting side lights, additional information, and corroboration of the information in the Hays letters, will be found in an extensive account published in the *Tri-Weekly Missouri Republican*, Thursday morning, July 12, 1860, p. 1, col. 9, on the return of the *Spread Eagle* to St. Louis. The account reads:

"The steamer, *Spread Eagle*, Captain Bob. Wright, arrived yesterday morning about 7 o'clock, from the mouth of the Milk River. She was the 'flag-ship' of the fleet of mountain boats which left here on the 3d of May, in charge of Commodore Chouteau, of the American Fur Company. The fleet had a most trying time in reaching Fort Randall in consequence of the extreme low water, and an unusual large number of passengers and amount of freight. At Fort Randall the fleet met the mountain rise, and from there up had comparatively smooth sailing.

"From Mr. Jacob Linder, mate, and Mr. Joseph Mayhood, carpenter, of the *Spread Eagle*, we gather some news in regard to the upper country, and the up-trip of the fleet. Forts Clark and Kip on the Missouri and Fort Sarpy on the Yellow Stone have been abandoned by the Fur Company. The various tribes of Indians along the entire upper river are reported to be engaged in a war of extermination. Everyday almost, war parties were seen on the bank of the river. Bleeding scalps were seen dangling from sticks at the door of the lodges of the chiefs and big men. Murmuring out complaints were the burden of the speeches at every council held. They complain of the government of the Indian Agents and of one another. The probabilities are that they will allow no peace to each other till a strong military post is established at some point in their country, as the Agents feel that until this is done their influence has but little force in controlling the turbulent spirit of the young and ambitious warriors.

"A difficulty occurred on the Key West on her upward trip, between Lieutenant G. W. Carr and Henry Dix, pilot of the boat. It appears, from the statements of the gentlemen who were present, that Lieut. Carr, or some one of his soldiers, was desirous of shooting an elk which was seen upon the bank. The boat was approaching the bluffs above Fort Pierre, and it was desired to give notice of her approach to persons on the shore, so as not to delay the boat more than possible. To effect this, Mr. Dix blew the whistle, and at the same moment the soldier was going to shoot the elk. The elk was startled by the noise, and ran off. Lieut. Carr then took a squad of soldiers, and went up to the pilot house to attack Mr. Dix. He fired his Sharp's rifle at him but missed him, when Mr. Dix drew his revolver and commenced



15th but finding that there were no buffalo near Mr. Terry and myself concluded to go on to Fort Stewart about eighty miles further up the river. Here we bid good bye to our soldier friends, and with much regret for our intercourse had been of the most agreeable kind.

The Spread Eagle will go on as far as the water will permit, and then transfer her freight and passengers to the Key West and Chippewa, and then return to St. Louis. I will send this letter by her. Mr. Terry and myself will remain at Fort Stewart until the return of the Key West and Chippewa from Fort Benton and then return with them home. The Sioux Indians who threatened to wipe us out probably concluded that discretion was the better part of valor for we saw nothing of them. The weather has been very fine and I have been very well. give my love to all

your affectionate son

(signed)

W. J. Hays

A. B. Hays, Esq.

The original sketches made by Hays on this trip and examined by the author are of two types. One set was made on sheets of drawing paper varying slightly in size. The largest ones in this group measure 10" x 14". (Several sketches may appear on a single

firing upon Lieut. Carr. He fired four shots (the fifth one missing fire) only one of which took effect upon Carr, very seriously wounding him in the shoulder. The soldiers then rushed into the pilot house, knocked Mr. Dix down, thrust at him with their bayonets, (one going through his hand) and finally tied him, and locking him in a stateroom, placed a guard over him.

"During all this time the boat was under way, with no one at the wheel. When anyone tried to reach the roof of the boat, the soldiers would force them back, and when some remonstrated with Carr, and told him that there was danger of sinking the boat, his reply was, 'Let her sink, and be d—d.' Captain Wright finally, when he found he could not reach the pilot-house to manage the boat, went below and had the engines stopped until the other boats came up. Major Blake [?] promptly released Mr. Dix, and Lieut. Carr was court martialled, but their verdict was not determined upon when the Spread Eagle left on her return trip.

"Buffalo, elk, deer, bear, and big-horn were reported more plentiful along the river than they have been known before for many years. Fresh meat was therefore had in abundance on the entire trip. From the hearty looks of our friend James A. Hull, and others, we should judge a trip up the Missouri very conducive to health. They all look as hearty as if they had been training for a prize mill. No sickness is reported on any of the boats, and this, in a company of some six hundred men, is remarkable.

"Below we give memoranda of the down trip furnished us by the clerk, Mr. James A. Hull: The mountain fleet arrived at the mouth of the Milk River, Friday, June 22d, fifty days out from St. Louis, and as the river had commenced falling, it was thought advisable to send the 'flag-ship,' Spread Eagle back. Accordingly we transferred the balance of our freight to the Chippewa and Key West. Com. Chouteau then proposed that the Spread Eagle should make a pleasure trip above the point reached by the El Paso some years since. With the army officers, and most of the officers of the fleet, on board, she ran some fifteen miles above El Paso Point, and Captain La Barge has now the honor of having taken the Spread Eagle higher up the Missouri river than was ever reached by any other side-wheel boat. On our arrival at this point two guns were fired, a basket of champagne drunk by the officers and guests, and one bottle buried, which I have no doubt anyone will be welcome to who will take the trouble to go back after it. The Spread Eagle could easily have gone higher; indeed, at one time it was thought she would reach Fort Benton, but when the river commenced falling, though still only a matter of doubt, Com. Chouteau did not wish to risk so much only for glory. The river above the mouth of the Yellow Stone was some eight feet higher than it had been known for several years, and the little boats anticipated no trouble in reaching Fort Benton. They are probably now on their return, and may be looked for here in about two weeks.

"After we got through our pleasure trip we returned to where the little boats lay. Here Com. Chouteau, Captain La Barge, and our other friends left us; Captain La Barge transferring the command of the Spread Eagle to Captain Bob. Wright. After bidding adieu, and firing a parting salute, the Chippewa and Key West left on their upward voyage and the Spread Eagle down the river homeward bound." [There then followed the log of the down-river trip.]

sheet, however.) The second set was made in a small notebook measuring about 2" x 4". In many cases the larger sketches are dated. It should be remembered, of course, that these are field sketches, many of them hurriedly done. The best finished ones are the sketches of Fort Union (the only one in the author's possession; all others are the property of Hays' grandson, H. R. Hays, of New York City, as pointed out in Footnote 18) and of a fawn elk. The pencil lines in a number of the sketches are so lightly drawn that they are lost in reproduction. As a group, however, they are important because they portray a number of the trading posts of the upper Missouri, for some of which there are no other pictorial records; they are also important for the few buffalo sketches included in the group. Field sketches of buffalo when they still survived in considerable number are relatively few.

A list of 11 of the more important of 23 field sketches with the legends as written by Hays follows:

#### LARGE SKETCHES

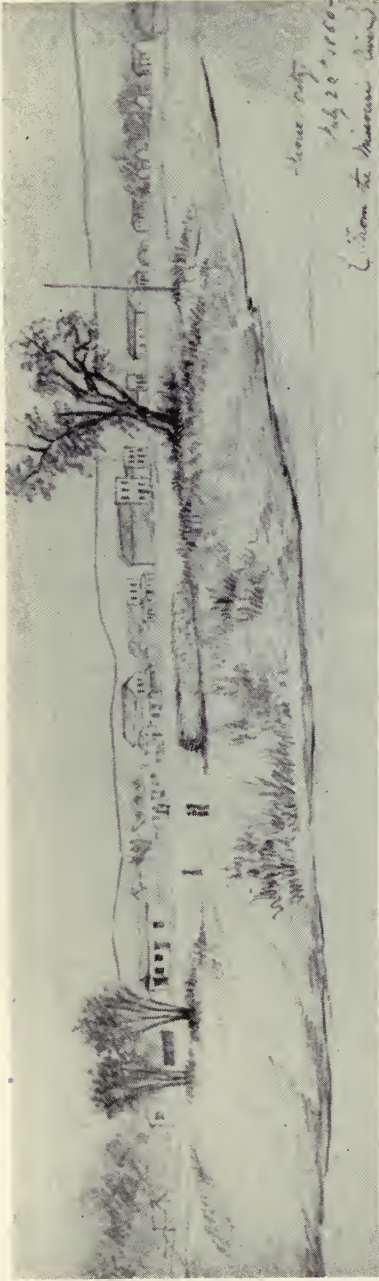
1. "Mouth of the Yellowstone—*Fort Union*. Upper Missouri, June 16, 1860" [reproduced *facing* p. 144].
2. "Interior of Fort Stewart, Upper Missouri, June 22nd, 1860" [reproduced *facing* p. 153.]
3. "Fawn elk. Upper Missouri, Fort Union, July 11th, 1860." Two views, excellently drawn in pencil but too light in tone to reproduce.
4. "Fort Clark, July 14, 1860" (upper view on sheet) and "Fort Primeau, Upper Missouri, July 14th, 1860" (lower view). [Both reproduced *facing* p. 145.]
5. "Fort Pierre—July 18th, 1860—On the Missouri" (lower part of sheet; upper part shows faint outlines of hills). [Reproduced *facing* p. 152.]
6. "Old Fort Pierre. July 18, 1860—on the Missouri—" [reproduced *facing* p. 152].
7. "Fort Randall, Missouri River, July 19th, 1860" [reproduced *facing* p. 160].
8. "Sioux City, July 20th, 1860—(From the Missouri River)." [Reproduced *facing* p. 153.]
9. "St. Joseph, Missouri River, July 25, 1860—."
10. Two sketches on one sheet (not dated). The upper view shows a herd of buffalo crossing a large stream, presumably the Missouri river; the lower view shows a large herd of buffalo advancing slowly toward the observer on the open prairie.
11. Lower half of sheet. Snags in a large stream (presumably the Missouri river), with the river bank, brush and trees, and hills in the background.

#### SMALL SKETCHBOOK (ABOUT 2" X 4")

12. Small group of buffalo crossing small stream on the prairie.
13. "Fort Kip[p]" (exterior view).
14. "Fort Union, Upper Missouri, July 11, 1860." The sketch occupies two



UPPER: "OLD FORT PIERRE, ON THE MISSOURI, JULY 18, 1860." LOWER: "FORT PIERRE, ON THE MISSOURI, JULY 18, 1860."



-House built  
Aug 20, 1860  
(From the Missouri River)



Station of Fort Stewart  
Upper Missouri  
June 22, 1860

UPPER: "STOUX CITY (FROM THE MISSOURI RIVER), JULY 20, 1860." LOWER: "INTERIOR OF FORT STEWART, UPPER MISSOURI, JUNE 22, 1860."

opposite pages (therefore 2" × 8") and shows the panorama of the country from behind Fort Union looking toward the Missouri and the hills across the river.

15. "Fort Stewart, Upper Missouri, June 20, 1860" (exterior view).

16. "The man who looks everywhere—Crow War Chief." The only portrait in the group.

The first sketch in the above list was made the day after Hays' arrival at Fort Union. The original sketch is dated "June 16, 1860." It is in general agreement with other sketches and information concerning Fort Union, one of the most historic structures that ever existed on the upper Missouri (see Footnote 25). The fort itself—not a military post but one of the chain of posts belonging to the American Fur Trading Company<sup>24</sup>—was an important one in the company's empire, and enclosed a space 220' x 240'.<sup>25</sup> Two blockhouses (for some reason called "bastions" in the literature of the West) occupied diagonal corners of the enclosure; one blockhouse being shown in the Hays drawing. The detail of this blockhouse, including the oddly-shaped weather vane on its top, corresponds with a view of 1864, drawn with perspective from above to show the interior arrangement, and reproduced by Coues.<sup>26</sup> In the Hays drawing, too, the outline of several roofs, chimneys, etc., appear in a manner corresponding to the 1864 view, which Coues ascribes to "a soldier, name unknown."

Early views of Fort Union were made by the pioneer artists of the upper Missouri, Catlin (1832),<sup>27</sup> and Karl Bodmer (1833).<sup>28</sup>

24. It is so listed by Chittenden-Richardson, *op. cit.*, v. 2, frontispiece. Chittenden's *American Fur Trade*, v. 1, ch. 22, carries the history of the American Fur Company to 1843 only; see, also, Footnote 29.

25. The most extensively quoted source of information on Fort Union is the one given in 1843 by Edwin T. Denig who lived for some years at Fort Union, and which was published in Maria R. Audubon, *Audubon and His Journals* (London, 1898), v. 2, pp. 180-188. A briefer description of Fort Union more nearly contemporary (1863) with Hays' visit will be found in Henry A. Boller's *Among the Indians* (Philadelphia, 1868), pp. 370-373. "The great distributing Post for the Northwest" as Boller calls it, was planned about 1829 (Abel, *op. cit.*, p. 201, Footnote 12); it was torn down beginning August 7, 1867 (Coues, *op. cit.*, v. 2, p. 389, Footnote 9). "This ended," writes Coues, "what may be regarded as on the whole the most historic structure that had ever existed on the upper Missouri, excepting of course Fort Mandan of Lewis and Clark." Still another description of the fort in 1853 is given by Isaac Stevens (see Footnote 31).

26. Coues, *op. cit.*, v. 1, *opposite* p. 68. In the "Journal of Rudolph Friederich Kurz," in Smithsonian Institution, *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 115* (Washington, 1937), Plate 13, there will be found a Kurz sketch credited with some doubt as "Fort Union?" the date 1852. The sketch shows a portion of the main headquarters building. Comparison with the sketch in Coues leaves little doubt that the Kurz sketch was that of Fort Union. The main difference in detail between the two sketches is a tall flagpole in front of the building in the Kurz sketch which is not seen in the one published by Coues. The difference in dates (1852 and 1864) might readily account for the change.

27. Catlin's painting of Fort Union (painted June, 1832) is reproduced lithographically in Catlin's *North American Indians* (Edinburgh, 1926), v. 1, *opposite* p. 14, Plate No. 3. Coues, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 69, criticizes the illustration because Catlin showed the fort with more than two "bastions." Presumably the original painting from which the illustration is reproduced, is now in the United States National Museum. I have a photograph of this painting and the fort is so far distant as to be scarcely discernible, the painting being a panorama of a vast stretch of country. The painting is catalogued as No. 388 in "The George Catlin Indian

Both of these views are distant ones so that their chief use is in obtaining an impression of the surrounding country. A sketch of Fort Union drawn by Carl Wimar (probably in 1858) is one of six illustrations on one page appearing both in Wimar's biography and in the life and letters of Father De Smet.<sup>29</sup> I have also found a reference to a painting of Fort Union made by Isaac Sprague, an artist of Audubon's retinue who made the trip up the Missouri in 1843.<sup>30</sup> The painting was made for Alexander Culbertson, for many years head at Fort Union, but whether the painting still exists is unknown.

There is also a colored lithographic illustration of Fort Union by J. M. Stanley in Stevens' Pacific railroad report of 1853.<sup>31</sup> The lithograph may have been redrawn from a daguerreotype, as Stevens used the daguerreotype process<sup>32</sup> and sketched as well. Fort Union, in the Stanley illustration, is shown as part of the background<sup>33</sup> and its detail is not carefully drawn, but in general it agrees—as far as can be seen—with the Hays and Coues views.

Hays' other sketch of Fort Union (listed as No. 14) is small and roughly drawn, showing the fort only in outline as it appeared from the hills behind the fort, as are the distant views of Catlin and Bodmer. There is still another Hays illustration of Fort Union. It is

Gallery."—Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 274. This exhaustive treatise on Catlin is Part V of the *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution*.

28. The view by Karl Bodmer in R. G. Thwaites' *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, v. 25 (atlas), Plate 61, bears the subtitle "Assiniboins Breaking Up Their Camp." Bodmer accompanied Maximilian, prince of Wied, on his travels up the Missouri river, and the artist's sketches of the journey were first published in an atlas with Maximilian's *Reise in das Innere Nord-America in den Jahren 1832 bis 1834* (Coblentz, 1839-1841). Thwaites' four volumes concerning Maximilian's Missouri river journey are based on the original English edition published by Ackermann and Co. (London, 1843). I have a tinted folio plate the same in form as Plate 61 mentioned above. My plate bears the legend "Fort Union on the Missouri" in English, French and German. The publisher's legend on this separate sheet is "London, published by Ackermann and Company, 90, Strand, 1st March, 1841" with the artist's legend "Karl Bodmer, pinx. ad nat." I mention these two plates of Fort Union for the reason that in the *Forty-Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Smithsonian Institution (Washington, 1930), *opposite* page 394, there is an illustration "Fort Union As It Appeared in 1833"; a plate on the lower part of the illustration reads "Fort Union, 1833, Ackermann & Co., London (Publ)." This illustration is the same as the above two, save for a difference of a few figures in the right foreground and middle distance. Evidently this last illustration is either another version of the Bodmer illustration or possibly it was made by a copier of Bodmer's work.

29. W. R. Hodges, *Carl Wimar* (Galveston, 1908), *opposite* p. 32. Wimar apparently made several excursions up the Missouri but Hodges quotes at considerable length a letter of Wimar's written in 1853 describing his experiences on the upper Missouri and the forts he visited. The six forts sketched by Wimar appear on a single page, the legend for the page being forts of "P[ierre] Chouteau, Jr., Fur Company." The six forts included were Fort Berthold, Fort Union, Fort Clark, Fort Pierre Chouteau, Fort Benton, and Fort Kipp. The same plate is reproduced as the frontispiece in v. 2 of Chittenden-Richardson, *op. cit.*

30. Maria R. Audubon, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 77, 78, 82, 84, 86.

31. Isaac I. Stevens, *Reports of Explorations and Surveys, . . . For a Railroad From the Mississippi River To the Pacific Ocean*, v. 12, Book 1 (Washington, 1860), Plate 16, *opposite* p. 85. The original illustration was drawn (or photographed) on August 7, 1853.

32. Robert Taft, *Photography and the American Scene* (New York, 1938), pp. 261, 262.

33. The foreground shows the annual government distribution of goods to the Assiniboins which took place on the visit of Stevens and Stanley to Fort Union.

a small oil painting somewhat larger than the pencil sketch (No. 1) but taken from the same viewpoint, save that it shows a small strip of the river in the immediate foreground. It is subdued in color but pleasant in appearance and finished in more detail with respect to surroundings than is the sketch. It was probably painted from the pencil sketch after Hays returned home.

The views of Fort Stewart (No. 2 and No. 15) are apparently the most hurriedly done of the group. The exterior view (No. 15) shows simply a small stockade; the interior view is reproduced in this article. The chief importance of the sketches lies in the fact that they probably are the only sketches of Fort Stewart extant; at least they are the only ones with which I am familiar.<sup>34</sup>

Hays' letters indicate that Fort Stewart was the western limit of their voyage, and from the information in his letters and the dates on his sketches, he and Terry stayed there from about June 19 to July 9, and in this interval of nearly three weeks many sketches were doubtless made, far more than have survived. Doubtless, too, many of these were animal sketches used for Hays' later paintings. Fort Kipp (No. 13 on our list) was made in this interval as it was a small trading post only 200 yards from Fort Stewart.<sup>35</sup>

The down-river trip from Fort Stewart was begun on July 9 on the *Key West*, but a stop for a day or so at Fort Union is indicated by the date of two of his sketches, July 11, 1860 (sketches No. 3 and 14). Other incidents of his return trip are given in a letter to his mother, written aboard the *Key West* on July 21, 1860.

On board steamer Key West  
Missouri River July 21st, 1860

Dear Mother

I left Fort Stewart on the 9th of July and arrived at Fort Randall on the 19th where I received Sarah's letter of the first of July and two letters from Father together with newspapers they were very welcome I assure you. On my way down the river I saw thousands of buffalo they covered the bluff and prairie as far as we could see. Until this last month there had been no rain in this part of the country for about a year, but since then they say they have

34. Fort Stewart was established as a fur-trading post in 1854 and was destroyed by fire in 1860. (All the more reason that the above crude sketches are important.) It was about 57 channel-miles above Fort Union on the Missouri, although the land distance was about 35 miles. Its site was in present Dawson county, Montana. Larpenteur (whose journals Coues edited) was in charge of Fort Stewart during the winter of 1859-1860, but probably had left by the time Hays and Terry reached there.—Coues, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 306-308, and map *opposite* p. 316.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 316. Coues says that Larpenteur arrived in the neighborhood of Fort Stewart and Fort Kipp on November 9, 1860, and found that both "forts" had been burned by Indians. Traveling west up the Missouri in Hays' day had its adventures, as both this incident and the Hays letters show. Hays' sketch of Fort Kipp is again a crude one. A few buildings, part of a stockade, and four Indian tepees in the foreground are shown. Wimar (Footnote 29) also sketched Fort Kipp in 1858 and his sketch shows it to be a somewhat larger establishment than is indicated by Hays.

never known so much, the consequence is the mosquitoes literally swarm, at Fort Stewart I lived under a mosquito bar for five days and nights, only leaving it to eat and then hurrying back as quick as possible it was a relief to get on board of the steamboat again. As we had no soldiers on board coming down the river we thought the Sioux would take advantage of it to attack us, so we prepared for war, three cannon were kept loaded with grape for more than a week, while every man on board kept his fire-arms loaded and ready for use at a moments notice, but we passed through their country without seeing a living creature all as still as the grave. . . .<sup>36</sup> I hope you will keep the Great Eastern in New York until I arrive or I shall be obliged to go to England to see her. I have no news to tell you. My journey is nearly over I hope to be in St. Louis on the first of August so far I have met with no accident or mishap have not lost a day by sickness in fact I never felt better in my life. I will write from St. Louis as I do not know how long I shall stay there or what route I shall take home give my love to all

Yours affectionate son  
(signed) W. J. Hays

Mrs. S. P. Hays

P. S. I will mail this at St. Joseph.

The sketch of the buffalo crossing the Missouri (No. 10, upper view) may be the result of the observation of "thousands of buffalo" he saw on the down-river trip. Hays seems to have realized, as he started homeward, the importance of making pictorial records of the forts along the Missouri, and for several of the forts, the sketches obtained are the only ones available as far as the author's studies go. The dates of these sketches in each instance correspond to their geographical position as the *Key West* steamed with comparative swiftness down the Missouri.

Thus, the sketches of Fort Clark and Fort Primeau (No. 4) are dated July 14, 1860, three days after the sketch of Fort Union (No. 14). These two forts according to Coues were only 300 yards apart.<sup>37</sup> Fort Clark, one of the most important trading posts of the fur trade, was located on the Missouri some 55 miles above the present Bismarck, N. D.<sup>38</sup> The only other sketch of Fort Clark with which the author is familiar was drawn by Carl Wimar (*see* Footnote 29).

36. Two sentences are here omitted as they deal with a death in the family which occurred while Hays was in the upper Missouri country.

37. Coues, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 227. According to Coues, Fort Primeau was built at this location "in the fifties or later." Charles E. De Land, *loc. cit.*, v. 1, p. 378, states that a detailed description of Fort Primeau "is not at hand; but it was built and occupied by Chas. Primeau early in the sixties and probably before 1862." From the uncertainty of Coues and De Land, the Hays sketch serves to give some idea of its appearance and shows that it was in existence on July 14, 1860. The Hays sketch of Fort Primeau is the only one in existence as far as I know.

38. Chittenden, *American Fur Trade*, v. 2, p. 932. For the early history of Fort Clark, *see*, Abel, *op. cit.* Curiously enough, Dr. Abel has no illustration of Fort Clark in her book, probably because the only one available to her was the very small sketch by Carl Wimar (*see* Footnote 29) which would be unsuitable for reproduction; the Hays sketch was unknown to her, of course.



"Fort Pierre" (No. 5) and "Old Fort Pierre" (No. 6) are dated July 18, 1860, as they should be, for both forts lie down the Missouri from Forts Primeau and Clark and were in the vicinity of present Pierre, S. D. The Pierre forts again were close together (three miles apart)<sup>39</sup> but there appears to be some confusion in the names of the two forts which should be explained.

Fort Pierre, or Fort Pierre Chouteau, named after the head of the American Fur Company in St. Louis, was established in 1832 and was "the finest and best equipped trading post on the upper Missouri with the exception of Fort Union." Like Fort Union, it was an important and historic spot. At this post many of the Indian trails, both east and south, were centered. "Here [i. e. in or near the site of Fort Pierre] Lewis and Clark had their first serious encounter with the Sioux; here were found the headquarters of various tribes, in the form of evidences of a winter camp, in 1810, when the Hunt-Astoria expedition and the Lisa party halted on their way up the Missouri; here Catlin found the center of the Sioux country in 1832; here Fremont and Nicollet ended their up-river journey in 1839; here the Reynolds expedition took its departure from the Missouri in 1859. To old Fort Pierre [as headquarters] came the Indian missionaries . . . in the process of laying foundations for civilizing the Indians in this region."<sup>40</sup> For a quarter of a century its history and trade made it a byword in the Missouri river country. In fact, Frederick T. Wilson states, "The words 'Fort Pierre' were in themselves a phrase. They included anything and everything between the Great Bend [of the Missouri] to the Cheyenne, and between Jim river and the Black Hills. A recognition of this fact will explain many otherwise contradictory passages in the history of the plains."<sup>41</sup> The United States army bought Fort Pierre for a supply depot in 1855 but found it inadequate and it was abandoned in 1857.<sup>42</sup> Soon the demolition of Fort Pierre was underway and Capt. W. F. Reynolds, of the United States Army Corps of Engineers, noted in his diary under date of September 10, 1860: "As we passed old Fort Pierre, I noticed that but little was left of the structure, the remains consisting of the shell of one row of houses, and the demolition of this was in progress, the material being used in the new fort."<sup>43</sup>

39. Wilson, *loc. cit.*, v. 1, p. 296.

40. The quotation is from editorial notes on "Old Fort Pierre" by Charles E. De Land in *South Dakota Historical Collections*, v. 1, p. 344, as is the information prior to the quotation in the text.

41. Wilson, *loc. cit.*, v. 1, p. 295.

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 278, 279, 290.

43. *Senate Executive Documents*, 40 Cong., 2 Sess. (Washington, 1868), No. 77, p. 121. The quotation is from Captain Reynolds' journal of the 1859-1860 Yellowstone expedition.

In the meantime (1857) a trading post was built three miles above "old" Fort Pierre on a bluff at the edge of the river. Like the "old" fort, it contained two "bastions" fifteen feet in height at diagonal corners of the stockade. "This small establishment soon became known as Fort Pierre, though it was a most unworthy and insignificant successor to the original. . . ." <sup>44</sup> It would appear, therefore, that Hays in his two sketches of the forts has incorrectly titled them. "Old Fort Pierre" (No. 6) as labeled by Hays is doubtless the new Fort Pierre just described, and the Hays sketch "Fort Pierre" is really the remains of "old Fort Pierre" as suggested by the Reynolds' comment. There are no other sketches of the "new" Fort Pierre extant as far as the author knows. Of "old" Fort Pierre a number of illustrations are available. Catlin painted or sketched it in 1832,<sup>45</sup> Bodmer in 1833,<sup>46</sup> Kurz in 1851,<sup>47</sup> Wimar in 1858,<sup>48</sup> and Charles E. De Land <sup>49</sup> possessed still another view. Although Hays could not record old Fort Pierre in its original form he saw its site and in its neighborhood saw the grand council of the Sioux on the upriver trip (*see* his letter of June 20, 1860).

The downward trip was now progressing swiftly. Fort Randall, 150 miles below Fort Pierre,<sup>50</sup> was passed the day after leaving Fort Pierre, for the Pierre sketches are dated July 18 and the Fort Randall (No. 7) sketch was made on July 19. Although the sketch has an odd perspective (doubtless it was done hurriedly as the *Key West* stopped momentarily) it is the only sketch of this military post—the only *military* post above Fort Leavenworth on the Missouri in 1860—that I have ever seen.<sup>51</sup>

The day after leaving Fort Randall the *Key West* passed Sioux

44. Wilson, *loc. cit.*, p. 296.

45. Catlin, *op. cit.*, v. 1, Plate 57, *opposite* p. 234. Catlin's original painting of Fort Pierre in the United States National Museum is No. 384.—Donaldson, *loc. cit.*, p. 274.

46. Bodmer's sketch is published as Plate 43 of the atlas which comprises v. 25 of Thwaites' *Early Western Travels*, and is the fourth part of Thwaites' series subtitled, "Maximilian, Prince of Wied's, Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832-1834." Thwaites' reprint of Maximilian's travels is from the original English edition translated from Maximilian's work.

47. Kurz, *loc. cit.*, Plate 42.

48. Hodges, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-19, and Chittenden-Richardson, *op. cit.*, v. 2, frontispiece.

49. De Land's picture of "old" Fort Pierre was one prepared under the direction of one of the Chouteaus of St. Louis from recollections of employees of the American Fur Company, from steamboat pilots and others. It was, therefore, not drawn by a "pinx. ad nat." De Land refers to it in one place as a pen drawing (p. 344) and on another page as a painting (*between* pp. 256, 257) where it is reproduced in half-tone.—De Land, *loc. cit.*

50. *Ibid.*, p. 366.

51. Fort Randall was laid out in 1856 by Gen. W. S. Harney and was named for Daniel Randall, one-time deputy paymaster general of the United States army. It was abandoned on July 22, 1884.—*South Dakota Historical Collections*, v. 1, pp. 288, 292, 365, 428; Coues, *op. cit.*, v. 2, p. 355. (*See* Footnote 19 for the location of Fort Randall.) Coues wintered there in 1872-1873. At the time of Hays' visit Fort Randall was garrisoned by over 300 troops of the Fourth artillery under Capt. J. P. McCown. Fort Randall was the only military establishment above Fort Leavenworth on the Missouri in the Military Department of the West.—*Senate Executive Documents*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess. (Washington, 1861), v. 2, p. 216.

City (July 20, sketch No. 8) which was 175 miles below the fort<sup>52</sup> and Hays apparently made the sketch of the town from the small steamboat; in a similar manner the sketch of St. Joseph was made on July 25.<sup>53</sup> (Sketch No. 9.)

On July 27, 1860, the *Key West* docked at St. Louis with her crew, her passengers, "1,800 packages of buffalo robes, furs, peltries, etc., and a young grizzly bear."<sup>54</sup>

One more Hays sketch of the 1860 trip deserves brief mention. The tremendous number of snags (fallen tree trunks with their huge exposed roots) in the Missouri (No. 11, undated) were always an object of wonder to travelers up the lower Missouri. Bodmer drew them.<sup>55</sup> Not only a source of wonder to travelers, they were a source of continual despair to the river pilots, and being snagged was the usual end of the Missouri river boats, according to Coues. Such was the fate in 1862-1863 of the *Spread Eagle*, which carried Hays up the Missouri.<sup>56</sup>

How long Hays remained in St. Louis after his return we do not know, but the probabilities are that it was not long. In the fall of 1860, however, a reporter visited him in his studio in New York City and wrote: "Mr. Hays is engaged on a very spirited picture, the result of his recent trip to the Rocky Mountains, representing a herd of buffaloes scampering wildly over the prairies."<sup>57</sup>

Outside of the fact that the reporter considered the West and the Rocky Mountains as one and identical, the brief item shows that Hays was soon at work after his return from the Western trip. The painting referred to above is probably one of Hays' best known paintings, "The Herd on the Move." Although the picture sug-

52. Coues, *op. cit.*, v. 1, p. 22, Footnote 10. Sioux City was platted in 1854.—*Encyclopedia Britannica*, v. 20 (1945), p. 717.

53. St. Joseph, or St. Joe, was one of the earlier upriver Missouri towns, being platted in 1843.—*Dictionary of American History* (New York, 1940), v. 5, p. 10. An engraving, probably based on a daguerreotype of St. Joseph in the early 1850's, much better finished than the hurriedly-drawn sketch by Hays, will be found in Charles A. Dana, ed., *The United States Illustrated* (Herrmann J. Meyer, New York, n. d.), West, v. 1, opposite p. 140. Although this work is not dated, it was reviewed in *Putnam's Monthly Magazine*, v. 3 (June, 1854), p. 675. This two-volume work, judging from the review, was first published serially.

54. *Tri-Weekly Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, Saturday morning, July 28, 1860, p. 1, col. 10 (River News). The note also records the fact that the *Chippewa* and the *Key West* made the run directly to Fort Benton, the head of navigation on the Missouri (some 300 or 400 miles above Fort Union) and were the first steamboats that ever landed at the fort (Benton). The three boats, *Key West*, *Spread Eagle* (Hays' upriver ship) and *Chippewa*, left St. Louis May 3 as already noted. The *Key West* and the *Chippewa* reached Fort Benton on July 2. The two ships left Fort Benton on July 5 and the *Key West* reached St. Louis July 27 as mentioned above. The *Chippewa* reached St. Louis a few days after the *Key West*. H. M. Chittenden, *History of Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri River* (New York, 1903), v. 1, p. 219, mentions that the *Chippewa* and *Key West*, in 1860, were the first steamboats to complete the journey to Fort Benton but he gave no further details.

55. R. G. Thwaites, *op. cit.*, v. 25 (atlas), Plate 39.

56. Coues, *op. cit.*, v. 2, p. 324. Coues also reports the fate of the *Spread Eagle* mentioned above in the text.

57. *New York Daily Tribune*, October 6, 1860, p. 4, col. 4.

gests movement, "scampering wildly over the prairies" is overdoing the motion depicted. Hays himself described the painting in this manner:

#### THE HERD ON THE MOVE

By the casual observer this picture would, with hardly a second thought, be deemed an exaggeration, but those who have visited our prairies of the far West can vouch for its truthfulness, nor can canvass [*sic*] adequately convey the width and breadth of these innumerable hordes of bison, such as are here represented coming over a river bottom in search of water and food, their natural instincts leading them on, constantly inciting them to this wandering life, since vegetation would be quite exhausted were it not for the opportunity thus afforded for renewal. As far as the eye can reach, wild herds are discernible; and yet, farther behind these bluffs, over which they pour, the throng begins, covering sometimes the distance of an hundred miles. The bison collect in these immense herds during the Autumn and Winter, migrating South in Winter and North in Summer, and so vast is their number that travelers on the plains are sometimes a week passing through a herd. They form a solid column, led by the strongest and most courageous bulls, and nothing in the form of natural obstructions seems ever to deter their onward march, they crossing rivers and other obstacles from which a horse would shrink. The soil of the river bottoms—unlike the prairie proper, which begins at the bluffs in the distance—is very rich, and vegetable growth very luxuriant. In the foreground is represented the sweet briar, or wild rose; and in the middle distance, the light tints which look like water is the artemesia, or wild sage.<sup>58</sup>

"The Herd on the Move" was on exhibition in New York City during the winter of 1861-1862 and the following spring Hays was at work on a companion piece, "The Stampede," which measured six by three feet.<sup>59</sup> (The painting is here reproduced *facing* p. 161.) The original painting is now in the American Museum of Natural History, New York City, but is referred to by that institution, for some unknown reason, as the "Buffalo Hunt." Hays' description of the piece follows:

#### THE STAMPEDE

The immense herds of Bison which roam over the prairies are sometimes seized with fright, from some real or imaginary cause, and the panic, beginning perhaps with but few, is at last communicated to the whole herd, when, with headlong fury, they dash and drive each other on, in wildest fear. The picture represents the arrival of a herd, during one of these panics, upon the brink of one of the small canons, or ravines, which everywhere intersect the prairies, and are generally invisible until their edge is nearly approached. The foremost animals, despite their fear, discover their danger and frantically struggle to retain their foothold, but the immense pressure of the terror-stricken creatures

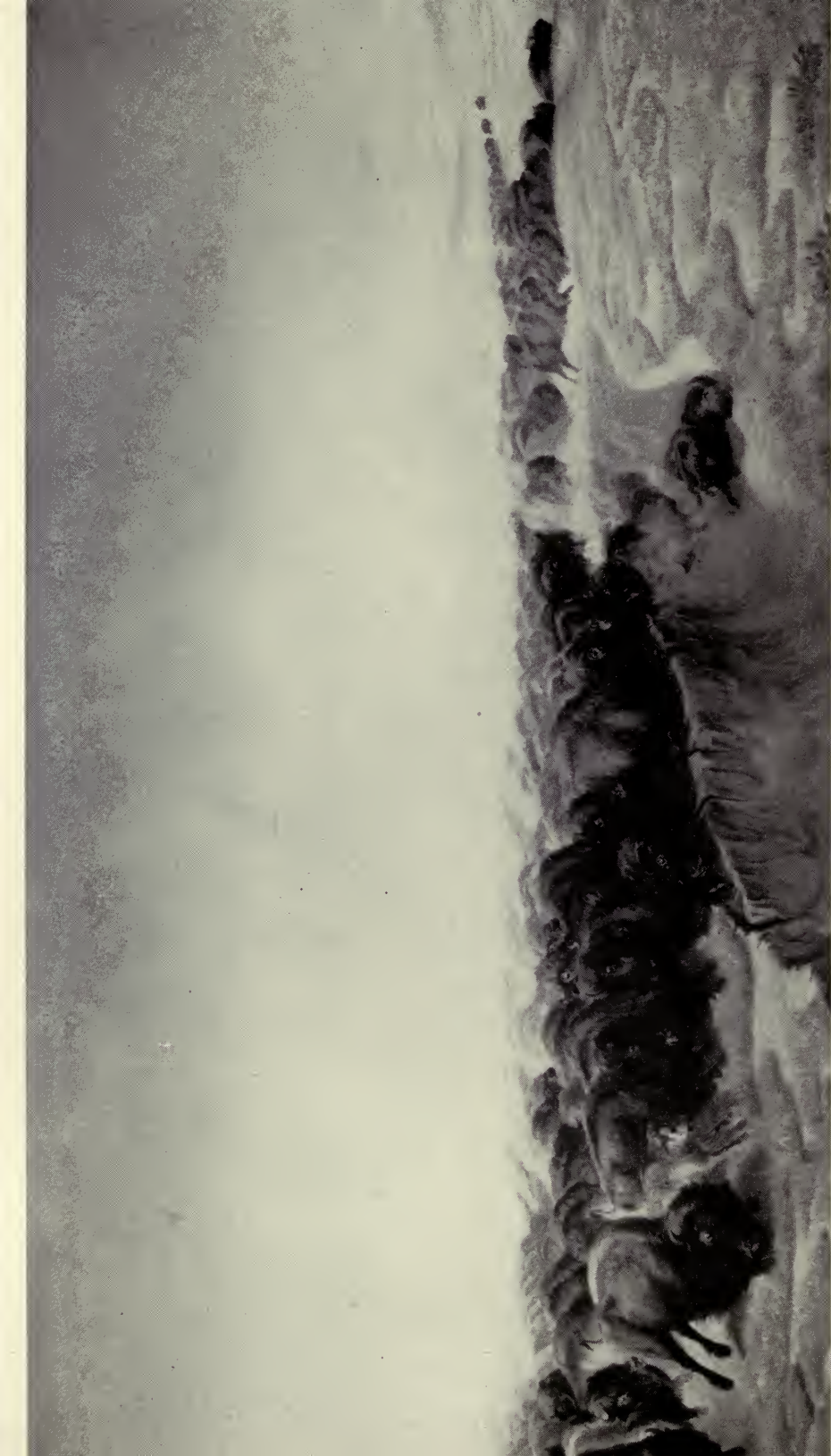
58. The description is from an exhibition catalog published in the early 1860's. It was furnished me by H. R. Hays. Tuckerman, *op. cit.*, p. 496, copied the same description in 1867.

59. New York *Times*, June 14, 1862, under "Fine Arts." The *Times* account refers to the painting as "Stampede of the Bisons."



*Fort Randall, Missouri  
July 19, 1860*

"FORT RANDALL, MISSOURI RIVER, JULY 19, 1860." THE INSET IS FROM A CABINET PHOTOGRAPH OF W. J. HAYS BY BRADY, ABOUT 1870.



"THE STAMPEDE"

THE HAYS PAINTING DESCRIBED ON PAGES 160, 161; NOW OWNED BY THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, NEW YORK CITY.

in the rear renders it impossible; they are forced forward, and plunge into the ravine, their bodies serving as a bridge for the rest of the herd, which continues its mad career until exhausted. A stampede is the great dread of emigrants crossing the plain, as it is almost impossible to prevent the cattle and horses from being carried off with it. The soil of the rolling prairie is chiefly sand and clay, which, baked dry by the intense heat, is raised by the wind in intolerable clouds of dust. The vegetation is principally buffalo grass, amid which flourish the most delicate wild flowers; in the foreground may be noticed the cactus opuntia, or prickly pear, which, in this region, is found in abundance.<sup>60</sup>

Hays himself lithographed "The Herd on the Move" in 1863, and it was published by Goupil and Company. The lithograph measured 36" x 18" and a contemporary account stated that it "admirably reproduces the color of the original painting." "The Stampede" was reported to have been engraved for reproduction but I have no proof that this was ever done.<sup>61</sup>

The painting which is most frequently referred to as Hays' masterpiece is "The Bull at Bay" or "Bison at Bay" or occasionally as "The Wounded Bison." It depicts a wounded bison separated from the main herd which can be seen retreating in the middle distance, the bull being surrounded by coyotes. It was probably painted in 1864 or 1865 and was first exhibited in London. It is now owned by the American Museum of Natural History.<sup>62</sup>

Although regarded by Hays' contemporaries as his masterpiece, it was, nevertheless, severely criticized in its day. A critic, who modestly signed himself "Rembrandt," wrote an extended criticism of the painting in the spring of 1866 when it appeared on exhibition in Goupil's gallery in New York City.<sup>63</sup> "Rembrandt," who claimed that he himself had been on the plains, criticized the painting on the grounds that the habitat of the buffalo was incorrectly depicted

60. The source of this description is the same as that indicated for the description of "The Herd on the Move." Tuckerman also reprints it.

61. The New York *Evening Post*, September 25, 1863, in its column, "Fine Arts," reports the lithograph, "Herd on the Move." H. R. Hays writes me that he has seen a number of the lithographs but I have never had that good fortune. Goupil and Company was a branch of the celebrated Parisian firm of lithographers founded by Adolphe Goupil.—*The Art Journal*, London, v. 45 (1893), pp. 31, 32; see, also, Harry T. Peters' *America on Stone* (New York, 1931), p. 197. Peters does not include Hays in his list of artists and does not reproduce "Herd on the Move."

62. *The American Art Journal*, v. 6 (1866), p. 149, reports: "Hays has at his studio the large picture of a Bison at Bay which, although painted some few years since, has never been exhibited in this country, having been sent to England almost as soon as finished. . . . The picture may be set down as an unqualified success." The London *Weekly Times*, June 18, 1865, cited in Footnote 2, refers to the exhibition of this picture in London. A crude woodcut reproduction of the painting appears in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, December 22, 1866, p. 216. *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1897), v. 4, p. 186, dates the picture 1865.

63. *Turf, Field, and Farm*, New York, v. 2 (March 31, 1866), p. 202. The criticism occupies nearly a column of a three-column page. This curious periodical although devoted chiefly to turf news, had in its issues nearly a page devoted to art, all signed "By Rembrandt," and another page on theater news and criticism. I am indebted to the library of the Ohio State University, Columbus, for the privilege of examining volumes 2 and 3 of *Turf, Field, and Farm*.

(especially because it showed *long* grass and wild flowers in the foreground), that the depiction of the animal himself was incorrect from an anatomical standpoint, and that in the real buffalo country "The monotony of the color of the grass is varied by multitudinous patches of 'buffalo chips,' from two to three feet in diameter, which appear like white spots all over the ground," which Hays had failed to depict. He further went so far as to intimate that the picture was a forgery, i. e., presumably copied from a painting by another artist.

The effect of this harsh criticism brought immediate response from Hays,<sup>64</sup> who defended himself on all points save that of the buffalo chips for, he said, "as they are by no means a pleasant adjunct to a picture, I did not introduce them."<sup>65</sup> "Rembrandt" offered a rejoinder to Hays' letter on the same page and cited a number of authorities to prove his point. The citations, with one exception, however, were from travelers on the Great Plains hundreds of miles south of the upper Missouri country. The exception mentioned above was Audubon, whom Hays disposes of in the letter published below. "Rembrandt" also offered to submit the difference of opinion to a committee of three whose decision would then be published.

Among the Hays correspondence available to the writer are copies of several letters to S. D. Bruce, one of the editors of *Turf, Field, and Farm*.<sup>66</sup> The day after the Hays-"Rembrandt" argument was published, Hays wrote Bruce (in part) as follows (the letter is dated April 29, 1866):

The authorities that he [the critic] quotes are all good, but do not conflict in any way with my picture. After a million buffaloes have been feeding, it is very likely that the grass would be cropped short, but it is a very large country that the buffaloes range over; and a man may cross the plains several times and never have the opportunity of seeing a buffalo, some seasons they are very plenty in some places, the next in the very same place, there will be few or none; I have been in places where the buffalo had made their first appearance late in the season, by this time the grass had attained its full height, (and it was the *home* of the buffalo nevertheless).

Your critic charges me with quoting incorrectly. If I understand the English language, I had a right to infer, from his words, that he meant that I had represented the long "luxuriant grass of the river bottoms." However I will take his own words "some indications of long grass and wild flowers," there is

64. *Ibid.*, v. 2 (April 28, 1866), p. 266.

65. Hays, from the standpoint of the historian, made an error here. The author has often wondered (as I suppose have many other readers of Western literature) about the appearance of the famed buffalo chip, the fuel of travelers on the Great Plains.

66. For S. D. Bruce, see *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1896), v. 6, pp. 321, 322.



not a single flower represented in the picture, the plants are all faithful portraits made on the spot, and among others is represented the buffalo grass that he speaks of. The wolves in my picture are the small variety known as the coyote. They are about sixteen to eighteen inches in height, and as they are creeping nothing would be seen of them but the head and upper part of the body. He says that the wolves "only show themselves after nightfall" and "do not pursue buffaloes while in flight from the hunter" if this does not mean that wolves do not pursue the buffalo in the daytime I don't [know] what does.

Your critic has by no means proved that the rolling prairie is the *only home* of the buffalo, and I defy him to do it.

My authority for the description of the hump, is my own personal examination of many individuals, and by careful drawings which I have made from the skeleton, it is nothing new or extraordinary. It is well known to naturalists, and anatomists, although it may not be to your critic. and your critic has misunderstood Richardson, he does not say, nor does he mean that the hump stops at the first dorsal vertebra. Your critic must be joking when he refers to Audubon's plate of the buffalo. Audubon's written description is correct. He brought back a skin. this was set up by a taxidermist in New York who found it very difficult to do anything with it as he had no skeleton to place in it. Mr. Audubon made a reduced drawing from this with the camera lucida, the specimen was afterwards sent to Europe. And this is the carefully prepared plate, by which he attempts to judge my picture. Your critic has no right to assert that I have not given careful study and consideration to the picture. he knows nothing about it. The decision of a committee cannot alter the facts of the case, but if it would be any satisfaction to him I will name Mr. Wm. Hart and Mr. W. H. Beard, two of our best artists, Dr. Flint of New York and Dr. Rimmer of Boston, two of our best anatomists, and Major Genl. G. H. Warren, U. S. Engineers, who made an exploration of the country when I made my studies.<sup>67</sup>

Evidently this letter was sufficient to quiet "Rembrandt" for he made no attempt to take up Hays' offer of a committee.<sup>68</sup> The letter does show that Hays was an important observer of detail, a statement that is borne out by sources of information other than

67. Hart and Beard were well-known contemporaries of Hays (see Tuckerman, *op. cit.*, pp. 498-501, 547, 549). Warren was an extensive explorer of the upper Missouri and mapped this country. He was in that country in 1859, if not 1860.—See *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1936), v. 19, p. 473, and the Wagner-Camp bibliography, *The Plains and The Rockies*. Dr. Flint was probably Dr. Austin Flint, professor of physiology at Long Island College Hospital, 1865-1868.—*Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1931), v. 6, p. 472. Dr. Rimmer was probably Dr. William Rimmer, a physician turned artist and lecturer on art anatomy at Harvard, the Lowell Institute and other schools.—See *Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1888), v. 5, p. 256. Richardson was the author of *Fauna Boreali Americana* according to "Rembrandt."

68. Letter of Hays to S. D. Bruce, May 10, 1866, which specifically states that "the critic ['Rembrandt'] has backed out of his agreement." Another indirect reference to the matter is made in *Turf, Field, and Farm*, May 26, 1866, p. 330, where an inquirer writes to "Rembrandt" inquiring if the omission "of the vulgar and unsightly white splotches in the 'Buffalo picture'" wasn't permissible from the standpoint of art. To which "Rembrandt" made a classic reply: ". . . the characteristic 'white-splotched' appearance of a great American Buffalo prairie is suggestive of 'truths' too important to the wearied traveler or ambitious hunter, to justify an artist in rejecting them on account of their *vulgarity* when painting a great historical picture of the 'Home of the Buffalo'; for not only are their presence suggestive of the near consummation of the hopes and pursuits of the hunter, but the *contemplative* mind is filled with *grateful feelings* to the Divine Giver of All Good for providing 'unsightly white blotches,' the *only kind* of 'fuel in the wilderness' for cooking his hard-earned food, and ministering to the comfort of the half-frozen traveler while wending his wearied way for hundreds of miles across it." "Rembrandt" was riding hard the one admission that Hays had made to his criticism.

the above letter. He was a naturalist and published several papers in professional journals.<sup>69</sup> The first of these papers, "The Mule Deer," which carries a plate drawn by Hays, includes measurements of a deer which Hays states that he secured from a specimen obtained while in the upper Missouri country. In addition, I have examined a manuscript biography of Hays prepared by a member of his family shortly after his death<sup>70</sup> in which mention is made of carefully drawn field sketches of the various species of plants Hays observed on his upper Missouri trip and which were subsequently used as the basis of the flora depicted in his paintings.

Although "Herd on the Move," "The Stampede" and "The Bull at Bay" were regarded as the best of Hays' work subsequent to the Missouri river trip, a number of others, also based on this trip, are known to have been produced but whether they are still extant is unknown.

The list of paintings includes:

1. Western Plains.
2. Study of a Buffalo's Head.
3. Camp on the Prairie.
4. Buffalo Hunt.
5. Fire on the Prairie (1869).
6. Antelope's Head.
7. Elk's Head.
8. Rocky Mountain Goat.
9. The Upper Missouri.
10. Prairie Dog Village (1862).
11. Head of Rocky Mountain Sheep.
12. Three portfolios of field sketches<sup>71</sup> (one included 33 studies of bison; another a group of "Western scenes"; and the other, studies of antelope and deer).

In addition to these paintings, the New York Public Library owns a Hays painting entitled "Rocky Mountain Hares"; Washington University (of St. Louis) possesses one without known title but it depicts a herd of buffalo by moonlight; in addition, the American Museum of Natural History possesses another Hays painting called by it, "Group of Buffalo, 1860" (reproduced on the cover of this magazine).

69. The papers were "The Mule Deer," in *American Naturalist*, Salem, Mass., v. 3 (June, 1869), pp. 180, 181, one plate; "Notes on the Range of Some of the Animals in America at the Time of the Arrival of the White Men," in *ibid.*, v. 5 (September, 1871), pp. 387-392; "Description of a species of *Cervus* [Deer]," in *Annals of the Lyceum of Natural History* (New York, 1872), v. 10, pp. 218, 219, one plate.

70. In the possession of H. R. Hays.

71. These titles were compiled from a published auction list of Hays' paintings sold after his death. The list is dated by the sales date, December 17, 1875, the sale taking place at the Kurtz gallery. The dates of two of the above paintings are taken from the biographical sketch of Hays appearing in *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1897), v. 4, p. 186. This account states correctly the nature of Hays' Western trip in 1860.

Hays probably did not possess the skill with the brush that he did with the pencil, at least as far as his animals go. His sketch of the fawn elk [listed as No. 3 on p. 152] which is drawn with care and real skill is well-nigh perfect to anyone who has seen one of these creatures. His paintings of Western animals are not so well done from the standpoint of draftsmanship. The Hays paintings that I have seen also bear out Benjamin's criticism (page 145) that Hays was weak in color. His paintings do have value, however, because they are the work of a professional artist and are based on careful and personal observations. Isham, a twentieth century historian of American art, dismisses Hays in a single sentence, but in mentioning him calls attention "especially [to] some western landscapes which with their great herds of buffalo have now a historic interest."<sup>72</sup>

In addition to his Western trip, Hays also made a trip to Nova Scotia, according to Downes,<sup>73</sup> to study its faunal life, and a number of trips to the Adirondacks. From these trips, there resulted a number of paintings of deer, caribou, and moose.<sup>74</sup> For the last several years of his life, Hays was in ill-health and lived in a very retired manner. His death occurred at the comparatively early age of 45. The fact that his pallbearers included such notable personages in the artistic profession (for their day), as W. H. Beard, S. R. Gifford, W. Whittredge, William Hart and others scarcely less notable, indicates that he was highly esteemed by his contemporaries.<sup>75</sup>

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I must again express my appreciation to H. R. Hays of New York City for his generous loan of sketches, letters, clippings and notes dealing with his grandfather. I am also indebted to Dr. Paul North Rice of the New York Public Library and to Miss Grace Mayer of the Museum of the City of New York for aid in securing biographical data which led eventually to my contact with H. R. Hays.

72. Samuel Isham, *The History of American Painting* (New York, 1927), p. 349.

73. *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. 8, p. 464.

74. A number of these paintings are included in the auction list cited in Footnote 71.

75. *New York Tribune*, March 15, 1875, p. 7, col. 6; March 16, p. 7, col. 2.

# A Hoosier in Kansas

## The Diary of Hiram H. Young, 1886-1895

PART ONE, 1886-1889

Edited by POWELL MOORE

### INTRODUCTION

THIS diary covers the period from August, 1886, to January, 1895. The editor believes it presents a good picture of the conditions in Kansas that had much to do with the strength of the Farmer's Alliance and the Populist party there. Hiram H. Young was one of the many veterans of the Civil War who sought better opportunities in the West after that conflict, and it is reasonable to presume that his experiences and problems were similar to those of other farmers in Kansas at that time. His social life, complaints about the weather, prices received for farm products, and political activities are particularly significant. The diary refutes the popular impression that farmers in that portion of the West lived isolated lives.

The author was born near Wolf Lake, Noble county, Ind., in 1842. He was a student at Hillsdale College in Michigan when the Civil War began, and enlisted in the Union army early in the second year of the conflict. He fought at Perryville, Murfreesboro, Chickamauga, and was with Sherman on the "March to the Sea." At the close of the war he was mustered out as a first lieutenant in the 88th Indiana regiment. He returned to Indiana, married, and worked his father's farm near Wolf Lake until 1873. In that year he moved with his family to Kansas where he purchased a homestead of 160 acres in Cloud county about eight miles southeast of Concordia. To this farm he later added 40 acres of "school land."

Young was intensely interested in public affairs and was soon a prominent figure in local politics. A Democrat in the early years, he later became an enthusiastic member of the Farmer's Alliance and of the Populist party. He served as justice of the peace, treasurer of his school district, trustee of Nelson township, and was elected probate judge of Cloud county in 1894, and re-elected in 1896. When the Populist party collapsed he returned to the Democratic fold. He was also active in fraternal affairs and was a mason in the Concordia lodge and a member of the Knights of Pythias in

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Aurora, Cloud county. At various times he subscribed for Topeka, Chicago, New York and Louisville, Ky., newspapers.

There were seven children in his family, four sons and three daughters, and by 1899 five of them had married and left home. It was then that he decided to sell his farm and return to Indiana. So he went back to Wolf Lake, purchased his father's farm and lived there until his death in 1919.

### THE DIARY

August, 1886

25 A. C. Goble mowed.

26 Mowed one-half day

26 Stacked half day

27 Stacked hay all day. John Scott helped 1½ days Paid him Cash \$1.40

28 Went to town<sup>1</sup> Bought flour sugar and Tobacco. Borrowed Cash of John Elliot \$25.00 on thirty days time. Went to Democrat Smiths from town.

29 This is Sunday Cool and pleasant, Stiff wind N. E. Singing school at Slutmans this afternoon.<sup>2</sup>

30 Cloudy & cool George fearful sick last night. Cholera Morbus. Paid Dr. Big[e]low Cash \$1.00 for medicine. George better this morning But very weak and dull from last nights Siege Charley Halled Hay for J. T. Henderson I am under the weather this morning. That is to Say kind o on the lift.<sup>3</sup>

31 Rained a little Went to town afternoon. Staid all night with Bill Skeels.

September, 1886.

1 Went to Clay center to attend the Democratic congressional convention Nominated Joe Low [Joseph G. Lowe of Washington county] on first ballot. everything Harmonious. Arrived in Concordia 6.30 P. Heard Colonel Jessie Harper [of Manhattan] speak in favor of John A. Anderson [congressman], and in favor of the K. L.

2 Attended Sunday School picnic on Oak creek from their [sic] home 4.30 P. m.

1. Concordia is referred to as "town" throughout the diary.

2. Many of Young's neighbors also came from Indiana. Among them were Henry Slutman, A. D. Goble, D. A. Skeels, John E. Stillinger, C. C. Stoner, J. T. Henderson, P. Miller, Isaac Reeves, Henry Aumspaugh, John A. Secrist, and Peter Banta.

3. There were seven children: Nellie, Charles (Charley), Alba, John, George, Mabel and Fred. The last three were born in Kansas.

3 Big Rain last night. Every thing fresh and pleasant this morning. Sold 2 loads Oats Bus 101.08.

4 Sold 2 loads Oats 104.12 Total 205.20 20¢ = 41.10. Dug 4 Bus potatoes.

5 Paid A. D. Goble Cash for mowing 3.00. This Sunday cool & Pleasant. Ella Morgan Died yesterday buried today. Mrs. Lillybridge [Lillibridge?] died, will be buried to morrow. Charley went to town to commence School in the morning. Paid cash 5.00 Paid Bill Short 6 Bus Oats and 1 Bus Potatoes. Oats 1.20 Potatoes 40 = 1.60.

9 Big rain last night Attended H. Titteringtons Sale of stock. Went to town from Titteringtons. Paid Ben. Lake Cash \$4.50 for 3 months tuition at High School in Concordia.<sup>4</sup>

10 Fine day. Plowed and pulled Beans. Pleasant, Weaned the colts.

11 Cloudy and cool Rained after noon. Rained a good Shower in the evening.

12 Clear and cool. This is Sunday This Beautiful Sunday morning I am distressed in my hip and leg. Terrible pain in my boddy. No man can tell unless he is afflicted in the same way. Rheumatism is a dreaded disease. No peace on earth for those who are thus afflicted. This is a beautiful day. Nature is clothed in grandeur this morning. This beautiful Sunday morning every thing Seams to enjoy the beauties of nature. The birds, bees and The Brute creations all take in and enjoy the beauties and freshness of the pure air this lovely Sunday morning. Went to Rice in evening.<sup>5</sup>

13 Clear and cool Paid Monty and Hebert Cash on threshing \$8.00 Paid John Scott Cash for 1 day Haying \$1.00. . . . Mr. Goble mowed 1 day today. Candy Pulling this evening at Dr. Bigelow[']s for the young people. Suffered very bad this forenoon with the Rheumatism. Halled in one load of hay in the mow. Thundering and lightning this eve. Threatens rain.

14 Paid Switze Goble Cash for halling hay 1.00 Paid Dave Scott Cash for halling hay \$1.00

15 Hig[h] wind South. Went to town after noon. Paid Bill T. Short 10 Bushels Oats = \$2.00 Thundering and lightning as tho it would rain. Awful dark. Wind N. W.

16 Cloudy and disagreeable all day. Rained a little Went to Rice after noon. Cleaned beans in the evening. Cant feel good this ev[e].

4. Charley was attending high school in Concordia.

5. He received his mail at Rice which was about three miles from the farm.

18 Went to town Renewed my Subscription to the Democrat 1.00. Paid Democrat 1.00 for Democrat for my Father. From Sept. 18, 1886<sup>6</sup> Paid Goble \$2.00 for mowing in full for all demands to date.

19 Sunday, at home till noon. After noon went to Stoners. From there went to Dave Skeels. Suffering terrible with Rheumatism. In my right hip, leg, and foot. No man can tell how I suffer with this terrible complaint.

20 Nice fine day. Dident do any thing today, only suffer with rheumatic pain. Went to Stillingers in after noon to help him Thresh but the machine failed to come. I suffered just the Same. Wife and baby went to Slutmans to stay all night with Mrs Slutman.<sup>7</sup> Children gone to dutch meeting by Mabel and my self. Still I suffer. 8 O'clock P. M.

21 Helped John Stillinger Thresh. This job finishes my threshing for this year. Fine day wind S. W.

22 Fine nice day. Went to town and back in 5 Hours. Bought a barrel salt. Attended democratic [meeting] after noon and the following proceedings were had. Isaac Reeves Chairman, H. H. Young Sec. On motion H. H. Young and Isaac Reeves were elected delegates to the democratic next Saturday.<sup>8</sup>

23 Went to Rice in fore noon. Corn worth today 23¢ Still suffer with Rheumatism

[24] This is 24 Times in September. Wife and children all gone to town today. I'm at home by my self. Suffer just the Same with rheumatism. High wind, South and cloudy. Dusty and disagreeable. Rained a little. W. B. Brisbine called on us today and took dinner with me and had a good visit. Wife and children will have their pictures taken today

25 Rained good Shower this morning. Very gloomy bad on my rheumatism. Democratic convention in Concordia today. The following ticket was nominated. For Probate Judge J. J. McFarlan [McFarland] of Clyde. For Co. Attorney L. J. Crans. For Co. Supt. W. J. Shrader. H. H. Young elected committeeman from Nelson.<sup>9</sup>

26 Visited with Democrat Smith. Hank Slutman and his Mother came home. Also Ed. Matthews and wife. The Neighbors and

6. His father lived at Wolf Lake, Ind.

7. Fred was the "baby."

8. He often refers to himself as "H. H. Young."

9. He refers to Nelson township.

friends to the number of 54. They took the old lady and Hank completely by surprise.

27 Sold my corn for 23¢ Per Bus Halled 4 loads today. 109.30 Bus Cloudy and cold high Wind North.

28 Halled corn to Rice 11.11 Bu. Brother Thomas came to our place.<sup>10</sup>

29 Halled corn Enough to make out 271.50 \$57.80. Went to town After noon. Bought 1 pair pants and overalls. Home in evening 7 P. M. Paid J. C. Elliott cash \$25.00 in full for all demands to date.

30 Fine day. Attended Banlys Sale. Bought Table and Box Irons \$2.45 Suffered terrible today

October, 1886

1 Went to Clyde with Brother Thomas

2 Went Hunting Visited Sulphur springs.<sup>11</sup>

3 Sunday. Fine day.

4 Fine day Wife and Babies went to Stoner's visiting. Made fence around Straw & Hay stack and made feed rack.

5 Brother Thomas started home. Took him to Concordia this morning. Allie Bigelow was kicked in the head and had her leg broke by a horse. Ben Matthews came into the neighborhood

6 Fine day at home all day. Washed [Page missing from diary].

10 Went to Kellenbargers. to Rice in evening Paid Charley cash \$4.00 to pay board bill, at W. T. Shorts.

11 Ed Matthews and Wife started for their home in Indiana.

12 Sold 1 load corn 30.10 \$6.00 Went to town after noon.

13 Good rain after noon. Commenced to husk corn for the first.

14 Went to town and heard John A. Anderson speak. Staid all night with Democrat Smith.

15 Heard John P. St. John [former governor] speak good speech.

16 Fine day. At home. Boys Husked corn. Borrowed 33 Pounds Hog meat, Hind quarter.<sup>12</sup> Suffered worse . . . with rheumatism. Fearful bad.

17 Sunday beautiful day. Cattle got out last night. My rheumatism is at home today and I suffer worse than a dog ought to.

10. This was his brother, Thomas Young, who lived near Wolf Lake, Ind.

11. John P. Edwards, pub., *Edwards Atlas of Cloud County, Kansas* (Quincy, Ill., 1886), p. 5, shows the location of Sulphur Springs post office was in southeastern Aurora township.

12. Because of the lack of refrigeration facilities it was the custom of people to lend meat to one another. The borrower repaid the loan when he slaughtered a hog or a cow.



18 High wind terrible Husked corn.

20 Went to Rice.

21 Cloudy and cool.

22 Fine rain cool this morning Thundered and Lightning hard. A dollar that once went into the pocket of a republican office holder was gone for ever, and as the eagle passed out of sight in his long pocket I had good reason to scream forth: Farewell Vain World of Sin I am goin[g] home. When did Mahone, Longstreet, Mosby, Chalmers, Ex P. M. Key, Ackerman and Riddlebarger, come with penitential tears to express their repentance for being in the rebel army.<sup>13</sup> The republican temple had a pool of Siloam which washed away all past political sins of rebels with the vote they carried in their hand Disagreeable day. 8 P. M. Thundering and Lightning and threatens storm Wind South East. Looks discouraging this evening. Warm and disagreeable. A little better of rheumatism than usual.

23 Went to town

24 Sunday was unfortunate today run Barb pointed calf muzzle into my thumb.

25 Cold and disagreeable. Baker Borton and Bill Mosher were here today

26 Big frost I went to Rice and River, Bought Lime & Coal.

27 Big frost fine day J. E. Stillinger was here this [?] for the purpose of asking my influence in a friendly arbitration between himself and Henry Aumsbaugh over the waste of corn by Aumsbaugh's hogs; Made Settlement. I appeared for Stillinger and old Gentleman Spargur for Aumsbaugh. Gave Stillinger 7 Bushels corn for damage, which was paid and good feelings restored. Amount= \$1.26 Went to Frank Butts and John Allens after noon. Washed.

28 Killed a hog and White washed. Paid F. P. Allen, \$1.00 for white-washing Went to Clyde in the evening to hear General Blair s[p]eak.

29 Went to town in fore noon with Slutman home for dinner. After noon Went to town to interview the Union Grain company. Higered to them for 50 dollars per month, To buy grain.

30 Went to Caucus at Nelson [post office]. Largest Caucus ever held in township. I received the nomination for Trustee. Went to town in the evening to hear Colonel Moonlight speak.

31 Went to Rice in the morning Went to Catholic church on elm creek to hear Colonel Moonlight [Democratic nominee for gov-

13. Former Confederate leaders at that time in Republican party. David M. Key was postmaster general in President Hayes' cabinet.

ernor] and Jo Lowe speak. Moonlight and Lowe Both stop[p]ed at our place a few minits. I trust they will both be successful.

November, 1886

1 Fine windy day terrible High wind. [No other entries for November, 1886.]

December, 1886

3 Went to Stoners Met J. E. Bean and Kinsley Morgan there. Signed J. E. Beans over seer Bond and approved it. Signed C. C. Stoners Bond for Justice. Went with J. E. Bean and Kinsley Morgan to view line fence between Serie and N. Broe Found all spite work on the part of Serie.<sup>14</sup> Cold bad day. Took Dinner with D. A. Skeels. H. D. Cleveland and wife were there Mrs. Skeels able to be up first time in many weeks. J. E. Bean and Kinsley Morgan were qualified for their respective offices that of Town Clerk and Town Treasure[r].

4 Went to town after noon. Bought 2 Caps 4.00 2 pair Boots 4.00 Stockings 2.50 2 Pair over shoes 2.90 1 Pair Drawers 1.25 Coffee 1.00 Sugar 1.00 Tea 60¢ Candy 5¢ Butter print .35 clout nails 5. Paid John Scott cash for Husking corn, \$8.75 in full for demands to date. Highered Dave Scott to work 1 month or more. No wages mentioned but guess at 17 or 15 dollars per month.

5 Sunday at home. Sick today bad day for me. Bright and clear, fine winter day. [No more entries until January 19, 1887.]

January, 1887

19 Paid Julius Ward Cash \$10.00 Bought 2 bunches Shingles. Drove Kitt and Dick to Rice. The first time Kitt had the harness on. She drove well considering, G. Huscher called on me yesterday in regard to R. R. matter.

21 Went to Rice Bought 2 bunches shingles Settled in full with Howell Bros. Lumber Co. at Rice = 19.37 Settled in with Breeds. Received Cash from them \$36.60 [?] Sold them 180 Bushels co[r]n 21¢. Due them for 1 sack awful poor flour \$1.15 Paid [No more entries for January, 1887].

February, 1887

5 Sold 2 hogs, we[i]ght 760 Price 4¢ = 30.40 Settled in full with Dave Scott for Husking corn and by the month for all demands to date. Cash \$6.50 Snowing bad day

7 Sold Hundred Bushels corn at 23¢ Went to town

8 Halled 1 load corn for Secrist

14. Young was elected trustee of Nelson township in the November election.

9 Halled 2 loads for my self. Helped Hank Slutman Kill and skin a beef.

10 Halled 1 load corn

11 Halled 1 load corn Bought sack flour 2 Pair Hinges. 2 cigars Saw Alex Hadley

17 Fearful High Wind till about 4 P. M. It commenced to storm Snowing and blowing fearful Rained a little after dinner. This is the worst Bliz[z]ard this year. The Dr. was here this after noon This is the 3rd time Paid him cash \$5.00 Storming dre[a]dful 7 P. M. turned my calves and pigs out. This is a fearful storm. [No more entries for February, 1887.]

March, 1887

12 Went to town Paid Dr. Else cash \$5.00 in full for all demands Terrible high wind this after noon, fearful dusty. Sold the old white cow for \$20.00 to be delivered next week.

15 Clug came and took the old cow.

17 Sowed oats fine Bright day. Sowed 20 Bushels oats.

18 High wind and cold. Mrs Kellenbarger came this morning on a little visit. L. D. Parch past this morning going east. Received cash from Klug \$10.00 on Beef cow. Due me from Klug, cash \$10.00 Went to town Signed Bill Blairs Bond for \$30,000 as president of 1st National Bank of Russell, Kansas, Russell county.

19 Went to town after noon. High wind & very disagreeable. Paid L. A. Bartlett cash for a saddle \$7.00 Bought said saddle March 7th Price 19.

20 Worst day of season fearful high wind

21 Sold 2 loads corn at 23¢ per Bush[el] . . .

23 At noon got word that Charley was sick at Democrat Smiths. Went to Smiths after noon. Then went to town after the Dr. then back to Smiths. Found Charley better then home Arrived at home 7 p. m.

24 Fearful high wind N. very dusty. Cold Went to Rice then to Concordia then to Smith. Charley no better. After noon wife and Henry Matthews came to Smiths. I came home. Wife staid there. Frank Ellison arrived here from Topeka.

25 Cloudy and dusty Charley no better. I had a bad night of it last night. Awful pain in my hip back and leg. With neuralgia in my nose and jaws. Awful bad day of it pain in my mouth and nose as well as in my back and leg. I dont Know

what I will do if it dont let up. Received P. C. from wife Charley no better.

26 Cloudy and coald. F. W. Ellison started for Washington this morning his native home. I am much better today than yesterday. Fearful cold Wife came home with Slutman's Charley Better. Commenced to storm in the evening.

27 Big Storm this morning Kansas at home about 4 inches of Snow Bad stormy day the worst day for a long time. I'm suffering fearful today pain in my hip and leg.

29 Went to town Received Cash from Klug \$7.00 Due me from Klug cash \$3.00

April, 1887

2 Went to town Received Cash from Klug \$3.00 In full for all demands to date.

3 Sunday fearful high wind and dusty, bad day.

8 Went to town after fruit trees Paid cash \$11.65 Fearful day fearful dust.

15 Took my assessment to town to County Clerk, was obliged to go over a part of my work, staid all night with Democrat Smith.

16 Highered Dr. Brownell to help me on my assessment Worked all day. Rained all day. Still all night Still raining. Got home Sunday noon.

18 Went to town. Drew my money for my assessment, Cash \$90.00 Paid Dr. Brownell Cash \$3.00 Paid Democrat Smith Cash \$5.00 Paid Klug Cash \$1.25 Paid Martin Bro. \$1.00 Paid Henry Matthews Cash \$15.00 for first months work.

21 Big rain last night Paid John W. Campbell Cas[h] \$11.00 for Horse service for 2 mares. All paid. . . .

23 Went to town Brought Calf home that I bought of Mrs W. T. Short Paid cash \$10.00 Paid J. C. Zimmerman Cash \$8.00 for interest on note due April 10th. . . .

24 Sunday. Little Freddie met with a dre[a]dful accident this after noon. He drew from the top of the table a cup full of boiling milk, which went into his mouth on his chin. Poor little Boy is burnt in a shocking manner. Dr. Bigelow called 2 time[s] on Sunday and again on Monday morning. Dr. T. C. McCas[e]y called and examined Jesses foot and found he had run a nail in his foot. He c[h]arged and I paid him Cash \$1.00<sup>15</sup> Paid Mrs Carpenter Cash \$7.00 in full for Music lessons for Alba.

15. Dr. T. C. McCas[e]y, a veterinarian, was one of Young's closest friends. It is possible that he influenced two of Young's sons, John and Charles, to adopt that profession.

25 Freddie is a little better I think. Dr. Bigelow Called this morning. Thus I write this midnight Paid Squire Stoner Cash \$1.00 for work on assessment roll, all paid for all demands to date.

26 Freddie resting pretty well considering. Mrs. Democrat Smith came and Staid all night. Freddie better Dr. Bigelow Called this morning.

30 Town Board meeting. Board full. The following proceedings were had. The Bill from Howell Bro was allowed also the Bill of M. W. Pierce. The Board examined the bridge on elm creek Known as the Longtin Bridge and pronounced it safe. I was allowed 2.00 for my service today. This is the last day of April. High wind and dusty. Commenced to plant corn by listing.

May, 1887

2 Planted corn with planter

3 Bought white corn of Sam Magaw for seed.

9 Took my cattle to Lrayons Pasture. 2 yearling steers 3 yearling Heifers and one cow. 1 Heifer all red. 1 all white . . . cut tips of ears and nose. Steers white and speckled Red necks and ears. Cow all or nearly all white Cow with calf. Fearful warm and dry. School commenced this morning. A thing unprecedent[ed] in the history of district No. 76. The School board to higher a teacher without Calling a meeting for that purpose. Autocratic authority. Simply an infamous outrage.

12 Glorious Grand Good Rain. The back bone of drouth broke this after noon. Ground well Soaked.

16 Good rain

18 Finished planting corn. Went to Democrat Smiths in after noon. With Georg[e] John Billy Slutman and Henry Matthews fishing The boys caught one little fish.

19 Arrived home 11 A. M. plowed corn after dinner

June, 1887

2 Finished Building three Bridges in Nelson Township. The three Bridges cost Two hundred and seventy Dollars Gave order for said amount To the Contractor George D. Biggs. Order No 7, \$270.00

12 Been raining for 3 days.

13 Paid Henry Matthews Cash ten dollars \$10.00 Put in a terrible bad night last night, vomited, burning in my stomach Terrible pain in my back hip and leg. I am certain this pain is wearing me out.

27 J. E. Stillinger mowed my clover

28 J. E. Stillinger mowed 6 acres of weeds. Total 12 acres Paid Him Cash \$2.50 Halled in 3 loads clover Hay, fearful Hot and Dry. Plenty chinch bugs in corn.

29 Finished Halling clover Hay, went to town and home till noon. Hot & dry Bought 6 Ga[1]lons coal oil for \$1.60 5 Gal-[1]on can for \$1.65

July, 1887

19 William Henry Matthews time out Paid him cash \$47.50 Fearful hot and dry Halled a load of Sand from the river for the chickens.<sup>16</sup> Received Cash from H. B. Parvin \$117.67 for 10 Hogs weight 2615 lbs. 4.50 per hund.

26 Settled with Dr. Bigelow in full for all demands to date. Paid cash \$10.45 Fearful dry and Dusty. Corn just about Dried up. Very discouraging The bluest time in Kansas. No oats No corn Fearful times in store for us

27 Went to town with Dave Skeels. Fearful dry and dusty Bought a pair [of] shoes \$3.00

28 Hot and dry

29 Cool in morning wind south fearful dry Corn about played out. Fearful Hot and dusty. Nothing to do discouraging

30 Rained a little last night Enough to lay the dust. Corn nearly all dried up. For the life of me I dont see how the farmers will winter. No oats, No corn, No fruit, No grass, No nothing. Went to town today, I never Saw as many farmers as discouraged as they are at this time Nothing for their stock or their families, besides Tax Money.

31 Settled with Henry Slutman for Harvesting oats charged me nothing. This Sunday in July warm and dry, no appearance of rain. Mother and the children went to Rice after Charley.

August, 1887

3 Glorious good rain wet down about 2 inches. Corn past redemption. Rain came too late.

4 Rained a good Shower.

5 Rained a good Shower last night. Cloudy and today. Scraped dirt in Horse stable and some in road at the crossing.

6 Nice fine day. Went to town and had my buggy spring straightened 50¢ and ordered a new seat made. Bought Sugar coffee & Tobacco. Saw Mike Savoi[e] Promised to send him no-

16. The Republican river is the "river" referred to throughout the diary. It was about four miles from the farm.

tice when the town Caucus was to be held. His address is St. Peters. Had a pleasant visit with Alex Hadley Fred Thompson and old Gentleman Sawdy. Sent Postal not[e] to American Rural Home for 81¢ with orders to stop the paper.

7 Sunday. Fine day Charley at Home.

8 High wind South awful warm after noon. Sowed turnip seed in evening. Institute commenced today. This was a hard day on our little corn Just about all dried up. Hard winter in store for us this winter.

9 Clear and Hot. Cut corn and plowed. Corn drying up.

11 Cloudy and Threatened rain. Thundered in the eve. Hot cut corn.

12 Cloudy & hot. Thundered this morning. Some appearance of rain. Mother George Alba Mabel and Freddie went to John A. Jackman visiting. Warm.

13 Went to town Bought sugar and flour. Flour blacker . . . will return it to Martin Bro.

14 Cloudy and pleasant, at home all day. Caught 2 skunks last night in steel traps.

15 Fine day Walter Barsman called today. Republican candidate for Co. clerk. Wife Johnny and Freddie went to Jake Matthews for Grapes. Cut corn.

16 Grand Glorious Good rain this morning

17 Commenced to plow. Ground wet down about 4 inches

18 Tremendous Heavy dew last night Fog[g]y this morning Johnny plowing. This is wash day. Very cloudy & warm. Cut corn today Rained a little in Fore noon. Top[p]ed out my oats Stacks with corn fodder. Went to Rice after noon. Bought 1 Barell Salt \$2.25 Sugar 50¢, soda 20¢.

19 Johnny took plow to Rice to get sharpened. A[w]ful warm today Cut 4 shocks corn fodder. Went to town.

21 Nice little rain this morning. Cool and pleasant. Wrote and mailed a letter to Day Light this morning. Boys went to Rice after Charley. Charley didnt come. Went to Dave Skeels after noon.

22 Killed a hog Loaned J. T. Henderson 32 Pounds Hind quarter. Loaned Slutman 20 Pounds Fore quarter. Nice cool day wind north.

24 Went to town Dr. McCCasey said Mell had the Erysipelas for which I paid him for medicine Cash \$1.50<sup>17</sup> Went to Rice after noon Received one package of books from State Board of Horti-

17. "Mell" was one of the horses.

culture Bought 2½ bushels Rye Paid 90¢ per Bus. Rained nearly all day. Went down about one half inch. Quite cool for the season.

25 Still raining at noon. Rained all night. Ground well Soaked with water. Best rain of the Season. This will soak the chinch bugs in good shape. Turnips coming fine. Sowed the Seed about 10 days ago. Commenced to rain again in the evening. Still raining at bed time May it rain all night and Soak the ground full of water. Weaned the colts. The old mares are making a terrible fuss for their colts

26 Sowed Rye for hog pasture. Plowed oats stub[b]le, and did various things during the Day. A. Snyder Candidate for Sheriff Called at our place today.

27 Cloudy and cool. Wife Alba Mabel Freddie and the Boys went to town to take in the Show. The old man at home alone. Duller than thunder.

28 Went to Democrat Smiths. Wife Mabel and Mrs. Slutman went along. Subscribed for the Concordia Blade paid the Blade man Cash \$1.00

29 Grand Glorious Good rain. Best rain in 2 month[s] Good rain. Cut corn till it commenced to rain. Ground well soaked.

31 First day of the Fair. Attended the fair. Saw the races. Bought coat and vest Paid cash \$9.75 Two Christian Bretheren came to stay all night. Alba and Johnny went to church in evening.

September, 1887

1 Went to the fair. Good time. Rained quite hard about three oclock. Arrived home in eve. about 7 P. M.

2 Got up at 4 A. M. this morning. . . . Rained during last night and still raining this morning. Rained this morning hard Went to the fair, Wife Baby and George. Staid all night with Democrat Smith.

3 Charley Alba and myself went to the fair. Best day during the fair, home 8 p. m.

4 Went to town to see the soldiers. There were 4 companies of the 7 Cavalry U. S. A. in Camp in the fair grounds They maneuvered around Some. Mounted guard. The band played nice.

5 Sowed 5 bushels of Rye.

6 Finished harrowing in Rye. Cut corn awful warm. Sent George to Rice this evening. Wind changed to north west about 8 P. M Blowed quite hard for some time. George came home 8½ P. M. Rained a little.



7 Bright and clear. Republican Caucus this after noon. Cut 30 Shocks corn. Cool.

8 Mowed. Goble did. Owe him \$1.50 for it.

9 Stacked Hay. Commenced to rain about noon. Cool wind North east.

10 Rained all night Last night. Rained nearly all day today went to town afternoon.

11 Cloudy and cool This is Sunday.

13 Went to town. This is the first day of the reunion

14 Went to town and spent the day at the reunion.

15 Went to town and spent the day at the reunion. Gov Martin mad[e] a speech. Colonel Cloud spoke Colone[1] G. T. Anthony spoke. Staid all night with W. B. Smith.

16 Attende[d] the reunion Mr. King of Lincoln of Nebr. spoke. All the speaking was in favor of the republican party President was immensely abused. All in the name of God and the republican party.

17 Went to town to attend the Democratic central committee. Convention called for October 1st Caucus Sept. 27

18 Cloudy and cold. Paid A. D. Goble for mowing 1.80. Paid 14. Paid Switz Goble 15. for ½ day haying 50¢ Charley and Slutmans went to town.

19 Cloudy and warm. Went to Morgan's and J. E. Bean to interview them in relation to town road tax. Mother and Freddie went to town, with Slutman. Mother went to get her teeth pulled.

20 Bright and clear. Warm and pleasant. Dug potatoes after noon. Boy cut corn. The above was written with a turkey quill for a pen. Does Bully. Mother Sick this afternoon. Alice Sow piged September 17 had 4 pigs.

21 Cloudy and warm

22 Dug potatoes Boy cut corn. Warm. Thursday night put in fearful night. Dre[a]dful pain in my hip. Slep[t] but little during the night.

23 This the worst day for me [Half page missing from diary].

24 Slept pretty good last night. Pain all settled in my back this morning. Back weak and wont bear my weight. Daughter Nellie came yesterday.<sup>18</sup> But we was all glad to see her. Cloudy & Cool.

25 Rained good yesterday. Uncle Henry & Aunt Rye was here for dinner. [Half page missing from diary.]

18. Nellie, the oldest daughter, was living near Wolf Lake, Ind., at this time.

Clear and pleasant This morning Pain all in my back  
 27 Cloudy & cool Dr Bigelow left 5 Quinine powders. Feel dull.

28 Cloudy & cold. . . . Wife Nellie Alba Mabel and baby went to Parvins visiting Heard today that G. B. Vanlandingham's wife was dead. This I regret very much. [One line from diary torn out.]

29 Cool fine day Democratic Caucus today, big[g]est turnout we ever had. Mother Mabel Nellie and Freddie went to Kellenbargers visiting.

30 Fine day Warm and pleasant William Lillybridge [Lillybridge] mowed. Nellie went to town after dinner

October, 1887

1 Saturday. Democratic Convention in Concordia, [Hiram H.] Young chairman credentials. Nominated C. Guilbert for Treasure[r] A. T. Sidwell for Clerk G. B. Vanlandingham for sheriff F. W. Fraisus [Frasius] for Register R. S. McCrary Surveyor Jimmy Flynn for Coroner, Baker Borton for Commissioner 1st district. A good ticket all but Commission [One line from diary torn out.]

2 Fearful high wind North. This is Sunday. Charley at home. Will go to town today.

3 Went to town. Sold 15 Turkeys 5¢ per lb. Weight 121 lbs = \$6.05. Stacked hay.

4 Fine day. . . . [One line from diary torn out.]

6 Finished Stacking Hay. Went to town. Paid Hen. Snively Cash for Haying \$2.50

7 Went to town with Hogs 5 Head. Weight 1440 3¾ per Hundred = \$54.00 Fearful dusty High wind.

8 Went to Clyde rained all day, got home 8 P. M.

9 Sunday H. B. Parvin and family called, C. C. Stoner and family called Also the school teacher

10 Paid William Lillybridge cash \$4.50 for 2¼ days mowing. Ordered 8 Plank[s] for bridge on elm creek South [of Nelson] P. O. 2 plank[s] on Said bridge myself. Dug potatoes. Boys started to school this morning.

11 Brought my cattle [from] the pasture paid cash \$10.00 Rishtines were here. Wife and Nellie went to town.

12 Went to town

13 Went to Dave Skeels

14 Went to town Paid Charley Cash \$6.00 Nellie Started home Charley came home this eve.

- 15 Finished dig[g]ing potatoes nice day Charley at home.
- 16 Settled with John Secrist paid him cash \$1.00
- 19 Went to town Paid Editor Day Light Cash \$3.00 for 2 copies of Day Light. Went to town with Hen. Snively
- 20 G. B. Vanlandingham and Joe Fuller staid all night with me.
- 21 Went with the above to Millers Heberts & St. Pierre.
- 22 Went to town. Was elected Treasure[r] of Democratic executive committee received Cash \$9.50
- 24 Went to coal bank for coal.<sup>19</sup> Brought home 1600 lbs coal paid cash \$2.25.
- 27 I was nominated for Trustee by a big majority 53 to 33 J. J. Ward and W. A. Pierce were my competitors. Beat them bad. Was nominated this evening for Township Trustee by the voters of Nelson Township. The biggest Caucus ever held in Nelson township. I had 23 majority over both candidates for which I am obliged and hold the voters of Nelson township in high esteem. [This is the first entry in book two of the diary.]
- 28 Went to town Uncle Henrys file horse was sick.
- 31 Fine nice day. Warm Went to town. Had my buggy pole repaired, cost 75¢ which I consider infamous. Got my bill trees 50 grapevines and 1 apricot = \$2.25. Thomas Russell Died Age 66 years 10 months 13 days

November, 1887

1 Fine day Attended funeral of Thomas Russell Buried in Campbells Cemetery. G. B. Vanlandingham and A. T. Sidwell called today in my absence. But reported everything in good shape. Awful fine day. Sent John to J. S. Lillybridges to notify him of town board meeting tomorrow. Big turnout of people at funeral today. Freddie quite unwell today

2 Annual Township Board meeting. Settled with Road overseers, settled with Treasure[r] and Clerk Balanced the treasure[r]s books and made Treasure[r]s report. Fine nice warm day. Board meeting at J. E. Beans Mrs. Fannie McCCasey and Miss Hagaman made us a visit today.

3 Fine nice day. Went to Rice in forenoon. Met J. E. Bean. Also J. M. Ijames of Shirley Township. Johnny went to Rice in the evening after wife but no wife. Wife I recon is played out. Goodbye wife.

4 Went to town after noon. Home 5.30. Went to fair view to

<sup>19</sup> He refers to the coal fields north of the Republican river as the "coal bank." The river could be forded at certain points near Concordia.

hear speech. G. B. Vanlandingham A. T. Sidwell Sam Demers Dr. Jeannotte A. N. Lafaron and H. H. Young made speeches.

5 At home, finished pulling corn on west side. I think I have about 65 bushels on 27 acres. Alba went to town yester and was to return today but failed to come.

6 Sunday. At home High wind. Johnny and Mabel went to Rice after Alba but the cars dont run on Sunday so she failed to come. Alba came home this evening with Dr. McCCasey. Uncle and Rye called this evening, had a pleasant visit.

7 A. T. Sidwell and wife Called on us this morning, and took brexfast with us. Went with Sidwell and called on Dr. Bigelow, P. Miller, C. C. Stoner and Dave Skeels Also Jo Dugas and A. D. Goble. Home at noon. Churned and Herded the Cattle after noon. Fine nice warm day. Boys at School. Some Damed Scoundrel has started a little lie about me, Stating that I said I would not vote for any republican. All done to down me for Trustee.

Tax on 40 acre.....	\$6.00
Tax on Homestead .....	\$28.92
Tax on Personal Property.....	\$8.02
Total Tax .....	\$42.94

For 1887

8 Election day. This was the cussedest election I ever Saw. The new law of drawing the line 50 feet. Some men havent a damed bit of Sense. . . . Now I will remember them. They blame me for the law. Showing at once the[y] are ignoramuses. Good rain Today. Got home at 9 P. M. Dark as tar ground wet and muddy. Was Elected Trustee without opposition

9 Fine nice day, went to town with Stoner. Entire Republican ticket elected. Sh[e]riff by only 60 majority Clerk by 300. Staid all night with Democrat Smith. N. Y. Democratic.

10 Came home to Dinner

11 Fine nice day. Sold 4 Hogs weight 1100 3.80 Per Hundred = \$41.80 Lost my wagon tire and had trouble to get it on. Had Ayers to put in 2 Fellows and set tire 80¢ Herded Cattle after Dinner. This is the day the Chicago Anarchists were hung by the neck until dead. Treason must be made Odious Treason is a crime.

12 Fine nice day. Snap[p]ed corn. Wife Alba and Freddie went to town. Charley came home with them.

13 Sunday At home cloudy and cool. Wind north. Johnny took Charley to town today. This has been a long lonesome day.

Rather disagreeable for poor people and hard on the poor stock. The boys at church at the Sod Mansion. Rev. Samuel Naillieux officiating as minister. May much good be done. Johnnie returned home from town with 2 Daily Blades with the news of the Chicago anarchist Hanging one of them Blowed his own head off

14 Fine day Snap[p]ed corn. dont feel worth a cuss. Bad cold and must cough nearly all the time Sore throat and am out of fix all over and dont feel well myself

15 Fine and pleasant. Killed a turkey this morning. Went to town after dinner. Sold turkey to Lamb. Weight  $7\frac{1}{2}$  lbs 10¢ per lb = .75.

16 Cloudy and cool High wind north, dusty very disagreeable & ugly. J. E. Bean and wife called this after noon. A very pleasant visit we had The Boys went to the School house to attend the Lyceum.

17 Cloudy & cool. Gathered corn & Fixed chimney Herded Cattle. Cold after Dinner.

18 Cloudy and cold Finished pulling turnips. Buried about 10 bushels. Cleaned house. Had too much on hand today. Sime Farnum called this after noon. He resides in Rice co. Kansas. Very tired this evening. Hank Slutman went to Delphos to mill. Billy Slutman was thrown from a horse this morning. Cloudy and cold Terrible high wind North West. Got up this morning with pain in my left ribs. fearful pain. Stormy and very bad.

20 Clear and cold Pleasant but cold. Pump froze up last night. Johnny went to Rice this morning for our mail. Wrote to Nellie. This is Sunday.

21 Fine nice day Killed and Dressed 2 Turkeys. Alba went to town with Slutman Mabel had the croup last night. Herded Cattle after noon. Very fine and warm. Sent 1 Dressed turkey and (2) lbs butter to Mrs. F. W. Ellison in Topeka.

22 Cloudy and cold High wind North. Killed and Dressed 10 Turkeys for market the 12 Dressed 93 lbs. . . . Fearful tired after dressing 10 Turkeys. Death on my Back. Halled fodder for Cattle morning & evening. Killed 2 chickens this evening. One for brexfast and one for Mrs. Carpenter.

23 Cloudy and cold. Went to town with Turkeys sold 18. 12 Dressed. 6 Live. Received Cash \$13.00 Bought Boots for George \$2.00 Shoes for Charley \$3.00 Sugar \$1.00 Tea 60¢

24 Thanksgivin[g]. W. T. Short and family Dr. McCCasey and Mrs McCCasey, Made us a visit. Borrowed of John A Secrist

63 Pounds of Beef. The 4 quarter. Slutman returned the Hog meat they borrowed sometime ago.

25 Started for the coal Bank. Got as far as Rice and got coal there and came home. Snowed nearly all day. The first snow this Season. Rained in the evening. Slutman's boys Called this evening and spent the evening in swap[p]ing Stories with the boys. Cloudy and gloomy this evening. Warm for this time of year. Fine winter weather.

26 . . . Snowing and Blowing at a fearful rate. The big- [g]est day This season. Storming fearful. Took up my Horses put my cows in the stable and made everything as comfortable as I could. This is a big day for sure. A day we will remember sure.

29 Fine nice warm day. Went to Rice in fore noon. Bought Flour 100 lbs \$2.70 6 Galons Kerosine oil \$1.05 1 lb Tobacco 50¢ Envelopes 10¢ Stamps 10¢ = \$4.25. Paid J. E. Stillinger Cash on settlement \$5.00 went to Actons sale after noon. Stoner and party returned from Lincoln Center

30 Fine nice day. Went to town Mother and Mabel went with me. Found Everett Young there. Roads bad. Bought shoes for Mother Mabel and Freddie and overshoes for myself. Over shoes 1.40 Mothers Shoes 2.25 Mabels 1.50 Freddie's 1.00 [Total] \$6.15. Arrived home about dark in good Shape.

December, 1887

1 Cloudy and raining. Every thing looking Gloomy. Mother was most Terrible sick last night. Commenced with pain in left breast I was awful scared. I feared fatal result. I rub[b]ed her arms and hands with Camphor and Bathed her breast with Camphor, which gave her relief. She was terrible sick for a few minits vomited Fearful hard. Rained nearly all day; or rather misted. Dull and Gloomy. Muddy and Disagreeable. Gurley Spargur and H. Slutman called Today

2 Cloudy and very Hazy Foggy and disagreeable, went to town after dinner. Home after dark. Fearful dark.

3 Rained hard last night. Foggy and Hazy. Dull very disagreeable. Muddy wet, Sun Shines at times, which makes it very pleasant while the Sun Shines. Charley came home last night.

4 Fine day indeed. Bright and clear. Johnny and Everett Took Charley to town returned just after dark Sunday at home all day. The Boys went to the Sod Shanty to church. It is reported today that Mrs. Bigelow Fell down Friday eve and hurt herself Frightful. Also Willard Lillybridge was thrown from a

horse and broke his leg All of which is fearful bad for both Mrs. Bigelow and Willard Lillybridge. Accidents will happen in the best of regulated Families.

5 Monday. Went to Dave Skeels and C. C. Stoners. Dined with Skeels. At home 4½ o'clock While at Dave Skeels today I had a terrific Gut ache. Wife and Mrs Slutman went to Bigelows and returned home with me. Fearful cold and high wind in fore noon. After noon fine and pleasant.

6 Fine day. Went to town. Bought 1000 lbs native coal \$2.00 Everett Young started home. Went on the Central Branch Cost \$21.00 to Albion, Ind. Hank Slutman Called this evening.

7 Fine nice day. Warm. Went to Coal Bank for Coal. Brought home 2040 Pounds. Cost \$3.05 went and came by the way of Rice. Hank Slutman went with me. Arrived home half past five in eve. Bertrams Daughters Called this evening on their way to the Lyceum. Extraordinary Fine winter weather for the time of the year. Freddie quite unwell and has been for 2 or three days

8 Cloudy and Foggy Warm and Pleasant Killed a Beef Returned H. Slutman the Beef I had borrowed of him Sometime ago 100 lbs. Returned John A Secrist the Beef I borrowed of him Nov. 24. 63 lbs. Freddie very sick. Called Dr. Bigelow this morning. He Said Freddie had Lung fever which alarms us very much. Herded Cattle after noon. Beef Killed today Dressed 542 lbs Hide weighed 79 lbs 5 P. M. Freddie very sick at this writing.

9 Frosty and foggy. Very damp. Went to town. Sold Beef hide. Received cash \$3.25 weight 77 lbs In town today. Bought Sugar \$1.00 Coffee .50 Clout nails shoe thread .15 Shoe Wax Bristles .05 Ground Flax seed .10 Cigars .10 Total \$1.90 Paid for repairing Shoes .50 Total \$2.40. Sold John Miller 22½ lbs Beef 4½¢ = \$1.00 Loaned Flavy Longtin 19 lbs Beef. Freddie much better today for which we are profoundly grateful. The old man complains of feeling *Bass* That means Bully for an old *Man*. Dr. Bigelow called today this is 2nd [time].

10 Cloudy and a dense fog. Gathered corn in the fore noon. Sold J. E. Stillinger 25 lbs Beef 5¢ Per Pound = \$1.25 for which he is to give me credit for that amount. Alba went to town with Slutmans. Bad and disagreeable day. Susie Matthews made us a visit today. Freddie terribly cross and hard to Care for. Dont think he is much better. Pulled corn after dinner. Johnny went to Rice [after] the mail. Dr. Bigelow Called, this is the third

time since Freddie is sick. . . . Freddie is sleeping good at this writing 10 P. M.

11 Sunday at home all day. Fine nice day.

12 Fine day. Went to town to look after Maxam Savoies tax. Paid Charley Cash \$6.00 or rather left it [at] Martin Bros. for him. Bought nails and letter Paper 35¢. Smoked 2 cigars one a gift from Martin and the other from Billy Taylor

13 Fine day indeed, sold 3 Hogs weight 850 lbs 4.75 per hundred, amount \$41.08 sold the above hogs to H. B. Parvin, Rice. J. S. Lillibridge presented his bond this morning [for] approval. C. L. Davis Called in the evening with his bond for overseer District No. 2. I approved both of the above bonds.

14 Cloudy and cool High wind north. G. W. Greathouse Called today and presented his bond for over seer in district No. 3. I approved his bond. Gathered corn in fore noon. Cloudy and cold. Examined bridge on elm creek. J. A. Secrist and A. D. Goble Also examined the [bridge] We pronounced it safe. While at the bridge 2 teams heavily loaded with R. R. bridging crossed the bridge without shakeing [it]. Stoner's Threshing hands here for dinner. Went to town after dinner. Attended Lodge. Paid my lodge dues \$2.50 for the e[n]suing year. Had great glorious time, big Supper at 11 P. M.

17 Staid last night with Dr. T. C. McCasey. Had brexfast with them. Paid the 1st half of my tax \$21.47. Sold 16 dressed turkeys to be delivered Decem[ber] 24. Came home with J. A. Secrist, arrived at home 4½ Oclock in good shape Received from Maxam Savoie 53¢ to pay his personal property tax. Filed the bonds of Road overseers G. W. Greathouse, J. S. Lillibridge and C. L. Davis with co. clerk.

18 Went with wife and Little ones to see them lay track on R. R.<sup>20</sup> about 150 men at work Cloudy and cool. Sunday. Alba staid at Stoners last night. Alba went to Rice after our mail.

19 Cloudy and cold High wind north. I was quite unwell today fearful pain. . . . but feel better this evening. 7 P. M. Wind raging from the north. Wind howling and roaring. Bad disagreeable night. Cold high wind. Read Jim Blaines comment on Clevelands message. Jim is a daisy Sure.

20 This is my birth day. 45 years old today. Bright and clear.

20. That portion of the Santa Fe railroad branch from Strong City to Concordia was constructed from the south Cloud county line through Miltonvale to Concordia in November and December, 1887, the first passenger train arriving in Concordia over the new line on December 30.—Concordia *Kansas Blade*, November 18, December 23, December 30, 1887.



Fearful high wind North west. Cold. 2 degrees above zero Fearful high wind all day. Hank Slutman Called during the day and told us Mrs. McCCasey did not want a turkey. Willie Slutman Called in the evening for butter milk. Cold bad day, went to bed at last night 11 P. M.

21 Bright and clear, 1 degree above zero this morning. High wind North west. Boys went to Lyceum this evening. They say it is wonderful to behold Grand in the extreme.

22 Clear and cold. Went to Rice for mail. . . . Went to town, sold 14 turkeys, \$9.10 Bought 2 sacks flour \$2.55 Tobacco Candy & overalls = \$1.80 7 Snaps for harness .30 Pocket Knife .60 Subscribed for Louisville Courier Journal \$1.10 Subscribed for Daily Blade \$1.00 for 2 months oil and oil can .45 Total \$7.80

23 Clear and pleasant. Flavy Longtin returned the beef he borrowed Some time ago. Killed 16 Turkeys and dressed them for market.

25 This is Sunday. Christ, Our Savio[u]r is 1887 years old today. This is a pleasant day. Received a letter this evening from Arthur Engle one of the old boys of Co. B 88 Ind. Engle was in search of proof for a pension. Answered his letter and mailed it the next day.

26 Cloudy and cold high wind south. Went to Democrat Smiths and drank egg nogg with him. Had roast turkey for dinner. Had a fine good visit. Wife Mabel and Freddie were with me. The appalling news reached us today that young Shanks was thrown from a wagon and Killed Saturday evening, Dec. 25. He was burried today.

27 Big day this morning. Worst Storm of the season 2 degrees above Zero. Snowing and blowing High wind and bad. Cleared up after noon. Wind went down near evening. 8 P. M. 2 degrees above Zero.

28 Bright and clear, 8 Degrees Belo[w] Zero. Light wind North west. This is wash day. Charley at home. No school. Fearful Time after dinner. Warm and pleasant Halled 2 Loads fodder

29 Cloudy and cold 4 degrees belo[w] Zero this morning. 4 degrees belo[w] Zero 9½ P. M.

30 Cloudy and frosty 32 degrees above Zero. Went to town with Slutman. Paid Charley cash \$2.00 to pay his board. Charley went to town this evening. Bought 1 pair socks at auction and 10

yards Calico. Home 4 P. M. Governor John S. Marmaduke of Mo. Died Dec. 29, 1887

31 Cloudy and cold. High wind North west very disagreeable. This is the last day of the old year 1887. Extremely cold. 10 degrees above zero. High wind which made it very disagreeable and cold. This is hard day on Stock. Mollie Goble Called today on her way to town.

January, 1888

The first day of the New Year 1888.

1 Bright and clear. High wind North West. Cold. 8 d[e]grees above zero. Slutmans went to town this morning. This is Sunday. Halled fodder this morning for the cattle. Fine day after noon Pleasant in evening. Bertrams young folks called in the evening on their way to church. Alba and Johnny went to church. The free Methodists are expounding the gosple at district 76. Mother wrote to Mrs A. E. Cookingham, Irving Park, Cook Co. Ill. George wrote to Riley Banta, Kendal[l]ville, Ind. Thus passeth the first day of the New year. Beside all being well and healthy.

2 Cloudy and cold Went to Coal Bank for coal Bought 2000 lbs=cash \$3.00 Home in good season

4 Pretty good day.

5 Cloudy and pretty cold. Went to town attended the Commissioners board meeting. Will Say right here that I am more than disgusted with the Co. Commissioners and think them mutton heads and should be called the County Incompetency instead of Co. Commissioners. A set of damed Numskulls in the extrem[e] Received my co[.] order for Judge of election \$2.00 This had slip-[p]ed my mind. Dont feel very well. Got the gut ache. Callie & Billy Slutman called this evening.

6 This is a cold bad day very frosty and Snow blowing. High wind North. . . .

7 Cloudy and cold 1 Degree belo[w] Zero High wind North.

8 Clear and cold. 2 degrees belo[w] Zero. This Sunday I dont feel good today Took severe cold yesterday. Went to Rice for mail.

9 Fine nice day. Old man Routhmie was burried. Died yesterday. I am chuck full of rheumatism and feel terrible bad in my breast and Shoulders. Far from being well.

10 Fine day in deed. I am feeling better today. Freddie and Mabel are both Sick

11 Cloudy and quite cold this morning Some Snow flew. Halled hay. Laid up since about noon. Boys staid home from School to help hall hay. Received a letter from United States Auditor informing me that my claim was Suspended

12 Big Snow this morning and Still Snowing at 1 P M. Lydia calved last night 21 days before time, found calf dead this morning under the Snow. Wind South during the Snow till about noon. then Switched around to the West. About 3 P M The wind changed to north west and blowed fearful. The strongest wind in a long time 7 P. M. Wind still raging from N. W. and getting colder.

13 Bright and clear. 17 Degrees belo[w] Zero this morning. This [is] the coldest morning this winter. About one foot Snow. Boys went to school. Out of Tobacco. Sent Johnny to Millers for Tobacco after school. The old Hog charged me more than I can [get] it [for] in town. 10 P. M. High wind North and very cold. My mind is wondering about Charley. I am So afraid that he is not well. I am distressed in body and mind about him. Oh! how is my boy tonight. Darling precious boy the pride of my heart. Oh! how is my boy tonight.

14 Fearful cold and stormy. 12 Degrees belo[w] Zero this morning. Snowed and blowed all day wind North. Just 1 Team on the road today. Such bad weather today I could not go to town and see about Charley. I do hope and trust he is improving and getting Sound and well. This was the worst day of this year. 7 P. M. 12 Degrees belo[w] Zero and has been all day. This is Saturday and a fearful Stormy day. Oh! how is my boy tonight? May it please the good Lord to restore him to health. Hope so

15 Brig[ht] and clear No wind cold. 22 Degrees belo[w] Zero this morning This is Sunday. Went to Rice after dinner. 34 Degrees belo[w] zero at Rice 28 at Slutmans 28 Degrees belo[w] Zero is the coldest I ever saw in Kan.

16 Cloudy and cold 8 Degrees belo[w] zero. Mother went to town with Slutman. Bought Tobacco & shirt. Charley Better but yet very weak and looks bad. I am distressed to know what to do in his ailment.

17 Clear and cold. Went to town. Bought 1000 lbs native coal \$2.00 Paid Proff Shear cash for Books boug[ht] by Charley \$2.35 John Kellenbarger will leave tomorrow for Canada to join his family.

18 Fair day went to town with Dug. Greathouse. Consulted Dr. Jeannotte and [Dr.] Priest about Charley.

19 Cloudy and cold High wind North. Snow blowing bad day. Received a letter from Uncle Henry Allen.

20 Clear and cold 12 Degrees belo[w] Zero Fearful sharp wind.

21 Clear and cold 15 Degrees belo[w] Zero Went to town. This is Hank Slutmans Birth day 42 years old. 15 Degrees belo[w] Zero. this morning. 10 Degrees belo[w] Zero 9 P. M. Last night Bought 2 Sacks flour \$2.40 Sugar, Coffee & Tobacco 1.75. 9 P. M. 5 Degrees below Zero.

22 Fine bright morning. 5 Degrees below zero this morning. This is Sunday. Received a letter yesterday from Andrew Winebrenner.

24 Fine day Halled hay. . . . The children went to Gables in the evening, also Billy Slutman.

29 Fine nice day. Charley went to town today. May Slutman is sick.

30 Met town Board at J. E. Beans 1st quarter for 1888. I put in bill for Extra township service for \$20.00 Bill allowed and paid. Received Cash from town Board \$22.00 \$20.00 for extra service and \$2.00 for regular quarter service \$22.00 J. E. Bean allowed for Extra service \$15.00 Kinsley Morgan allowed for Extra service \$10.00 The above for 1887

February, 1888

1st day. Cloudy and warm, very foggy and Disagreeable. fearful mud. Went to Rice Had my corn sheller repaired which cost cash = \$1.00. Bought 700 lbs coal = \$2.30.

2 Cloudy and very mud[d]y. Ground Hog could not see his Shadow. Clem. Morningstar died this after noon. Spotted [sow] Board by Dave Skeels Boar Fed the last of my crop of corn raised in 1887.

3 Rained and misted and cloudy. Very mud[d]y and Disagreeable Commenced to feed this morning on my old corn. I think I have 300 bushels of old corn. Frost about all out.

4 Went to town today attended the funeral of Clem Morningstar. The roads terrible bad. Snowed and blowed. Bad day. Paid Martin Bros Cash in full on settlement \$4.15 Bought Sugar & pepper \$1.25 Gave Charley Cash \$6.00 to pay his board.

5 Sunday.

6 Cloudy and cool Fan.<sup>21</sup> Sick. . . .

7 Cloudy and cold wind North. Disagreeable Slutman and Henderson Butchered their Swine. Rather cold today. Billy Slutman Callie May and Johnny called in the evening.

8 Rather cold went to Rice for my mail. Blizzard blowed up in the evening from the North west. Snowed and blowed 11 P. M. Storm still rageing.

9 Cold 4 Degrees below Zero this morning. Wind North east. Bad storm last night

10 Went to Rice Old Gentleman Sawdy and Lady called on today and made us a little visit. Storm blowed up about 3 P. M. Snowed and blowed. Big Frank Letourneau, was burried today.

12 Sunday at home.

13 Fine day. Turned my stock in the stock field this morning for the first time.

14 Valentine day, cloudy and cold. May Callie and Billy Slutman called this evening.

15 Cold. Went to town Bought coal cash \$2.00 sold 10 Dozen Eggs=\$1.50 Bought Tobacco .45 Sugar Rice & Lye \$1.05.

16 Fine day went to Rice.

17 Warm and pleasant sold 2 Hogs weight 540, Price \$4.25 = \$22.95. Awful nice day.

18 Went to town. Rained Fearful bad day. Paid Charley Cash \$4.50 to pay his board and Cash 75¢ to pay for Medicine. Total \$5.25. Charley came home. Quit School. Awful muddy. Topsy calved Bull. The worst job I ever had. Dry birth.

19 Cloudy and high wind North. Children at church. Clem Morningstar's funeral today by Bushong. Beautiful evening. Children at church. Warm and pleasant. Service by Peter Bushong.

21 Fine nice day. Butchered three Hogs. Made sausage. Rendered out the lard. Hank Slutman commenced to plow. Beautiful day.

22 This is Washingtons Birth day. If [he] was living today He would be 156 years old. Washington The God father of our common country. Long may his memory last. Cloudy. Wind N. Charley went to town. This is wash day, of course everything is upside down.

23 Fine day warm. Mother went to church.

21. Fan was one of the horses.

25 Went to town. Cold Old Gentleman Merritt came home with me.

26 Cold High wind N. This is Sunday. Closed the bridge on elm creek Known as longtin bridge. I considered it unsafe. Put up (4) written notices Bridge unsafe and condemned and warned the people not to cross the bridge

27 Clear and cold 8 degrees above zero this morning.

29 Cloudy misting all day Revs. Bushong and Tenney Staid with us last night. The boys are at church this evening. This is Mells time to foal.

March, 1888

1st day. Fearful bad. Rained and misted nearly all day. About 4 P.M. hard rain and Heavy Thunder. Shortly after wards it grew colder and Snowed quite brisk for a little while. We tied all the cows we could, and prepared for a blizzard. 9 P.M. High wind from the north, cold and disagreeable.

2 Ground covered with ice. High wind north. Stormed after noon. Snowed and blowed. bad day. Charley went to church this evening. Tide up all the cows I have room for.

3 Went to town. Awful bad day. Snowed. Disagreeable

4 Sunday. Stormy and bad. Snowed.

5 Cold High wind North. Snowed bad mean day. This day the trustees met at Concordia for the purpose of forming a basis for the assessment of personal [property] and Realestate in Cloud Co. This is the first day of my work for this year's work as trustee. Paid F. W. Fraiskus Cash for Clyde Argus \$1.00 Paid him at the Co. Clerks office, in Concordia. While in Concordia I looked at the new court house. I consider it a poor job, and Should not be accepted.

7 Stormy snowed a little. Went to Rice after my mail.

8 Cloudy high wind South. Fan was very sick this afternoon.

9 Cloudy. Very Muddy. 10 A. M. wind changed to north west turned cold and quite disagreeable. 10 P.M. High wind North. Cold and freezing solid. The boys went Goose hunting this after noon. Nary a goose.

10 Snowed last night cold this morning. Went to town. Bought 1 Box crackers, Flour and cold fish and Tobacco = \$3.05

17 Borrowed of J. C. Elliott Cash \$50.00 on Thirty days time Note due on April 17, 1888, \$50.00. Fine nice day Went to town.

Contracted with L. A. Bartlett to work for him at Nelson. To handle and sell machinery for him at that place at \$50.00 per month

18 Sunday at home all day fine and warm.

19 Commenced to rain last night, and rained all night. Still raining this morning. About 10 A M it commenced to snow and blow. High wind N. Snowed and blowed and Stormed all day. This is the worst day in March. Tied up Six cows this eve. Ground Froze and still freezing. Awful bad day.

23 Sowed Oats. Sowed 12 bushels of winter oats bought of H. D. Cleveland Paid him Cash 50¢ per Bus. This is the 12th day I have been serving Nelson T. P.

24 Rained & misted about all day. About 5 P. M. it thundred and Lightened and rained very hard. Continued to rain hard til 11 P M Wind high N. E.

25 Still raining this morning. Ground well soaked. Went to Rice yesterday. Bought 25 bushels of oats of A. Ayers paid him Cash for oats \$7.50 Settled in full for Blacksmithing and other business for all demands to date. Bad day very wet and disagreeable for the time of year

April, 1888

3 Paid Empson Cash \$5.00 on Horse Service Due Empson \$3.00.

5 Went to town Bought 1 set Harnes[s] of L. A. Bartlett. 1 set in full except 1 collar, for which I pay \$28.50 The pay for the Harness will be taken from my first months wages.

8 Finished my assessment. A. T. Sidwell helped me out. I paid him cash 3.00 I will charge the co. for 32 days work Rained after noon and nearly all night.

9 Commenced to work for L. A. Bartlett at this place Aurora.<sup>22</sup> Will get \$50.00 per month.

10 The man who was here in charge le[f]t this evening for Concordia will now try and run the business myself and will try my best to satisfy L. A. Bartlett.

12 Went to town Settled with Co. Board. Resigned the office of trustee T. S. McHenry was appointed in my stead. 1 spotted Sow Boarded. Made my report as trustee of Nelson township. Received for my services cash \$99.00 After making my report I resigned the office of trustee and bridge commissioner On motion T. S. McHenry was appointed to fill vacancy.

<sup>22</sup>. Aurora station had been located a few months previously.—*Concordia Kansas Blade*, November 18, 1887. It is in Aurora township, and is on the branch of the Santa Fe extending north through southern Cloud county to Concordia.

13 Came from home this morning found every thing as I left it. Dave Skeels called today.

14 Eve Bullied by John Stillingers Bull

15 Planted potatoes

18 Last night the wind terrible I was afraid the building and all would go. High wind north this morning. Cold and disagreeable. Look for the boys this morning.

26 High wind Terrific wind this after noon. Wind has been blowing for a week. Good rain yesterday 2 miles east.

27 Still blowing. Received a letter this morning [from] J. C. Zimmerman acknow[1]edging the receipt of \$8.00 The interest on note due April 10, 1888. Still blowing blowing Good rain today. Glory to God on high Thank the Lord for it all. This good rain will make the farmers rejoice with exceeding Joy. Raining harder and better. Let her rain, it is good for the Soul and the Soil

28 Turned cold after noon and rained good Dr Bigelow and Brother Pierce Called today.

30 Paid my Board this morning for last week Cash \$2.75. At noon commenced to board with Little Frank

May, 1888

2 Came up big rain and wind blew fearful Staid at Hotel last night.

5 Paid Mrs Frank Letourneau cash for board \$2.65 Drew Cash from L. A. Bartlett on wages \$3.00 Wife Johnny Mable and Freddie came after me.

6 At hom[e]. Good rain today. Johnny brought me to Jo Fiefs. I walked the balance of way on R. R. track. Arrived here 8.15 P. M. Hot and tired.

7 . . . rained most of the day

8 1st month out for work for L. A. Bartlett Drew Cash including Harness \$46.50

11 Big rain last night Ground full of water this morning. Received a letter yesterday from A. H. Dougall of Fort Wayne, Ind informing me that my muster had been corrected and that I would get 190 dollars.

12 Paid my board Cash \$3.00 Just about 1 dollar per week more than is justice.

17 Raining this morning Don't feel good today. Bad and disagreeable Cold and stormy. 2 very suspicious looking characters in town act like Bergulars



18 Cloudy and cold High wind north uncommon cold for this time of year

26 Great big good rain this morning.

30 Received 1 quart Whiskey Cash 55¢. Fine nice large Day. Sold 2 cultivators, 1 Riding and 1 walking.

June, 1888

1 Friday morning Nice little rain last night. Fine large morning. Had severe tooth ache last night. . . .

4 Commenced to Board with P. Miller. Commenced with Brexfast.

13 Paid John Brocaw Cash for white washing House at home \$2.00

20 Grand Great Good rain yesterday eve and last night Biggest rain this season. This is a great big fine morning

22 Due P. Miller for 1 weeks Board \$2.50

July, 1888

7 Paid P. Miller cash 7.50 for 3 weeks board paid up to date Received of L. A. Bartlett cash 10.75 Due me on third months wages Cash \$47.00 Third month out this 7 day of July 1888.

9 Borrowed Cash of J. C. Elliott \$50.00 on thirty days time note due August 8, 1888 interest paid. Paid my Tax last half 22.47.

14 Paid my bo[a]rd for this week Cash 2.50.

21 Paid my Board cash for last or this present week 2.50

August, 1888

6 Paid all accounts against me at Aurora. For board and other debts. S[e]ttled in full with L. A. Bartlett for all demands to Date Received cash from L. A. Barlett on account in full for all payments \$85.75. Went to town

11 Went to town Alba went to Smiths and Staid all night. Had big visit in town today. Home in good Season E.—— R.—— had his trial today. 3 years in the pen

18 Good rain in the evening.

19 Good rain in the evening. Monday morning Fine big morning ground pretty well Soaked. Cool and pleasant A little Breeze North west. All vegetation is bright and green this morning.

30 Sold 6 Steers for \$105.00 4 yearling steers \$60.00 2 2 year olds \$45.00. Total \$105.00. To be delivered in Concordia Sept. 3rd.

31 Brought my steers from pasture. Big trouble to get them out of pasture.

September, 1888

2 Sunday, went to Dave Skeels after noon. Fine nice cool day.

3 Sold Col. Dick Hartmire [Hartmeir?] 2 calves for \$12.00 2 cows \$42.00. Delivered my steers as per agreement. Delivered Said steers to Concordia. Paid Breed and Bush cash for Thres[h]-ing Oats 483 Bushels and Rye 16 Bushels \$10.30. 2¢ for oats 4¢ for rye

4 Dr Tobey spoke today at Aurora. Settled in full with Dr. Bigelow paid him Cash \$1.50. Paid Detrie Cash for cutting 11 acres of Oats \$11.00 in full for all demands. Highered Swites [Switze] Goble for one half month for \$9.00 commenced work today.

7 Delivered to Dick Hartmire 2 calves Received cash \$12.00

8 Went to town Judge John Martin Democratic candidate for governor spoke in Concordia Big crowd. Paid Flavius Longtin cash \$11.80 for pasturing 2 Horses and 9 Head Cattle

10 Mowed Grass Fearful windy

12 Stacked Hay, Switze Goble Layed off for present has in this noon 6½ days.

13 Big rain today Paid A. Ayers cash \$5.90 in full for all demands to date. Subscribed for the K. C. Times. Paid H. Russell cash \$1.00 for the Times

14 Received cash \$20.00 from Dick Hartmire for cow. Due me yet on one cow \$22.00. Paid Hank Slutman Cash for corn, \$5.00 in full for all demands.

22 Paid L. R. Hitt Cash \$5.00 for the return of my 1st Lieutt. commission. Sent him the money by Post office order To Chicago Illinois

25 Paid Switze Goble Cash \$9.00 for one Half months work in full for all demands to date

26 Received cash \$22.00 from Col. Dick Hartmaire [for] balance due on (2) cows.

27 Cool High wind N

29 Received my commission Settled with Editor Dunning of the Day Light. H. G. Allen Rochelle, Tex. One year free John Young Wolf Lake, Ind., one year free Paid subscription for V. A. Stewart Wolf Lake, Ind from last April to date and one year in advance. Also my own subscription for 1 year. Paid him cash \$3.00 is all he asked

October, 1888

2 Paid Mrs. T. C. McCassey Cash \$5.00 for Charley's Board  
This is \$10.00 Paid in full to date. Bought John a pair [of]  
gloves cash \$1.25

13 Bought George Pair [of] shoes \$1.25 Pa[i]r of Gloves \$1.25

14 Big rain this morning. Ground pretty well Soaked.

16 Went to Clyde to big Democratic Barbecue 5000 people  
there

19 Borrowed 43 lbs Beef of Slutman, Borrowed 13 lbs before.  
Due Slutman in Beef 56 lbs.

November, 1888

12 Sold 4 Hogs weight 1260 lbs 4.65 Per Hundred = \$58.59.  
Paid Switze Goble Cash \$9.00 in full for all demands to date.

21 Sold Dick. Hartmaier 1 cow 24.00 1 Heifer 16.00 1 Hog  
13.00 Total \$53.00

24 Cow Deliver[e]d and received cash \$25.00 Due on stock  
\$28.00 Paid Election Bet To L. A. Bartlett 1 Quart [of] whiskey.  
This was the extent of my Betting Received paper from T. R. Hitt  
Chicago in relation to my claim before the department of Wash-  
ington

27 Killed and Dressed 20 Turkeys.

29[28?] Took 18 Turkeys to Town, Sold them for \$15.60  
Bought pair [of] gloves Cash 1.00 1 box c[r]ackers 20 lbs \$1.50  
2 Quart[s] Cranberries 20¢ 1 lamp chimney 10¢ Cold and cloudy  
and Disagreeable. Got home in good season in the evening. Eat  
Supper 7 P. M. Family all tired and worn out, Selah.

29 Thanksgiving Day. Tom. Sidwell and Family and Sawdy  
and Family took dinner with us today. A pleasant day we Had.  
Mailed a letter to Blade asking for bill of indebtedness

30 Took Dinner with Democrat Smith. A great big day. Possum  
Turkey and sweet potatoes and whiskey Rah for Democrat Smith

December, 1888

1st Day warm and pleasant.

2 Sunday fine day for this time of year.

3 Monday Mother John and George went to town Bought  
overcoats for the boys, paid cash \$8.00

4 Dr. T. C. McCassey called. I went with him to Flavius Longtin  
where he Dehorned 62 head of cattle. The Dr. Staid over night with  
us. A pleasant evening was passed playing Card[s] and eating  
apples. Went to bed 11 P. M. Received a letter from Blade stating

I owed him \$1.00 which is wrong. I can not owe him that amount.

5 Went with Dr. McCCasey to Jo. Feifs where he Dehorned 73 head [of] cattle went from Feifs to George Cota's, could not catch his steers we returned to my place where the Dr. staid all night

6 Had 3 cows Dehorned. Dr. McCCasey went home this morning. Wind South West. John Kellenbarger went by this morning and Said his wife is improving

7 C—— G—— came home from the Penitentry, "Selah" Friday Went to town after dinner. Settled with Jim Hagaman for the Blade. Paid him Cash \$1.00 which was at least 75¢ more than I owed him. Goodby[e] old Jim for me forever. Bought zink for washing machine, stove damper, wad puller & lamp chimney

8 Halled hay in fore noon. Went to Aurora after Dinner. Got Medicine for Mabel. Received a letter from old Jim Hagaman. Think he is conscience stricken offers me 50¢ as over pay for the Blade. Mabel quite sick Drove Jessee for the first time.

9 Sunday. At home Fine day. Warm.

10 Monday, went to town. Sold Editor Dunning a turkey 7 Pounds = cash 70¢. Fine day.

11 Went to town with Truman Pierce. Attended funeral of Brother William Hasket[t] who was buried with Masonic Honors. Rather cold, got home 7 P. M. Received cash from Dick Hartmaire \$10.00 Due me yet \$3.00

14 Friday Went to town Sent Dr. McDonal[d] H. P. Applebaugh and H. B. Parvin petitions for application for membership to Masonic Lodge. Went to Aurora had my buggie fixed. Took Dinner with Atwood the Banker

15 Went to town sent Dr. McDonal[d] H. P. Applebaug[h] and H. B. Parvin Blanks for application for membership in Masonic Lodge. Wind changed north after noon. Turned cold, Sold nine Turkeys

16 Sunday. At home cold cloudy High wind north. Disagreeable day.

17 Monday cleaned and painted my Buggie Rather cool

18 Fair Day . . . Hank Slutman Billy Slutman and Bertrams Girls Called in the evening. Later in the evening Dr. McDonald and H. P. Applebaugh of Aurora called, High five was in order for the eve.

19 Cloudy and cold in fore noon. Warm and pleasant after noon. Finished painting my Buggy

21 Went to town attended Lodge Paid my dues Cash \$4.50.

Had Great big good time. Came home with Truman Pierce. Subscribed for the Day Light for Mrs. Lybilla Frey for one year Cash 52¢

22 Dressed 10 Turkeys 9 for the market. High wind South & dusty.

23 High wind S. cloudy misted a little. Miss Inghram called today from Republic Co. Bad day Disagreeable

24 Went to town. Home at noon. Bought Christmas presents for the children, 3 O'clock P.M. Received word, that Democrat Smith's Daugh[ter] was Sick and we were requested to come. Wife and I went got there 6 P.M. Daughter very sick Typhoid fever.

25 Arrived home 10 AM. Then went to Proff Sawdy's and took Dinner with them. Fine Turkey roast. Pleasant time was had. Grand Mother Gardner Died last night, age 80 years. Miss Inghram here. This is Christmas Christ 1888 years old had he lived This is a cold bad Day.

26 Fair day. Charley came home.

27 Fine day. Killed Beef Paid Slutman the Beef Borrowed some time ago 56 lbs & loaned him 16 lbs This leaves me 13 head [of] cattle.

28 Good Day. Went to Town [in] after noon Staid all night with Democrat Smith. Anna is a little better.

29 Fine big Day. Came home from town. Mrs. Truman Pierce here. George W. Greathouse's Baby buried today.

[30] Sunday fine Day Snowed 2 inches last night. Warm and pleasant. Snow all gone by evening. Bill[y] Slutman called in the evening.

31 Monday. Good day.

January, 1889

1 Fine day. Good Day

2 Fine Big day Mother and John went to town. I went to Clyde.

3 Sold 5 Hogs weight 1580 lbs 4.50 per hundred = \$71.10 Paid Mrs McCassey Cash for Charleys board \$10.00 Bought[t] George a pair [of] Boots cash \$2.50 1 cap cash .45 Home in good season.

4 Went to Aurora. Bought chicken Medicine and 1 Pint Knockemstiff

5 Went to town. Sold 4 Hogs weight 1140 lbs 4.50 per hundred = \$51.30 Bought cloth for John a suit. Home in good Season The Boys went to Reeves to a party, night Dark as tar Went

to town. Bought lumber cash \$2.44 lime cash 30¢ paid Mother cash \$6.00. Poor old McIntosh Sold out by his creditors. Broke up, too bad in his old age.

6 Fine big day. Dr. McCasey and Wife called and visited us today. Alba and the boys at church this evening.

7 Went to town. Staid all night with Dr. McCasey, attended Masonic school of instruction: Stop[p]ed the Ligonier [Ind.] Banner. Paid cash \$3.75

8 Attended Masonic s[c]hool Staid all night with Democrat Smith. Subscribed for Chicago Daily News for one year cash \$2.50 Dated today, home in evening

11 Went to town after noon Bought flour & 6 gallons Kerosene oil. Gave Mother cash 3.00 Took a drink of whiskey with Democrat Smith. . . . My Dan. Colt went away last night and the boys are this evening Searching for him. Cold today. High wind South.

13 Sunday. Cloudy and cold. Snowed a little

14 Monday. Snowed last night a little Still snowing & misting today. Light wind East. Bad Day on Stock. The boys at School. Disagreeable Day on Man or Beast.

15 Rained all night last night and Still raining This Morning wind south. Big rain for winter. Hard on Stock. Boys at School. Ground covered with ice and Water. Plenty of Slush. Big rain Rained all day very disagreeable. The frost about all out.

16 Cold High wind N. W. Ground froze. Snowed a little last night. Went to Rice with Henderson Bough[t] 1 Pair [of] Boots 2.45 1 Pair over shoes 1.15 1 Pair gloves 1.75 [Total] \$5.35 Pleasant in eve. Slutman's young people and Henry Secrist Called in the evening.

18 Went to town after noon. Attended lodge H. P. Applebaugh took first Degree. Staid all night with Dr. McCasey. Snowed a little During the night.

19 Snowed nearly all day. Came home from town with John Stillinger. Bad day. Paid Charleys tuition. Paid Geiger School Clerk. Cash \$2.50 for the month of January.

20 Sunday. At home all day about 3 inches of Snow on the ground. Bright and clear.

21 Monday. Fine day Went to town with Dr. McDonald. Snow about all gone. Concordia was full of people. Dr. O. H. Young Died this morning. . . .

22 Went to Concordia Buried Dr. O. H. Young with Masonic

Honors. Gave Mother Cash \$5.00 Home in good season Roads fearful bad

23 Wednesday. Fine day. Cold in the morning Halled Hay in the morning. Boys at school. Commenced to thaw about noon. Had my Hair cut and whiskers trim[m]ed today. Good weather for the Season Went to town [in] after noon with Dr. McDonald Dr. Bigelow & H. P. Applebaugh. Dr. McDonald took the first Degree in Masonary. Arrived home 12½ A. M. Midnight

24 Fine Day. quite unwell.

25 Extraordinary fine Day. Pain in left Side and unwell otherwise. Wind changed to the north 8 P. M. 9 P M High wind north Disagreeable night. Slutman Killed a beef today

26 Cloudy high wind north. cold.

27 Sunday bad Day. Cold high wind. North. Snowing blowing quite stormy Miss May and Callie Slutman Called today and had Dinner with us today.

28 Monday Fine day. High wind North west. Mrs. Slutman Called today, George sick at home today.

29 Fine day indeed. George sick at home. Mother went to John Kellenbarger's.

30 Fine day. Helped Snavelys take up their pump. Mother and Freddie went to Gobles. I was sick after noon and during the night.

31 Fine day. Wind N. went to Aurora after noon. Bought liniment 1 pack [of] cards. Suffered terribly with rheumatism during evening and night.

February, 1889

1 Bright clear Fine day. W. So. W. Spotted heifer had her left hind leg broken some how or other today. Hank Slutman knocked her in the head and stuck her. Dr. McCCasey called Also Truman Pierce and Frank Miller I released Frank from his rental of the Banta farm and rented it to Truman Pearce [Pierce], on the same conditions

2 Fine day. Dressed a beef, went to town sold beef hide for cash \$1.50 Paid Mrs. McCCasey cash for Charleys board \$5.00 This is ground hog day Bright and clear

3 Sunday. Fine warm day. John and Alba went to Sawdys, Squire Stoner and wife visited us today. I hear today that my heifer had her leg broken at Snavely's, . . .

4 Monday Fine day Wind North west Wife went to Ames

visiting. This is the meanest day this season Fearful wind north west and north wind and Dust to beat the Dutch. Hay stacks torn Down and scattered. Awful bad day.

5 Fine pleasant morning wind east. Old gentleman Spargur Called today. Cloudy.

6 Sold L. W. Spargur 70 lbs Beef 3¢ per lb = \$2.10 Halled Hay went to Rice.

7 Fine Day, went to Rice Switze Goble and Hen Snavely Called in the eve.

8 Bright and clear high wind north west Cold. Bad cold. Soar Throat.

9 Went to town. Snowed Terrific while coming home. The finest Snow in 10 years. Bought 4 bits 2 for iron and 2 for wood also one gallon oil = cash \$1.50 Sold 1 Turkey cash 55¢ Paid for repairing Shoes 50¢ Bought flour cash \$1.55 Tea 30¢ Sold Eggs cash 65¢. Snow about 3 inches deep.

10 Sunday. Fine day Snow all gone. High wind north west. John Rode Gipsy for the first time. At home all day. Soar Throat

11 Fine day. Cloudy and pleasant. Monday Wash Day. Herded cattle in Stock field Sore throat

12 Fine day indeed.

13 Fine day. Went to town with Wife and children. Freddie and Mabel had their pictures taken. Had Dinner with Dr. T. C. McCCasey.

14 Fine Day Wife and children visited with Dave Skeels. Went with Dave to Pin town after Dinner.

15 Friday Fog[g]y cloudy and disagreeable, went to town in the evening with H. B. Parvin and Gus. Beauchamp, attended lodge, Parvin took the first degree. Arrived home about mid-night Snowed during the night and quite Disagreeable. Parvin paid for the oysters.

16 Saturday Snow about 2 inches deep wind north and Disagreeable. At home today.

17 Sunday Snowed all day. Bad day.

18 Bright and clear, 2 Degrees above Zero this morning. The coldest morning this winter. Went to F. A. Thompson's in answer to garneshee in the case wherein Isaac Gennette is plaintiff and Hebert Lupprenney Defendant. For the insurance for 2 colts \$20.00 Home at noon. The Boys staid at home from School today Fine winter day Wrote to Albion [Ind.] Democrat to



Stop Short, never to go again Sent him P. O. for \$3.18 Cussed outrage that the one that sent it did not pay for it.

19 Bright and clear cold day. Went to town after noon. Found Charley sick. Mother staid with him. Sent P. O. to Albion Democrat to Stop.

20 Bright and clear. Pleasant. Went to town after noon, Lonesome at home without mother. Home a poor place without a mother. Charley a little better But not well enough for Mother to come home. So I am alone with the children tonight. This the coldest morning Just Zero. Wind S. West.

21 Clear and cool [Wind] S. W. Wash day boy at home Six degrees above Zero Mother Reeves & Mrs Carlton and Boys visited us today, went to town after noon with John. Charley better. Mother came home. Turned fearful cold in the evening.

22 Washington's birthday. Had he live[d] till today he would be 157 years old. The God Father of our common country. Dan Bull Died. Big loss Cold High wind N. E. Just Zero this morning Cold bad day

23 Fine cold day. This the coldest day this year 4 degrees belo[w] Zero Went to Rice after noon.

24 Bright clear 2 Degrees above Zero Truman Pearce [Pierce] called This is Sunday

25 Monday, Cloudy and Snowed all fore noon. Went to town after noon. Bought flour and Sugar, Cash \$2.15

26 Cloudy and Warm This is Tuesday. At home

27 Warm and cloudy, went to town after noon Slutman moved home

28 Cloudy Foggy, Hazy Misty Disagreeable all day. Wife and I went to Dr. Bigelows in morning. Baby Bigelow very Sick. Fearful Muddy. This The last day of February, and Thursday. Arthur Kinsler of Rooks Co. Called today.

March, 1889

1st Day. Cloudy and warm, very muddy. This is wash Day. This is Friday. Disagreeable Huschers are out looking for their Dog. They think him mad. Shoot him on the Spot

2 Saturday. Went to town and Smiths Brought Turkey Gobbler from Smiths. Paid Mr McCasesh Cash \$5.00 for Charley's Board Gave Charley cash \$2.00 Roads fearful muddy.

3 Sunday Fine day indeed for the time of year. John & Alba went to Stoners, Horse back Mrs George Reeves very sick

4 Fine day Mother went to George Reeves, Mrs Reeves not better. Went to Rice with Truman Pierce

5 Mother came from Reeves this morning Mrs. Reeves no better I visited Dr. Bigelow last night, his baby very sick. No hopes for it. Yesterday was The ina[u]gural of Ben Harrison. Now the Republicans are in full power. Corruption and malfancers in office will run rampant. A little more Tax. The robber tariff Should stop. Thieves will now prosper The rich will get richer and the poor will get poorer, *Selah*

6 Fine day indeed. Went to town with Dave Skeels. Charley came home today. Home in good Season. 4 P. M. Eva calved Bull

7 Clear and cool. Went to N. Courvill's [Courville] Sale. Went to Dave Skeels, had a drink with Dave Dr. McDonald and Dr. Jeannotte. Commenced to cut Stalks.

8 Cloudy and cold, George cutting Stalks. Mother and Charley Staid all night at Dr. Bigelows, Baby no better.

9 Saturday went to town Charley went to town. Alba Staid at Bigelows last night. Baby Bigelow no better Bought Flour & Sugar \$3.15.

10 Sunday Fine day indeed. At home all day. Baby Bigelow no better. Bean Soup for dinner. T. W. Spargur Paid Cash \$2.10 for Beef purchased some time ago Settled in full.

11 Monday Fine day warm, made fence, fearful tired.

12 Tuesday Fine day made fence. Staid all night at Dr. Bigelow's

13 Went to Longtin's Sale Dr. McCasey called and Staid all night Alba is at Dr. Bigelow's. High wind S.

14 Fine and warm till middle afternoon wind changed north and turned cold. George and Alba went to Rice. Bought 5 Bushels potatoes 25¢ per bus. Received a letter from J. C. Zimmerman and one from V. A. Stewart J. C. Zimmerman's Dated and Mailed Feb. 11. Stamped at Rice Feb. 13. 10 P. M. commenced to rain and hail, bad cold night.

15 Cloudy and Disagreeable

16 Fair day. Went to town Bought George a knife, 45¢. Traded my knife for a new one.

17 Sunday. Rained all day Fearful Disagreeable

18 Cloudy. High wind north Old Jane sick today

19 Fancy calved last night Fine morning Baby Fred sick. Got medicine from Dr. Bigelow. Cleaned Chicken House and

cellar. Went to Rice to Shop. Wash day. . . . Went to town  
 Got a dog. Had Slutman's Stretcher repaired Cloudy. Went to  
 Dr. Bigelows and Stoners. Got 24 bushels of black oats from  
 Stoner, will exchange with him. Rained a little in evening. Killed  
 the old Dog. Barns came home with me from town.

21 Alba & John went to Rice Commenced to sow Oats after  
 Dinner For the first this season.

22 Sowed oats Trustee McHenry called today. My assess-  
 ment amounted to \$320.00 Exemption \$200.00 [Total] \$120.00  
 Taxable property \$120.00 for 1889.

23 Saturday. Fine day went to town. Bought a hat and  
 monkey wrench. Flour & sugar & Suspenders \$3.15 Had a tooth  
 pulled by Dr. Priest.

24 Sunday. Fine Day indeed, very fine. Alba at Sunday school

25 Monday. Fine day sowed oats.

26 Good day. Sowed oats. Sold Dick for cash \$85.00 Too  
 cheap for a good horse C. H. Willard and Rushton Called in the  
 evening.

27 Finished Sowing oats Returned Truman Pierce's Oats.  
 Snowed and rained fearful bad day.

28 Fair Day. Harrowed in oats. Finished cultivating in Oats.

29 Cloudy and cool High wind north. Mean bad morning.  
 Finished the oats

30 Went to town. Bought Grindstone 2.50 spade 1.25 Nails  
 & Tobacco .90 . . . plow Sharpening .25 Hoe Handle & file  
 .20 Hatchet .75 Groceries 1.00 Potatoes 1.65 Cash \$9.15. . . .

31 Sunday Fine day high wind north. Old Gentleman  
 Spargur Called this after noon. At home all day.

April, 1889

1st Day. Monday Fine day went to town Bought John a  
 pair Shoes \$3.00. . . . Planted Potatoes. Broke the plow.  
 Got repairs for plow in town, 1.05

2 High wind & Dusty Planted Potatoes. Commenced to plow  
 for corn, Cut Stalks.

3 Cold, High wind north, plowed & Cut Stalks.

5 Friday. Finished cutting Stalks. The horses run away and  
 Broke stalk-cutter all to hell. Kit had her foot cut about half  
 off. Bad job. Dr. McDonald called and I went to town with  
 him. Attended lodge. Dr. McDonald took the Second Degree.  
 Home 2 in the morning.

6 Saturday Fearful wind went to town and took Stalk cutter for repairs. Home 6 P. M.

7 Sunday. At home all day. . . . Bertram's young people called in the evening. John went to hen peck to church in the evening.

8 Misty and rained a little.

9 Fine day. Returned C. C. Stoner's oats. Went to town after Dinner. Sold 4 Bush. apples \$1.00 per bushel. Got repairs for stalk cutter=Cash \$5.50 Abe Whitehead was Killed yesterday by a runaway team will be buried the 10[th] at Concordia Cemetery By Oddfellows. Bought half Bushel Early potatoes for Seed, 50¢

10 Cloudy rained a little Put stalk cutter together. . . . Burial of Abe Whitehead today by the Odd fellows Rained nearly all after noon. Ground full Big rain during night

11 Rained shower after noon. Killed a hog. Ground full of water.

12 Jane Foaled 10 days Over Time Horse colt little and poor. Cloudy and cold wind north west . . .

13 Went to town sold 3 Bushels apples Cash \$3.00 Bought John pair Shoes \$1.50 Sugar 1.00 Lye 15¢ pepper 25¢ Car-bolic acid 15¢ strap 10¢ Ordered Day Light stop[p]ed for H. G. Allen Rochelle, Texas. Cloudy and cold wind S. E. Received a letter from Washington stating my claim had been allowed \$77.58

14 Sunday. At home till after noon. Went to Dave Skeels. Had One Drink Whiskey with Dave and Oda McIntosh. Got Dave's plow.

15 Fine Day Plowed Freddies Birth Day, 3 years old

16 Plowed. Rained after noon. A good Shower. . . . Rained Good during the night

17 Went to Rice had plows sharpened. Sent J. C. Zimmerman register[ed] letter \$6.50 for interest Due April 10 Bought Mabel shoes \$1.40 Stray colt came here yesterday. Big rain during night

18 Cloudy & cool. Went to Rice Alba and Mabel went to Smiths. Bought flour \$1.50 Tobacco & socks 80¢ Mrs. Kellenbarger very sick Took Mother & Grandmother Slutman there 8 P. M. Terrible sick. The Boys halled manure

19 Went to Rice, bought 6 Gallons oil \$1.00 6 Bushels Seed corn of Sam Magaw \$1.50 Took sick coming home stop[p]ed at Spargurs. . . . Plowed for corn

20 Kitt Had a colt This Morning Horse colt 11 Days overtime. Went to town and Democrat Smith for Dinner Bought George Shoes \$2.50 Pants \$2.50 Shirt and socks .75 John 1 shirt .50. . . . Hat for Freddie .35 [Total] \$6.60 Home 4 P. M. Children went to Aurora to an Easter party, at H. B. Parvins.

21 Sunday. Mother and I went to Kellenbargers after Dinner. Mrs Kellenbarger very sick. Fine warm Day. Quit feeding hay to my cattle the 12th Day. This is the earliest for 16 years.

22 Good Day. . . . Bill choked on oats. . . .

23 . . . Finished plowing for corn. High wind W. worth. Johnny went to Kellenbargers in evening. Billy Slutman called in evening.

24 Planted corn. This is the Earliest I ever planted Dusty & Bad Day.

25 Planted corn. . . .

26 Planted corn Fearful wind and Dust Worst day this season. Quite unwell today.

27 Good Day. Finished Planting corn with planter. Went to town. Bought Flour \$1.50 Sugar 1.00 Tobacco 40¢ Coffee 50¢ Other Stuff \$2.00 1 Pair Pants \$2.00 = \$7.00 [?] Saturday. Settled in full with Squire Thompson, wherein I was Garnesheed to pay [appear?] into court wherein L. Gennette was plaintiff and H. W. Luppenney Defendant. For the services of horse for 2 colts \$10.00 each = \$20.00 My fee in the cas[e] was \$1.20.

28 Sunday, went to Dave Skeels Got my Lister and one bushel of seed corn, 1 Good Drink Whiskey, home 2 P. M. Cloudy and cool. Threatens rain Saw D. Hebert & Morris Malone

29 Rained last night and still raining this morning, cold and disagreeable wet. Took my cattle to Longtin's pasture 2 cows with calves 1 cow Dry. 4 yearlings 1 yearling Heifer and three steers. 2 cows white one Roan all three hornless Went to Aurora. Bought 1 jug oil 40¢ Listers lays 50¢ Total 90¢ Cattle in Longtin's pasture total 9 Head

30 Good day. Commenced to list corn. Ground in fine condition The old man unwell last night and today.

May, 1889

1 Wednesday Big frost this morning. Cloudy and cool. Boys listing corn. Good day.

2 Went to town with Charley Muller, Bought 2 ounces Laudanum. . . . Came home with Lisha Ledoux. Boys listing corn.

3 Good day. Boys listing corn. Frost this morning also yesterday morning.

4 Went to town with Graveline. Came [back] with J. T. Henderson. Bad day Strong wind South.

5 Fearful wind South This is Sunday. At home all day. John Elliott called and wanted water.

6 Monday. Fearful wind south. Dusty & Disagreeable Johnny listing corn. Planted sweet corn in the orchard. . . . Terrible, Terrific cussed mean Day Dust and wind almost unbearable. Fearful Dusty. High wind South. This day too big for Johnny. Planted sweet corn

7 Finished planting corn Planted Beans & Potatoes Pretty fair Day. Wind S. W. Mother Snavelly called in evening for Milk Her Horses ran away

8 Fearful warm. George & Alba went to Aurora. Rained Hard During the night. Big rain

9 Good rain last night Old Granny Died this morning. We buried her Decent. Try, Her colt is four weeks old tomorrow. Cloudy and warm. Plowed in the Orchard, Corn coming up nicely. Rained good During the night

10 Cloudy & cool Rained today Dave Skeels called today Big rain last night.

11 Cloudy & cool Went to town. Bought Paint 2.05 Brush 25¢ oil 25¢ Flour 1.50 Tobacco 40¢ sugar 1.00 Coffee 50¢ Kerosene oil 40¢ Hog Medicine 70¢, Total \$7.05

12 Sunday. Cloudy & Rainy. Rained hard last night. Dull and gloomy today. Rained nearly all day Ground full of water

13 Monday Fine day Wash Day. The boys and Jimmy Bertram went to the river Fishing.

14 Good day. Boys home at noon. Caught 2 Fish. But had lots [of] fun. Commenced to paint the house. . . .

15 Painted white washed and all kinds of work Good and tired.

16 Good Day. Big rain in the evening. John & Alba went to Rice after Dinner. Good rain. Big rain

17 Cold and High wind north. Big rain last night Cold and wet. Ground full of water. Saturday went to town, Bought Meat 70¢ Paint 2.10 Sugar 50¢ Tobacco 45¢ Oat meal 25¢ Candy 5¢ Potatoes 60¢ = \$4.65 Good Day Boys went Fishing. . . .

18 Sunday. Charley and Jimmy Hagaman were here. Also Mr & Mrs Kellenbarger also Lisha Ledoux and sister also Frank

& Miss May Slutman. George Arther called and staid all night Rained a good shower. Hank Slutman called in the evening. Went to Rice after Charley and Jimmy Hagaman. George and John Returned them to Rice in the evening

19 Fine day went to Dave Skeels wife boy Mabel and George Arther. From there to Pin town. Beat the boys playing Brazzel Dazzle Home in good Season.

20 Fine day painted on the house. Alba went to Aurora. . . .

21 Good Day. Took up pump & one piece fell in. Paid Curt Goble cash 1.00 to get it out. Commenced to plow corn after Dinner. Big Job to fix pump and put it in again. Old Gentleman Spargur called today.

23 Thursday. Big excitement Mad dog Bit Nip Betsy Ellen and Jessie. Killed the dog. Went to town. Bought Rope 45¢ Ammunition 45¢ Tobacco 15¢ Oil 20¢ Total \$1.25 Home in evening. Killed Nip. Shot him. Rained Good during the night.

24 Good day John and Alba went to town and Staid all night

25 Fine morning Rained a little last night. John & Alba Home at noon.

26 Sunday. Cloudy & cool High wind North west. Monday

27 Went to town with Fred. Thompson. Bought over alls 1.00 Suspenders 25¢ Sugar 50¢ Lye 10¢ meal 25¢ Total \$2.10. . . . Rained a little today

28 Tuesday. Rained most of the day. Ground well soaked. Big Shower 4 P. M.

29 Cloudy & cold. Rained last night. Made fence around the orchard. Old Mother Snavelly called

30 Decoration Day, went to town with Dr. Hebert. Bought sweet Potatoes plants. Big crowd in town.

31 Friday The last day of May. Good Day howed corn.

June, 1889

1 Saturday. Went to town. Bought sugar 1.00 Coffee 50¢ Toba. .40 soda 10¢ Total \$2.00 Rained a little Shower in the evening.

2 Fine Glorious morning This is Sunday.

3 Monday. Went to town with Paul Ward. Paid interest on 40 Acres \$7.00 Home 4 P. M.

4 Good Day. Fine day. Dr. McCassey & wife called and visited us today. . . . I went with Dr. to Whites. . . . Home in good season for supper. Dr. brought 2 bottles of beer, which was good very good.

5 Good Day.

6 High wind south. Dusty and Disagreeable. Picked the mulberries took  $1\frac{1}{2}$  gal[l]ons off 1 tree. Got about half on this tree Tied Jessie This morning. . . . Jessie was bitten by Mad Dog, May 23rd

7 Cloudy & warm. Alba went to Aurora. Boys finished plowing the checked corn the second time. 9 P.M. Thundering & Lightning. wind North East. Looks stormy.

8 Good rain last night Went to town. Good rain today. Bought George pair shoes 1.50 Flour 1.50 Sugar 50¢ Tobacco 40¢ Shovels sharpened 80¢ Total \$4.70 I spent my last Dollar today. Home in good season.

9 Sunday. Helped Dig a grave for Spikers child. Sunday School picnic today in Henderson's grove. Cloudy and cool This is written with a goose Quill.

10 Monday Good rain last night. Cloudy & warm, took Dave Skeels rake home. Turned Jessie and Betsy Ellen out this morning. This is the 19th Day since they were bitten by supposed Rabid Dog. Betsy Ellen bitten by a snake today. This was Wash Day.

13 Thursday Clear & Warm Mrs. W. B. Smith came today and Staid all night

14 Friday. Fine day. Mrs W. B. Smith here Boys plowing corn. Alba went to Aurora. Mrs. Smith started Home 5 P. M.

15 Saturday Finished plowing listed corn the second time. Great big rain after Dinner.

16 Sunday. Good Day Kit Goble bitten yesterday by a rattlesnake. Warm day

17 Cloudy & warm

18 Went to town Sold 4 Hogs Weight 1080 [lbs] price  $3\frac{1}{2}$  = \$37.80 Bought 2 Hats 50¢ Lunch 20¢ Gave John 1.00 Gave Mother \$10.00 Paid my tax last half Cash \$20.37 1 cigar 5¢ 1 Glass beer 5¢ = \$32.17. Fearful hot. Home in good season 5 P. M. Window screens 95¢ Total \$33.12

19 Good Day. Commenced to pick cherries, plowed the Sweet corn

21 Friday. Went to town with Dr. McDonald and O. B. Lewis. Attended Lodge. Home 12 Midnight.

22 Saturday Cloudy & Warm. Went to town after dinner.

23 Sunday, went to Longtin's pasture to see cattle. H. F. Rog-



ers came and took a v[i]ew of our House. High wind South. Bill Short & Family visited us today. Dr. McCassey called in the evening.

24 Monday. Cloudy & cool.

25 Went to town Alex Hadley went with me Sold 36 Quarts [of] Cherries 8¢ per Quart \$2.88 Bought 1 sack flour, 1.35 Sugar 1.00 4 cans 56¢ = Total \$2.93 [?] Home at noon.

26 Went to town Sold Topsy cow weight 850 [lbs.] \$1.80 per hundred, Cash \$15.30 Bought Twine 78¾ lbs. \$12.60 1 Pair Suspenders 35¢, 1 Glass beer 5¢ = Total \$13.00 Home 2 P. M. Mrs. W. T. Short here for cherries.

28 Friday Hot

29 Saturday Went to town. Sold 1 Bushel cherries \$2.15 in trade, boug[ht] Cans 75¢ Tobacco 45¢ Rice 25¢ Candy 5¢ Coffee 50¢ Nails 25¢ Total \$2.15 [?].

30 Sunday Grand glorious rain. Boss Thankful.

July, 1889

1 Monday. Commenced to Harvest Oats.

2 Tuesday. Finished cutting Winter Oats, Due G. Huscher for cutting 10 acres \$7.50

3 Went to Rice. The Boys went to town.

4 Went to town Alba and Mabel Home 6½ P. M. Alba and the Boys Home 2 A. M. Fine glorious 4th, The 113th independence. Bought 4 fruit Cans 50¢ 2 cigars 10¢ 1 milk Punch 5¢.

5 Mother Alba Mabel & Freddie went to Aurora. High wind south. Picked Cherries.

6 Saturday went to town Sold ½ bushel cherries 1.00 Home, Took up Pump Bought 21 lbs twine of N W Thomas, 16½¢ per lb = \$3.46. Payable September 1, 1889.

7 Sunday. High wind South. Took up pump this morning.

8 Monday. Democrat Smith & Family came visiting.

9 Tuesday. Wet, Muggy Misty cut One round before Dinner.

10 Wednesday. Finished cutting Oats Due Truman Pearce [Pierce] For cutting 20 acres Oats \$15.00

11 Thursday. Cloudy & warm Boys Halled a load of Sand.

12 Big rain in the Morning. Every thing looks promising this morning. . . . Went to Aurora Borrowed \$50.00 from Bank. Due in six months. 8 Per cent

13 Good rain this morning. Went to town bought Lumber 4.00 Sugar 1.00 Flour 1.50 Tobacco 40¢ matches .25 meal

25 Beer 10¢, Shoes 2.00 Hat .25, Beef 65¢ Total \$10.40 Big rain in the night. Sister Ellen came.

14 Sunday [Excerpts from Young's political comments at the end of his diary notes for 1889:]

Republican platform[:] We believe in high priced blankets and taxed machinery, but to offset this the high taxed blankets to American labor we propose to make whiskey free. Harrison and free whiskey Harrison and free Chinese immigration The love of the republican party is past finding out

The republicans refuse cheap clothing [for] The naked, but they want free whiskey for the drunken sot. What has the American workman to sell? His labor, and labor comes in without paying a tax of any kind What does the American workman buy? Taxed clothes, taxed tools, taxed lumber, taxed stoves for his kitchen This is the way the tariff works and protects labor. . . .

Twine Trust. The Mills bill put sisal grass on the free list. Sisal grass grown only in Yucatan. Senate bill raised the tariff or duty from \$15.00 to 30.00 The Mills bill lowered the duty on foreign twine. The Senate bill increased it. . . .

Democratic reform means a reform that shall sweep away useless taxation from coal, salt, sugar, lumber, wool and clothing. The grand universal necessities of life. We mean a reform that shall give relief not to the man who is chewing his untaxed cud in the saloon or smoking his untaxed pipe around a baroom fire. We mean a relief that shall stretch out to every cabin and every humble home to every kitchen and chamber, to every fireside

The Republican party can swallow Longstreet Mosby and Mahone but choke on Lamar. . . .

Blaine, Logan, Sherman and the republicans generally Said [in 1884] That if Grover Cleveland was elected President the rebel debt would be paid. Rebels would be pensioned. The Negroes would be reenslaved and everything generally would go to the Devil. Blaine and Sherman may be able to skin a cat with neatness and dispatch but they will not answer the above. . . .

[Diary missing from July 14, 1889, to June 8, 1890.]

[*Part Two Will Appear in the August, 1946, Issue*]

## 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, 1944, to September 30, 1945. Government and state official publications and some books of a general nature are not included. The total number of books accessioned appears in the report of the secretary in the February issue of the *Quarterly*.

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# Bypaths of Kansas History

## A WEATHER REPORT IN 1858

From *The Kansas News*, Emporia, July 24, 1858.

JOURNAL OF THE WEATHER.—Thursday, the 15th, hot; Friday, hotter; Saturday, hottest; Sunday, Hottentot; Monday, Hottentotentissimo; Tuesday, hot as —.

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## “A WOMAN’S WORK IS NEVER DONE”

From *The Dickinson County Chronicle*, Abilene, June 7, 1878.

Chapman has a young lady worth to the country more than a regiment of loafers who adorn dry goods boxes. She farms summers and attends school in the winter. She does her own plowing—using a sulky plow—and in fact does nearly all the work herself. This year she has one hundred acres of fine wheat, and will cut and bind it herself—using a self-binder. If we were only single, Sunday afternoon would find us on the road to Chapman.

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## AN OUTSIDER’S VIEW OF AFFAIRS AT DODGE CITY

From the *Jetmore Republican*, April 29, 1881.

There was quite a shooting affray on Saturday the 16th in Dodge City. It appears that the proprietors of a dance house, had an altercation, the bartender took sides, this made a big fight for Jim. Masterson, who sent to Colorado for his brother Bat. (the ex-sheriff of Ford Co.) to come and help make the fight. Bat. took the first train, and in a few days alighted in Dodge, six-shooter and all, he soon beheld Peacock, and Updegraff, his brothers' opposers (the men he came for) he immediately commenced, they returned the shot and took the City Jail for breast works, Bat took to a bank by the railroad track, there were about twenty shots fired some passing through saloons, and business houses. Updegraff was shot through the lungs, for awhile he was considered fatally wounded, during which time the City authorities arrested Bat for carrying fire arms; right Hon. T.S. Jones late Police Judge elect with the dignity of high court imposed the enormous sum of \$8. As near as we can learn the other city officials done their duty, the aggressor compromised with the state, by leaving the city. If cow-boys, or farmers had committed the same offence, they would have been prosecuted to the very end of the law by the most successful prosecutor in western Kansas. But they were members of the old “gang” and must be educated by degrees; for instance if one of them assault with a deadly weapon and is examined before the assaulted is quite dead then have the assaulter fined \$8 and be compelled to leave the city for twenty hours; but if the wounded party dies, before the trial then the murderer should be fined at least \$10 and arrested under a state warrant, if found in the town for the week immediately after the shooting. It will never do to be too hard on the boys at first and have them arrested for hurting some one. The state law is a pretty good thing to have though, for the purpose of prosecuting any one who should hurt one of the old boys.

## Kansas History as Published in the Press

A sketch of the early history of the first school at Scandia, established in 1870, was published in the *Scandia Journal*, January 4, 1945. Most of the article was written by P. T. Strom, one of the pupils of the first school and now a resident of Republic.

"Early History of Waterville" is the title of an article by Mrs. Lena Edwards comprising her recollections of that community since 1878. It appeared in the *Waterville Telegraph*, May 10, 1945.

The teacher and pupils of the West Kennebec school, Russell county, in 1909-1912, have formed an association to hold annual reunions and have opened the membership to all persons interested in Kennebec community. Officers are: Ferdinand Deines, president; William G. Boxberger, vice-president; Fred Michel, secretary; Mrs. Edward Morgenstern, treasurer. The first settler in Kennebec community was R. B. Landon, who built the first house between Russell and Great Bend, according to an article in the *Russell Record*, July 5, 1945.

H. P. Tripp's column, "Memories of Early Days," has appeared from time to time during the past several years in the *Luray Herald*. Some of the most recent dates on which the column was published were August 30, September 6, 27, December 13, 1945, and February 7, 1946.

A historical sketch of the Thayer "Home-Coming Picnic" held each fall since 1912 was published in the *Thayer News*, September 6, 1945. The article was written by the Harry Minnich family.

Four historical articles appeared in the September 13, 1945, issue of the *Marion Record-Review* which celebrated the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the newspaper now edited by Wharton Hoch and Mildred Hunt Riddle. One sketch traces the history of the publication. "Charley Jones, Last of the Famous Cowboys of the Fabulous Crane's Ranch" is the title of another, by Lucy Burkholder. The other two articles are part of a series by Mrs. T. B. Matlock entitled "Narratives Incident To Life As It Was And People As They Were On Our Frontier." Their titles are: "Alex E. Case" and "The First Caravan." Other articles of the Matlock series and the dates of publication are: "Billings," August 2; "Brumbaugh," August 30; "Kentuckians Arrive," November 15; "Christ-



mas in the Sixties," December 20, and "The Moulton's Arrive in the Sixties," February 7, 1946.

The restoration of the main building of the old Iowa, Sauk and Fox Indian mission, built two miles northeast of present Highland in 1846, was described in an article by Hester Potter in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, December 9, 1945. The story states that the first marriage ceremony in Kansas was read at the mission, although no date was given. Since the Rev. and Mrs. Samuel M. Irvin arrived in 1837 to establish the mission, this marriage obviously could not have taken place before that date. Records of three marriages in present Kansas in June, 1830, at a house near the Marmaton river somewhere in the vicinity of present Fort Scott, and another marriage in 1834 near present St. Paul were pointed out by W. W. Graves, author of *Annals of Osage Mission*, in a letter in the *Daily Capital*, December 18, 1945. Record of the 1830 marriages also is cited in the Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan's *The Jesuits of the Middle United States* (v. 1, p. 194). Two Frenchmen married Osage women and a half-breed married an Osage woman. Graves states that the marriage in 1834 of a half-breed and a daughter of the United States' interpreter at the Osage agency by the founder of the Boudinot Mission, Presbyterian, was recorded in a letter published in the *Missionary Herald*, Boston, July, 1834.

December 21, 1945, marked the fiftieth anniversary of the *Hartford Times*. The paper has been edited and published continuously at Hartford by A. S. Bernheisel. It was issued as the *Neosho Valley Times* until 1927 when the name was changed to the *Hartford Times*. The editor presented a sketch of his experiences and a history of the paper in the anniversary issue.

An article, "A History of the Indian Missions of the Presbyterian Church in Kansas," by David Harold McCleave, was featured in the 1944-1945 number of *The Aerend*, published by the Fort Hays Kansas State College, of Hays. Mission Neosho, opened among the Osages in present Neosho county in 1824, was the first.

A series of articles by W. W. Graves entitled "History of Neosho County," which began publication in the *St. Paul Journal*, June 3, 1943, continued from time to time until the fall of 1945. Some of the subheads in recent months were: "The County Seat Election," "Railroads of Neosho County," and "How Chanute Was Located."

Tributes to the late John G. Ellenbecker of Marysville, the widely-known historian of the Oregon and Pony Express trail, were printed

in the January, 1946, issue of the magazine, *The Pony Express*, of Placerville, Cal.

The story of Jefferson territory, including its provisional government and its transportation and mails, was briefly reviewed by H. Parker Johnson in the January, 1946, issue of *The American Philatelist*, Federalsburg, Md. Photographs of covers carried by the Express companies serving Denver and vicinity during 1859-1861 illustrated the article. Jefferson territory was organized by the citizens of the Pike's Peak gold region in 1859 when it was a part of Kansas territory. The provisional government was never officially recognized by congress, however.

The Kansas City *Kansan* observed its twenty-fifth birthday January 31, 1946, with a 68-page anniversary edition featuring historical articles and photographs. Views included a picture of the old Portsmouth building, landmark at Sixth street and Minnesota avenue, razed in 1925, together with the south entrance of the old Sixth street tunnel under Minnesota avenue, and a 1933 picture of Nation hall, 626 Central avenue, which the newspaper said was built by Carry A. Nation in 1902 during her crusade against liquor. A sketch of highway development in Wyandotte county, the story of the founding of the new daily *Kansan* by Arthur Capper, and a list of 60 new church buildings erected since World War I appeared in the issue.

A historical sketch of Nemaha county by Judge L. S. Slocum was published in *The Courier-Tribune*, of Seneca, February 4, 7 and 11, 1946. The sketch included names of first settlers, a compilation of early marriages, and also described the first railroads, early towns and county-seat contests.

The part played by Winfield residents in World War II is described in a 56-page "Achievement Edition" issued by the Winfield *Daily Courier*, February 11, 1946. The issue lists more than 2,200 Winfield and north Cowley county men and women who served in the armed forces, and contains a historical sketch of Strother field, where air cadets received their basic flying training. Among other features are sections on food production and education.

Women teachers who taught in the Rooks county schools prior to 1900 were listed in the *Rooks County Record*, Stockton, February 14, 1946. The teachers were guests at a tea given by Delta Kappa Gamma January 29 at Stockton. Women teachers who

taught in Russell county prior to 1905 were similarly honored by Delta Kappa Gamma at Russell, February 16. Names of the pioneer teacher guests were printed in the *Russell Record* and *The Russell County News*, February 21.

Stories of two former Kansas families, J. Lill and Will M. Bender, were published in the Panhandle (Tex.) *Herald*, February 15 and March 15, 1946, as part of a series of articles entitled, "Pioneer Families of Panhandle."

The famous "Sheldon edition" of the *Topeka Daily Capital* in March, 1900, was described in newspaper articles on the death of Dr. Charles Monroe Sheldon February 24, 1946. Articles in the *Daily Capital* February 25 and *Kansas City (Mo.) Times* February 26 recalled that circulation soared to nearly 370,000 during the week the Topeka minister edited the newspaper. Dr. Sheldon was the author of *In His Steps* and 37 other books. *In His Steps* is still a best seller after 50 years, second only to the Bible in sales throughout the world. Obituaries of Dr. Sheldon also appeared in the *Topeka State Journal* and other papers.

Mrs. Minnie Stiefel, Saline county native and daughter of August Bondi who settled in eastern Kansas in 1855, celebrated her seventy-fifth birthday anniversary February 21. An article on the life of Mrs. Stiefel and the Bondi family was printed in the *Salina Journal*, February 26. Bondi joined the Free-State minute men in 1856 and was at the battle of Osawatomie.

Vernard Vogt's reminiscences of the publication of the *Moundridge Journal* were related in its issue of February 28, 1946. Vogt acquired the paper in 1926.

A story of institutional research and the establishment of the "Mellon Institute—Its Organization and Management," was told by Dr. Edward R. Weidlein, director, in the March, 1946, issue of the *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*, Lawrence. The institute was organized in Pittsburgh in 1910 by Dr. Robert Kennedy Duncan of Lawrence, who had inaugurated an industrial fellowship plan at the University of Kansas in January, 1907. Dr. Weidlein, who is a native Kansan, has been director of the Mellon Institute since 1921. Other features in the *Transactions* of interest to historians are: "Kansas Weather: 1945," by S. D. Flora of Topeka, and "The Contribution of Kansas to *American Men of Science*," by H. E. Zabel of New York City.

## Kansas Historical Notes

The first Ness City school building was dedicated on January 31, 1946, as the new home of the Ness County Historical Society. Mrs. Fred Barrows is president of the society.

Initial steps to reorganize the Dodge City Historical Society were taken at a meeting March 7, 1946. Judge Karl Miller was named temporary chairman, and Merle Smith secretary.

Gen. and Mrs. Dwight D. Eisenhower were among the two hundred Kansans attending the annual dinner of the Kansas State Society of Washington, D. C., on March 19, 1946. Newly-elected officers are: William Scott, Abilene and Junction City, president; Rep. Errett Scrivner, Kansas City, and Omar B. Ketchum, Topeka, vice-presidents; Com. Charles Helsing, Topeka, secretary, and Russell Jones, Topeka, treasurer. Rep. Thomas Winter, Pittsburg, was toastmaster.

Dr. Martin W. Wiesendanger of Tulsa was the featured speaker at the seventh anniversary dinner of the Wichita Public Museum Association March 19, 1946. Pearl S. Overend was named on the board of trustees to fill the unexpired term of H. G. Overend and Lloyd Wilson was selected for the unexpired term of Mrs. E. G. Cone. Both vacancies resulted from resignations. Trustees re-elected were: H. J. Allen, O. A. Boyle, Frank Carson, Dr. J. C. Fisher, Murray W. Gill, Mrs. W. E. Haines, Bruce Helfrich and Robert E. Israel, Sr. Mrs. Frank Slay is curator of the museum.

Newly-elected officers of the Kansas Commonwealth Club, of Wichita, are Dave Fishback, president; William Luttgren, first vice-president; Mrs. E. G. Cone, second vice-president; John Dee, third vice-president; Mrs. W. E. Haines, fourth vice-president; R. M. Cauthorn, executive secretary; Mrs. A. B. Hungerford, recording secretary, and Mrs. Elizabeth Rapp, treasurer. Mrs. J. W. Platt and Elsberry Martin, early-day residents of the area, are honorary vice-presidents. State board members re-elected were: Sen. F. H. Cron, El Dorado; Dudley Doolittle, Strong City, and Stella B. Haines, Augusta. H. J. Quigley is the retiring president.

The Kansas History Teachers Association held its annual meeting in the rooms of the Kansas State Historical Society, April 13, 1946. Members of the Kansas Council for the Social Studies also

attended the meeting. The visitors were welcomed to Topeka by Dr. John D. Bright, professor of history at Washburn and president of the History Teachers Association, and by Kirke Mechem, secretary of the Historical Society. Featured speakers and their subjects were: John W. Goering, McPherson High School, "Fruitful Trends in High School History Teaching"; Robena Pringle, Topeka High School, "Reorganization of Junior-Senior High School Social Studies"; Verne S. Sweedlun, Kansas State College, "A Comprehensive Course in the Social Sciences"; Dorothy Lubber, Washburn University, "Local Government as a Laboratory for Political Science"; L. W. Chesney, editor *Junior Kansas Government Journal*, "*Junior Kansas Government Journal* for Classroom Use in Teaching of Government"; Ethan P. Allen, Bureau of Government Research, University of Kansas, "Representative Government"; Myra Scott, Kansas State College, "Mary Elizabeth Lease—Some Findings in Biographical Research." Papers presented will be filed with the Historical Society. Officers elected were: Rob Roy MacGregor, Southwestern College, president; Verne S. Sweedlun, vice-president; Della A. Warden, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, secretary-treasurer. The executive board includes the above officers and Elizabeth Cochran, Kansas State Teachers College, Pittsburg; Jessica Smith, Wichita High School North; A. Bower Sageser, Kansas State College; Raymond L. Welty, Fort Hays Kansas State College, and F. R. Flournoy, College of Emporia.

Officers of the Kansas Council for the Social Studies elected officers at a meeting held at Emporia February 1 in conjunction with the council of administration of the Kansas State Teachers Association. Officers of the social studies council are: Julia Emery, Wichita High School East, president; C. P. Neis, Field Kindley Memorial High School, Coffeyville, vice-president; Robena Pringle, Topeka High School, secretary-treasurer. Board members are Ruth E. Litchen, University of Kansas; A. E. Maag, Arkansas City High School; J. E. Mordy, Kansas State College, and Della A. Warden.

Kansans will be interested in *The Autobiography of William Allen White*, a 669-page book recently issued by the Macmillan company. White's story includes characterizations of Mark Hanna, Theodore Roosevelt, William McKinley, William Jennings Bryan, Warren G. Harding and others. The volume contains 16 pages of photographs of the author and his family, the staff of the *Gazette*

and celebrities of White's acquaintance. A 305-page book by David Hinshaw, *A Man From Kansas*, is a new biography of White published last fall by G. P. Putnam's Sons. This volume also features 16 pages of illustrations. On February 10, 1946, friends of the late editor celebrated his seventy-eighth birthday anniversary with a memorial service held in Emporia. Brock Pemberton, John Redmond, Roy Bailey and Rolla Clymer, editors and writers who started their careers on the *Gazette*, related their experiences under White's tutelage.

A 30-page booklet, *Small Manufacturers in the Wichita Area*, by T. Bruce Robb, was issued in November, 1945, by the school of business of the University of Kansas as volume No. 21 of its series, *Kansas Studies in Business*.

*American Adventure; Story of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, a 59-page booklet written by Robert H. Fletcher, was published in 1945 by the American Pioneer Trails Association of New York City. A colored map showing the route of the expedition and other historic Western trails was also issued by the Trails Association.

Walter A. Ver Wiebe is the author of *Exploration For Oil and Gas in Western Kansas During 1944*, a 112-page publication printed in November, 1945, by the University of Kansas Press as *Bulletin 56* of the State Geological Survey of Kansas.

A paper, "Isaac McCoy: His Plan of and Work for Indian Colonization," by Emory J. Lyons, has been printed as publication No. 9 of the general series and No. 1 of the history series of the *Fort Hays Kansas State College Studies*, Hays.

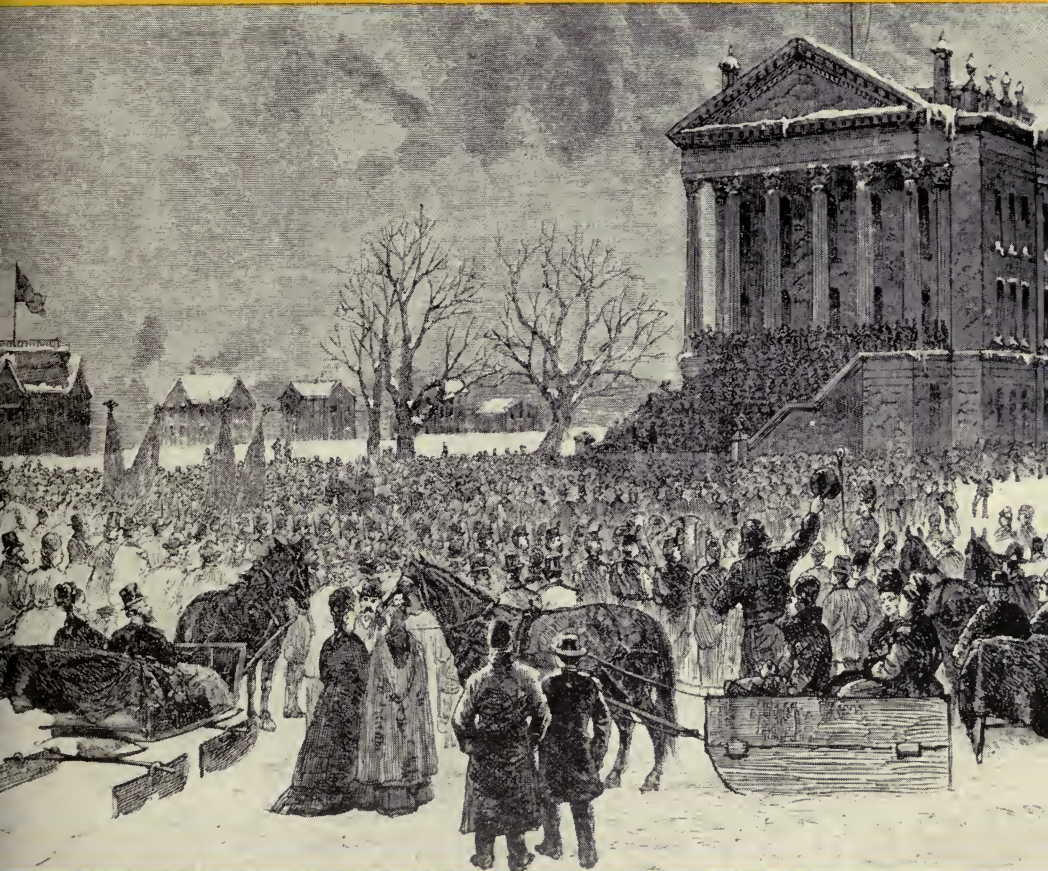
Goodland Post No. 117, American Legion, observed the silver anniversary of its founding with the issuance of volume II of its *History* as a feature of a Founder's day banquet, February 16, 1946. The 32-page booklet was compiled by Dillman W. Blackburn, post historian, and contains a chronology of the organization from February 8, 1934, to December 10, 1945.

"A Study of the Russian-German Settlements in Ellis County, Kansas," by Sister Mary Eloise Johannes, has been published in a 164-page book as volume 14 of *The Catholic University of America Studies in Sociology*.



# THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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JAMES C. MALIN  
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## THE COVER

The inauguration of Gov. John P. St. John at Topeka, January 13, 1879, from a sketch by Henry Worrall in *Harper's Weekly*, February 8, 1879. The *Weekly* reported the gathering as "the first public inauguration of State officers . . . in Kansas." Note that only the east wing of the state house was completed.



# THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XIV

August, 1946

Number 3

## The Pictorial Record of the Old West

### III. HENRY WORRALL

ROBERT TAFT

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IN the three or four decades following the establishment of Kansas territory in 1854, few Kansas artists attempted to depict life in Kansas; a situation not particularly surprising since Kansas, in this period, had few artists of any kind. In these decades the prairie wilderness was transformed into an agricultural state of growing importance in the economy of our United States and the transformation—physically, economically and politically—required the almost undivided attention of our predecessors. To be sure, there was cultural growth, especially in the fields of education, of journalism, and of music, but on the whole the energy of these earlier Kansans was directed chiefly to the establishment of farms, homes and villages, to the building of railroads, to combating inclement weather and voracious insects and to a participation—at times a quite vociferous and rugged participation—in the politics attendant upon the formation of a new territory and state created on the virgin and spacious plains of the great West.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Kansas, in its early history, could enumerate but few artists among its citizens.<sup>1</sup> The only Kansas artist in the period under consideration to achieve recognition on anything approaching a national scale for his portrayal of Kansas life was Henry Worrall.<sup>2</sup> Of course, as some Kansans know,

DR. ROBERT TAFT, of Lawrence, is professor of chemistry at the University of Kansas and editor of the *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*. He is author of *Photography And the American Scene* (Macmillan, 1938), and *Across the Years On Mount Oread* (University of Kansas, 1941).

For a general introduction to this pictorial series, see *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, February, 1946, pp. 1-5.

1. For a brief summary of art in Kansas up to 1928, see Edna Reinbach, "Kansas Art and Artists," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 17 (1926-1928), pp. 571-585. In passing, it might be observed that the history of art in Kansas deserves a modern and extensive study.

2. There were other Kansans who contributed scenes of Kansas events to the illustrated press in the early years of the state, but the work of such artists is usually difficult to identify. For instance, Lawrence during the Quantrill raid of 1863 was depicted in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 7 (September 5, 1863), p. 564 (full page). The illustration is not signed nor

Frederic Remington ran a sheep ranch in Butler county in 1883 and he should therefore be considered a Kansas resident in this period. The year spent in Kansas was so important in the career of this popular illustrator of Western life that special consideration will subsequently be paid to him. The Kansas scenes depicted by Remington, however, are but little known, so that our statement concerning Worrall made above will stand.

Henry Worrall, born in Liverpool, England, on April 14, 1825, immigrated to this country with his family in 1835. After a precarious boyhood spent in Buffalo and Cincinnati, he came to Kansas in the late 1860's.<sup>3</sup> There is no record that Worrall had art training of any kind. He had been a glass cutter in Cincinnati and as a young man had achieved a local reputation as a guitar player and teacher and composer of guitar pieces. In fact, one of his compositions, "Sevastopol," which he sold to a publisher in Cincinnati for \$15, subsequently became exceedingly popular and sold thousands of copies. In 1868 Worrall arrived in Topeka, where

does the legend or the text in the *Weekly* make any attempt to identify the artist; it is quite probable that the illustration was purely imaginary. In the issue of the *Weekly* for September 19, 1863, p. 604, however, there appears the full-page illustration, "The Ruins of Lawrence, Kansas.—Sketched by a Correspondent."

In 1940, Harry Still of Lawrence claimed that his grandfather, Henry Still, made the sketch in the *Weekly* for September 5, 1863. Henry Still, according to his grandson, lived in Tonganoxie, some 15 miles from Lawrence, and he visited Lawrence the day of the raid and made drawings. Sketching was Still's hobby, according to the younger Still, and after making the drawings they were sent to the *Weekly*. Harry Still refers only to the sketch in the issue of the *Weekly* for September 5, 1863, but it seems more probable, from the legends of the two drawings stated above, that the second drawing may have been an attempt at factual depiction of Lawrence after the raid by Still. Still may have drawn the first illustration but the action it portrayed was undoubtedly imaginary.

While on the topic of early Kansas sketches, several very interesting ones of Atchison appear in *Harper's Weekly* for 1866: "Eastern Terminus of Butterfield's Overland Route, Atchison, Kansas," "Driving the First Spike on the Atchison and Pike's Peak Railroad," and "Butterfield's Overland Mail-Coach Starting Out From Atchison, Kansas," in the issue of January 27, 1866, v. 10, p. 56, and "Commercial Street, Atchison, Kansas," in the issue of July 28, 1866, p. 476. All four sketches are credited to "William M. Merrick." William Marshall Merrick was undoubtedly a citizen of Kansas when the sketches were made, for according to George Byron Merrick, *Genealogy of the Merrick-Mirick-Myrick Family of Massachusetts* (Madison, Wis., 1902), p. 360, a daughter of William was born in Atchison on March 11, 1866, and another in Lawrence on September 29, 1868. Merrick himself was born in 1833 in Wilbraham, Mass., and at the time the above *Genealogy* was published in 1902, he was "a draughtsman by profession, with his office in Chicago." No subsequent data on Merrick has been found.

This footnote might well be extended into some pages if all the minor (minor in number, but not in interest) illustrators of Kansas were considered. Note, of course, that we are restricting ourselves for the moment to Kansas illustrations by citizens of Kansas. Traveling artists, such as Frenzeny and Tavernier, considered in the first number of this series, have left important pictorial records of Kansas. Again, we cannot make a complete survey of such artists at present but the first sketch—at least it is the first sketch in my records—made in Kansas may be noted here. It was "War Dance in the Interior of a Konza Lodge" and was drawn by the artist Samuel Seymour on August 24, 1819, near the site of Manhattan.—See Edwin James' *Account of an Expedition From Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains*, first published in Philadelphia, 1823. A reprint of this account (after an English edition) appears as volumes 14-17 in R. G. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1905). The citation to the Seymour illustration will be found in v. 14 of the Thwaites edition, p. 209, and the illustration on the opposite page.

3. Part of the biographical information on Worrall stated above and in the text which follows will be found in obituary notices in the *Topeka Capital*, June 21, 1902, p. 6, col. 4; *Topeka Herald*, June 21, 1902, p. 1, col. 3; *Topeka State Journal*, June 21, 1902, p. 5, cols. 1, 2. J. W. Valentine (see Footnote 5) who was for many years an intimate friend of Worrall, wrote me on January 5, 1946, that Worrall was so depondent as a youth in Cincinnati that he twice attempted to commit suicide.

he made his home until his death in 1902. It was not long before he became a local celebrity and the Topeka newspapers had frequent comments on his activities. By the time Kansas celebrated its first quarter-centennial of statehood in 1886 Worrall was a public figure known throughout the state. Noble Prentis, for example, in addressing the quarter-centennial celebration, stated that Kansas women were able to discuss "all the artists from Henry Worrall to Praxiteles."<sup>4</sup>

Worrall was a man of many talents, as the above discussion may have suggested and as his subsequent history shows. He established an extensive vineyard, took part in many public musical activities and within a year after his arrival in Topeka was making oil portraits. In addition he delivered illustrated lectures with gusto and felicity, and played pranks on his friends.<sup>5</sup> In fact, his puckish humor appears to have been one of his predominant traits for it appears frequently in his illustrations, many of which are caricatures.<sup>6</sup> To add a still more personal touch concerning the buoyant character of this Kansan, so well-known in his day but now virtually forgotten, we can quote from a letter of one of his friends and pupils, J. W. Valentine. Mr. Valentine writes, "Many times he, an old gray-haired man, and I, a fifteen-year-old, went serenading the girls of Bethany college and other girls over Topeka,

4. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 3 (1883-1885), p. 459. The Prentis speech was made, along with many other speeches, in Topeka on January 29, 1886; the comment above, of course, unwittingly reveals the public attitude toward art in 1886—for art in Kansas in 1886 was a matter discussed only by women.

5. Worrall's early musical activities in Topeka are recorded in the *Topeka State Record*, January 17, 1869, p. 4, col. 2; April 28, 1869, p. 2, col. 1; *Topeka Commonwealth*, October 13, 1869, p. 3, col. 3; his artistic activities in *ibid.*, August 4, 1869, p. 3, col. 1; November 23, 1869, p. 3, col. 1; *State Record*, April 2, 1870, p. 4, col. 3; his grape culture in *ibid.*, October 25, 1870, p. 4, col. 1; *Commonwealth*, March 31, 1875, p. 4, col. 1. The *State Record* for July 1, 1870, p. 4, col. 1, reports Prof. Henry "Worrell [sic] makes one of his characteristic speeches tonight at the Congregational [raspberry] Festival, and plays on his wood and straw piano." The *Valley Republican*, Kinsley, reported on February 23, 1878, p. 3, col. 2: "Our Kansas artist, who has a reputation almost national, Prof. Worrall, entertained a Kinsley audience last Saturday evening with one of his interesting crayon and musical programmes. The verdict of rich, rare, and racy was voted unanimously. Prof. Worrall is a genius and a gentleman, and he can always secure a full house here. Come again." The *Topeka State Record*, August 23, 1870, p. 4, col. 2, states Henry Worrall perpetrated a "sell" on George W. Crane.

Worrall's musical activities in Cincinnati were described by J. W. Valentine of Kansas City, Mo., in letters to the author dated January 4 and 5, 1946. Worrall apparently was a teacher in a conservatory of music in Cincinnati. He played not only the guitar on which he was a real expert, but the violin, the viola, the flute, the double bass and other instruments. For a time he traveled with a celebrated violinist, Tasso by name, as accompanist. Mr. Worrall met his wife, according to Mr. Valentine, at the Cincinnati conservatory where he gave her guitar lessons.

6. These caricatures began to appear early in his Topeka career. The *Topeka Commonwealth*, August 4, 1869, p. 3, col. 1, states: "Worrall, the prince of artists and musicians, has concocted and executed a most admirable burlesque on the picture of the infantile groupe of the Commonwealth proprietors, recently taken by Capt. Knight [a well-known Topeka photographer]. A peep at Worrall's caricature is worth more than a physician's prescription for the worst case of biliousness. Knight has taken photographic copies of the caricature"; and on May 11, 1871, p. 4, col. 2, the *Commonwealth*, "At McMeekin's is a fine engraving, executed by Topeka's celebrated artist and caricaturist, Prof. [Henry] Worrall, of Wild Bill [Hickok, the famed marshal of Abilene] 'toting' on his shoulder the refractory and absconding councilman of Abilene. Knight has photographed it. . . ."

about midnight. He played the guitar accompanying my violin playing. He said this fun reminded him of when he was a young fellow in Cincinnati and he enjoyed it." <sup>7</sup> Worrall must have really enjoyed life!

We must return, however, to Worrall's career as a pictorial recorder of past Western life. His fame in this field lies in the fact that he was an occasional contributor to *Harper's Weekly* and to *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* as well as a contributor to many minor and local publications. He is probably best known, however, as the illustrator of two very important books of Western history: McCoy's *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade* and W. E. Webb's *Buffalo Land*. In addition, Worrall made a number of original sketches and paintings which have never been published. His work as an artist will be discussed by considering each of the four groups of work mentioned above. The reader should be reminded, however, that no lurid Western scenes will be found among Worrall's work as it portrays a transition era in the development of the West.

#### ILLUSTRATIONS IN HARPER'S WEEKLY AND FRANK LESLIE'S ILLUSTRATED NEWSPAPER

Worrall's work in these two pictorial journals recalls many interesting incidents of past Kansas life. A few of this group, however, are illustrations made in our neighboring states of Colorado and New Mexico (then New Mexico territory). As published, these illustrations were many times redrawn by other artists; either because the draftsmanship was not satisfactory or because the dimensions of the drawings submitted by Worrall to these publications did not suit their page sizes.<sup>8</sup> The illustrations listed chronologically include:

1. "Through the Veta Pass—The Ascent on Dump Mountain—Grade, 217 Feet Per Mile" (about ½ page), *Harper's Weekly*, v. 21 (September 15, 1877), p. 720.

2. "The John Brown Monument, Osawatomie, Kansas" (six sketches on one page as follows): "John Brown's Cabin"; "'Old' John Brown"; "Oration on the Battle Ground of Osawatomie"; "Dedication of the Monument"; "The Monument at Osawatomie," and "Dinner on the Battle-Field," *ibid.* (September 22, 1877), p. 748.

3. "The First Public Inauguration of a Governor in Kansas, January 13,

7. Mr. Valentine now in his eighties, so wrote me on January 4, 1946.

8. Worrall's illustrations, when signed, have signatures in various forms. Probably "H. Worrall" was used the most frequently but in addition "Worrall," "H. W.," "W" and occasionally an "H" superimposed over a "W" are employed.

1879—"The State-House in Topeka" (about ½ page), *ibid.*, v. 23 (February 8, 1879), p. 105 [reproduced on the cover of this magazine].

4. "The Colored Exodus—Scenes at Topeka, Kansas" (three illustrations on one page as follows): "Terminal Station of the Colored Exodus—Floral Hall and Secretary's Office, Now in Use as Barracks—Fair Grounds"; "Religious Services in the North Wing of Floral Hall"; "Group in the South Wing of Floral Hall (probably redrawn by W. P. Snyder)" [reproduced in the picture supplement], *ibid.* (July 5, 1879), p. 532.

5. (a) "Assembly of Races on Plaza of Las Vegas. Celebration at Las Vegas, New Mexico, the Terminus of the Railroad (N. M. and S. P. R. R.) on July 4, 1879"; (b) "Pueblo Indians Selling Specimens of Native Pottery" (two illustrations on one page), *Leslie's Weekly*, v. 49 (August 9, 1879).

6. "The Old Santa Fe Trail and Railroad Switchback Over Raton Pass Near Trinidad," *ibid.* (August 23, 1879), p. 417.

7. "Scenes in Santa Fe, New Mexico" (three sketches on one page, one redrawn by Charles Graham, as follows): "General View of Santa Fe"; "The Only Protestant Church in Santa Fe," and "The Oldest Inhabited House in the United States," *Harper's Weekly*, v. 23 (September 13, 1879), p. 733.

8. "Royal Gorge in Grand Canyon of the Arkansas" (full page), *Leslie's Weekly*, v. 50 (April 17, 1880), p. 105.

9. "Departure of the 'Corn Train' From Wichita, Kansas" (about ½ page), *Harper's Weekly*, v. 28 (April 5, 1884), p. 224 [reproduced in the picture supplement].

10. "Cattle in a Blizzard on the Plains" (full page, redrawn by Charles Graham), *ibid.*, v. 30 (February 27, 1886), p. 132.

11. "The Kansas Trouble at Topeka" (full page; legend beneath illustration reads, "Drawn by W. P. Snyder From Photographs by C. G. Willett and Sketches by H. Worrall Made on the Spot"), *ibid.*, v. 37 (March 4, 1893), p. 200. In this same issue (p. 210) is a small sketch made by Worrall "on the Spot," "South Side of Capitol Square—Military Guarding the Arsenal."

12. "The Opening of the Cherokee Strip, September 16, 1893" (eight sketches on one page, several are redrawn by Graham and others, as follows): "Orlando, September 14th.—Selling Water at the Railroad Station . . ."; "Wichita, September 13th.—Selling Water to 'Strippers' on the Train . . ."; "Orlando, September 14th.—'Come On, You Thirsty People, Five Cents For All You Can Drink . . .'; "Ten Minutes Before the Great Rush— . . . Near Arkansas City"; "Site of the Future City of Perry, Showing United States Land Office . . ."; "Registration Booths on the 'Line,' South of Arkansas City, September 15th"; "On the 'Registration Stools' At the End of the Line, Arkansas City, September 15th," and "The Grand Rush At Noon of September 16th . . ." [reproduced in the picture supplement], *ibid.*, v. 37 (September 30, 1893), p. 928.

13. "Irrigation in Southwestern Kansas" (full page, redrawn by G. W. Peters), *ibid.*, v. 38 (September 29, 1894), p. 920 (seven sketches credited to "H. Worrall and Photographs," as follows): "Reservoir East of Garden City, Irrigating Twenty Acres"; "Six-Armed Home-Made 'Jumbo'"; "Two Eight-Armed 'Jumbos' Near Dodge City—Pumping Capacity, Ten Thousand Gallons Per Hour"; "In the Artesian-Well District, Meade County, Kansas—Seventy-Five Acres Under Irrigation"; "A Determined Irrigator, Who Rolls

Water Three Hundred Yards to Irrigate a Small Garden"; "A Large 'Jumbo' Near Dodge City, on an Island in Churchill Reservoir," and "Reservoir Near Garden City, Irrigating Fifteen Acres—Stocked With German Carp."

Illustrations 1, 5, 6, 7 and 8 of the above group were obviously drawn on out-of-state excursions. Worrall traveled extensively over Kansas and into southeastern Colorado in the employ of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad (*see* page 251) and the above illustrations probably resulted from such excursions. Veta pass is in southeastern Colorado, about 100 miles southwest of Pueblo<sup>9</sup> and the engineering feat involved in running the Denver and Rio Grande railroad over the steep ascent of Veta pass was regarded as one of the marvels of the 1870's.<sup>10</sup> The illustrations listed as Nos. 5, 6, and 7 were also probably made at the same time despite the difference in the place of publication. Here the illustrations resulted from the completion of the railroad to Las Vegas.<sup>11</sup>

The illustrations listed under No. 2 were drawn in connection with the dedication of the John Brown monument at Osawatomie on August 30, 1877. The monument was dedicated on the twenty-first anniversary of the battle between Proslavery and Free-State men, the latter supposedly led by Brown.<sup>12</sup> Ex-Gov. Charles Robinson was the chairman at the dedicatory services and Sen. John J. Ingalls, the leading orator of Kansas, delivered the main address.<sup>13</sup>

"The First Public Inauguration of a Governor in Kansas" (No. 3—reproduced on the cover of this magazine) was drawn on January 13, 1879, "a bitterly cold day," and shows Gov. John P. St. John delivering his inaugural address on the east steps of the state house. Governor St. John, who probably had a larger mustache than any other Kansas governor (a photograph of St. John is also reproduced with the above illustration showing him with a mustache of truly magnificent proportions), described in his address the progress of the state, pointing out that "now" (1879) the state's population was 900,000, that it possessed 2,300 miles of railroads,

9. Glenn Danford Bradley, *The Story of the Santa Fe* (Boston, 1920), pp. 151, 152. The Denver and Rio Grande narrow gauge from Pueblo had crossed the mountains (through Veta pass) and had reached Fort Garland in the San Luis valley in 1877.

10. A glowing account of the trip over the pass appears in the New York *Semi-Weekly Tribune*, January 29, 1878, p. 5, col. 1, and Helen Hunt (Jackson) had likewise described its wonders in "A New Anvil Chorus," *Scribner's Magazine*, v. 15 (January, 1878), pp. 386-395. The article is credited in the index of *Scribner's* to "H. H."

11. According to Bradley, *op. cit.*, p. 204, the New Mexico & Southern Railroad Company reached Las Vegas on July 4, 1879.

12. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 21 (September 22, 1877), p. 748. For a modern review of this famous border battle *see* James C. Malin, *John Brown And the Legend of Fifty-Six* (Philadelphia, 1942), pp. 619-628.

13. For the significance of the John Brown monument as a part of the John Brown legend, *see ibid.*, ch. 14.

4,500 schoolhouses, and "a population intelligent, patriotic and enterprising, and with almost boundless natural resources within her boundaries, Kansas may well look forward to a future of still greater prosperity."<sup>14</sup>

"The Colored Exodus" (No. 4—one scene reproduced in the picture supplement) shows the terminal station in Topeka arranged to receive the immigration of colored people from the South. In the late 1870's the immigration reached its flood tide and thousands of Negroes—many of them destitute—reached Kansas in the hope of finding new homes and improved fortunes in the state where John Brown had achieved his fame. As many as 11 Negro colonies were established in Kansas, one of them far out on the Great Plains northwest of Kinsley, Edwards county. Senator Ingalls is reported to have said: "I do not think there is any class prejudice or any feeling of hostility to the colored people that would prevent their being cordially welcomed as an element of our population. We have an area of about 81,000 square miles, comprising 55,000,000 of acres of arable land, not more than one-tenth of which has been reduced to cultivation. The remainder is open to settlement under the Homestead Act, requiring five years' residence before title can be secured, and I am inclined to think we could absorb 100,000 of these people without serious injury or inconvenience."

The lack of capital and the rigors and vicissitudes of Kansas climate in time discouraged the majority of these immigrants and they drifted on. One of these Negro colonies has survived, however, to the present day and Nicodemus, Graham county, is the only all-Negro town in the state.<sup>15</sup>

"Departure of the 'Corn Train' From Wichita" (No. 9—reproduced in the picture supplement) records a turn in the economic affairs of the state. In 1874, after the great grasshopper infestation, Kansas had solicited aid for many citizens of the state made destitute by the insect damage.<sup>16</sup> In 1884, 10 years later, Kansas was able to repay her debt in part when great floods in the valley

14. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 23 (February 8, 1879), pp. 105, 106; see, also, *Topeka Commonwealth*, January 14, 1879, p. 3, cols. 2-4.

15. *Kansas*, American Guide Series (New York, 1939), p. 329. For studies of the Negro colonization in Kansas during the 1870's, see Nell Blythe Waldron, "The Colonies Organized by the Negro Race," in "Colonization in Kansas From 1861 to 1890," doctor's dissertation, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., 1923, pp. 121-131; also Lee Ella Blake, "The Great Exodus of 1879 and 1880 to Kansas," master's thesis, Kansas State College, Manhattan, 1942. The Blake study includes a letter of Gov. John P. St. John, dated January 16, 1880, which states "that since last April, 15,000 to 20,000 colored refugees have arrived in Kansas." The statement of Senator Ingalls given in the text will be found in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 23 (July 5, 1879), p. 534; see, also, *ibid.* (May 17, 1879), pp. 384, 386.

16. That outside aid was very real is shown by the fact that the Kansas Central Relief Committee received donations from outside the state of nearly \$75,000 in cash, \$75,000 in army rations, and 265 carloads of supplies, among other contributions.—*Kansas Central Relief Committee, Report of the Executive Board* (Topeka, 1875), pp. 3-7.

of the Ohio river made homeless and hungry many inhabitants of the valley. Kansans listened to the appeal for help and sent a train of 31 carloads of corn, payment "with interest" as the gayly decorated cars proclaimed.<sup>17</sup>

"Cattle in a Blizzard on the Plains" (No. 10) is a graphic reminder of the great blizzards occurring in the winters of 1885-1886 and 1886-1887. In fact, so disastrous were the blizzards that the resulting wholesale loss of cattle ruined many cattlemen. Theodore Roosevelt's ranching venture in the Dakotas, for example, came to an abrupt halt in 1887 after the great blizzards of the two winters left him with scarcely an animal and with a loss of nearly \$50,000.<sup>18</sup>

"The Kansas Trouble at Topeka" (No. 11) recalls the profound interest which Kansans then and now take in their politics. The two contending parties (Populist and Republican) of 1893 each had their own legislature and each refused to recognize the other. Open warfare nearly resulted but the affair was finally settled in favor of the Republicans.<sup>19</sup>

"The Opening of the Cherokee Strip" (No. 12—one sketch reproduced in the picture supplement) with Worrall's sketches "made on the spot," record pictorially the opening of "the last great body of arable land in the United States." Although dramatic in retrospect it was called at the time "the most disgraceful and disorderly scramble that has ever occurred in the distribution of public lands." Worrall's sketches are not the only graphic recordings of this event but they are probably the best known.<sup>20</sup>

The last group of the sketches listed above (No. 13), recalls the fact that many attempts have been made to irrigate the arid lands of the High Plains. Waters from mountain streams, from the rivers of the High Plains and from artesian wells have all been used in many such experiments since the tide of Western migration began.<sup>21</sup>

17. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 28 (April 5, 1884), pp. 223, 224.

18. Hermann Hagedorn, *Roosevelt in the Bad Lands* (Boston, 1930), appendix, p. 482.

19. For a review of the Kansas political troubles of 1893, see *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 16 (1923-1925), pp. 425-431.

20. For contemporary newspaper accounts of the opening of the Cherokee strip see the *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*, September 12-19, 1893. The issue of the *Traveler* for September 16, 1893, p. 1, has five illustrations depicting various aspects of the opening of the strip all of which are signed "D. Gibson." As one of them depicts an incident that took place on September 16 the illustration must represent an imaginary event. It is my guess that Gibson was an illustrator for a metropolitan newspaper sent to cover the event. For photographs of the opening of the strip, see *Leslie's Weekly*, September 28, 1893, p. 208 (the photographs are credited to "Rogers, Wichita"); and in more recent times "Strip" photographs can be found in George Rainey, *The Cherokee Strip* (Guthrie, Okla., 1933).

21. The *Reports* of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture indicate that suggestions and attempts for irrigation were solutions often sought in the relief of arid western Kansas, especially after the large influx of immigrants to the region in the early 1880's followed by the



One other illustration appearing in a national publication should, however, be mentioned in this group of Worrall's work. Thomas Nast, the well-known illustrator, published in *Harper's Weekly* for August 10, 1872,<sup>22</sup> a cartoon, "The Cat's-Paw.—Any Thing to Get Chestnuts," showing Boss Tweed (the monkey) wearing a Tammany collar using a cat's-paw to take hot chestnuts from a stove, the Goddess of Liberty looking on. The claim was made that Worrall had sent to *Harper's Weekly* a cartoon illustrating the fable of the monkey using a cat's-paw to take hot chestnuts from the fire with Uncle Sam looking on.<sup>23</sup> The cartoon had been photographed by Knight of Topeka before it was sent to the *Weekly*. The *Weekly* never acknowledged the receipt of the drawing but after three months the Nast cartoon appeared with the same composition but the figures changed to suit Nast's campaign against the Tweed ring; the title still remained the same as that used by Worrall, "The Cat's-Paw.—Any Thing to Get Chestnuts."

#### ILLUSTRATOR FOR LOCAL PUBLICATIONS

The illustration for which Worrall achieved his greatest local fame was a caricature, "Drouthy Kansas" (reproduced in the picture supplement). It appeared originally as the cover page of the *Kansas Farmer* for November, 1869, although it had received mention before this date,<sup>24</sup> and had been photographed by Knight,<sup>25</sup> the well-known Topeka photographer, and distributed as card photographs.

Strictly speaking, this caricature probably does not deserve recognition in this series of articles as it does not depict any real

disastrous drought of 1887; see, for example, "Irrigation for Homesteaders in Western Kansas," *Seventh Biennial Report of the State Board of Agriculture* (1889-1890), Pt. II, pp. 219-223, and *Ninth Biennial Report* (1894-1895), pp. 324-379; see, also, James C. Malin, *Winter Wheat in the Golden Belt of Kansas* (Lawrence, 1944), pp. 90, 91, for earlier suggestion on irrigation. Worrall, himself, had a signed review of irrigation in western Kansas in the issue of *Harper's Weekly* that contained his illustrations (September 29, 1894, p. 931).

22. Full page, p. 624.

23. Topeka *Commonwealth*, August 4, 1872, p. 4, col. 4. This item, a letter to the editor, complained not only of this Worrall-Nast cartoon but of the "smouging" of other Topeka pictures by both *Harper's Weekly* and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*.

The reference to *Leslie's* in this letter strongly suggests that a group of important Kansas illustrations appearing in *Leslie's* for 1871-1872 were the work of Worrall. The group (listed below) are sometimes credited "By our special artist" and several have the signature "Bghs" appearing on them. "Bghs" was Albert (Alfred?) Berghaus, a member of the *Leslie's* art staff who undoubtedly redrew the signed illustrations. The possible Worrall sketches include: "Shooting Buffalo on the Line of the Kansas Pacific" (full page), *Leslie's*, June 3, 1871, p. 193; "Loading Cattle at Abilene," *ibid.*, August 19, 1871, p. 385; "Buffalo Hunt of Grand Duke Alexis," *ibid.*, February 3, 1872, p. 325; "Whiskey on the Plains," *ibid.*, February 3, 1872, p. 328; Cartoons on the Buffalo hunt by Grand Duke Alexis, "By our special artist, from a telegraph pole," *ibid.*, February 10, 1872, p. 349.

24. Topeka *Daily Commonwealth*, September 23, 1869, p. 3, col. 3; D. W. Wilder, *Annals of Kansas* (Topeka, 1886), pp. 509, 510, states that the cartoon was published in the *Kansas Farmer*, November, 1869. This issue, however, is lacking from the file of the *Farmer* available in the State Historical Society.

25. For Capt. J. Lee Knight, see Robert Taft, "A Photographic History of Early Kansas," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 3 (1934), pp. 3-14.

scene in past Western life. To neglect it, however, would render our study of Worrall far from complete. Caricature was Worrall's strongest point, for he was not a skillful draftsman, but his ever-present sense of humor found its outlet in line drawings whose figures were readily recognizable and whose humor was particularly suited to the taste of Westerners. If Worrall's caricatures do not contribute greatly to our pictorial knowledge of past Western life they do contribute to our knowledge of Western taste and humor.

"Drouthy Kansas" will illustrate this point. It was drawn in 1869 when the climatic reputation of Kansas still suffered from the drought of 1860.<sup>26</sup> The late 1860's in Kansas, however, were years of heavy rainfall and good crops, facts to astonish the Eastern visitors who still heard the persistent tales of 1860. A group of Cincinnati friends of Worrall who came to Topeka in 1869 were evidently of the frame of mind described above. Before their arrival, Worrall made for their benefit the large charcoal sketch "Drouthy Kansas." It depicted men climbing ladders and using hatchets to cut ears of corn from huge stalks; watermelons so big that two men could stand on them; sweet potatoes that required a derrick to lift them from the ground, and wheat fields yielding 50 bushels to the acre. In the middle distance a river was shown swollen in flood with rain coming down in sheets and in the background a clearing sky and rainbow. The caricature proved immensely popular; it was talked about in the press, it was printed on the cover page of an issue of the *Kansas Farmer* and used as a broadside in advertising the same publication; it appeared in the widely distributed *Resources of Kansas*, by C. C. Hutchinson, published in 1871 as a handbook to attract settlers to Kansas, and it was painted on the drop curtain of Liberty Hall, an auditorium and theater in Lawrence. It was "the best advertisement for Kansas that was ever published" reported several Kansas papers.<sup>27</sup> The tide of enthusiasm for the cartoon finally turned, however. After the grasshopper year and drought of 1874, residents from the grasshopper belt made long journeys to cuss "the man who got up that 'pieter.' . . . Delegations waited on him to inform him

26. For the great drought of 1860 see the discussion by James C. Malin, "Dust Storms," in *ibid.*, v. 14 (May, 1946), pp. 137-144.

27. For "Drouthy Kansas," see *Topeka Commonwealth*, September 23, 1869, p. 3, col. 3; March 31, 1875, p. 4, col. 1. The sketch is reproduced (full page) on p. 41 of Hutchinson's *Resources of Kansas* (Topeka, 1871). The State Historical Society possesses one of the advertising broadsides of the *Kansas Farmer* as well as a duplicate in oil of the sketch. The original sketch was a charcoal drawing according to some of the above contemporary accounts. The *Report of the State Board of Agriculture . . . 1873* (Topeka, 1873), reported (p. 47) that "Prof. Henry Worrall exhibited the original sketch of 'Drouthy Kansas' so widely copied and well known" at the exhibition of the State Agricultural Society in September, 1870.

that, had it not been for the diabolical seductiveness of that picture they would never have come to Kansas to be ruined and undone by grasshoppers."<sup>28</sup> Other caricatures by Worrall we shall discuss later but it can be remarked in passing that this form of "art" constituted Worrall's most characteristic output.

A number of Worrall illustrations appear in *The Rocky Mountain Tourist*, a publication issued by the Santa Fe railroad to attract the tourist trade. A number of editions of this booklet were issued, all of which contained Worrall sketches. In the first edition (Topeka, 1877) signed sketches by Worrall included "The Grand Canon of the Arkansas—Royal Gorge"; "Carter's Farm, in Rice County"; "Display of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe R. R. at the Centennial [of 1876]." In addition, there were two unsigned sketches, "Buffalo Trails" (as it is in characteristic Worrall style) and "Kansas Corn" which surely was drawn by Worrall as it depicts corn taller than a house. Sketches by other artists also appeared in the *Tourist*. Later editions contained still other Worrall sketches.<sup>29</sup> That most of the Worrall sketches in *The Rocky Mountain Tourist* were drawn from direct observation is confirmed by the following comment in the *Topeka Commonwealth* in 1877: "J. G. Pangborn and Henry Worrall, of this city, went west over the Santa Fe, with a view to see the country and get up 'copy' for the next 'Tourist's Guide.' Mr. Worrall will set on [*sic*] the extreme car and sketch the varying scene as the train glides along. We may expect some good sketches and pithy articles."<sup>30</sup>

Another group of Worrall illustrations, many of considerable interest, appears in the *Reports* of the State Board of Agriculture for

28. *Topeka Commonwealth*, March 31, 1875, p. 4, col. 3.

29. I have seen three editions of *The Rocky Mountain Tourist*, all are credited to J. G. Pangborn as author or editor. The first edition mentioned in the text is dated "Topeka, 1877." The second, not greatly different from the first is also dated "Topeka, 1877." The third edition was called *The New Rocky Mountain Tourist and San Juan Guide* (Chicago, 1878), and was more extensively illustrated. Pages 5-20, inclusive, of this edition are devoted to southwestern Kansas and the Arkansas valley and the illustrations in this section appear to be exclusively after Worrall drawings although other Worrall sketches appear elsewhere in the volume. Among the more important of these views are: "Larned From the East," "Rice County—Sterling & Vicinity," "Looking Up the Walnut Valley From Bissills Point," "Great Bend and Vicinity," "Larned and Vicinity," "Kinsley and Vicinity," "A Prairie-Dog Town," and six Colorado sketches. Most of the Colorado mountain illustrations, however, were done by the well-known artist, Thomas Moran.

30. *Topeka Commonwealth*, October 7, 1877, p. 4, col. 2. Kinsley views by Worrall from the third edition of the *Rocky Mountain Tourist* appear in the *Edwards County Leader*, Kinsley, for March 14, 1878, p. 2. In addition to the illustrations from this edition of the *Tourist*, the *Leader* (p. 3) reproduced two other illustrations not appearing in the *Tourist*. One, "A Bird's Eye View of Kinsley and the Arkansas Valley," is signed by Worrall and the other, "A Prairie Scene in the North Part of Edwards County," has no discernible signature but was probably based on a Worrall sketch. Both illustrations are very poorly reproduced. The issue of the *Leader* for March 28, 1878, also contains Worrall illustrations but they are centennial views from the *Fifth Annual Report of the State Board of Agriculture* cited in Footnote 31. That Worrall was in Kinsley earlier in 1878 is shown by the comment cited on page 243, and by the *Valley Republican*, Kinsley, of February 23, 1878, p. 2, where a statement was made that "Prof. Worrall sketched the neat new residence of Judge Reed, on the avenue, Saturday." I am indebted to Prof. James C. Malin for these three items from Kinsley papers.

the years 1875, 1876, and 1877-1878. For the most part they are views of Kansas towns and cities and were apparently made from direct observation. The illustrations in the *Report* for 1876, however, are sketches of the exhibits, displays and galleries in the Kansas-Colorado building at the centennial exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876. Worrall played a very active part in collecting, preparing and arranging these exhibits. He was employed by the State Board of Agriculture beginning in the summer of 1875 and continued his task at the centennial itself until its close late in 1876.<sup>31</sup> To appreciate fully the importance which the State Board of Agriculture attached to the Kansas exhibit it must be recalled that the drought and grasshopper year of 1874, with its widespread publicity, was, in 1875, a very tender spot in the conscience of Kansas enthusiasts and every possible aid in presenting the best aspects of the state to the nation were considered. One prominent Kansan, looking back many years after the exhibit, wrote, "The best effort for encouraging immigration ever made by Kansas was her agricultural display at the Centennial Exposition," and, "the genius of Worrall" was credited as playing a part in its success.<sup>32</sup> Twenty-five thousand copies of the *Fourth Annual Report of the State Board of Agriculture* were printed and distributed at the exposition to aid further in dispelling the gloom cast by the Kansas grasshopper year.<sup>33</sup> Here again Worrall played an important part, for the *Report* contained many Worrall illustrations.

The signed Worrall illustrations in this *Fourth Agricultural Report*, all woodcuts, include "Territorial Capitol Ruins, at Leocompton"; "Birdseye View of Burlington," dated "4-3-75"; "Mill and Water-Power [Junction City]"; "Views in Abilene and Vicinity" (includes "T. C. Henry's Fenceless Wheat Field at Abilene. Twelve Hundred Acres, July 1875"—reproduced in the picture supple-

31. "Report of the Centennial Managers" in the *Fifth Annual Report of the State Board of Agriculture* (Topeka, 1877), pp. 211, 228, 234. Worrall began employment with the state board on July 12, 1875, and was paid \$1,500 a year and his traveling expenses as he went about the state collecting materials for exhibits. While at the centennial he was paid at the rate of \$2,000 a year with the additional provision that "his return trip [was] to be paid." The report is profusely illustrated and many of the illustrations (wood engravings) were doubtless taken from photographs. Worrall's illustrations, including a number of full page ones, deal with Kansas exhibits. They are signed usually by the initials "H. W." and some are dated.

32. George W. Veale, "Coming In and Going Out," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 11 (1909-1910), pp. 5-12. Veale in Footnote 8 of his article makes mention of Worrall's "genius." Worrall's accomplishments at the centennial, however, were recognized at that time. Not long after his return from Philadelphia, Topeka citizens honored him for his work there with an elaborate benefit. In the *Topeka Commonwealth*, January 4, 1877, p. 4, over a column and a half is devoted to a description of the benefit and it is specifically stated that Worrall's "taste and ingenuity had much to do with the success of that show. . . ." See, also, *ibid.*, November 3, 1876, p. 4, col. 2. Worrall's worth to Kansas had already been recognized by a still earlier "benefit" in 1875.—*Ibid.*, March 31, 1875, p. 4, col. 3.

33. "Report of the Centennial Managers" (cited in Footnote 31), p. 237.

ment);<sup>34</sup> "View of Leavenworth, From Pilot Knob," dated "7-14-75" (reproduced in the picture supplement); "Blue Rapids [four views]"; "Rocky Ford, Pottawatomie County, Kansas," and "Manhattan From the Rail Road Bridge at the Mouth of Blue River."<sup>35</sup> In addition to the sketches listed above in the *Fourth Report* there are two others, "View of Atchison, From the East Bank of the Missouri River" (p. 193), and "View of Wyandotte and Vicinity" (p. 433), which were signed "R. W." It is quite probable that these are both Worrall's illustrations; either the artist who transferred the Worrall sketches to wood or the engraver who made the wood cuts converting the "H" to "R." Only one other signed sketch appears in the *Fourth Report*, "Bridge Over the Missouri River, at Atchison, Kansas" (p. 195), and its signature is "Merick," almost certainly the W. M. Merrick mentioned in Footnote 2.<sup>36</sup> In addition to the two illustrations signed "R. W." there is an unsigned sketch in the *Fourth Report* (p. 409), "View of Topeka, the Capital of Kansas." It is quite probable that this sketch was drawn by Worrall, as he is known to have made other drawings of Topeka.<sup>37</sup>

The *First Biennial Report of the State Board of Agriculture* (1877-1878) contains two full-page illustrations credited to Worrall. Both, however, were reprinted from school geographies, copies of which have not been located. The first is a view of Topeka (p. 415) looking southwest across the Kansas river, the capitol building being on the extreme left and nearly on the horizon.<sup>38</sup> The illustration was reproduced from the "Kansas Edition of the Eclectic Geographies" and bears the notation "after Worrall." The second illustration (p. 454), taken from Mitchell's *New Intermediate Geography*, depicts the "Great Bend of the Missouri River [at Kansas City]." As other Kansas illustrations appearing in the *First*

34. T. C. Henry in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 9 (1905-1906), pp. 502-506, stated that Worrall interviewed him and illustrated his famous wheat field for "a Chicago newspaper." From the context of the Henry article it would appear that the interview was in 1875 and Worrall may have used his illustrative material for both the Chicago paper and the *Fourth Report*.

35. *Fourth Annual Report of the State Board of Agriculture*. The views in the order listed appear on pp. 64, 234, 245, 250, 313, 331, 379, and 394. The State Board of Agriculture presumably employed Worrall to make the sketches for them. For example, the Topeka *Commonwealth* reports (April 2, 1875, p. 4, col. 1): Prof. Henry Worrall "hied him to Burlington to take a birds-eye view of that town, for the state board of agriculture." Note that the date of this item is in agreement with the date on the illustration of Burlington cited in the text.

36. A sketch of a proposed bridge over the Missouri at Leavenworth was also drawn by Merick and reproduced in Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

37. See Topeka *Commonwealth*, June 14, 1870, p. 4, col. 4, and Footnote 38.

38. The view of Topeka mentioned above (in the *Fourth Report*) looks directly south across the Kansas river with Kansas avenue lying nearly in the middle of the illustration. The *Commonwealth* for July 31, 1878, p. 4, col. 1, mentions the view of Topeka appearing in the *First Biennial Report* and states that it was drawn for "a geography of Kansas which is being prepared by Van Antwerp, Bragg & Co., Cincinnati."

*Biennial Report* were taken from the same geography it is possible that they were drawn by Worrall and the artist not credited.<sup>39</sup>

Other local publications containing Worrall illustrations are known. A booklet, *25 Years Ago*, contains two reproductions of Worrall paintings.<sup>40</sup> As the paintings were of allegorical scenes, they are of little interest now. Promotional literature of land and railroad companies such as *The Rocky Mountain Tourist*, mentioned above, employed Worrall illustrations of Kansas on numerous occasions.<sup>41</sup> Such illustrations, it almost goes without saying, were designed to represent the most pleasing and attractive views possible.

State, county and local publications, historical and promotional are still other sources of Worrall illustrations;<sup>42</sup> and lastly large lithographic posters used in advertising state and county fairs were probably a still more fugitive form of Worrall's art.<sup>43</sup>

39. The *First Biennial Report* is unusually good about crediting its sources of illustrations, a custom not common in the 1870's. Many of the illustrations were from photographs and the photographer is credited. Two are credited to other artists; one a sketch of Monument Rocks in Gove county is credited to S. W. Williston, later a well-known Kansas scientist, and the other is a sketch of the small town of Oberlin, Decatur county, credited in the text to H. W. Pollitz of Oberlin.

40. F. L. Crane, *25 Years Ago* (Topeka, 1879). Crane refers to the Worrall paintings on p. 4.

41. Although I have made no systematic examination of such material I have seen a number of such illustrations. *Kansas in 1875* (Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad, pub., Topeka, 1875) contains a full-page illustration by Worrall, "The Arkansas Valley Near Great Bend, Kansas." A number of Worrall illustrations appear in B. C. Keeler's *Where To Go To Become Rich* (Chicago, 1880). On p. 29 of this guide to wealth there appears a group of three illustrations bearing the legend "Mennonite Farm, Line of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad," credited to Worrall. One of this group was reproduced in a German handbook *Neuestes von Kansas* (J. S. Richter, Hamburg, Germany, 1887) also a publication tract of the A. T. & S. F., p. 42, under the title "Das Dorf [village] Gnadenau in Marion County, Kansas." It should, of course, be noted that a given Worrall illustration frequently appears in more than one publication as is the case in the instance cited here.

42. The Andreas-Cutler *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), for example, contains two and possibly three Worrall illustrations (pp. 179, 756, 1370). Again I have made no systematic examination of such literature which totals a considerable volume. At times the quality of illustrative work in such material may reach a high level. The really elegant—yes, elegant is the proper word—lithographic illustrations in the *Official State Atlas of Kansas* (L. H. Everts & Co., Philadelphia, 1887), are especially notable. Although these illustrations (some measure 12 by 15 inches in size) depict conditions in a prim, orderly and very precise manner they nevertheless give a comprehensive view of Kansas homes, farms and towns in 1887. I do not mean to imply that the illustrations were Worrall's work; in fact they do not resemble Worrall's "art" at all and none of the illustrations is signed. In the "Preface" of the above volume the only comment made on the source of the illustrations is the statement "agents and artists were sent into every portion of the State" in securing material for the book. If Worrall was one of the artists thus sent, the lithographer has removed any trace of Worrall's individuality in the final illustrations.

43. The Topeka *Commonwealth*, June 24, 1871, p. 4, col. 2, states "Prof. [Henry] Worrall has drawn a sketch of the state fair grounds. . . . The drawing has been sent to Chicago to be engraved for the posters of the state agricultural society." Somewhat similar to this type of work, were sketches and water colors made by Worrall of proposed improvements. For instance, the *Commonwealth*, July 11, 1872, p. 4, col. 3, reports that Worrall was engaged to prepare a landscape view for the proposed ornamentation of the Washburn college campus; and the *Commonwealth*, May 28, 1887, p. 5, col. 3, states "The Boston syndicate's intentions on Martin's hill in the way of landscape and other art are portrayed on canvas by Professor Worrall. There will be a base ball ground, boulevards, promenades, circle rail road, lake, observatory and everything necessary in a first class summer resort."

"HISTORIC SKETCHES OF THE CATTLE TRADE"  
AND "BUFFALO LAND"

*Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade* by Joseph G. McCoy was published in Kansas City in 1874.<sup>44</sup> It has been called by competent students a "classic work" and "one of the most valuable accounts of the cattle trade."<sup>45</sup> The point which concerns us in this classic of the West is the fact that a statement on the title page reads "Illustrated by Prof. Henry Worrall, Topeka, Kas." The illustrations, some 126 in number (plus 20 or 22 full-page advertisements as mentioned in Footnote 44), include 57 portraits, 53 views and 16 cartoons. The portraits were undoubtedly drawn on wood from photographs as were probably several of the illustrations listed as views. Most of the views are full page and depict various aspects of ranching, cattle drives, the packing house industries, and life in cattle towns, especially Abilene, the end of the Texas cattle trail in the early days of cattle shipping. The wood engravings are poor but nevertheless retain considerable value and interest. Some are purely imaginary;<sup>46</sup> others are given legends which do not correspond to fact. On p. 94 is the full-page illustration, "Col. O. W. Wheeler's Herd, En Route for Kansas Pacific Railway, in 1867." Obviously either the legend is incorrect or it was not drawn from life, for again, it may be remarked, Worrall was not in Kansas in 1867. Many years later, however, McCoy reproduced this illustration in an autobiographical sketch with the legend "Herd on the Trail Enroute to Wichita. Sketch Drawn in 1873 by Prof. Henry Worrell [sic] of Topeka."<sup>47</sup> Comparison of this illustration with the Frenzeny and Tavernier illustration of a trail herd approaching Wichita, also drawn in 1873,<sup>48</sup> shows some surprising

44. According to Ralph P. Bieber who edited a reprint of McCoy's book, *Southwest Historical Series*, v. 8 (Glendale, Cal., 1940), pp. 65, 66, the McCoy book appeared originally as a series of joint articles by McCoy and J. Parker Mitchner in *The Cattle Trail*, a weekly Kansas City paper. McCoy collected and enlarged the series and published it under the title given above in the text. A facsimile reprint of McCoy's book was also published by The Rare Book Shop, Washington, D. C., in 1932. The latter is an admirable supplement to Bieber's exhaustive and painstaking work, for it gives the student an exact copy of McCoy's original book (now a collector's item and very scarce), while the Glendale reprint makes no attempt to render the McCoy book in facsimile and omits many of the cruder illustrations and the very interesting and useful advertisements appearing in McCoy's original edition. Incidentally there must be at least two bindings or printings of McCoy's original work, for the reprint of 1932 contains two pages of advertisements between pages 22 and 23 which do not occur in 1874 editions (University of Kansas and State Historical Society copies) which I have examined.

45. The first comment is that of James C. Malin, "Notes on Historical Literature of the Range Cattle Industry," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 1 (1931-1932), p. 74, and the second is by E. E. Dale, *The Range Cattle Industry* (Norman, Okla., 1930), p. 204.

46. For example, on p. 25 of McCoy there appears the illustration, "Mobbing Dougherty in Southwest Missouri," which is supposed to depict a scene in 1866 before Worrall came West; in the same category is "Abilene in 1867" on p. 45.

47. Joseph G. McCoy, "Historic and Biographic Sketch," *Kansas Magazine*, Wichita, v. 2, December, 1909, pp. 45-55.

48. See the first article in this series, *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, February, 1946, *opposite* p. 32.

similarities. The trailing herd depicted in both cases shows the same form, a long sinuous line of similar curves with cowboys at intervals on both sides of the herd. One might guess that one illustration was drawn from the other but this possibility seems unlikely as both were published at practically the same time.<sup>49</sup>

Very probably the explanation of the similarity in the illustration, coupled with McCoy's statement, lies in a news item in the Topeka *Commonwealth*, October 11, 1873, p. 4, col. 3, which states "Paul Frenzeny and Jules Tavernier, artists and correspondents of *Harper's Weekley* [*sic*], in company with Prof. Worrell [*sic*], the well known artist of Topeka, are in Wichita for the purpose of taking sketches of that town and vicinity." It is thus a distinct possibility that the two illustrations depict the same scene. In some respects the Worrall illustration is the better of the two from the standpoint of factual knowledge. It shows a broader sweep of characteristic country and depicts the cattle as longhorns and not the Eastern cows of Frenzeny and Tavernier. The long horns of the longhorns, if the reader can gather my meaning, are not anatomically correct even in the Worrall illustration, but as already pointed out, the wood engravings in McCoy are all poorly executed so we have no way of determining whether the fault lies with the engraver or with Worrall.<sup>50</sup>

McCoy, in his autobiographical sketch previously noted, also reproduced and made comment in the legend on another of the Worrall illustrations. The illustration appeared originally under the title, "Winter Herding Upon the Upper Arkansas River.—Dennis Sheedy's Camp."<sup>51</sup> In the autobiographical account it appears under the title, "Camp Scene; Herd Awaiting Buyer on Kansas Range.—Sketch From Life Drawn in 1872 by Prof. Henry Worrell" (reproduced in the picture supplement).<sup>52</sup>

Bieber, who as we have pointed out, carefully edited McCoy's book in 1940, states in his preface that he "has reproduced the text of the first edition (of McCoy) in its entirety, but has omitted the advertisements and most of the crude illustrations which have little or no historic value." Six out of eight of the illustrations Bieber

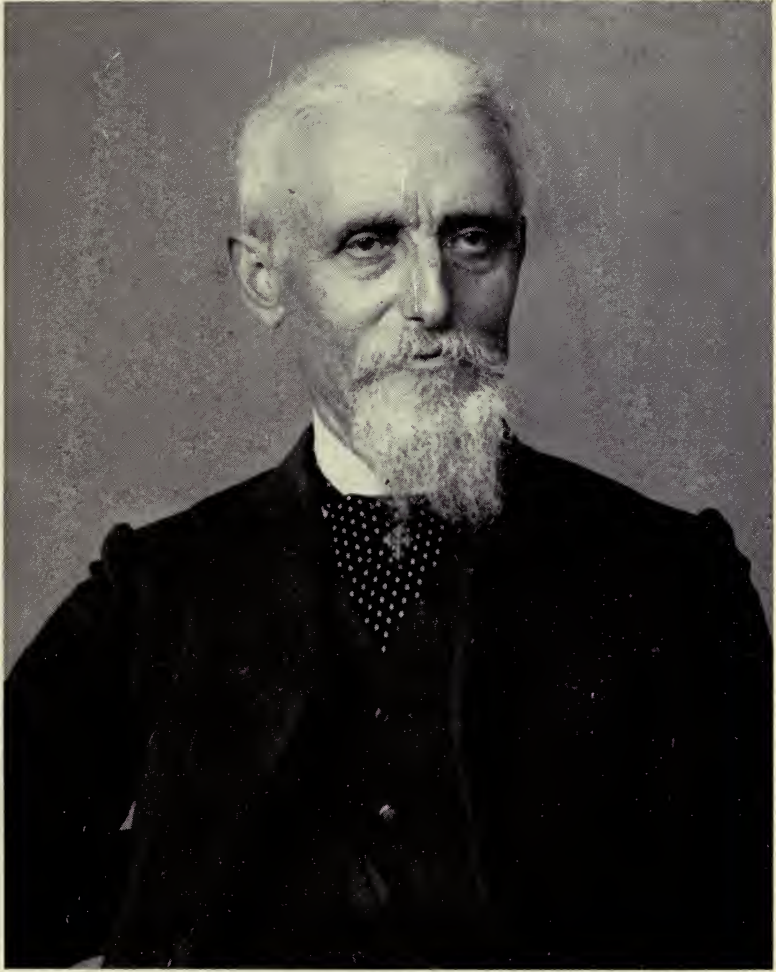
49. The McCoy book was out by May 28, 1874, as notice of it appeared in the *Wichita Eagle* for that date (cited by Bieber, *op. cit.*, p. 66); the Frenzeny and Tavernier illustration appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 18 (May 2, 1874), p. 386.

50. For a more satisfactory depiction of the long horns see the advertisements of Hunter, Evans & Co. or of White, Allen & Co., in the advertising pages of McCoy, *op. cit.* The artist who has spent the greatest study and care in depicting the long horn is Henry W. Caylor of Texas. His work will be discussed in more detail later in this series.

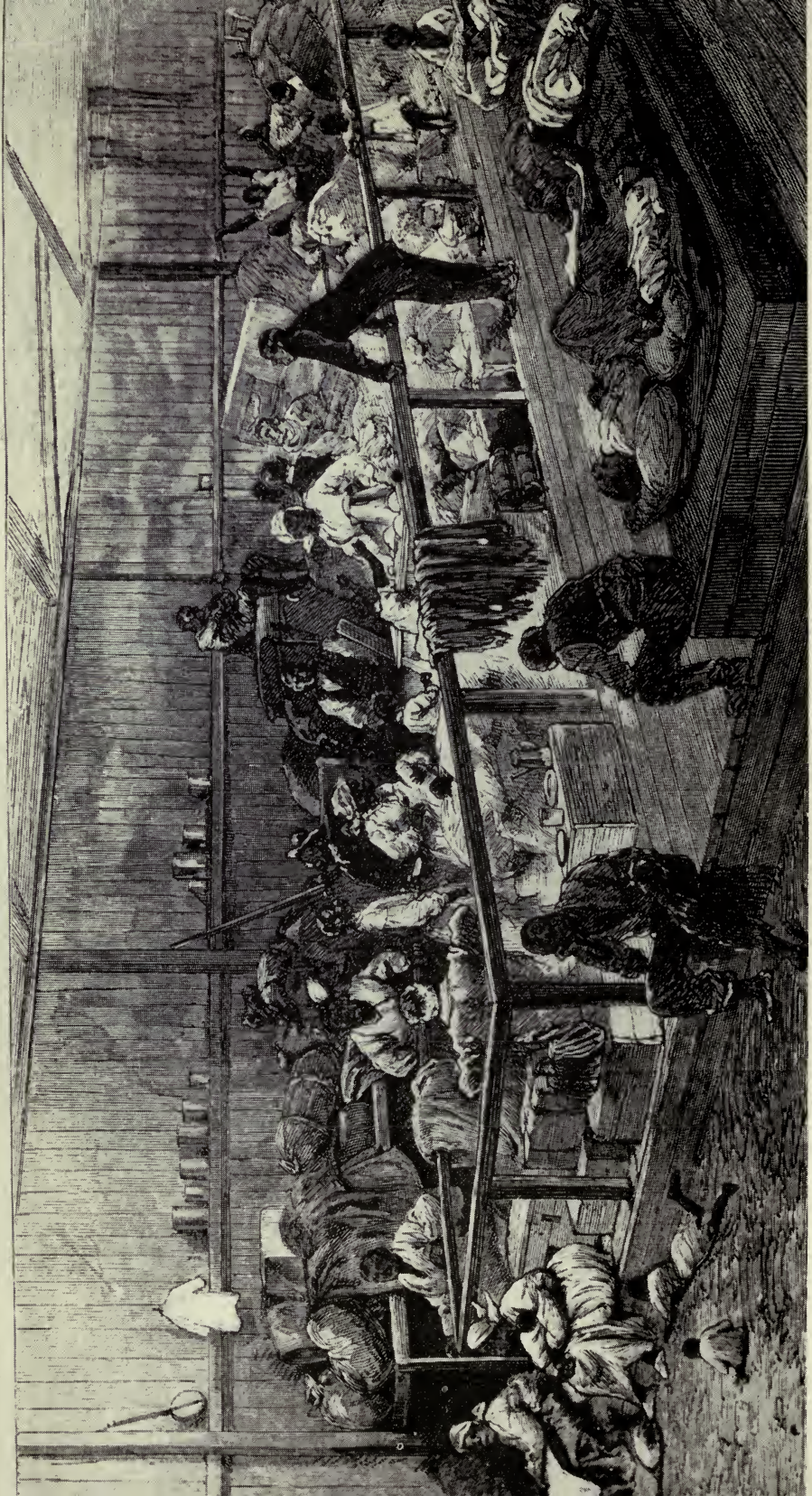
51. McCoy, *op. cit.*, p. 394.

52. McCoy in *Kansas Magazine*, December, 1909, p. 47.





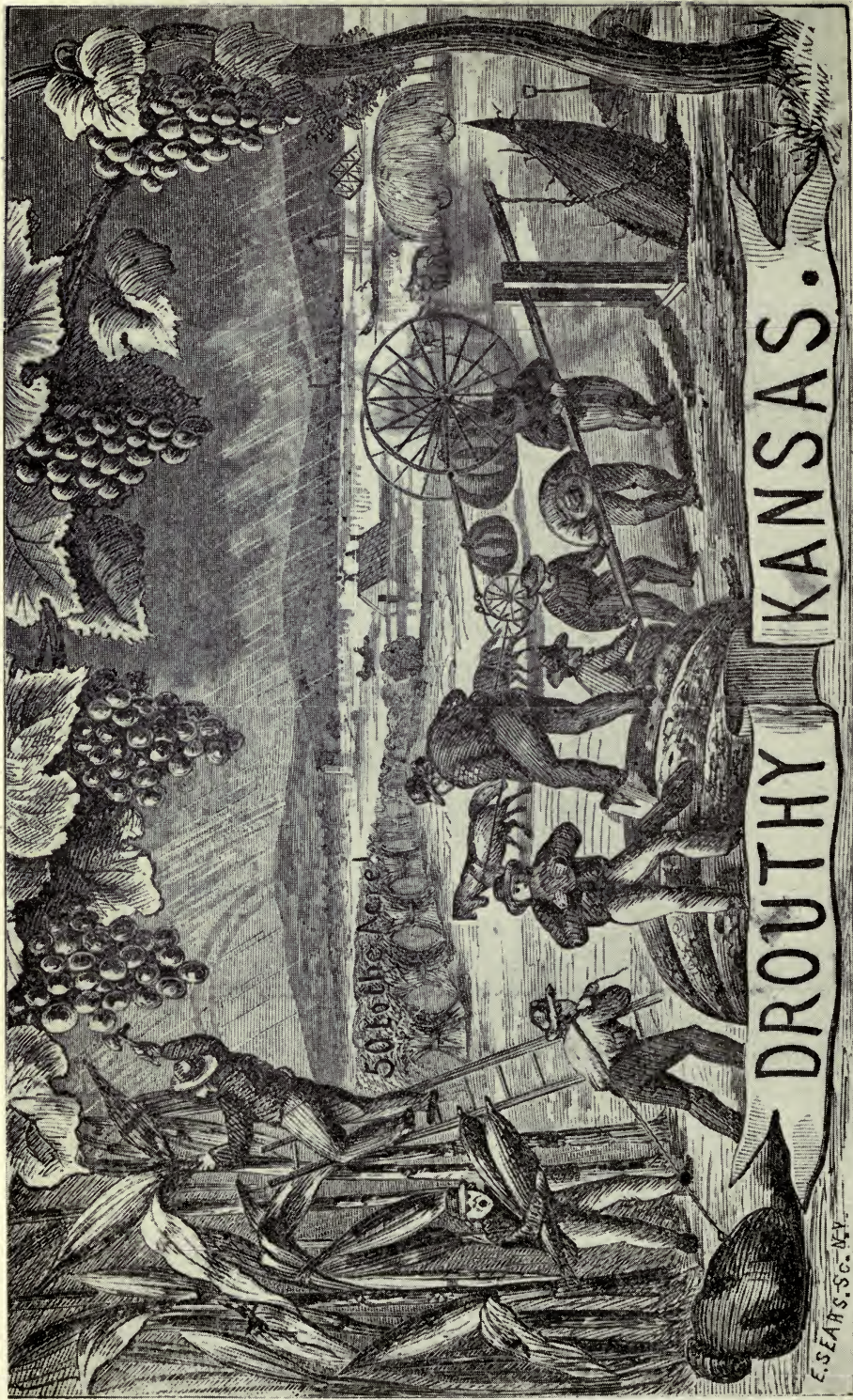
HENRY WORRALL  
From a Photograph Taken About 1890.



THE GREAT COLORED EXODUS OF 1879. TEMPORARY HOUSING FOR THE IMMIGRANTS WAS PROVIDED IN FLORAL HALL AT THE TOPEKA FAIR GROUNDS.



LEAVENWORTH (FORT LEAVENWORTH ON EXTREME LEFT) FROM PILOT KNOB. SKETCHED BY WORRALL, JULY 14, 1875.



**DROUTHY KANSAS.**

50 to the Acre

E. S. H. S. S. C. N. Y.

"Drouthy Kansas," Worrall's Famous Cartoon of 1869. From a Broadside Published by the Kansas Farmer in 1869 or 1870.



BUREAU OF ILLUSTRATION, WASHINGTON.

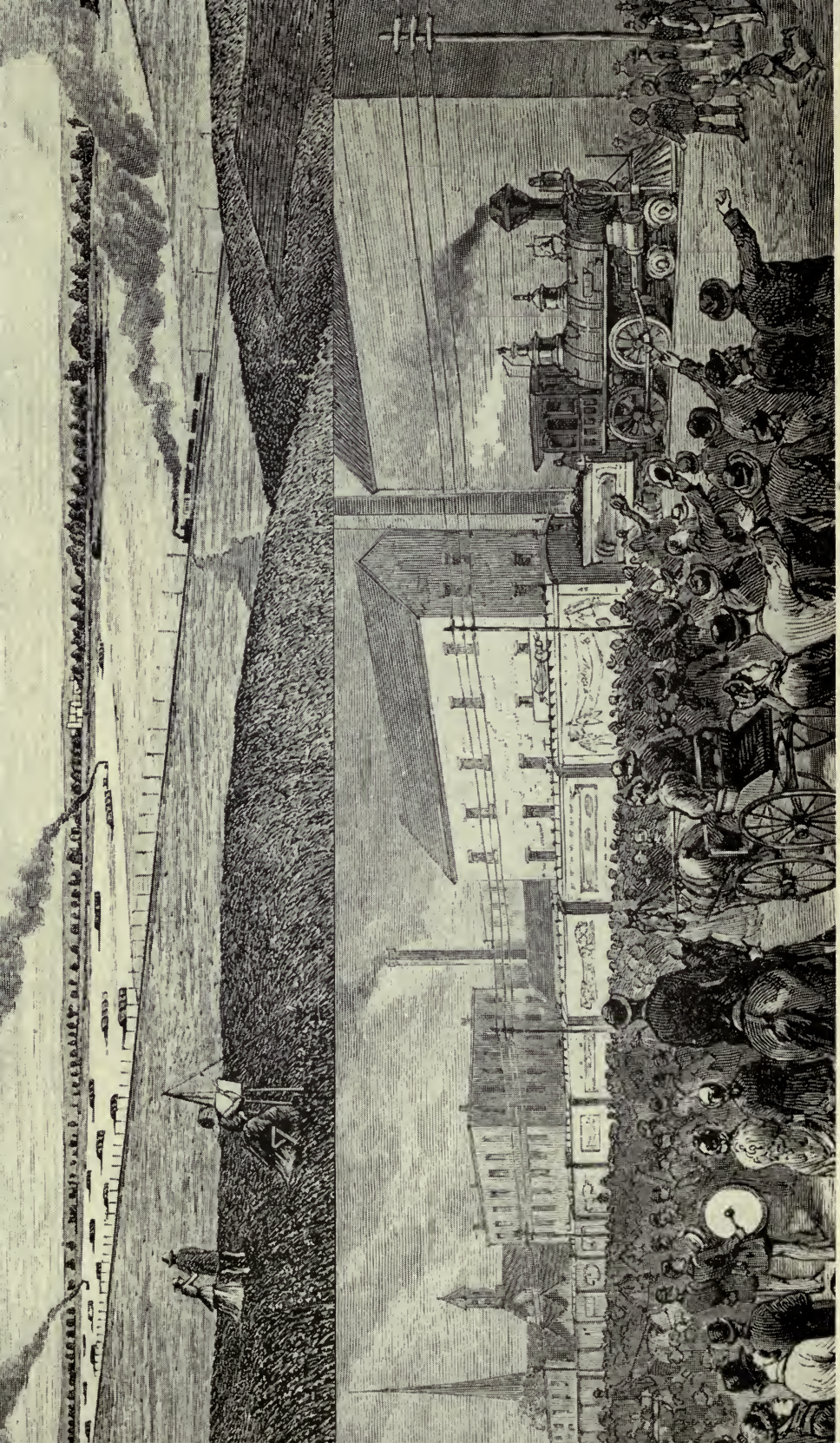
UNNATURALIZED.



W. E. WEBB'S "BUFFALO LAND."

NATURALIZED.

AN ILLUSTRATION FROM W. E. WEBB'S "BUFFALO LAND" (1872). ALTHOUGH WORRALL'S DEPICTION OF THE UNNATURALIZED INDIAN MAY SHOW SEVERAL ANACHROISMS (NOTE THE CUP), THAT OF THE "NATURALIZED" NATIVE AMERICAN MAY HAVE BEEN DRAWN FROM LIFE, FOR FREQUENT REFERENCE TO DRUNKEN INDIANS ON THE STREETS OF TOPEKA CAN BE FOUND IN NEWSPAPERS OF THE PERIOD.



UPPER: ABILENE AND THE MUCH-DISCUSSED WHEAT FIELD OF T. C. HENRY, JUL Y, 1875. THE INTRODUCTION OF A FOREGROUND FIGURE AT AN EASEL IS A FREQUENT FEATURE OF WORRALL LANDSCAPE ILLUSTRATIONS.

LOWER: DEPARTURE OF THE CORN TRAIN FROM WICHITA, 1884, TO RELIEVE THE FLOOD SUFFERERS IN THE OHIO RIVER VALLEY. A RETURN OF THE DEPT OF 1874 "WITH INTEREST."

uses, however, are from McCoy's original work, and five of them are Worrall's work.<sup>53</sup> Of the two additional illustrations employed by Bieber, one is a halftone reproduction of a photograph of McCoy and the other is a photograph entitled "Shipping Point for Texas Cattle, Abilene, Kansas, 1867. From a Photograph." The photograph is of value because it shows the type of cattle car in use in 1867 and depicts men's attire. But the source of Bieber's information concerning the photograph is not cited although his material in the text is fully documented. Such practices, as I have pointed out in the general introduction to this series, are common among professional and amateur historians alike when it comes to illustrations.<sup>54</sup> In addition, Bieber (without comment) has changed the titles of all five of the Worrall illustrations and in one has changed the locality of the scene depicted from Kansas City, Mo., to Kansas City, Kan.<sup>55</sup>

We have already admitted that the woodcuts in McCoy are crude but they record many scenes of past life which are nowhere else available, and in general Worrall can be depended upon to give a fairly accurate portrayal of scenes which he actually observed. It is possible that Bieber's opinion may have been based on the Worrall cartoons in McCoy, which are, judged by present standards, certainly the crudest of the crude. At first sight they are of little historical value but it should be mentioned that they are important in a history of taste and humor, for apparently they were regarded as humorous in their day; otherwise the publishers would not have gone to the expense of preparing and printing them.

53. I am assuming that all illustrations in McCoy's book, with the exception of the portraits which were probably engraved directly from photographs, were drawn by Worrall. This assumption is based on the statement on the title page of McCoy and his brief mention of Worrall in the autobiographical account. It is true that two of the illustrations in McCoy's original book are signed "Beal-Del" and one "F. Lundsley Del." (Worrall's signature appears with any definiteness on only one illustration.) The illustration signed by Lundsley, a cartoon, is so typically Worrall's that the above signatures have little meaning. In fact it was not an uncommon practice in the days of wood engraving for an artist in redrawing another artist's work on wood, to sign his own name rather than that of the original artist. Frequently, too, the wood engraver put his initials in but he usually had the good grace to affix "Sc" after them. The engraving firm, also, usually had to get their advertisement into the illustration as well.

54. For the sake of record, the photograph of the Abilene stockyard used by Bieber was taken in Abilene in the fall of 1867 by Alexander Gardner. It approximates Gardner's view No. 115 of the Kansas State Historical Society's collection or Gardner's view No. 25 at the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.—See Robert Taft, *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 3 (1934), pp. 3-14; v. 6 (1937), pp. 175-177.

55. Bieber, *op. cit.*, gives the five illustrations (which are most excellently reproduced) on pages 161, 207, 269, 327, and 351. The corresponding illustrations in McCoy, *op. cit.*, appear on pages 94, 140, 205, 273, and 306. The transposition in localities occurs on page 327 in Bieber (the corresponding illustration is on page 273 of McCoy); on page 275 of McCoy is an illustration, "View of Kansas Stock Yards," which presumably was located at Kansas City, Kan. The omission of the advertisements in McCoy made by Bieber is not justified in the writer's opinion. In addition to lending "atmosphere" they do have a definite historical value despite Bieber's statement. I have found them useful for several purposes; see Footnote 50, for example.

In W. E. Webb's *Buffalo Land* this same characteristic of Worrall appears in numerous caricatures and cartoons.<sup>56</sup> In fact this feature is even more pronounced in the Webb book than it is in McCoy and for good reason.

*Buffalo Land* is essentially a story of the humorous and sporting adventures of a group of individuals on the Great Plains of Kansas and Colorado. Webb has given fantastic and fictitious names to the members of his party and their story is told with a levity that is sometimes marked by a grisly humor. For instance, the party met a plainsman in a Topeka hotel who regaled them with the story of Western justice meted out to a mule thief. Webb gives the plainsman's account in verse:

We started arter that 'ere pup,  
An' took the judge along,  
For fear, with all our dander up,  
We might do somethin' wrong.

We caught him under twenty miles,  
An' tried him under trees;  
The judge he passed around the "smiles,"  
As sort o' jury fees.

"Pris'ner," says judge, "now say your say,  
An' make it short an' sweet,  
An', while yer at it, kneel and pray,  
For Death yer can not cheat.

"No man shall hang, by this 'ere court,  
Exceptin' on the square;  
There's time fur speech, if so it's short,  
But none to chew or swear."

An' then the thievin' rascal cursed,  
An' threw his life away,  
He said, "Just pony out your worst,  
Your best would be foul play."

Then judge he frowned an awful frown,  
An' snapped this sentence short,  
"Jones, twitch the rope, an' write this down,  
Hung for contempt of court!"<sup>57</sup>

56. The copy I have used is W. E. Webb, *Buffalo Land* (Cincinnati and Chicago: E. Hannaford & Company, San Francisco: F. Dewing & Co., 1872). I have seen a Library of Congress card for the book cited as above and another Library of Congress card reading the same as above save that of the San Francisco publisher. *The American Catalogue* (New York, 1880), p. 791, lists the same title with the publisher, Maclean, Philadelphia, 1872, and Henry Fairfield Osborn, *Cope: Master Naturalist* (Princeton, N. J., 1931), p. 703, cites still another publisher for Webb, "Hubbard Bros., Philadelphia, 1872." *The American Catalogue*, p. 16, states of Maclean, "now ceased publication." *The British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books* (London, 1884), v. 55, lists an edition of *Buffalo Land* for "Philadelphia, 1873."

The subtitle of *Buffalo Land* reads, "An Authentic Account of the Discoveries, Adventures, and Mishaps of a Scientific and Sporting Party in the Wild West. . . . Replete with Information, Wit, and Humor." The illustrations are credited on the title page, "From actual photographs, and original drawings by Henry Worrall."

57. *Buffalo Land*, p. 76.



There is no evidence, either internal or external, that Worrall was a member of Webb's party, but with such text to guide him, Worrall must have found an illustrative job that fitted his own tastes and talents to a high degree, and "Hung for Contempt of Court" was one of Worrall's illustrations.<sup>58</sup> It should be remarked that

58. I have made some effort to determine if Webb's account is that of a real expedition or not. The expedition, which Webb reports, seems to have taken place in the fall of 1868. On page 366 of his book Webb speaks of the death of Dr. Moore (J. H. Mooers) and Lieutenant Beecher as a recent event. Both of these men were killed on September 17, 1868, at the Battle of Beecher's Island on the Arickaree in eastern Colorado. The frontispiece by Worrall bears the date "69." Webb also quotes at long length from a report by the naturalist, E. D. Cope (pp. 339-365 of *Buffalo Land*). Cope's full-length report from which the above-mentioned excerpt was taken appears in Survey of Montana, *Fifth Annual Report of Progress* (Washington, 1872), Pt. III, pp. 318-349. Cope, in the full-length report, speaks several times of Webb (pp. 319, 325, 336, and on p. 327 Cope refers to "my friend Dr. Wm. E. Webb of Topeka"). Henry Fairfield Osborn, *Cope: Master Naturalist*, discusses Cope's trips to Kansas in search of paleontological material but Cope's first Western trip was not made until 1871. Cope (Osborn, *op. cit.*, p. 161) in a letter dated Topeka, September 7, 1871, stated that he was planning a special expedition in November, 1871, "with Webb to combine fossils and land business. Such an opportunity is very fine with a man who knows the ground." No subsequent letters of Cope appear in Osborn that would indicate whether the trip was made or not and Dr. Edwin H. Colbert of the American Museum of Natural History, who is preparing a biography of Cope, writes me that he has been unable to find any letters of Cope (or field notes) that would indicate whether the Webb-Cope expedition was made.

This extensive note is made as there is the possibility that Webb's character "Professor Paleozoic" was Cope, but it now appears unlikely. Prof. O. C. Marsh was another pioneer paleontological collector in western Kansas but an examination of Charles Schuchert's and Clara Mae LeVene's *O. C. Marsh* (New Haven, 1940), makes it appear unlikely that Marsh had any connection with Webb. Still another possibility, if Webb's character "Professor Paleozoic" had an actual prototype, is Prof. B. F. Mudge, for many years geologist of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture. Mudge was a collector for Marsh (see *O. C. Marsh* cited above) and is known to have made many collecting expeditions; see letters by a member of Mudge's party in Leavenworth *Conservative*, November 2, 4, 10, 12, 1869 (each letter is printed on page 2).

Still another possibility is that Webb conducted a party through western Kansas consisting of Louis Agassiz (the well-known naturalist of Harvard University), Sen. Roscoe Conkling of New York, Samuel Hooper of Boston, J. P. Usher, Secretary of the Interior in Lincoln's cabinet, and others. Agassiz and the party were in Leavenworth in August, 1868 (Leavenworth *Conservative*, August 28, 1868, p. 1, cols. 1, 2) and went to the end of the rail on the Kansas Pacific and then overland to Denver, returning east by way of the Union Pacific through Nebraska.—Elizabeth Cary Agassiz, *Louis Agassiz* (Boston, 1886), v. 2, p. 661. Some connection with the National Land Company (of which Webb was manager) and Agassiz is indicated by a paragraph in the *Topeka State Record*, November 4, 1868, p. 2, col. 2, and by a statement in *Buffalo Land* (p. 326) in discussing the fossil remains of a huge reptile discovered by the party near Sheridan, Kan. "It" (the fossil), writes Webb, "now rests in the museum at Cambridge, Massachusetts."

There is, of course, the possibility that the Webb expedition was a composite of several expeditions. *The Kansas Magazine*, Topeka, v. 2 (July, 1872), p. 100, states that *Buffalo Land* "embraces the results of extensive personal experiences and observations within the last three years."

Webb was "a gentleman well known throughout the State in connection with land and immigration affairs."—*The Kansas Magazine*, v. 1 (April, 1872), p. 383. The title page of *Buffalo Land* cites him as "W. E. Webb of Topeka, Kansas" and Andreas-Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas*, p. 1291, states that in 1868 a party from St. Louis, including W. E. Webb, selected lands for colonization in the vicinity of present Hays. F. E. Haas, register of deeds of Ellis county, wrote me under date of April 15, 1946, that William E. Webb acquired title to the SW $\frac{1}{4}$  of 33-18S-18W from the Union Pacific Railway company by warranty deed dated October 20, 1868; this quarter section is now part of the townsite of Hays. Webb's name can occasionally be found in the Topeka papers for the period under discussion. For example, the *Commonwealth*, August 4, 1869, p. 3, col. 2, describes preparations for a Western trip over the K. P. R. W. by a party including "Dr. Webb and wife, of the National Land Company," and the *State Record* on January 20, 1869, p. 4, col. 1, reports the marriage of "Dr. W. E. Webb, the Manager of the National Land Company."

Webb was also the author of two articles entitled, "Way Down South Among the Cotton," published in *The Kansas Magazine*, v. 1 (May, 1872), pp. 406-415; (June, 1872), pp. 518-522, and "Neb, the Devil's Own," v. 2 (August, 1872), pp. 128-133. The latter article recites presumably some of Webb's experiences at Sheridan, Kan., "four years ago."

*The Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 10 (1907-1908), p. 279, has a brief biographical sketch of Webb stating that he represented Ellis county in the state legislature of 1868 and that he platted Hays City (present Hays) in 1867, concluding with the statement, "He died in Chicago." Mr. Stanley Pargellis of the Newberry Library, Chicago, recently wrote me that their genealogical department had no information on Webb and that the Chicago Historical Society and the Chicago Bureau of Vital Statistics could furnish no information on Webb.

Worrall, in addition to possessing a sense of humor in agreement with the context of *Buffalo Land*, was also well acquainted with and had participated in just such excursions as the Webb party undertook (see pp. 262, 263). The illustrations in *Buffalo Land* (with the exception of a few credited as "From a Photograph") are therefore all imaginary but were drawn by one well qualified for the task. As in *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade* the illustrations are reproduced through the medium of the wood cut. Although still crude, as judged by modern standards, the engraving was better done in the Webb book than in McCoy's.

It should not be thought, however, that Webb's book and the Worrall illustrations are of value only as part of a history of American humor. The very frequent reference made to the book by present-day writers on plains history of the 1870's is well deserved, for *Buffalo Land* had other aspects than simply humorous ones. The characters, whether real or fictitious, traveled through a real land where characteristics were ably and truthfully described. Extensive appendices are also given in the book for the benefit of homeseekers, sportsmen and would-be ranchers. "The information given concerning the matters treated of we can endorse as being entirely authentic; and it is information of interest and value, to Kansas and to the country at large. . . . The book is profusely illustrated from designs by Professor Henry Worrall, of Topeka—all of them good, and some of them, particularly the frontispiece, of striking excellence," reports *The Kansas Magazine* on the first appearance of the book.<sup>59</sup> Later in the same year *The Kansas Magazine* commented again on *Buffalo Land*:

Mr. Webb's book is written in a fresh and vigorous style, and gives the first really correct and satisfactory idea of the Plains country that has been published. It embraces the results of extensive personal experiences and observations within the last three years, and is not a mere reproduction, in a new garb, of what Greeley, Richardson and others saw and heard in their flying trips across the continent. Everything desirable to be known about the interesting region between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains, for any purpose whatever, is told in a manner that leaves nothing to be guessed at; and the illustrations, from original designs of Professor Worrall, of Topeka, add materially to the naturalness and general attractiveness of the work.<sup>60</sup>

The Worrall illustrations in *Buffalo Land* despite their imaginary

59. *The Kansas Magazine*, v. 1 (April, 1872), pp. 383, 384.

60. *Ibid.*, v. 2 (July, 1872), p. 100. The books of Greeley and Richardson referred to are, of course, Horace Greeley, *An Overland Journey* (New York, 1860); and Albert T. Richardson, *Beyond the Mississippi* (Hartford, Conn., 1867), and subsequent editions.

character, we can therefore conclude are interesting and valuable—if humorous—records of past Western life.

#### UNPUBLISHED AND MISCELLANEOUS WORK

Worrall painted frequently in oil. Many of these oils were portraits which from the standpoint of this series of articles would be of little interest, especially as his portrait work is not particularly good. However, as Worrall is a Kansan and therefore of local interest we should at least mention the Worrall material of this type now available. These portraits were for the most part those of prominent Kansas citizens. Worrall essayed, however, a painting of Lincoln<sup>61</sup> the location of which is not now known.

The State Historical Society possesses oil portraits by Worrall of Judge John Guthrie,<sup>62</sup> Gov. James Madison Harvey, and Gov. Thomas Andrew Osborn (the most pleasing one of the group). In addition, the Historical Society has an oil portrait of Gov. A. H. Reeder (of territorial days and therefore probably painted after a photograph).<sup>63</sup> Other portraits painted by Worrall and reported in the press include Dr. F. L. Crane, Charles C. Whiting,<sup>64</sup> Col. Tom Moonlight, U. S. Marshal S. D. Houston,<sup>65</sup> and Miss Minnie Beals, "the Topeka Nightingale."<sup>66</sup> Probably there are many more Worrall portraits in Kansas homes but not otherwise recorded or remembered now. Probably, too, many of these paintings, treasured in their time, have gone the way of their flesh and blood originals.

In addition to the portraits, there are still available a number of other Worrall paintings or drawings that, for the most part, have never been published. Also among the holdings of the State Historical Society are the following paintings: "Topeka From the West in 1870";<sup>67</sup> "Buffalo Herd" (dated 1871 and showing surveyors' stakes of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad);

61. Topeka *Commonwealth*, July 27, 1873, p. 4, col. 3.

62. The portrait of Judge Guthrie, a well-known Topeka character and an inveterate chewer of the "vile weed," was secured many years ago for the Society by George Root. After retrieving it from some neglected source, Root brought it to the Society's rooms where it was duly inspected by other members of the staff. One of them, evidently an enthusiast for stark realism in art, inspected it critically and then pronounced judgment. "That portrait won't do at all. The judge's white vest is too white and there are no tobacco stains streaking down the front. Take the picture back where you got it." The critic's advice, however, was not followed, for the Worrall portrait of Guthrie still hangs in the foyer of the Memorial building along with pictures of other past Kansas notables.

63. This oil painting was accepted by the State Historical Society in 1879.—*Twenty-Seventh Biennial Report of the . . . Kansas State Historical Society* (1931), p. 24.

64. *Daily Kansas State Record*, Topeka, April 2, 1870, p. 4, col. 3.

65. *Ibid.*, October 28, 1870, p. 4, col. 1.

66. Topeka *Commonwealth*, November 23, 1869, p. 3, col. 1.

67. This view is probably the one mentioned in the Topeka *State Record*, April 2, 1870, p. 4, col. 3, and in the *Commonwealth*, June 14, 1870, p. 4, col. 3.

"First House in Topeka" (reproduced in the *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 12, facing p. 152), and "The Kansas Exhibit" (interior at the centennial exhibition of 1876).<sup>68</sup> Another Worrall painting with which U. S. Vice-Pres. Charles Curtis was familiar was of the famous Pappan ferry near Topeka on the Oregon trail and which Curtis said Worrall painted from imagination "as it appeared in 1854."<sup>69</sup>

In somewhat the same class but on a larger scale was a huge panoramic view of Kansas in which Worrall depicted the inevitable prairie schooner in the foreground. Slung beneath the wagon was the familiar bucket and trailing close behind was a big "yaller" dog. The background was interspersed "with hills, valleys, prairies, farms, forests, rivers, railroads, cities, towns, coal mines and other things."<sup>70</sup>

Among the additional drawings reported, but apparently no longer extant, was one of especial interest. It was the remnant of the Daniel Morgan Boone settlement of about 1827 some ten miles above Lawrence on the Kansas river and drawn by Worrall about 1900.<sup>71</sup> It is unfortunate that this pictorial record of the connection of the son of the famous Daniel Boone with Kansas has been lost.

Two groups of very interesting Worrall sketches have been preserved by the State Historical Society. They were drawn by Worrall when on buffalo hunts in western Kansas in 1871 and 1873. Their preservation is due to the fact that Knight (*see* Footnote 72) photographed them, since the photographs, not the original sketches, are available. In addition to the sketches, newspaper accounts of the latter hunt have also been found. A party of prominent Topekans left their city on a "special train for the plains in search of buffalo, grizzley bear, antelope, saddle-rock oysters, peppermint, stoghten bitters and herring." The Kansas Pacific railroad provided the party with a special car and presumably special provi-

68. "The Kansas Exhibit" was acquired by the Society in 1913 for the sum of \$15.—*See Eighteenth Biennial Report . . . of the Kansas State Historical Society* (1913), p. 79. The "First House in Topeka," mentioned above, was also redrawn for publication and used as the frontispiece for F. W. Giles' *Thirty Years in Topeka* (Topeka, 1886), "Preface." Giles also mentions (pp. 150, 151) another original work of Worrall painted in 1869. It was a scene on the stage curtain of Union Hall (Topeka) depicting various aspects of Topeka life, some of which were humorous in character.

69. *See* letter of Charles Curtis to George Root, September 16, 1933.—*Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 2 (1933), p. 368.

70. *Topeka Commonwealth*, January 22, 1871, p. 4, col. 2.

71. Albert R. Greene, "The Kansas River—Its Navigation," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 9 (1905-1906), p. 321, reported that Worrall drew the sketch "a few years ago." The Daniel Boone connection with Kansas is briefly mentioned in Andreas-Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas*, pp. 60, 252, 253. The date of settlement given in Andreas-Cutler is 1829.

sions and refreshments.<sup>72</sup> Such trips were not uncommon in their day, for buffalo shooting from excursion trains of the Kansas Pacific was a frequently advertised feature.<sup>73</sup> The "party," planned to last a week, traveled west to the railroad boom towns of Sheridan and Kit Carson, then south on a short line connecting the Kansas Pacific with the Santa Fe railroad at Las Animas, Colo. From Las Animas the trip was made by coach and rail to Denver and the return then made over the Kansas Pacific to Topeka. Worrall, the *Commonwealth* reported, shot the first of 68 buffalo killed on the excursion; in addition their bag included 11 antelope. Many of the incidents of the trip Worrall included in small cartoon sketches, one of which was the famous trestle bridge near the town of Sheridan which was so frequently employed, according to story, for the purposes of frontier justice.<sup>74</sup>

Henry Worrall died in Topeka on June 20, 1902, at the age of 77. According to one of his well-known contemporaries, T. C. Henry, he was "a man whose unique public services Kansas should honor."<sup>75</sup> Important and useful as were his many contributions to the state, his public services have been until now long since forgotten. This brief review of some of those contributions is a belated reminder to present-day Kansans of a predecessor who gave generously of his time and talents in the state's development. "All his life has been devoted to art. His ability, taste and judgment have often been of great service to the people of Topeka and Kansas and he did much for the advancement of art in the middle West," was the judgment of the Topeka *Herald* in commenting on Worrall's life.<sup>76</sup>

72. Topeka *Commonwealth*, October 19, 1873, p. 4, col. 2; October 28, p. 4, cols. 2, 3. The receipt of the photographs of the Worrall sketches by the Society are reported in the *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 1-2 (1875-1880), p. 88. Worrall also took part in a similar buffalo hunt in 1871, the "Sketch Record of the Hunt, Nov. 1, 2 & 3 1871" reveals. The "Sketch Record" embraces a series of Worrall hunting sketches photographed by J. Lee Knight.

73. In the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, October 25, 1938, p. D, I described such an excursion. The story was based on accounts found in the *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, October 9, 1868, p. 2, col. 2; October 10, p. 2, col. 3; October 11, p. 2, col. 3.

74. For mention of frontier justice and "the hanging trestle" at Sheridan, see De B. Randolph Keim, *Sheridan's Troopers on the Border* (Philadelphia, 1870), p. 44; Homer W. Wheeler, *The Frontier Trail* (Los Angeles, 1923), pp. 49, 50; Leavenworth *Conservative*, June 25, 1869, p. 4, and March 26, 1870, p. 4. W. E. Webb in *The Kansas Magazine*, v. 2 (August, 1872), pp. 128-133, in a story "Neb, the Devil's Own," also described frontier justice at Sheridan.

75. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 9 (1905-1906), p. 505.

76. *Topeka Herald*, June 21, 1902, p. 1.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to Miss Helen McFarland, librarian of the Kansas State Historical Society, and to Miss Maud Smelser, accession librarian of the University of Kansas, Lawrence, for bibliographical information concerning the McCoy and Webb books mentioned in the text. The aid of J. W. Valentine of Kansas City, a personal friend of Henry Worrall, is also gratefully acknowledged, but most of all I am indebted to the dean of Kansas historians, George Root of the State Historical Society, whose voluminous knowledge of past Kansas life and past Kansans (Mr. Root was also a personal friend of Henry Worrall) is a genuine asset to the state. Mr. Root not only generously gave me his notes on Henry Worrall but supplied many personal recollections as well.

# Dust Storms

## Part Two, 1861-1880

JAMES C. MALIN

FOR the decade 1850-1860, on-the-spot accounts of the weather were available for Kansas only as far west as Topeka and Emporia. For the decade of the 1860's the Junction City *Union* spoke for the farthest west, but for the decade of the 1870's middle Kansas was represented by several newspapers as far west as the 100th meridian, the traditional eastern boundary of the short-grass plains. This broader local coverage makes a major difference in the ability of the historian to reconstruct the behavior of the weather, and for the very end of the period the federal weather bureau's dust-storm record provided for the first time a perspective on the whole Trans-Mississippi area.

The record-making general drought of 1860 left an unfortunate aftermath by creating a haunting doubt in the minds of many people, even those who possessed a strong faith, that subsequent drought periods might lengthen interminably into another 1860. In consequence, the boomers took an extreme position, that the drought of 1860 could never recur. The result was a distortion of the climatic history in which droughts were denied, and the country was misrepresented to be like the East. On account of this mistaken point of view Kansas people were retarded in making adjustment to the fact of climatic differences and in recognizing that in this difference of the grassland from the Eastern forest land lay their greatest asset.

In his Junction City *Union*, G. W. Martin kept up a campaign of criticism of all who doubted Kansas. An editorial of April 11, 1863, ran:

It will not rain in Kansas to suit every body, is one great difficulty. Some farmers are complaining because it is getting too dry, while others say rain is not wanted. . . . Thus it goes; all a want of confidence engendered by the year of famine. It will rain in due season.

Again on September 2, 1865, he reminded his readers that "it hasn't rained for ten or twelve days. Folks should commence growling," and on April 28, 1866, he wrote:

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We wish folks would stop to think how ridiculous it is to whine about drouth every time it goes a day longer than they think it ought to without rain. Let Kansas get over that old misfortune, by not keeping it alive forever. . . . Kansas stands second to no State in the Union agriculturally.

His patience was tried to the point of exasperation in 1870, resulting in an editorial on May 21:

There are a certain class in this country that do little else than croak from morning till night about "droughty Kansas." They prophesy a failure of crops whenever it is dry for a "straight" week. . . . The continual whinings of these croakers has become as big a bore in the ears of this community, as is Horace Greeley's "What I Know About Farming" to the practical farmers of the country.

In 1872 the *Kansas Spirit* declared:

Enough has already been written about the "dry year," 1860, both by those who exaggerated and those who denied its calamities, but we must berate the wicked folly of those who speak of that season as though it might be repeated, whenever dust flies for two or three successive days.

It was contended by the same paper that there could never be another year like 1860, unless the fall and winter previous were without rain,—a position which was well taken.<sup>1</sup>

Whenever a rain came, optimism mounted into over-optimism, which is illustrated by the *Fort Scott Democrat*, April 6, 1861: "After nearly two years of almost uninterrupted drouth, the windows of heaven have at last been opened—wide open. . . . The ground is thoroughly saturated. . . ." The editor did not realize that the years of deficiency in moisture could not be remedied by a few rains, that the restoration of the water table would require time, and that dust storms and crop damage returned easily until that was accomplished. The second issue of the *Junction City Union*, September 19, 1861, the farthest west newspaper in Kansas reported:

For the past week we have been blessed with a great variety of weather. Rain, and sunshine, calm, and blustering. Yesterday the air was filled with dust—to-day we have every indication of a quiet time among the elements; but, as the Englishman said, "things vary so in this blarsted country, you can't tell."

The next year the same paper, November 8, 1862, reported on prairie fires, which were even more destructive than in 1861:

As far as the eye can reach the earth presents one vast sheet of blackness—and the air is filled with ashes, floating in all directions, rendering everything exceedingly disagreeable.

1. Reprinted in the *Wichita Eagle*, April 26, 1872.



The windy season of 1863 inspired the Junction City *Union*, April 11, 1863, to report:

The air has been exceedingly restless for the past week. In fact, we have had, for that length of time, what would be considered a respectable tornado in any other country. If it continues another week, this section, at least, will be blown away.

From the South Platte region of Nebraska came word, in October, that there had been no rain for nearly a year and "clouds of dust and sand arise from what was once the bed of the river." A month later there was further comment that "The present season is said to be the dryest ever-known on the plains. Owing to the drying up of the Platte river and its tributaries, large numbers of stock have died for the want of water above Fort Kearney."<sup>2</sup>

The year 1864 and early 1865 was one of the historic drought periods. The Leavenworth *Daily Times*, February 24, 1864, reported cryptically: "Wind and dust, varied occasionally by dust and wind." Three days later the *Kansas Tribune*, Lawrence, continued the story:

Yesterday was windy, dusty, clear and cloudy, all in twelve hours. In the forenoon, the wind blew terribly, with a clear sky, except smoke and dust, in the afternoon, cloudy, smoky, light atmosphere, and but little wind.

The spring climax seems to have been reached March 27, 1864, with a "total eclipse of daylight" as told by the Junction City *Union*, April 2:

March, 1864, faded away amidst a variety of weather. Saturday [March 26] would have done honor to July; Sunday [March 27] morning a furious South wind, filling the air with dust, rendered it intolerably disagreeable. About four o'clock in the afternoon, black and threatening clouds rose in the West, the lightning flashed, and the wind even grew more furious. The clouds spread to the North and South, leaving but a faint glimmer of light in the East. The time-pieces were of course supposed to be at fault, and coal oil and tallow were brought into requisition. A slight shower of rain, the wind shifts to the North, the clouds disperse, the air smells sweet, and Old Sol again shines forth! Monday, ground covered with snow; Tuesday, ditto, and very cold. Wednesday, pleasant and warm; Thursday, heavy snow storm.

The fall of 1864 continued the story of wind and dust accompanied by intense heat. September 1

was emphatically the most disagreeable day of the season. The heat was as oppressive as at any time previous. The wind blew steadily and terrifically all day, and the dust flew in blinding and impenetrable clouds. . . .

At one o'clock, P. M., the mercury indicated 110° in the shade, the highest

2. Leavenworth *Daily Times*, October 24, November 25, 1863.

elevation it has attained this season. The wind was like the breath of a furnace. . . .

But whatever the cause of the elementary conflagration, it finds a precedent in the meteorological records of 1857 as well as of 1860. So we are told.<sup>3</sup>

On September 2 the performance was repeated and again, with temperatures still above 100°, on September 3. Rain did not come until late in the month and even then an editorial writer was hard to convince when on October 2 he wrote: "The mud was nearly overcome yesterday by the warm and welcome rays of the sun. It will soon 'get up and dust.'" <sup>4</sup>

In the spring of 1865 most of the newspapers claimed good rains, one said the most favorable since 1858, and crops were reported in fine condition. Nevertheless the Lawrence paper reported on April 26 that "The air was hot, and the dust flew in clouds," and confessed four days later that in spite of the rains the ground was none too wet, except in spots.<sup>5</sup>

The weather record of the years 1866, 1867, 1868, the post-war boom years, is not as clear as it should be. The Junction City *Union*, April 14, 1866, recorded that "Ever since the first of the month it has been one incessant blow," and on April 28 rebuked those who "whine about drouth." The midsummer was wet. The following spring the Manhattan *Radical*, March 9, included in its boom article the explanation that "The climate of western Kansas, and of this locality in particular, is dry and healthy." The summer of 1867 was very wet, while in 1868 the Manhattan *Independent*, August 29, complained that the wind and rain had passed around and then returned with quite a sprinkle; "first with dust and next with water." Grasshoppers were always the accompaniment of drought on the plains, and the three seasons, 1866, 1867, and 1868, were years of visitations by the swarming air-borne variety.<sup>6</sup>

In 1870 the winds and dust began operations early, the Junction City *Union*, February 19, commenting that "a great deal of Kansas is not located where it used to be. Some of it we have no doubt is located in South America, while some covers the British possessions." The drought and winds continued into May, the Topeka

3. Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, September 2, 1864.

4. *Ibid.*, September 3, 4, 13, 27, October 2, 1864; Junction City *Union*, September 3, October 1, 1864.

5. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, April 26, 30, 1865.

6. Junction City *Union*, September 1, 1866, August 15, 29, 1868; Manhattan *Independent*, September 7, 1867, August 8, 22, 29, 1868.

*Record* declaring that the wind was the worst since 1855.<sup>7</sup> The crop failures in the western counties (present middle Kansas) were so serious that the legislature appropriated money for seed wheat and corn.<sup>8</sup>

In the spring of 1871 "the wind blew so hard the houses became restless," and "Old Boreas has howled incessantly all the week—the first half from the South and the last half from the North. . . ." The Abilene *Chronicle* argued that was what kept the Kansas atmosphere so pure. But the paper agreed on the wonderful crop prospects.<sup>9</sup> The fall of 1871 was dry and by mid-October little wheat had been planted, but the report in the spring of 1872 was optimistic about crop prospects. Also the irrepressible M. M. Murdock's Wichita *Eagle* became the medium for picturesque interpretation of south-central Kansas:

Some exchange speaks of the wind as just setting on its hind legs and howling. That would be a tame expression of its antics in this quarter of the moral vineyard. It not only sits on its hind legs to do that thing, but stands on its head, turns somersaults, and tears up the ground all over.

Referring to the reconciliation between the sections, the Blue and the Gray, after the Civil War, with comment on the first season of the Texas cattle trade to Wichita and the weather, the *Eagle* said:

The effect of the "late unpleasantness" may yet daily be witnessed upon our streets. Men of both sections have forgotten and forgiven all, but the winds are on it strong. At present advices the south [wind] stands three days ahead and real estate is going rapidly northward, as are, also, a hat now and then. Zephyrs are our strong point—they lift ten pound boulders and two year old mule colts off the ground—the squawking flocks overhead may be geese, may be jackasses.

A third paragraph on the weather read:

Real estate for sale at this office, by the acre or bushel. We have no disposition to infringe upon the business of our friends down street, but owing to the high winds and the open condition of our office, and not being ready for interment just yet, necessity compels to us [*sic*] dispose of the fine bottom land now spread over our type and presses.<sup>10</sup>

In defense of Kansas, the *Marion County Record*, of Marion, May 18, 1872, said:

7. Junction City *Union*, February 26, May 21, 1870; Abilene *Chronicle*, May 12, copying from Topeka *Record* of May 7, 1870.

8. For distribution, see Junction City *Union*, March 18, 1871.

9. Junction City *Union*, April 8, 15, 22, 29, 1871; Abilene *Chronicle*, February 16, March 2, 9, 23, May 25, 1871; Manhattan *Nationalist*, April 14, June 30, 1871.

10. Wichita *Eagle*, April 26, 1872.

What I consider the worst, and most disagreeable fault of the country . . . [is the] high and disagreeable winds, some days filling faces, pockets and houses, with black dirt and dust. But I do not see as it [is] any worse here than in other prairie countries. I have seen it just as bad in the valley of the Red River of the North, in Wisconsin, and Illinois, in Iowa, in Missouri and in Texas; and in Dakota much worse.

The year 1873 opened another period of prolonged severe drought, eight years of it, with only slight interruptions. The *Wichita Eagle* was more realistic than most of its contemporaries as well as more entertaining, as witness its comments of March 6 and 20, 1873.

Spring is now upon us and we are visited occasionally with one of those sweet, gentle, brow-cooling zephyrs for which this country has become so famous. Those of our new comers who have lost their domestic animals and fowls need not be alarmed, as the chances are that such stock will be blown back by the next wind.

Spring—soft, amorous spring—with her murmuring, perennial streams, ambient zephyrs, choruses of feathered warblers, and resplendent, flashing sunlight flooding the rolling prairies' wide-spread green, is upon us.

"There's perfume upon every wind—  
 Music in every tree—  
 Dews for the moisture-loving flowers,  
 Sweets for the sucking bee;  
 The sick come forth for the healing south,  
 The young are gathering flowers,  
 And life is a tale of poetry  
 That is told by golden hours,"

Or would be were it not for this rampant wind that goes howling and tearing along with gravel and fence boards on its wing, singing a doleful requiem through the bare branches of the lonely cottonwoods that skirt yonder muddy current to the departed spirit of some breech-clouted murderer or hungry wolf. Poetry and pretty talk are out of the question until this wind ceases tearing the grass up by the roots.

Farther east, the *Chase County Leader*, Cottonwood Falls, April 11, 1873, mourned that "The late rain has brought up 'light covered wheat' before it is sprouted. Sorry to say that the zephyrs did the same thing before the rain." With the coming of fall the winds continued the soil movement, the *Junction City Union*, September 20, expressing a mock concern over the fate of its neighbor: "From the clouds of dust which have swept through this city the past week in the direction of Manhattan, it is supposed that by this time that unfortunate village is completely buried." But the female reporter for *The Nationalist* at that place had survived with humor enough to put her sentiments into bad verse:

The wind it blew,  
 The dust it flew,  
 And we didn't know what in the dickens to do;  
 So we raised our umbrella  
 And sat close to our feller:  
 But the dust filled our eyes, our ears and our smellers.  
 Everything looked a dusty yellor,  
 And our beau declared it beat Heller;  
 And we didn't find a thing to tell, or  
 We'd have told it, of course.<sup>11</sup>

In the meantime more dust was on its way northward from Junction City according to the *Union* of November 15.

Kansas weather may be compared to the zebra, the animal which, according to the showman, had "twenty-seven stripes across its back, and nary one alike." Monday was one of the loveliest November days which ever dawned on the earth; but on Tuesday—perhaps you noticed it—the wind blew frightfully. The streets were filled all day long with so dense a cloud of dust, that you couldn't see your cigar before your face; and so deep was the artificial darkness, that several men who owe this establishment, passed directly by the office door without seeing it. The Lawrence Journal, which is a standard authority on the subject of weather, says the wind blew seventy miles an hour in Lawrence, from which we conclude that its speed diminished about one-half after leaving this point.

Reports from as far west as the 100th meridian were rare in the 1870's, but the *Union*, November 22, 1873, relayed to its readers a sand storm and prairie fire story from Hays:

Monday was the big prairie fire day all over the country. At Hays City the gale got up what is called in that region a "sand storm," rendering it almost impossible to discern objects, and while this was at its h[el]ight, a prairie fire made for the town. . . . It was with the greatest difficulty that the people in face of the drifting, blinding sand, managed to keep the fire from entering and sweeping away the town.

The closing item of the year 1873 may be chosen appropriately from the new federal publication, the *Monthly Weather Review*, which in its December issue summarized the November dust situation for the plains country as a whole:

In the latter part of November, vast prairie fires occurred in the far West, and several *dust* storms, filling the air with fine and unpalpable particles, which are known to remain suspended in the air for many days, and sometimes are finally precipitated with water, forming the celebrated "black rain."

In our traditions about the disastrous year 1874 the grasshopper attack by air in August overshadows all else. The critical fact about this or other years of large scale grasshopper devastation is

11. Manhattan *Nationalist*, October 31, 1873.

that drought had already reduced vegetation to a minimum prior to the arrival of the insects, and their damage lay primarily in the taking of what was left by the drought and soil blowing. N. L. Prentice, substituting for G. W. Martin as editor of the Junction City *Union*, August 1, 1874, discussed ably the psychological effect of drought:

Misfortunes never come singly, and a "dry spell" brings with it any number of disasters and inconveniences. A drouth nourishes chinch bugs, sun-strokes, grass-hoppers and profanity.

One of the most troublesome things which follow in the wake of a "dry spell" is the feverish anxiety which springs up in the minds of men respecting the weather. We all know that looking for rain will not bring it, nor will gazing steadfastly at the barometer affect the movements of that instrument. All our talk, speculation, and calculation of probabilities will not make one drop of rain water more or one grasshopper less. Yet for the last six weeks the useless employments we have mentioned have occupied most of the time of our adult citizens, and men have gone about with their eyes cocked at the brazen heavens after the manner of a goose going under a gate, while Hookey's barometer, the standard which tells the town when it isn't going to rain, is corralled like a bulletin board in war times.

As a matter of history we may say that at this writing the drouth which embraces the Kaw Valley from one end to the other continues without any signs of a "let up."

There have not been wanting during the week, however, signs of rain. On Saturday last a storm was predicted by the weather officers, and at night a huge cloud was visible in the north and northwest, which was illuminated by lightning. A heavy gale blew nearly all night, but not a drop of rain fell here. The storm passed to the north of Leavenworth, and is supposed to be the one which did such frightful damage at Pittsburg.

On Thursday morning the sky was overcast, and during the forenoon there came a solitary clap of thunder, when the clouds seemed to disappear as if on a given signal, and then the sun came out, the horizon assumed an ashy hue, and the hot, dreary south wind blew and blew, as it has done for weeks.

On Friday morning the sky was again clouded, and distant thunder was heard; but while there was evidently rain to the southward, but a few scattering drops fell here.

Saturday, the 25th ult., will be long remembered as one of the hottest days ever known since the settlement of Kansas. The mercury showed one hundred and ten degrees in some of the coolest places in town. The remarkable feature of the day was the south wind which seemed to come over a furnace, which penetrated into every nook and corner, and made articles of furniture in houses so hot as to almost burn the hand.

The grasshoppers seem determined to eat up what the drouth has left. The greatest ravages we have heard of have been between Wakefield and Clay Center. Passengers who came in on Thursday evening represent the country along the road as swarming with them. Bodies of them passed over this city

on Monday, but so far fields in this immediate vicinity have generally escaped their ravages.

LATER—The 'hoppers have "arriv."

A former resident, Charles Barnes, who had kept a diary in 1860, wrote the editor of the Manhattan *Nationalist* making a comparison between 1874 and 1860, arriving at the conclusion that 1874 was the worse. To this the editor replied that the slight difference in favor of 1860 for the summer months was offset in its overall effect by the fact that 1860 had been preceded by a drought through the last part of 1859, while 1874 had enjoyed ample moisture through the spring until June..

The scanty vegetation, depleted further by prairie fires, invited fall dust storms in 1874. The Holton *Express and News*, November 13, 1874, was realistic: "The wind blew almost a hurricane, and such immense clouds of dust filled the air that very few people ventured out. . . . The wind was fearful, the dust intolerable."

In 1874 the federal *Monthly Weather Review* began the publication of reports on the occurrence of prairie and forest fires, and, in 1878, on electric disturbances affecting the operation of the telegraphic communications. The record would have been improved had prairie and forest fires been reported separately. However, for the grass country proper there can be no mistake, and the monthly lists, with places and dates of occurrence, provide perspective on a condition which was general for the whole area.

The spring of 1875 was typical of an abnormal period, the Junction City *Union*, March 27, reporting the big wind of March 25:

On Thursday last we had just a "bully" blow—a regular Kansas Zephyr. The dust wouldn't keep still; no, not for a minute. Even little stones that thought themselves big enough to get up and dust did get up, and went for everybody at a fearful rate. From morning until night everything about us seemed like a "howling wilderness." But we can't blow about our blows, for a friend at our elbow informs us that advices from Denver are to the effect that it has been blowing there in the same gentle style for the last thirty days. We are content.

The keynote for 1876 was sounded by Murdock in the Wichita *Eagle*, February 10: "We rise to say that this is a rising country, with a rising people, but the rise the wind took last Saturday [February 5] was a rise that arose above all things else. How it blew!"

To the north of Wichita, the Salina *Herald*, February 12, commented on the peculiar atmospheric conditions of February 7:

Fogs are very rare in this country. . . . But a dense fog or something else that made the atmosphere murky, (it looked more like smoke than fog) hung over our city Monday night.

The next week's issue reported that a wind of February 18 "scattered the dust around loosely." Leavenworth reported, February 23, that the preceding day was the first in two weeks without dust, but that

SUNDAY [February 20] was undoubtedly the dustiest day that ever struck this portion of benighted Kansas, and the effects of it will not be obliterated for many a long day. The wind blew at the rate of about thirty miles per hour, driving the dust through cracks and window-casings, rendering cleanliness an impossibility.<sup>12</sup>

Two days later, February 25, the wind and dust resumed their domination. The *Newton Kansan*, February 24, 1876, took notice also of the "Kansas Zephyr" of February 20:

Last Sunday [February 20] the Kansas zephyr was again abroad in the land, and a reasonable quantity of the dry and dusty land was abroad in the zephyr. It resembled when in good view of the same, across a newly plowed field, or upon a well traveled road, the pictures of a simoon in the desert of Sahara, as depicted in the geographies. The Kansas zephyrs are a promiscuous and pleasant (?) thing, they are. Real estate takes its biggest rise during these times.

The principal storm of April occurred on the eighteenth and nineteenth. At Junction City, "The wind howled, and the earth moved from one place to another. A friend at our elbow says that if he was a preacher, he would never paint hell as being hot when he could have as an illustration such a day as Wednesday."<sup>13</sup>

The neighboring Manhattan editor was more impressed by Tuesday's performance, April 18.

Talk about the gentle zephyrs of Kansas wafting sweet perfume from unseen flowers and all that sort of thing, but the wafting on Tuesday last was "all in your eye." Whew! how the dust did blow! It filled our ears, until we thought ourselves the possessor of more real estate than anyone in town; it got into our flaxen locks and our head seemed an acher of dirt and pain; it filled our eyes, and winking became a hazardous undertaking not to be thought of, and the dusky shades of night found us staring wildly into space; we inhaled it copiously, and our rebellious proboscis sneezed dissent; we gulped it down gritting our teeth the while, and at evening we realized fully, as we caught sight of our dusty phiz in the mirror, "Dust thou art," etc.<sup>14</sup>

The *Wichita Eagle*, May 18, paid its respects to the blow of May 14: "That horrible wind last Sunday was a wilter. How it blew. It took the starch out of everything . . . , even [the] . . .

12. Leavenworth *Daily Commercial*, February 23, 1876.

13. Junction City *Union*, April 22, 1876.

14. Manhattan *Nationalist*, April 21, 1876.



Sunday night sermon. . . .” On June 15 the same paper summed up the season: “We have been blest with more winds, and longer winded winds and windier winds this spring and summer than we ever heard tell of before.”

In January, 1877, wind was the unwelcome guest:

Monday [January 15] morning the wind came up again with a force that was truly terrific. It howled, snorted, ripped and tore up the ground in a way that was more awful than funny. For a week past mails have been delayed everywhere. Notice is hereby given that our tune “Sunny Southern Kansas” has been laid up for repairs.<sup>15</sup>

By March 1 the situation had improved in middle Kansas, and the *Salina Journal* reminisced:

A few years ago, at this time of the year we were cursed with disagreeable, suffocating and provoking sand storms. Sometimes they would last for several days in succession. We firmly believe we shall have none of consequence this spring. The climate is surely improving.

On March 22 the same paper delivered itself of this:

The howling wolf in the canyon does not get up near so satisfactorily mournful music as the March breeze. Those in need of good articles of caterwauling or lugubrious dismalness are [r]espectfully recommended to the controller of the winds of the third month of the year. He will warrant his wares just as represented.

On the last day of August the *Abilene Chronicle* was on a crusade and the reader may exercise his judgment as to the meaning of the paragraph and the effectiveness of the remedy:

Tuesday was by all odds the most disagreeable day of the season for dust. Notwithstanding the fact that doors and windows were in some cases kept closed, and the occupants of the rooms thereby placed in danger of suffocation, it insinuated itself through cracks and keyholes in clouds. Abilene should have a street sprinkler when the campaign opens next spring, and thus escape the annoyance. We believe every business man would hail its advent with pleasure and give it substantial support.

The *Salina Herald*, September 1, commented also on the disagreeable dust of the last days of August, pointing especially to August 28. And on September 27, the *Journal* of the same place wrote: “For the past few days the gentle winds have enveloped the city with dust decorations. And some of this time it has been intensely hot. Imagine the pleasantness of the situation.” In eastern Kansas the *Leavenworth Times*, September 23, had its word on the subject: “IMMENSE clouds of dust filled the air yesterday [September 22] while the thermometer was in the close neighborhood of 90°, and the wind velocitating at the rate of thirty miles an hour.”

15. *Wichita Eagle*, January 18, 1877.

In the spring of 1878 the Manhattan *Nationalist*, March 8, began commenting on dust, and on March 29 reported that "We are having our regular spring winds and dust now, and already mutterings about droughty Kansas are heard." The Wellington *Press*, March 14, was more informative, however: "A regular old fashioned dust storm visited this section Monday [March 11] afternoon. The wind fairly howled, and the heavens were darkened by the clouds of dust. A slight sprinkle of rain allayed the disturbance." This kind of a comment—"a regular old fashioned dust storm," together with the comment of the Salina *Journal*, March 1, on the previous year, are sufficiently realistic to provide guidance for interpreting many other less specific dust comments, and should serve as a warning that the plea of the Abilene *Chronicle*, August 31, 1877, for a street sprinkler was somewhat beside the point so far as the main issue was concerned. And for April, 1878, the *Monthly Weather Review* recorded one or more prairie fires in Kansas for every day of the month except the 7th, 9th, and 17th.

The late summer and fall of 1878 brought its quota of comment, the Abilene *Gazette*, August 9, saying that "a furious wind storm passed over the city last Friday [August 2] evening, filling the air so thick with dust that it was difficult to distinguish objects ten yards away." On October 25 the Abilene *Chronicle* reported that wind and dust had prevailed most of the week, "We are having very dry weather and no prospect for rain." A month later, November 28, the Salina *Journal* admitted that many farmers would have to replot their fall-sown fields and try again for a spring crop. The issue of February 27, 1879, was punctuated with these short sentences: "Prairie fires illumine the darkness"; "A smoky air last Monday night"; "Cool and windy Tuesday. Some dust." On March 6, came this paragraph of irritation:

During the past few days we have had several exhibitions of what dust can do when propelled by a gale. We had the disagreeable March winds, and saw with ample disgust the evolutions and gyrations of the dust. We have had enough of it, but will undoubtedly get much more of the same kind during this very disagreeable month.

The *Monthly Weather Review* for the early months of 1879 gave some perspective on the extent of the drought: In February it reported the most severe drought on record in the vicinity of Uvalde, Tex., where sheep and goats were dying of starvation and cold. In April Dallas, Tex., reported the most severe drought in thirty years and three weeks of high, dry winds. The list of prairie fires for March gave representation to every part of the West from the

Rio Grande to the Canadian line. The paragraph from the *Salina Journal* had not exaggerated what was in store for March. The *Herald*, March 1, of the same place, reported prairie fires all around the city and said that "real estate moved considerably this week." The next issue continued the story: "Monday the 'Kansas Zephyr' had things all its own way," and the third issue of the month facetiously reported "Another 'hardest' blow ever seen in Kansas," and followed this with the information that "Salina was tantalized with a small sprinkle of rain Thursday [March 13] afternoon. The wind and dust soon resumed full sway." The *Journal*, March 13, found encouragement in the wind:

People have just got through digging from the pores of the skin the dirt driven there by the furious dust storms which for several days since our last issue have been lifting this country "clean off its toes." Even sinners have stood some chance of being translated with such favoring gales.

The dust storms of March 13 and 22 were historic, a sort of climax, but not the end of the chapter for that unfortunate year. Three brief descriptions of the storm of March 13 are presented here. The account in the *Wichita Herald*, March 15, 1879, is given first:

A severe wind storm visited the city on Thursday evening which, at one time, gave rise to fears of an approaching tornado. A black, ugly looking cloud made its appearance in the North about half past six, and in an incredibly short space of time grew in size until it enveloped and darkened the city in a pall of blackness. No rain fell, but the wind blew fiercely and filled the air with sand and dust. To add to the unpleasantness of the hour the alarm of fire was sounded. The thought that was suggested to every one by the first stroke of the bell was that a fire started in such a fierce gale could not but prove disastrous, and the streets were soon thronged by crowds of men rushing through darkness, wind, and dust to the scene of the fire, in order to arrest, if possible, the threatened danger. It proved to be, however, the burning prairie grass and straw stacks, in the suburbs to the North of the city. The wind storm was succeeded by continuous and icy winds from the North, which made the night one of great discomfort after the warm and pleasant day.

The *Salina Journal*, March 20, gives another western view:

The wind which held high carnival in this section last Thursday [March 13], filled the air with such clouds of dust that darkness of the "consistency of twilight" prevailed. Buildings across the street could not be distinguished. The title of all land about for a while was not worth a cotton hat—it was so "unsettled." It was of the nature of personal property, because it was not a "fixture" and very movable. The air was so filled with dust as to be stifling even within houses. Although the wind was almost a tornado, no serious damage was done in this immediate vicinity.

The third is from the Topeka *Commonwealth*, March 16, from the Washburn station of the weather bureau. A sudden change of the wind from the southwest to northwest occurred in the afternoon of March 13 accompanied by a drop of over 50° in temperature in a few hours and "brought clouds of dust and a little rain. The coming of this dust storm was indicated in the clouds several hours before it began to blow at the surface of the ground."

The dust storm of March 23, 1879, received this brief comment in the Newton *Kansan*, March 27: "The wind blew terribly, last Sunday, until about 3 o'clock p. m., and the country was a cloud of dust." The Washburn weather station report for the week ending March 28 gave it a somewhat more distinctive designation: "The most noticeable atmospheric phenomenon of the week, was the gale of wind from the southwest, which prevailed on the 23d, bringing clouds of dust."<sup>16</sup>

April brought relief to parts of Kansas, the *Salina Journal*, April 10, 1879, urging "Courage, farmers! We are more scared than hurt. The wheat will come out much better than people have supposed." Later, mud, oceans of mud were reported.<sup>17</sup> But the *Manhattan Nationalist*, April 25, had a somewhat different story:

The wind made the bleeding soil of Kansas sift through a pine board on Monday [April 21]. The poor housekeeper that had just shaken carpets and cleaned windows, sighed mournfully as they [*sic*] saw the sand heaps on window-pane and floor.

Cottonwood Falls reported a rain April 23 with the explanation that "With the exception of a few 'dry showers' this was the first 'wet' rain for several months."<sup>18</sup>

The June issue of the *Monthly Weather Review* contained an innovation, the first systematic reporting of dust and sand storms for the whole country. For some unexplained reason the writer has never found mention of this fact in any of the literature on weather problems of the Great Plains, and it is undoubtedly important to know that such records exist.

From near the 100th meridian, the *Kinsley Republican*, July 19, commented also on "dry rain": "It rained a good deal of dirt and a little—very little rain Wednesday [July 16]. The Kansas zephyr was also, at the same time on a boisterous old drunk and made things howl for an hour or two."

16. Topeka *Commonwealth*, March 30, 1879.

17. *Salina Journal*, April 10, 17, 24, 1879.

18. *Chase County Leader*, April 24, 1879.

In 1879 there was little settlement as far west as Dodge City, a fact which lends a particular interest to the paragraph in the *Ford County Globe*, September 16, 1879:

For a week past a thick smoke has pervaded the horizon in all directions, causing the morning sun to look like a red-hot canon ball, and the moon ditto. The days are sultry, but the nights quite cool. The continued dry weather has rendered the roads and the plains as well extremely dusty. Clouds of dust may be seen of an evening suspended in the air near the ground looking like mist.

The year 1879 was bad, but 1880 was worse. It was the Kinsley *Graphic* that made the appeal "Come west, come west, young man, and learn to cuss the country like old settlers," but admitted that "It's awful hard to grow up with this country."<sup>19</sup> The "poem" of the year was Mother Shipton's prophesy, allegedly first published in England in 1488 and republished in 1641, and which the Dodge City *Times* branded a hoax, saying it was first published in 1862.<sup>20</sup> At any rate, it became the most popular bit of verse in circulation in the plains country in 1880, but there has been no determination of who revived it as a portent of disaster at this particular time.

Carriages without horses shall go,  
 And accidents fill the world with woe.  
 Around the world thoughts shall fly  
 In the twinkling of an eye.  
 Water shall yet more wonders do;  
 Now strange, yet shall be true.  
 The world upside down shall be,  
 And gold be found at root of tree.  
 Through hills man shall ride,  
 And no horse or ass be at his side.  
 Under water men shall walk;  
 Shall ride, shall sleep, shall talk.  
 In the air men shall be seen,  
 In white, in black, in green.  
 Iron in the water shall float  
 As easy as a wooden boat.  
 Gold shall be found, and found  
 In a land that's not now known.  
 Fire and water shall wonders do;  
 England shall at last admit a Jew.  
 The world to an end shall come  
 In eighteen hundred and eighty-one.

The *Monthly Weather Review* for March reported that on March 4 there was a severe electrical storm at Dodge City: "telegraphic

19. Kinsley *Graphic*, March 13, April 24, 1880.

20. The *Kansas Chief*, Troy, published it May 6, 1880; Dodge City *Times*, June 30, 1881.

instruments could be worked without battery at times, the air was filled with floating sand. . . ." Reports of dust storms appeared in the newspapers for the same period, February 27 to March 4.<sup>21</sup> The *Salina Herald*, March 6, said that the dust storm of March 2 reminded old settlers of ten years earlier. The "Late fall plowing and late sowed wheat [are] drying up and soil [is] blowing away."<sup>22</sup>

The outstanding dust storm of March, 1880, and probably of the whole year, or period, was that of March 26-27, appearing in the Western plains March 26 and reaching the Mississippi river March 27. The *Monthly Weather Review* reported it as follows:

The following notes are of interest respecting the unusually heavy wind storms of the 26th and 27th; La Cruces, N. M., 26th, very violent sand storm, filling the air with dust. Omaha, Neb., 26th, very sudden and violent west wind, overturning buildings; 27th, heavy wind still continued, three houses blown down—many unroofed; dummy trains could not cross railroad bridge during the day. Leavenworth, Kan., 27th, blinding dust-storm almost obscuring the sun at 10 a. m. Ft. Gibson, Ind-Ter., 27th, violent wind-storm, blowing down flag-staff at Post and injuring buildings slightly; Ft. Davis, Tex., violent sand-storm; Corsicana, Tex., 26th, severe wind-storm, doing considerable injury; St. Louis, 27th, wind S W 60 miles at 8 a. m., and several times during the day reached a velocity of 48 miles; Keokuk, Iowa, 27th, violent wind-storms, S W 37 miles; Davenport and Dubuque, Iowa, and Springfield, Ill., 27th, violent thunder-storms with heavy wind, remarkable fall in the barometer; Milwaukee, Wis., 27th, wind 40 miles E and barometer lowest on record, much damage to city property and shipping; Knoxville, Tenn., 27th, violent S W wind, blowing down saw-mill killing one man; Morristown, Dak., 27th, high wind-storm unroofing buildings; Louisville, Ill., 27th, most violent wind-storm in many years; New Corydon, Ind., 27th, very violent gale, estimated velocity 60 miles; Muscatine, Iowa, 27th, worst storm of wind and rain that has ever visited this section, barometer remarkably low; Lawrence, Kan., 27th, violent wind storm maximum velocity 70 miles from 3 to 5 a. m.; Wellington, Kan., 27th, severe N W gale, much damage to buildings; Cedar Vale, Kan., 26th and 27th, violent gale, much damage to fences, trees and buildings; Ashley, Mo., 27th, high wind, blowing down trees and fences; Pierce City, Mo., 27th, 2 a. m., high wind from N W., blowing down much fencing; Geneva, Neb., 26th, violent windstorm from the west; Howard, Neb., 27th, most violent wind storm for many years, dust gathered in drifts from 1 to 2½ feet in depth; Ringgold, Ohio, 27th, heavy wind and hail storm, Professor Nipher [St. Louis, Mo.] reports this storm as the "most remarkable phenomena of the month. It covered the entire state [Missouri], except the extreme southern part. The atmosphere was filled, during the whole day, with a fine grayish dust, which, in the western part of the State and in eastern Kansas, was so dense as to obscure the light of the sun and

21. *Salina Journal*, March 4, 1880; *Abilene Chronicle*, March 5, 1880.

22. *Abilene Chronicle*, March 26, 1880.

to render objects invisible at a distance of from 100 to 300 yards. The wind was very high, coming in most cases, from the west and northwest."

In western Kansas, the *Ellis County Star*, Hays, April 1, reported that "the oldest inhabitant says Friday last [March 26] was 'the dirtiest day' he ever saw in Kansas" and that "the heavy wind storm of last Friday and Saturday prevailed over the greater part of the western half of the state." The *Sentinel* of the same place commented that the elements had combined against the wickedness of Dodge City and blew the Lady Gay dance hall to flinders.

The Medicine Lodge *Cresset*, April 2, had only this to say:

Last Friday evening was the most breezy of the season. It was unsafe for small men with loose fitting clothes to be on the streets. McCanless did not dare to leave his premises without first lariatting himself to some immovable article of furniture inside, and then when the breeze struck him he was seen to fly about after the manner of a Chinese kite. The barber has struck a bonanza in the way of sandbanks, which he has discovered in the ears of his customers who were out on that evening. Several persons had so much gravel blown into their eyes, that after the manner of unfeeling characters in novels, they now regard everything with a *stony* gaze.

The comments of the Wichita papers offer an interesting contrast in the journalism of the period. The *Beacon*, March 31, told that "a heavy gale blew all day Saturday, and judging from the appearance of the atmosphere west of us there must have been considerable activity in sand. The city was saved an infliction by the rain during the previous night." The *Eagle*, April 1, had this to say:

The storm that held sway in this locality last Friday, was a wonderful one and created no little apprehension, being accompanied with singular phenomena. The wind was fierce and the atmosphere was blindingly full of sand and dust, giving it the appearance of a yellowish impenetrable fog. Although like storms are experienced nearly every spring, it is seldom they gather such force as the one mentioned. The atmosphere was intensely charged with electricity, so that the telegraph wires were worked with difficulty. The sun shone with a sickly, ashy light, being at times obscured by the heavy, dusty atmosphere, which rendered objects invisible at the distance of a few rods. The storm prevailed throughout the State and over Nebraska and Colorado. Light frames were blown over in places, as two or three were in this town. A boy was killed by lightning in Topeka. These storms generally occur about the equinox and are not dangerous but exceedingly disagreeable.

One of the most significant statements in the above paragraph was the admission that "like storms," only less severe, were "experienced nearly every spring." The same issue reported a Santa Fe train eastbound from Trinidad as running two and a half hours late on account of wind, sand and rain.

The Hutchinson *News*, April 1, paragraph was short:

The sand storm so much enjoyed by our people on Friday and Saturday last was general. It extended as far east as Kansas City and west, no doubt, to the mountains.

The *Salina Journal* of the same date ran these paragraphs:

Another windy, dusty, trying, headache-producing, vexatious, disgusting, terrific, upsetting, tearing, rearing, careering, bumping, sign-lifting, chimney absorbing, lung slaying, garment destroying, eye blinding, and rip-roaring storms, last Monday.

The gale which prevailed here last Saturday [March 27] seems to have been an installment which came up from the south over a large area of country, and which occasioned much damage in certain parts of the State. It was furious, and in this locality summoned all the dust between here and Kingdom come to the august presence of the Salinaites. The buildings seemed on the point of being lifted from their foundations and the day was uncommonly dark from the clouds of dust.

The *Topeka Daily Capital*, March 30, carried a local from Valley Falls:

The storm was followed all day Saturday [March 27] by a perfect gale from the northwest that filled the air with what we supposed to be dust from the region beyond the rain belt, so as to almost obscure the same [sun?].

The *Topeka State Journal*, March 27, recounted the violence of the storm, enumerated the damage, and described the peculiarities of the electrical displays:

This has been a funny day. A perfect gale of western wind has kept everything that's loose constantly rattling since eight o'clock, and the sky has been overcast with a muddy looking haze.

*The Commonwealth*, March 28, was the Topeka paper that gave the most explicit news about the event:

The storm which prevailed from about five o'clock Friday evening [March 26] until far into the night, with intervals of calm, was one of the most severe with which we have been visited. The rain fell in torrents, quickly making miniature rivers of the gutters and overtaking the capacity of house-eaves. The wind blew from the south, at the commencement of the storm, but the truthful citizen will not state in what direction it came from, at any hour thereafter. The force of the wind was unusually great, too, as it demolished strongly supported signs, tore up tin roofs and up-rooted trees which have withstood the blasts of winter, the viciousness of the hoodlums and the ordinary zephyrs of Kansas Springs, Summers and Winters. The new walls of buildings in process of erection have suffered somewhat, but no serious damage has been done to these. The south end of the Rolling Mills was blown in and a portion of the roof was torn off. This wall has been much weakened by weather and the careless use to which the building has been left, and such a catastrophe, considering its exposure, is not to be greatly wondered at. Among the trees which suffered from the severity of the storm is



one of the old Cottonwoods in front of Dr. Lewis' residence on Quincy street, near Sixth Avenue. . . .

Everybody remarked the curious state of the atmosphere yesterday, and no one had a solution for it. It reminded one of the dusts of the Desert, as Western Kansas was in the olden time, and others spoke of it as similar to the appearance of the skies in winter, just before "the heaviest snow fell." There was a duller and more leaden color than the average language would explain, and no one could say what it portended. There were anxious fears for a cyclone, though it was hardly expected.

A reader, E. W. Metzger, Meriden, offered an explanation of the "curious condition," published March 30:

In your Sunday issue you referred to the "curious condition" of the atmosphere, on the day previous, during the severe wind storm then prevailing; that many persons noted the appearance, but that no one had a solution for it. Will say, having occasion to go on foot a short distance over the prairie, while the wind was blowing apparently at its greatest velocity, I unexpectedly made the discovery of the cause. The dry prairie grass, near the ground, was found to be freely charged, as it were, with infinitesimal particles of *dry grass*, and the continued severe agitation of the grass stalks and blades by the wind disengaged these particles from their resting places, lifting them upward into the air, thereby producing the effect described. During a residence of twenty-two years in Kansas, I have witnessed the same condition several times, but not in such eminent degree, owing, perhaps, to the condition of the grass, at the times. My theory for the production of these particles, is that in the absence of snow during the winter season, the dry grass blades, especially the edges, break into these dusty fragments, and find lodgings beneath the tops of the grass, and remains there unless disturbed by the wind. Soaking rains have no destroying effect on these particles, neither has snow, but had they been completely covered by snow, during the wind, no such condition of the atmosphere would have occurred at the time mentioned.

Prof. F. H. Snow reported on March for the Lawrence weather station:

A noteworthy feature of the weather was the violent wind of the 27th, which filled the air to a considerable height with extremely fine dust particles, obscuring the sun after 10 a. m., as by a fog, and giving a strange unearthly hue to the dim transmitted light.<sup>23</sup>

On the last day of the month *The Commonwealth* recorded that "another very disagreeable wind prevailed yesterday, circulating clouds of dust, which nearly blinded those who were on the streets."

From the extreme northeastern corner of the state the *Kansas Chief*, Troy, April 1, noticed the peculiarities of the storm:

But the most singular phenomenon was in the air, which was filled with a dense haze, something like that of Indian summer, but without odor. It somewhat resembled the dust that arises from the river sand-bars and fills

23 Topeka *Commonwealth*, April 2, 1880.

the air during the dry and windy days of summer, and we have seen it stated that it was a sand-storm from the western plains.

The Leavenworth *Times*, March 28, gave the dust storm particular attention:

The rain was general throughout the State, and if no preventing Providence interferes the wheat crop is assured.

A strange phenomenon, following on the heels of the rain storm, came yesterday evening, a heavy cloud which obscured the sun, and made the city cloudy during the day. The cloud was not noticed by many at first, but after a while one said to another, "What's the matter with the weather? What kind of a day is this?" and so on until investigation became necessary.

Theories at first were plentiful. The phenomenon was new to the officers of the signal service, and they said the gloomy appearance of the atmosphere was due to the action of the elements in condensing vapor which had arisen from the earth during the warm period. Others thought another heavy storm was approaching which would do immense damage.

One went so far as to say Mother Shipton's prophecy was being verified, and that the dimming of the sun was but the forerunner of the trouble that is to come in 1881.

The facts are that there has been a great disturbance among the elements, somewhere.

Theories of a scientific nature were brought out during the afternoon regarding the phenomenon.

Every gentleman or lady who has read Bulwer's description of the day proceeding the destruction of Pompeii in 79, spoke of the day as a counterpart of that described. The sun dimmed, the air filled with glimmering particles and colors changed. This was the case yesterday, wherever one looked the object seen was seen as through a blue glass, and ever and anon those who were on the streets would wipe an eye and look again. . . .

A reporter found that the difference in the colors emanated from natural causes, and went to work early to discover them. He in the court house found some of the officers dusting their windows which is unusual after a heavy rain. In the city clerk's office he glanced at a window sill and asked permission to see if it was clean. Mr. Hoyt, who was present, said he had dusted the window sills, half an hour before and had taken his lunch from one of them. That sill was found to be covered with fine dust; permission being granted the reporter, with Mr. Hoyt's assistance gathered nearly a teaspoonful of very fine black sand, which had been blown in the window during the half hour.

In the city Treasurer's office nearly the same amount of the same kind of sand was found, and secured. At the reporter's home a quantity of the same kind of sand was found. Later in the evening, in company with Dr. R. J. Brown, the reporter saw the sand bar opposite the city, and its usual light face was covered almost with black. The storm continued until a late hour last night with no sign of abatement.

Why it came is a question that can only be discussed by scientists. There is a theory, that the winds sometimes, lift sands or vegetable matter that has been changed by fire, into the upper currents of the atmosphere and they

being in a warmer current, rise above the colder storm clouds and after being freed by condensation, drop into the first vacuum offered, i. e., if a storm reaches Leavenworth from the northwest, sand may be gathered by the wind ahead and lifted above the rain cloud and carried into a higher current only to fall again when near a vacuum. This might hold good in local storms, but in the instance referred to, the sand found is so totally unlike that found in Kansas that there will be a chance for considerable discussion.

#### A METEOR.

One of the favorable theories advanced regarding the phenomenon, is, that the sand cloud is nothing more or less than the shattered fragments of a meteor or other orb which has gone to pieces ages ago, and flying through space has so far been ground to atoms that only an impalpable dust reaches the earth's atmosphere. When the question becomes general among the scientists there will be much difference of opinion as to where the storm came from. . . .

A reader, writing from WaKeeney, to the *Times*, printed April 2:

I notice in yesterday's *Times* that the sand storm which occurred on last Saturday in the eastern part of this state is still a mystery and unaccounted for by scientists. If said scientists had been in this section of country on last Friday afternoon, I think it would not be a difficult matter for them to solve the mystery.

On Friday morning, and until about 3 o'clock P. M., the wind blew a perfect gale from the southwest, when all of a sudden it veered to the west, then a little north of west, blowing up such an immense cloud of black dust, sand, etc., that it was impossible to see an object distinctly across the street. It blew at this rate a constant cloud of dust for about three hours. Of course all this dust being raised into the air had to fall to the ground somewhere; consequently, your shower of black sand.

The Kansas City (Mo.) *Journal*, March 28, had a story of unusual interest, which the Leavenworth *Times* reprinted March 30:

Many persons were interested in the singular phenomenon presented yesterday of the air filled with floating sand—a sand fog, in fact—that obscured even houses a few blocks away. These storms are rare in this locality, but more frequent on the plains, and usually attended with great electric influences, in fact, what are called electric storms. On inquiry at the telegraph office we learned several facts connected with it.

A "sand storm" had prevailed over the plains of Kansas and Nebraska since Wednesday last. The cause of its presence here is no doubt due to the upper currents of the great storm of Friday night, the storm being below the sand, the former having disappeared, the sand settled down into the lower atmosphere.

The telegraph operators tell us that the usual electric phenomena was present all day yesterday, the air being so charged with electricity that their instruments could be worked with very little and at times without any battery. The air being positively charged and the earth negatively, the ground wire was all that was necessary to operate the instruments.

The theory is held by some to be that it is the contact of the sand particles with each other that produces the electricity, while others contend that it is the peculiar electrical condition of the atmosphere that gives rise to the phenomena of sand in suspension in it.

The same electrical phenomena occur and telegraph instruments are affected in the same way in high latitudes during the presence of the aurora borealis, and is often experienced as far south as this locality during extraordinary manifestations of the aurora.

It was interesting yesterday to note the effect on different people. Many were really alarmed and attributed the strange aspect of the atmosphere to the advance warning of a terrible storm, although so far as the wires were working west there was no intelligence of any storm approaching, but all over the country there was the same absence of threatening weather that we had at Kansas City.

Such sand storms as that of yesterday, or electric storms, as they are also called, while rare here, are not so on the great plains of Western Kansas and Eastern Colorado. They are not attended with any danger, or anything but inconvenience.

The vast plains of the interior continent to the west and southwest of us, give rise to many curious and novel atmospheric phenomena, familiar to the plainsman, but rarely of a force great enough or enduring enough to reach this locality. The experience of yesterday is one of them, and the hot winds of the late summer or early autumn, which many of our citizens remember, are another.

We shall not to-day attempt the discussion of these phenomena from a scientific point of view, our purpose only being to explain the nature of such an occurrence as that of yesterday, from the fact that so many of our people were alarmed in consequence and seemed to regard it as the forerunner of something more severe. We are now, and have been for more than two weeks, in the period of the year when the electric forces of the earth and the sun are abnormally active, and we must look for more than ordinary manifestations and disturbances, and which possibly may last for a few days longer. But we need not find cause for apprehension for this unexpected visit of what is common to more western portions of the country. Our people have never seen what their neighbors on the great plains call a sand storm and what the telegraph people call an electric storm, and are that much wiser than they have been.

In the *Monthly Weather Review* for April, 1880, two pages were devoted to listing dust storms over the Trans-Mississippi West. The Wellington, Kan., station reported on the drought period April 2-27, 1880, that there were "numerous gales, accompanied with sand and dust. . . ." <sup>24</sup> Professor Snow's report from the Lawrence station stated:

The sky was clearer, the air drier, and the wind higher than in any previous April of our thirteen years' record. The temperature exceeded the av-

24. Kansas State Board of Agriculture, *Second Quarterly Report for 1882*, pp. 95, 96.

erage, while the rain fall was but little more than half the April mean. The violent wind and low barometer of the 18th are worthy of special note.<sup>25</sup>

Between the time of the major storms of March 26-27 and April 18, there were several that local newspapers described as being severe or even worse. A selection of them is arranged in sequence from east to west. The facetious description of the Atchison *Daily Champion*, April 14, was reprinted in the Junction City *Union*, April 17, 1880, with its own additions:

All this week the Kansas zephyrs have been circulating freely and playfully but perhaps a little too much for the taste of the newcomer. Like a bear's hug it was a little too familiar. Their freaks is thus graphically described by the Atchison Champion:

. . . It blew ostensibly from the south, but you could leave orders for it anywhere and it would call around for you like an omnibus. It pursued you up street or down, and followed you round corners and into alleys, and came shrieking after as you went up stairs, and slammed the door after you and then howled through the transom like a cabbage-eared coon dog. It chased the dust with ceaseless fury; shook the very daylights out of the signs, and ran under the wooden sidewalks like a rat and sifted up through the cracks. Occasionally the noise died out and there was a suspicious quietude that boded trouble. It was like the silence of a small boy in a pantry who knows a shelf whereon the preserves lie; it was the Kansas zephyr just stopping to spit on its hands, and when rested up a little, oh, my, how she did come, rattling, roaring, screaming, and shaking things. This lasted all day and all night, until it became a burden, and the brain grew sick and tired of the fierce uproar. Out on the open prairie it was inconceivably worse than in the sheltered streets of the town. Travelers were fairly overwhelmed by the flying earth from the ploughed fields, and come into town looking like animated dirt heaps. The electrical influence of the gale was also noticeable, telegraphic communication being rendered slow and difficult.

*The Marion County Record*, Marion, April 2, wrote: "There was hardly a house in town, Tuesday [March 30], that you couldn't write your name in the dust that covered the floor and even the beds." Another paragraph in the same paper gave more details.

The "oldest inhabitant" scarcely remembers two such days as last Saturday [March 27] and Tuesday [March 30]. On the former day a perfect gale blew from the north, and on Tuesday returned from the south with increased velocity. The air was filled with dust, continuously, the sun was almost obscured, and everything on and above the earth presented a sickly, indescribable melancholy appearance. . . .

At Manhattan, *The Nationalist*, April 16, printed these locals: "On account of the dust, Saturday and Monday [April 10, 12] were bad days for the farmers' usual visits to town," and "We don't suppose any one knows it, but we had a real Kansas blow out the

25. Topeka *Commonwealth*, May 5, 1880.

first three days of this week [April 11, 12, 13]." On April 23 *The Nationalist* said: "Mrs. F. R. Holden [of Ogden] had nearly finished her spring cleaning, but, last week, after the sand storm of Tuesday and Wednesday [April 13, 14], she swept over eleven pounds of dust from her kitchen and hall. As the dust is about equally distributed, she thinks that, from the whole house, not less than 190 pounds may be swept."

At Salina, the *Journal*, April 8, in a country local gave emphasis to March 30, Tuesday: it "was the worst sand storm of the season—I verily believe the worst we have seen for the past nine years of our experience with Kansas zephyrs. Yet when these warm still days come we forget there ever was such a storm." A paragraph the next week said about its quota: "Such dust storms. Monday and Tuesday [April 12, 13] will certainly go down into history as the dustiest. And what a gale that was Tuesday night! Who was there that didn't pass a sleepless night?" Another paragraph in the same issue reported:

Heavy prairie fires seemed to rage in the West during the high wind of Monday night, also on Tuesday night. It is strange that we hear no tales of disastrous destruction, which certainly must have occurred. On yesterday morning the air in town was laden with the black dust of burning grass.

The locals of the Ellsworth *Reporter*, April 15, emphasized a little different dating: "Tuesday [April 13] night the wind blowed a strong gale." "The sun was almost eclipsed by a sand storm in the east, yesterday morning [April 14]." The Wellington *Press*, April 15, reported from the south central part of the state that "The high winds combined with the 'rise in real estate,' of the past few days, has somewhat interfered with work on the PRESS block."

Murdock's Wichita *Eagle*, April 15, registered "a slight disgust" with the environment, although this was the week before the big April storm:

The probability is that the individuals in this valley are scarce who would have the temerity to assert that the *Eagle* has ever proven remiss in blowing for Kansas. But we come now to acknowledge that the blowing she has done for herself the past week has nipped our blowing pretensions in the bud. It may as well be asserted here and now that Kansas as a paradise has her failings, not the least of which is her everlasting spring winds. If there is a man, woman or child in Sedgwick county whose eyes are not filled with dust and their minds with disgust, he, she, or it must be an idiot or awful pious. From overlasting to everlasting this wind for a week has just sat down on its hind legs and howled and screeched and snorted until you couldn't tell your grandfather from a jackass rabbit. And its sand backs up its blow with oceans of grit to spare. We saw a preacher standing on the corner the other

day with his back up, his coat-tails over his head, and his chapeau sailing heavenward, spitting mud out of his mouth and looking unutterable things. He dug the sand out of his eyes and the gravel out of his hair, and said nothing. It wouldn't have been right. But we know what he thought. As for our poor women, weighted down with bar lead and trace-chains as their skirts are, their only protection from rude gaze is the dust, which fills up the eyes of the men so that they can't see a rod further than a blind mule. Dust, grit, and sand everywhere—in your victuals, up your nose, down your back, between your toes. The chickens have quit eating gravel—they absorb sand enough every night to run their gizzards all next day. Out of doors people communicate by signs. When they would talk they must retire to some room without windows or a crack, pull out their ear plugs and wash their mouths. The sun looks down through fathoms of real estate in a sickly way, but the only clouds descried are of sand, old rags, paper and brick bats. We haven't done the subject justice, but we didn't expect to when we started out, but it blows, you bet.

The Kinsley *Graphic*, April 3, wrote of two gales Friday and Saturday and said "there was some dust Monday [March 29] as the lady who got lost in broad daylight and tried to get into a neighbor's house, thinking it her own, will testify." The developments of two weeks later were explained April 17:

The stormy and hazy appearance of the atmosphere Monday and Tuesday [April 12, 13], was well adapted to create a feeling of uneasiness and foreboding of something terrible near at hand in the mind of the tenderfoot. But the old settler knew that it was only a blow, and that the air was filled with sand and dust.

The big April storm centered on April 18, and comment on it is arranged here from west to east. The Topeka *Capital* news service collected items from the western counties, printed in the issue of April 21: Nettleton, Edwards county, reported "Awful dry; great wind and dust storm . . . no corn planted." From Belle Plaine, Sumner county, April 20, the sequence was "four days of a wind storm, but no rain. Yesterday the wind reached its heighth, and blowed everything moveable out of the country. It tore up onions, peas and beets; and this morning we found ice in the water tub  $\frac{3}{8}$  of an inch thick." At Naomi, Mitchell county, "Still we get no rain, and the wind continues to blow night and day, with clouds of dust filling the air almost constantly. We have had but two days in the past week that could be called still." At Great Bend, "we had another of those dreaded sand and dust storms that have been so frequent this spring. It was accompanied by a strong, hot, dry southwesterly wind, that seemed almost sufficient to wither any chance vegetation."

At Wichita the *Beacon* and Murdock's *Eagle* were outspoken, picturesque, and entertaining:

The gale, which blew all day Sunday [April 18], resulted in more or less damage to property in this city. Considerable havoc was created among the signs. This is not to be regretted for the way they are hung is a nuisance, and a constant menace to life and limb. . . . The atmosphere was filled with blinding dust which hung like clouds suspended over the valley. It was certainly the worst day we have experienced in Kansas. . . . It is a pity that the city ordinance cannot be enforced on the wind for the proper observance of the Sabbath.

This month of April has made its mark already, in the history of Kansas, though but half gone. It will be used as a standard of comparison, hereafter, for all that is outrageous, violent and vexatious. For a week the wind has howled and raged with r[h]ythm, but without reason or use, so far as we can see. We can apprehend no possible grounds for its capers, save that it had made up its mind to make its twenty thousand miles this month, and to do it had to "git up and dust." Eight to ten thousand miles a month is the ordinary pace of a Kansas zephyr. It has been, the past week, the great apostle of communism. What was the farm, in fee simple, of John Smith, is to-day to be found equally distributed among his neighbors within a radius of 100 miles, and the real estate of the Arkansas valley, is now owned in common, one man has no more claim over it than another. The valley is still the "Happy Valley," though it was not still last Sunday. We can see but one good result, and that is, this summer the doctors will starve to death, since the whole country has been deoderized thoroughly, and epidemics will be impossible.—Wichita *Beacon*, April 21, 1880.

Being conscious of the probability that the spirit of Dante sweeps through the sombre shadows of his own Inferno, and that Milton is likely testing the composition of the lurid tints of those plutonian realms which he created and lighted with the fires of his own genius, and, believing that there is no one left upon these confines gifted with the requisite inspiration to fitly portray the streak of gentle racket which opened out upon the devoted heads of this guileless community last Sunday, between the waxes and wanes of the orbs, and which kept it up till sinners prayed who never prayed before, we have half a notion to attempt it ourselves. It blowed! In the primary sense of that old Saxon word, "may we be blowed" if it didn't. Heretofore we have had occasion to allude to some of the more ordinary stamps of zephyrs with which our valley is favored, such for instance as makes that gentle being, your wife, look as though, fresh from the hands of her Creator, she had been whirled down to you from Heaven in a self-adjusting cyclone, when, in fact, she had only been out for a call, or that other equal common variety which knocks you on the head with gravel, fills your hair, hide and gizzard with sand, follows you home, blows the lids off the cooking stove, slams all the doors to at once, and then sits on its hind legs and howls through your windows all night like a lop-eared hound; or, that little less common variety which buds in the "spring time, gentle Annie," and blows for two days from the south and as many from the north with a vigor that wilts the leaves on the trees, turns the hair on the old cow the wrong way, upsets the hired girl into the slop-



bucket, picks the feathers off the chickens before they are scalded; in short, the kind to which we so briefly, but touchingly, alluded last week. But all these blows, in comparison to the blow last Sunday, are only a soft south breathing from a bank of violets. It was as though all things on earth and in air, animate and inanimate, fast at one end or both, had gone mad and turned loose with tons of sand and the din of threshing machines to the acre thrown in for good measure. Those who did not see it will never understand it. A preacher out on the Cowskin was holding forth on the last estate of the finally impenitent. He had got into the fire of his peroration and the smoke was ascending forever and forever when forever out went the gable end of his meeting-house. The outside and inside pressure had proved too much. Stopping short, he looked up through the hole in the roof and then into the faces of his frenzied audience, and earnestly remarked, "My dear sinners, why waste further words to describe that awful place when you can get a better idea of it by simply sticking your heads out of doors."

And he was correct.—Wichita *Eagle*, April 22, 1880.

These are halcyon hours for the wall-eyed croaker. With a retching grunt he lifts a groan from his internal regions that sounds like the knell of all hope. Heavens, how he sighs when he gets in his drouthy corollary: Just like it was in 1860! The same kind of winds, same kind of sudden dews, same kind of clouds, and the wild goose bone turned suddenly down on Easter Sunday. Yes, bound to have a drouth! Colts come in without tails, pigs without ears, calves with three horns, eggs produce double chickens, and a starving famine is imminent. Anybody that can't see it must be an idiot. The chintz bugs don't fly, the frogs have deserted their nests, the Pacific vapors are condensed on the range and Gulf winds meet no counter currents and of course no rain can fall! The wheat is now beyond hope, the oats already rotted in the ground, and the corn can't sprout, so what's the use?

Well, sure enough, what is the use! Let's all take "cold pizen," or which is just as bad, throw up in disgust, sacrifice our property, and go to the mountains to hunt gold and die of starvation. In the meantime rain will come in due season, things will grow and bloom and Sedgwick county will harvest one million bushels of wheat and two million bushels of corn this summer and fall, and don't you forget it.

P. S.—To make good the predictions of the *EAGLE*, as we go to press the heavens are overcast, it's black all around, and pouring down in the middle.—*Ibid.*, April 29.

The Brookville correspondent of the *Salina Journal*, April 22, 1880, pretended to be encouraged because:

Kansas is herself again. The wind blows and the dust and sand flies, but no rain descends. A newcomer asked one of our fellow townsmen if it always blew this way in Kansas. He replied that there were perhaps two or three days during the year that it did not. He guessed it.

The Eureka correspondent of the *Salina Herald*, April 24, thought the storm of April 18 the worst in ten years, and another community reporter agreed it was the worst ever known in Kansas, "the dust and dirt in some houses was nearly an inch deep." The

*Salina Journal*, April 22, thought "The kind of rain storms we are having are very monotonous," and

never before within the memory of the oldest inhabitant was there just such a "blow" as that of last Sunday [April 18]. It was positively the most disagreeable day that we ever experienced, and nine-tenths of the people formed the same opinion. If "walking" had been a popular way of travel, we believe the whole Salina population would have joined in an exodus. The wind howled all day, bringing with it clouds of dust, and not a corner of the best built house was free of a deposit of dirt. Houses shook and trembled as a reed in the wind, and people wondered if anything would be left of them in 24 hours. May such a day never intrude its ugly presence in this country again.

On the same days that Kansas was having its big dust storm the country east was having tornadoes and other destructive wind storms. Some Kansas papers gave little or no attention to Kansas storms—they were not news to local readers—but printed long accounts of Eastern destruction. The *Journal* just quoted contained this paragraph on April 22:

Wonderful what a quieting effect the news of the terrific storm on Sunday in Missouri and Illinois had upon so many disheartened people hereabouts. It turned out that the wind blew elsewhere, than in Western Kansas. . . .

The *Salina Herald*, April 24, met the issue in this fashion:

Although Kansas does not claim immunity from high winds, this state does claim to be as free from wind storms as other states, east or west. While our plains are not a portion of the garden of Eden, they are far from being a desert. We have a good country, subject to only such draw-backs as are found in other states newly settled. Kansas is a good state.

The *McPherson Freeman*, April 23, admitted that:

Sunday was a fearful day of wind and clouds of dust. We went for "the oldest inhabitant," and interviewed him. He had never seen the like. The air was filled with dust, and the appearance was that of an approaching storm. . . .

*The Marion County Record*, April 23, conceded that it could have been worse:

The youngest inhabitant will scarcely live long enough to forget the wind that visited this section early Sunday [April 18] morning, and remained all day long—a constant tempest from sunrise till sunset. It was, so far as one could see through the dust, almost wholly unaccompanied by clouds, and yet the wind blew almost with the force of a hurricane. Dense clouds of dust obscured the sun, giving to the day a wierd, gloomy, yellow appearance, which no pen can describe. The beating winds drove the powdered dust through every crevice, until one could write his name upon the furniture in most of the houses. It was a storm simply indescribable. But those of our people who were discouraged by it, and who, as is too customary on such occasions,

at once begun to deride Kansas, should be thankful that it was no worse than it was, and not as bad as elsewhere. . . .

From Chase and Greenwood counties, in the midst of the blue-stem-pasture country, the reports were similar: "More real estate left Rock creek last Sunday than was ever known before," and in the Prairie Hill community "The air was so full of dust that you could not see an object as large as a house one quarter of a mile distant. The wind changed from the south to the northwest in the evening and ice was formed one half inch in thickness. . . ." At Elmdale the "dirt is drifted like snow," and at Madison, "dirt drifted from fields like snow—but darker."<sup>26</sup>

The Troy *Kansas Chief*, in two successive issues, April 22, 29, 1880, paid its respects to the dust storm and its effects in the following paragraphs:

Sunday afternoon, this part of the country was visited with another rain-storm, accompanied with some hail, which was heavy in some parts. This was succeeded by one of those singular sand-storms from the west, like the one several weeks ago. At night the wind shifted to the northwest, and blew a fearful gale all night, and so cold that ice was frozen to the thickness of half an inch or more. . . .

The prospects in a large proportion of Western and Southwestern Kansas are very discouraging. They have had no rain for months; the wheat is about ruined, and unless they have good rains soon, it will be useless to put in corn. The recent fine rains that we have had, extended back but a very short distance. Persons who have been in Marshall County, say that the dust is drifted like snow in Winter, and that it is almost unbearable. Even as far east as Brown and Nemaha, we learn that the wheat crop will be very light. The sand-storms we have been having, had not far to come, after all. . . .

For some time after the big storm of April 18, the wind and dust continued. The *Ford County Globe*, Dodge City, reported on April 20, "Another fine shower of ——— sand this a. m." The dust continued into May. The *Marion County Record*, May 14, related how trains were delayed four hours on account of sand storms near the Kansas-Colorado line. The Larned *Chronoscope* of the same date complained:

What an atrocious and irritating affliction are our periodical dust storms! To give the Kansas dust-storms their due, when our meteorological affairs are in their normal condition, they are generally followed by a refreshing shower, but this season it is only followed by another "dry-storm."

A letter written at Hugo, Colo., described the conditions in that area for the Ellsworth *Reporter*, April 29, 1880, which visualizes

<sup>26</sup>. *Chase County Leader*, Cottonwood Falls, April 22, 1880; *Topeka Capital*, April 20, 1880.

somewhat the drought conditions on the High Plains livestock country:

Kansas people would have us believe that the Great American Desert spoken of by geographers is a mythe but I am fully convinced of its existence and I think if any one who would stop here for a week would never doubt of its existence.

We are located on Sand creek which is one of the branches of the Smoky. There is some water running above the sand part of the distance but considerable of it running under the surface. There are a few small cottonwoods along its banks which is the only timber in sight. The country is mostly composed of sand hills with a little sage brush, wild cactus and very thin grass. The only green thing in sight is the wild cactus. The sand hills look as if they might burn over were there grass enough upon them to get up a prairie fire, which I should very much doubt. There are some stock ranches in the vicinity, although none near town and I do not see what stock would find to eat on the barren fields.

On a clear morning we see the everlasting snow clad summit of Pikes Peak, which is reported to be one hundred miles away. . . .

A Reno county review of the situation in that county will serve appropriately to close this phase of the story:

This part of the Arkansas valley is having a remarkably dry and dusty time so far this spring. We have had no rain to speak of since early in November, and the result is that with an unusual amount of very strong wind, real estate has been changing hands at an exceedingly rapid rate, and, that too, with little regard to title deeds or fair consideration. Some are discouraged and are trying to get away, but the most of us are still hopeful and determined. I am not sure but an occasional bad season is a good thing to cull out and drive away the faint hearted and grumbling class of community who lack perseverance and fortitude. The country can spare such very well.<sup>27</sup>

During the two decades under review the records are explicit evidence that both kinds of dust storms were recurrent: Dust carried along the surface by the driving force of the wind, and dust lifted into the upper layers of the atmosphere by turbulence of the air mass and carried some distance before it descended as a dustfall. The descriptions selected for use have been quoted in full to place before the reader all the facts and to remove doubt that these conclusions are a matter of actual records and not interpretations of the records by the writer. Some of the descriptions standing alone would not seem conclusive, and might be open to different interpretations, but the accumulation of them by different writers dealing with the same event or similar events makes the meaning positive. The description by one newspaper supplies one aspect, while the

27. *The Stock, Farm and Home Weekly*, Kansas City, May 1, 1880.

comment of a second fills in other details, possibly only one of the group will mention the prevalence of dust, and finally several years later other writers will refer to the earlier event as a standard of measurement of severity of dust storms. This occurred explicitly with respect to the descriptions of 1860, 1870 and less explicitly with respect to others. Although the dust mentioned in some instances could be settled by a street sprinkler this record provides conclusive evidence that such an interpretation could not explain more than a few.<sup>28</sup> The completeness of coverage of the storms of 1879 and 1880 by both the federal weather bureau records and the local press, and the admissions, repeated many times, that these were a regular thing, all combine to remove any doubt of the substantial correctness of the interpretations presented here.

A further conclusion should be made explicit. The descriptions included in this paper with a few designated exceptions are drawn from eastern and middle Kansas sources. The storms themselves, as distinguished from the source of the descriptions, occurred in eastern and middle Kansas. Eastern Kansas of the 1940's is a sound and stable agricultural section devoted to corn, dairying and mixed farming. Middle Kansas is the heart of the hard winter wheat region. Neither of these sections should be confused with the propaganda about the alleged "Dust Bowl." No informed person would contend that a dust menace threatened with destruction a sound agriculture in these sections. Farmers learned how to handle the soil and the conclusion seems legitimate that there has been less severe soil blowing in these parts of Kansas in the twentieth century than occurred prior to 1881, the period reviewed thus far in these articles.

With respect to the origin of the dust present in these dust storms, it is clear that part of it was derived from eastern and middle Kansas, practically all of it involved in the first type of dust storm, where the soil material was driven along the surface. Part of the dust material had its origin west of the 100th meridian in the plains and in the deserts west of the Rocky Mountains, and this is particularly the case with respect to the second type of storm. The descriptions of 1880 were most conclusive as to how some of the dust clouds came in from high elevations and in many cases their approach was evident before they arrived.

The problem of frequency and severity of the second type of dust storm presents some difficulties, but the date of 1880 is particu-

28. See especially the Atchison *Champion* article, April 14, 1880 (quoted on p. 287), which emphasized that the storm was worse on the open prairie than within the city.

larly important as a basing point for a discussion of the subject. The apparent increase in frequency to the present (1946) may mean that the dust menace was becoming progressively worse, or it may mean only that the records are more complete. In 1880 middle Kansas was only partly settled and comparatively speaking only a minor proportion of the grass cover was broken by the plow. The west third of the state of Kansas, and similarly for the country to the north and south, the plains country west of the 100th meridian, was scarcely touched by agricultural settlement. The slaughter of the buffalo had just run its course in the early 1870's, and the overstocking of the short-grass country with range cattle and sheep did not occur until the decade of the 1880's. The extent to which the dust material of these storms originated west of the 100th meridian is conclusive in demonstrating the fact that the desert and the plains were always subject to wind erosion wherever and whenever the circumstances were such that the vegetational cover was weakened by drought, prairie fires and animals sufficiently to expose the dry top soil to the action of the winds, especially during the windy periods of spring and fall. The aspect that is more difficult to deal with is that of severity of the dust storms. Meteorologists to the present day (1946) have not devised any quantitative method of measuring severity. Prior to 1880, with systematic and an even approximation of standardized weather reporting nonexistent, the best descriptions leave much to be desired. It may be that overgrazing of the grasslands and the establishing of agriculture west of the 100th meridian did add to both frequency and severity—it may be, but it has not been proved. As in the case of eastern and middle Kansas, about which the record is so much more positive, it may be that where handled with efficiency commensurate with knowledge of the problem the dust menace is no more frequent or more severe in that region either. These are matters about which no one is in a position to be dogmatic. On one aspect of the problem, however, the writer is certain, both the relative frequency and severity of the dust storms were grossly misrepresented during the drought period of the 1930's, and the public and the scientific world are badly misinformed about the whole subject:

*(A Third and Concluding Article Will Follow Dealing With  
"Dust Storms, 1881-1901")*

A Hoosier in Kansas  
The Diary of Hiram H. Young, 1886-1895  
Pioneer of Cloud County

PART TWO, 1890-1891

Edited by POWELL MOORE

JUNE, 1890

8 Sunday. Childrens Day at Hendersons Grove. Dr. McCassey & family Dinnered with us. Had (2) Bottles of Beer. Alba and the boys went to church in the evening. Preaching by Mrs Rev. Bushong.

9 Monday Pretty fair Day. Boys plowed corn. The old man hoed weeds. Dry and dusty fearful dry.

10 Tuesday. Blessed little rain last night. . . . Every thing looks bright and fresh this morning. Little spotted Sow piged last night 5 Pigs. Fearful warm after noon, 98 in the Shade. Boys plowed corn. Cleaned House.

11 Wednesday. Bully Day. Good rain last night. Jack Matthews Helping plow corn for what John listed for him. Everything looks fresh and vigorous. Boss. Boss. Finished plowing the listed corn the first time

12 Thursday. Pretty fair day. Went to Aurora after dinner. Cigars 10¢. Played a few games of high (5) Had 1 Bottle Beer. Home 7½ P. M. Fearful Hot after Dinner. . . . 9 P. M. High wind south.

13 Friday. High wind S. W. Fearful dusty. Disagreeable Boys plowing corn. Bad Dusty and Disagreeable work. Fearful Wind. Cloudy & Hot. 9 P M Awful Hot. 10 P M wind changed to north and turned cooler. Rained a little bit during the night. Sold 18 chickens \$4.50

14 Saturday. Fair day. Wind northwest. Mother John George and Mabel went to town. The old Man went to Rice after noon with A D Goble. Attended Alliance at Hen Peck.<sup>23</sup> Paid Dues for John & myself 50¢

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23. This is his first reference to the Farmer's Alliance. It is possible that he became a member some time during the period from July 14, 1889, to June 8, 1890, when there were no entries in the diary.

15 Sunday fair Day Wind S. E. Alba sick. John & Mabel went to Sunday school. Little Sow Pigned last night 4 (Pigs). Charley came Home 10 P. M. with Telegram that Father was not expected to live. This is Sad news indeed. Jim Hageman came with Charley.

16 Monday. A little rain last night and a good Shower this morning. Went to town with Jack Matthews. Home 1½ P M. rained a little bit coming Home. Bought Tobacco 25¢ gum 5¢ candy 10¢ = 40¢. Cloudy and cool. Boys plowing corn.

17 Tuesday. Great good rain last night. Everything bright and fresh this morning. Went to Rice. Sold 6 Hogs weight 1560 Price 3.15 = \$49.14 Bought rope 60¢ Tobacco 45¢ axel grease 25¢ Ink 5¢ = \$1.35 Home til 1 P. M. Received J. C. Zimmermans Tax receipt from Henry Bolen The last ½ for 1889.

18 Wednesday. Pretty fair day, wind South & South west. Alba went to Rice after Dinner. Shut off 9 Pigs from 2 Sows

19 Thursday. Cloudy & Pleasant. Good rain last night. The best this spring. Ground well soaked. Went to town from Rice on the train 17¢ 1 Bottle Beer 25¢ Staid all night with Dr. McCassey.

20 Friday Paid my tax & Interest on 40 acres School land, \$26.75 Tobacco 10¢ Cigars 10¢ coat and vest 2.00 Shoes 4.00 Subscription to Blade 1.00 socks & Han[d]kerchiefs 50¢ = \$34.62. [?] Came home with Jack Matthews

21 Saturday Fair day. Mother & John went to Rice gave Mother 1.00

22 Sunday. Fearful hot Mother Alba Mabel & Freddie went to Aurora. Dry & hot.

23 Monday. High wind S. Boys plowed corn. Dusty & Hot. Disagreeable.

24 Tuesday. Clear & Hot, wind south. Boys plowing corn.

25 Wednesday. Clear & hot went to town with F. A. Thompson Bought Hat 40¢ cigar 5¢, Cheese 55¢ Sugar 1.00 Sundries 25¢ = \$2.25. Home 6 P. M. Dry & Dusty. Loaned Fred Thompson my Book Looking Backwards

26 Thursday. Clear & Hot. The Boys finished plowing the listed corn the 2nd time. High wind south. Hot and Dry. Stumped tail Sow Died yesterday. Burried today.

27 Friday Hot & Dry. E. W. Rushton Staid all night. Boys & Alba went to Cleveland to a party. Went to bed 11 P. M

28 Saturday. Rained a little this morning. Went to town.



Bought Binding Twine 23 lbs. \$2.75 Sugar 1.00 Toba. 45¢ birch beer 5¢ Rivits 20¢, Brand 25¢ Flour 1.10, Camphor 70¢ = 8.70  
 [?] Boys went fishing on the River

29 Sunday. Great good rain This Morning early. John went to Thompsons after dinner. Alba went to Sunday school. Clear and Hot, corn is doing fine. A blessed rain This Morning. Dr. McCCasey & Family came in the evening & Staid all night

30 Monday Boys plowing corn. went to town after dinner with Henderson Medicine 1.00 Burch beer 5¢ Total \$1.05. Home in good Season. Huscher commenced to Harvest my oats. Broke down.

July, 1890

1 Tuesday. Warm & Hot. Huscher cutting oats. John went to town with corn Had 26 Bus. price 23 [total] \$5.98 Had cultivator Shovels Sha[r]pened .80 Twine 1.65, Meat .55 Fly nets \$1.75 Total. Attended Twin Mound Alliance

2 Wednesday. Fine day. . . . John plowing corn. Huscher cutting oats, fearful Slow. George Shocking oats. Martha Matthews called after dinner. Hot wind N. W. Attend Alliance meeting at Hen Peck.

3 Thursday finished cutting oats. Rained a little after dinner. A big cloud of dust preceded the rain. cool after the rain.

4 Friday July 4th This nation 114 years old today. Plumb Creek Alliance attended the celebration on Oak [creek]. Had a good time. Home 5 P M. Little sow had 5 pigs

5 Saturday. High wind South. Went to town after dinner Mother with me. Bought coffee 50¢ Toba. 45¢ neck yoke 75¢, Beef 70¢ = 2.40 Paid C—— M—— cash 1.50 for a pair [of] shoes I never got. I consider [it] a damed out rage. Borrowed of Dr. McCCasey Cash \$2.00 Mrs Finnegan & Miss Ellison came home with us. Staid all night. Attended Twin Mound Alliance in the evening. Home at Midnight

6 Sunday. Clear & Hot. John and Alba went to town Took Mrs Finnegan & Miss Ellison Home, started about 4 P. M. Fearful hot, 104 Degrees in the Shade. Corn wilting & rolling up. Begins to look dangerous.

7 Monday Fearful hot 104 in the Shade, wind South. Mrs. W. B. Smith came about dark & Staid all night. Started home next morning 9 A. M.

8 Tuesday. Cloudy and fearful warm. Light wind S. E.

9 Wednesday Clear & hot. Sold 5 Hogs weight 1300 3.10 Per pound = \$40.30 Bought Rice 25¢ Tobacco 10¢ = 35¢ Alba

went to Rice, fearful hot. Thunder[e]d clouded up and threatened rain after noon but failed Fearful warm. Light wind South east & south. 106 Degrees in the Shade, this the warmest day this Season, up to date. Corn is looking Discouraging.

10 Thursday Pretty warm Went to town with John after Dinner. Paid Dr. McCassey cash \$2.00 for money Borrowed July 5, 1890. Bought Shoes for John 2.00 Medicine for the old Man 2.00 Soda 10¢ Tobacco 45¢ Flour \$1.10 gave John \$1.00 Home 8:40 P. M. Took Supper with Dr. McCassey John eat Supper with Democrat Smith Dry & Dusty. Corn is looking Sad. That is the early planted

11 Friday went to Mat Wilcoxs School House to Co. Alliance. Jake Matthews went with me. Home 10:20 P. M. Just got to bed and Dr. McCassey called and Staid all night. For Dinner at Co. Alliance 25¢ cigars 10¢ Total 35¢.

11 [12?] Saturday Bright & clear Hot. Went with Dr. McCassey to Nelse Courvilles, Home 10:20 A. M. Hot Corn looking Sick.

13 Sunday Clear & Hot. Went to Sawdy[s], F. A. Thompson and wife were there. Good visit, Fearful Hot. . . . This is my old Fathers Birth day, 86 years old today. May God spare him longer is the wish of his son.

14 Monday Hot Hoter Hotest Stacking oats. Jack Matthews Stacking and E M De Graff is assisting. Hot Hot 106 in the Shade. About 6 P M wind changed to N. E. and fearful for awhile. Old Jimmy Acton called and Staid for Supper. Dr. McDonald called in the evening. Threatened rain but at this time 9:15 P. M. no prospect. Corn looks Sad. The old Man is Somewhat Discouraged.

15 Tuesday. Cloudy & warm. Finished Stacking Oats, went to Rice. Received news that my Sister Caroline Mrs. J. C. Zimmerman was dead. Died July 12, 1890. George went to Huschers, Paid Huscher cash \$15.00 for cutting 20 acres of Oats. Bought Sugar \$1.00 cigar 5¢ stamps 4¢ paper 10¢ = \$1.19.

16 Wednesday. Fearful hot after noon. Cloudy & hazy in the morning. Mrs Goble Mollie Kitt and Alice Miller called after noon and Staid for Supper. Attended Alliance meeting at the Center. High wind South.

17 Thursday Cloudy & warm Brought my Cattle from Longtins pasture. 4 yearlings 2 cows and 2 calves. 8 in all. Home with cattle 9:30 A M Boys went to help Jack Matthews Stack Oats.

18 Friday. Cloudy & warm. Boys helped Jack Matthews stack Oats till noon. Went fishing after noon. Fishermans luck. John Henderson Taylor Called in the evening. Hot all day Wind S. E. Corn looks bad and the old Man is Discouraged. Bluer than *thunder*

19 Saturday clear & hot. Attend[ed] Alliance meeting [at] the Center. Had our organ there. Bill Savary and A. J. McCallister spoke. *Big* crowd and a good time.

20 Sunday. Clear & hot. Went to Dave Skeels. In the evening Clouded up Thundered and promised rain but it all blow[ed] away.

21 Monday. Cloudy & hot.. Killed a hog, fearful hot. Frying down meat Warm Job for poor folks. Alba Mother Freddie and Mabel went to Kellenbargers after noon. I went to Gobles after Dinner. Cloudy and pleasant in the evening. Promised rain but all blowed away. Corn sick. The old man Discouraged.

22 Tuesday. Cloudy & warm went to town with Mother and Freddie. Bought flour 2.00 Tea 40¢ Tob 45¢ starch 5¢ 1 glass burch beer 5¢, gave Mother \$1.00 swingletree hook for buggy 10¢ = \$4.05 Blessed good rain in the afternoon. We are now more hopeful that [we] will have a little corn. John & George helped William Lillibridge stack oats 1/2 day for *fun*. Thank God for the *rain*.

23 Wednesday. Clear and pleasant. Boys helped John Secrist Thresh after noon. Wash Day. Corn looking Sick prospect awful poor for this [year]. it cant make one fourth of a crop at the best. God only knows how we will get along. Our chances are poor enough at the best.

24 Thursday. Clear & cool. Went to town after noon. Bought Sugar 1.00 pepper 15¢ Oat Meal 25¢ Tooth picks 10¢ 1 Pair over alls 85¢ Alliant \$1.00 Steel traps 60¢ Total \$3.95 Home 7 P M Subscribe[d] for the Alliant.

25 Friday Pretty good day. Wind North & N. E. and S. E. & E. John went to Montys, Monty came in the evening.

25 [26?] Saturday. Wind S E & E. Threshed my Oats 540 Bushels Due Monty Helpers \$8.10 Jack Matthews 2 Hand & team 2 Huschers. (2 Secrist. Settled) 2 Hendersons, 1 Bertram Each 1/2 day Hot & Dry and dusty corn petered out. Oats light crop. We will go over the hill.

26 [27?] Sunday Clear & warm. Mother Mabel Freddie and the old Man went to Thompsons Proff Sawdy wife and children and H. De Wade were there. Home 7 P. M. Alba went to Stoners The boys at home.

27 [28?] Monday. Clear and warm. High wind South. Fearful wind & Dust this is the last day for our corn. Good by[e] corn. We did our best to get you. But failed A great amount of hard work lost without any return. 7 in our family 95 acres of corn gone. Hard winter in Store for us. It will take grit and economy to winter here. Boys helped old Henderson Thresh till noon. After noon they went to Huschers. Hotter than a . . . after dinner. Its good by[e] John.

28 [29?] Tuesday. High wind S. Mother John George Fred Mabel & Alba went to town. The old Man left at home alone. The wind blowed all night and still blowing this morning. This is the last Day on earth for the corn for this year. Good by[e] Dear Corn we tried hard to get you but failed. How we will winter "God" knows.

29 [30?] Wednesday. . . . Sold 4 Hogs 1230 lbs 3.20 lb. = \$39.36. Received cash \$5.00 on hogs. Balance due \$34.36 Corn played out. . . . 108 degrees in the Shade.

31 Thursday Clear and hot, wash day. Wind change[d] to West North and N E and E. Beautifully warm. . . . This is School meeting day 2 P. M. The old man was elected Treasure[r] for 3 years, Col. Smith and family came and Staid all night. Mother & Mabel Sick during the night

#### August, 1890

1 High wind South. Went fishing Dave Skeels Old man Lillibridge E. B. Lillibridge W. B. Lillibridge W. S. Lillibridge Charley Lillibridge Charley Muller George Layman Col. Smith, John, George and the old man. Caught about 300 lbs Home 8 P. M. Col. Smith and family Staid all night

2 Saturday went to town with Smith. Staid all night with Smith. Went to Alliance on the bottom no Alliance. Rained a good Shower.

3 Sunday. Came home Smith brought me home. Had a glass of beer with Dr. McCasesy, Home 10 A. M. Cool and fresh this morning. Dr. McCasesy & family here for Dinner

4 Monday. Rained a little Shower last night. The old man went to Lillibridges John went to town to Co. Alliance. George went fishing. Cloudy & cool. Wind north. Cool. Alba went to Kellenbargers went to Rice after dinner. Received from Reed \$34.35 Due on Hogs Had 2 plow Shears Sharpened 50¢. George caught a good mess of fish John came home about dark. Gave John Cash

90¢, Mother's Shoes repaired 60¢ Ida Kellenbarger Staid all night. Woodruff Threshed to day. Lillibridges all a little better.

5 Tuesday clear & pleasant. Commenced to plow Oats s[t]ubble The old Man unwell, Gut *ache*. Ida Kellenbarger went home this morning.

6 Wednesday. Good day. Went to Sawdys it being his 68 birth day. Quite a good crowd was there. Fred Thompson made a little speech. John & George went to Sawdys in the evening. At night I went to People's Caucus, was made chairman. W. A. Pierce J. B. Campbell & George Greathouse were elected delegates [to] convention for the 9th.

7 Thursday. Good Day. Wash day. Sada Farnum is here. The boys are plowing Oats ground. Fearful plowing ground dry fearful dry. Boys played ball after noon. Mrs. John S. Campbell died. Fearful hot 108 [degrees] in the Shade. Corn Just all dried up. What the poor farmer will do is hard to tell.

8 Friday. Nice cool day Wind north & north east Went to Rice with the old wagon to have it cut down, cost \$6.00 John George & Freddie went with me. Alba went fishing with Sadie Farnum As. Burris & Ed. Hass. John went to Bolens in [the] evening.

9 Saturday. cloudy & cool. Sowed turnip seed yesterday. Rained a little this morning. Loaned C. C. Eye Tom to go to town Left his horse in our stable. F. A. Thompson left his horse in our stable. Big Ball game in our pasture. Went to Alliance F. A. Thompson had Supper with us and went to the Alliance and Staid all night. Home 10 P. M. Commenced to Rain 10 P M

10 Sunday. Good rain last night. Cloudy and cool this morning. Good rain.

11 Monday cloudy & cool. Boys plowed Oats ground. Jacob & Martha went to town after Dinner. J. T. Henderson Called this morning.

12 Tuesday cloudy & cool wind south east. Boys plowing. A moving outfit stop[p]ed for water who came from Oregon with team and wagon. They Started last May 3 months on the way Bound for old Mo.

13 Wednesday. Cloudy & warm. John went to Alex. Hadleys to See about Seed wheat & Rye. Received Cash from J. T. Henderson \$1.11 school money. Bought Sugar \$1.00 Sime Farnum & family Called to day. Frank Ellison from Topeka came today after Dinner. Bought 8 Bushels Rye 60¢ per bus. = \$4.80 Boys

and Alba went in the evening to W. A. Pierces. Received a card from G W Coffey President Co. Alliance.

14 Thursday Cloudy & warm. Heck Martin stop[p]ed for water Dave Skeels and crew stop[p]ed at noon. Dave Had dinner with us. The boys went fishing with Dave. Fisherman home in good Season. No fish.

15 Friday cloudy & cool Boys plowing. Alba went to Rice. Walt Kinzer called in the forenoon. Ground getting dry. Mother Freddie Mabel & the Old Man went to town after dinner. Staid all night with Dr. McCCasey.

16 Saturday Cloudy & cool Bought flour P. P. 2 Sacks 2.20 Tobacco 45¢ Lye 25 broom 25¢ Baking powder 50¢ = 3.70 [?] Home high twelve. Attended Alliance at the Center in the after noon. Ball game at home after noon. 10 P M cloudy & cool.

17 Sunday good day. Walt Kinzer was here for dinner. John Henderson Burroughs & young Decker Called after noon.

18 Monday. Cloudy & warm. Wash day, cleaned Hen House. Alba went to Kellenberger's [in] after noon. Boys cut corn after noon. Paid Monty Cash \$4.00. Due Monty 4.10 Loaned John Miller my wagon

19 Tuesday Cloudy and cool. Rained a little in the morning. Loaned Lillibridge my wagon. Frank Ellison went to town, from Rice. The old man under the weather to day. Brought old wagon from Shop Paid \$6.00 for repairs.

20 Wednesday. Good day. Sawdy & family Sime Farnum & family visited us. Had good time. Dr. McCCasey was here for Dinner. Boys halled out manure. Sold 2 Steers and 1 Calf for 30.00 to be delivered in Concordia next Monday. Received Cash on cattle \$1.00 Poor Sale, Cattle *too cheap*.

21 Thursday Went to town with John Bergeron Came home Sick. Awful Sick during the night Dr. McDonald Called and perscribed for Mabel did it for fun.

22 Friday Show day. Boys and Alba went to town. The old Man Sick Dull and all broke up.

23 Saturday. Cloudy and cool. Went to Aurora early in the morning. Got medicine, 70¢ Deck card[s] 20¢ Total 90¢ Home 8.30 A. M. The old Man considerable under the weather, fearful Sick last night. Rained a little.

24 Sunday cloudy & cool. Mother & children went to church. Mr & Mrs Hibs and Mrs Coat came home with them & Staid for dinner and Supper. The Boys and Alba went to church. Big

Storm South & South east 8:30 P. M. The old Man considerable under the weather.

25 Monday. Went to town with 3 Steers. Received Cash balance due on them \$29.00 Bought Pants 2.75 Shoes for George 1.65 Tobacco 10¢ lamp chimney 10¢ = \$4.60. Fearful big rain in town. Good rain at home.

26 Tuesday. Bright & clear. Boys plowing. Gave Mother Cash \$5.25. Spotted Sow Pixed 5 Ps. Dr. McCCasey called on his way to Leander Brickers. I went with him. Stop[p]ed at Aurora. Paid for irons 10¢ 4 bolts 10¢ Pepsin 15¢ = 35¢. Dr. Got 1 Pint Brandy. Stop[p]ed at F. A. Thompson. Had a drink Fred. Home at dark. Dr. Staid for supper. Played high 5 till 10 P. M. then Dr. started home.

27 Wednesday. Clear & cool. Wash day. Wind West Jakes Sister had Pigs yesterday. Settled in full with Monty Paid him cash \$4.05. Due Monty 10¢ Jack Matthews cut my alfalfa 1/2 day. Mother Freddie & the old man went to Rice in the evening Bought Sugar 1.00 crackers 25¢ Pens 5¢ paper 10¢ ink 10¢ = 1.50. Home 8 P. M. The old man unwell.

28 Thursday

29 Friday went to town with Dave Skeels. Cigars 10¢. Home 2 P. M. Went to the Center to the Alliance.

30 Saturday Went to town with Mother. Bought sugar 1.00 Coffee 50¢ cigar 5¢ = 1.55. Home 5 p. m. went down on the Bottom to No. 8 Dis. to Alliance. John Jack Matthews & George Layman went with me. Home Low twelve, or mid night. Had Dinner with W B Smith in Concordia. Boys played Ball Down on the Bottom this after noon.

31 Sunday Clear & warm. High wind South east. John & Alba went to Sawdys. Young Demamie was burried today. Mother George, Freddie and Mabel attended the burial. The old Man at home alone. Wrote a communication to the Blade. Sadie Farnum came home with Alba & John. John George Alba Sadie Farnum and old John Henderson Burroughs went to Dis. 40 to church Nigger Preacher.

September, 1890

1 Monday. Cloudy & hot. Boys cut corn. Alba took Sadie Farnum to Rice. High wind South

2 Tuesday. Fearful wind & dust Went to Bergeron's sale and Stood around there all day like a damphool. Home 4 P. M Hot wind and Dusty Awful bad day Boys cut corn. Women Folks

visiting. Barcelo Stop[p]ed for water. Cows sold at from \$15.00 to \$24.00 Horses dirt cheap.

3 Wednesday. Boys cut corn. I went to Rice with Goble. Bought Toba. 50¢. Received Card of invitation from A. H. Dougall to attend the reunion of 88th Ind. Vol. Also from A. J. Hadley inviting me to attend their Alliance next Friday after noon. Rained a little at dark

4 Thursday. Cloudy & Hot John & the old Man worked on the road. Hard Job. George went to Thompson's in the Morning.

5 Friday. High wind South Went to Pleasant Val[l]ey to Alliance, F. A. Thompson John & I.

6 Saturday. John Alba & I went to town. Sugar 1.00 Mrs McCCasey & Children came home with us. Switze Goble Called. Dr. McCCasey came in about 9.30 P M Played high 5 til 12 P M. Rained Hard. Buggy repaired 50¢

7 Sunday. Great big rain last night best in one year. Dr. McCCasey and family Started home 5 P M. John went [to] Sawdys' bought a pup 50¢.

8 Monday. Good day. Boys Sowing Rye & Cultivating in Rye. Peeled apples to dry.

9 Tuesday. Pretty good day. Finished cultivating Rye. John Harrowed wheat ground. Cut Sunflowers. Peeled apples. Gave John Secrist 3 Sack fulls of apples. Old Berk Sow made pigs. John Secrist Called. Secrist gave us a mess oi fresh pork yesterday.

10 Wednesday. Wash Day. Cloudy & Cool. John Harrowing with three Horses. Measured wheat ground: 5 10/160 acres. Henderson stop[p]ed this morning. Dave Allen of Sulphur springs Called after dinner. A queer Democrat that Can't vote the peoples ticket

11 Thursday. Cloudy & high wind South east. Mother Alba Mabel & Freddie went to J. E. Beans. John & George went to A. J. Hadleys for seed wheat. The old Man at home alone. Seed wheat \$5.40 Tobacco 50¢ Postage 4¢ = \$5.94. Threatening rain this evening. Thun[d]ering & lightening

12 Thursday [Friday?]. Rained a little last night. High wind north Cold and cloudy. John & Alba went to Rice. Jack Matthews returned my harness last night.

13 Good day for Saturday. Went to town with Mother. Bought flour \$2.75 Tobacco 30¢, Gave Mother 2.00 Bought Oak sca[n]t-



ling for Jack Matthews for Rake head 80¢ Dinner 10¢ meat 80¢ = 6.80 [?] Home 5 P. M. Had a good visit while in town.

14 Sunday. A. J. McCallister Staid all night with us last night. Started home 10 A. M. Mrs. & Mr. Cleveland visited us today also John Henderson Taylor. John went to town with Jim Bert-ram. George & Alba went to church at the Center this evening. Bully good day. Cloudy & pleasant. Rather cool.

15 Monday Sowed wheat. Bought Seed 1 Bus.  $\frac{1}{2}$  bus. of J. A. Secrist  $\frac{1}{2}$  Bus. of A. J. Hadley. John went to Rice. Rec[e]ived a letter from President Coffey and from J. B. French, State Secretary.<sup>24</sup>

16 Tuesday Jack Matthews mowed. Went to town after Din-ner. Sold Tom and Jim. Tom for \$65.00 Jim \$100.00 = Total \$165.00 Bought 1 glass birch beer 5¢. Left my buggy in town. Dr. Day V. S. brought me home.

17 Wednesday. Fearful high wind South. Halling hay. Bad Day for that business. Old Man Regnier helping us. Jimmy Ac-ton Called this morning. Mother Sick. Dr. Day Called. I went with him to Aurora for Dr. McDonald. Home 4 P. M. and Said Mother had neuralgia. Paid him Cash \$2.50 Finished Stacking hay late. Due Henry Regnier 1 day. Fearful warm after dinner. 8 P. M. Mother better. Filled the mow with hay & 1 stack out Side

18 Thursday. Went to Clyde. Heard Judge Peffer<sup>25</sup> Speak. Big crowd. Big speech. rained hard at Clyde. Rail road fare to Clyde 52¢ Kerosene oil 1.10 Dinner 25¢ Develish poor Dinner for the money. Cigars 15¢. [Total] \$2.02. Wind blowed fearful. Dusty awful wind and Dust. Home 5 P. M John & Switze Goble went to town to hear Peffer speak Home 12 low 12. Mother better.

19 Friday. Pretty good day. Killed a hog, Borrowed Gobles Sausage grinder. Jack Matthews came after his harness.

20 Saturday. cloudy & warm Went to town, Bought 4 hal-ters 3.00 rope 40¢ hatchet 85¢ Gave John \$1.50. Stoner for organ at school house \$3.00 Total \$8.75. Attended Peoples Cau-eus at the Center. was made chairman & elected delegat[e] to the Aurora Convention for Sept. 23rd also delegat[e] to Co Con-vention at Concordia the 27th 1890. Went to Alliance meeting

24. Coffey was county president of the People's party, and it appears that French was state secretary of the same party.

25. Judge W. A. Peffer was editor of *The Kansas Farmer*, Topeka, and a Populist writer and speaker.—William E. Connelley, *A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans* (Chicago, 1918), p. 1156.

at Hen Peck, No 1304. A buisny day for the old Man. Boys Played Ball at Rice this after noon.

21 Sunday. Good day. Cloudy and Pleasant. Alba & John went to Sunday School. Played High (5).

22 Monday. Wash Day Jack Matthews came 9 A. M. to mow. John helped him. . . . John took me to Dave Skeels after night. Staid all night with Dave Skeels. Good Day, Bully.

23 Tuesday. fine day no wind. Went to Aurora with Dave Skeels. Attende[d] Peoples Party Convention, for representative. S. O. Everly [Everley?] was nominated on Second Ballot. W. C. Campbell was chairman Bill Savery [Savary? of Clyde] Secretary, Called on F A Thompson who is sick came home with A. J. Hadley. Came home from Aurora about Sundown. Medicine for Mother 50¢, cigars 10¢, Donation for School house 10¢. = 70. F. A. Thompson Seriously ill, Malaria fever, Dr. McDonald the Attending Physician. Boys halled hay. Henry Reginer [Regnier] helped 1 day.

24 Wednesday Cloudy & Pleasant. Finished Mowing & Raking. Got in 1 load. Wind East & South East. J. T. Henderson Went to train to meet his Mother & Sister. Happy meeting of Mother Son & Daughter. Paid J. T. Henderson Cash \$5.00 for School Order No 59. Paid the Money out of my own Pocket. Did so for accommodation.

25 Thursday. Cloudy & Pleasant. Finished Halling hay, til noon. Mother, Alba, Mabel & Freddie went to Stoners Mother & Daughter, J. T. Hendersons Mother & Sister came this morning. Mrs. H. B. Parvin Called to day. Went to town after Dinner with J. T. Henderson. Home 6 P. M. Bought cigar 5¢ lamp chimney 5¢ = 10¢

26 Friday Good day John & Alba went to Rice. Mother went to Hendersons. . . . Went to the Center in the evening. S. O. Everly and A. J. McCallister made speeches. Good crowd.

27 Saturday Went to town. Peoples Party Convention. C. C. Stoner was nominated for Judge of Probate. Big crowd in town Home 8 P. M. The Boys Helped Jack Matthews Stack Hay All day. Big Day for the Peoples party. Captain [B. F.] Rose [of Meredith] nominated for Clerk of District Clerk [Court] and Mrs A[lice] S. Bates [of Lyon township] for county Superintendent. Big good strong tick[et] & I hope it will win. Bought 1 [pair of] shoes for Mabel at Neitzels 1.75 cigars 10¢ Total \$1.85

28 Sunday very foggy. Paid the Boys Cash \$3.00. The boys went to Rice. Smoking Tobacco 10¢ = \$3.10 Went to Dave Skeels & F. A. Thompson's The Political campaign will open Tomorrow. The Boys went to Town to church in the evening. Hom[e] 'low Twelve.

29 Monday. Bright & clear Boys started to school this morning. This is the 1st Day of School. Wash Day.

30 Tuesday. Cloudy & cool. Went to Rice. Received a letter from Virg. Stewart our Son in law, Stating Nellie our Daught[er] Had a daughter, Born September 26th 1890. This is Our 1st Grand child. Daughter has been married 4 years ago last April. She being Married 4 and one half years. Proff Dixon<sup>26</sup> Passed by to day. I think its good by[e] John. Hope so at least. And trust the whole damed out[fit] will be Snowed under clear out of Sight.

October, 1890

1 Wednesday. Cloudy & Pleasant. Went to town. [J. F. Willits] Peoples Candidate for Gov. spoke to the multitude estimated at 4000 People. A gala day for the new party. Big crowd Bought whip 75¢

2 Thursday. Clear & warm wind South Went to Rice. Received 2 letters from Virg [Stewart, Albion, Ind.] 1 stating Father was not expected to live, And that Nellie was better. Mother & Daughter Henderson Called on us today. The old Man unwell. Paid Box Re[n]t at P. O. at Rice. . . . The old Man made up his mind to go back to Indiana.

3 Friday morning 4 A. M. The old Man too unwell to think of going away from home. I give up my trip to Indiana. Gut ache this morning. . . . Cant go Must Stay at home, at least for the present. Misting this morning and During the night. Bad morning. Alba went to Rice. Received a letter from Virg stating Father was Dead. Died September 30th 1890 Age 86 years 2 Months and 19 Days. John Young Born, July 13th 1804 Pennsylvania. Died September 30th 1890 Noble County Indiana. . . . Made a Mason 1825 Pennsylvania. A concience [sic] christian all his life. Good By[e] Good old Father. May you rest in Peace. Good by[e]. Cloudy & misty Disagreeable Bad day. The old man feels Depressed from the loss & Death of his Father.

26. J. A. Dixon was nominated by the Republican convention September 25, 1890, as candidate for county superintendent of public instruction.—*Concordia Empire*, September 25; *Concordia Blade*, September 26.

God be good to the Old Father. He was Kind & good on this earth.  
May he rest in Peace

4 Saturday. Went to town with Mother & Freddie, bought cigars 10¢ Tobacco 40¢, lamp chimney 30¢, Flour 2.55¢ Gave Mother 1.00 = \$4.35. Attended Alliance meeting at Hen Peck.

5 Sunday. Misty rained a little Went to see F. A. Thompson, who is sick, with malaria fever. Bad Disagreeable day.

6 Monday. Great big fog this morning & forenoon. Pleasant after Dinner. Mother Alba, Freddie and Frankie McCassey went to Hendersons after dinner. Qunell Called. I sold him our old Stover for 25¢. The Old man alone During the afternoon. Dr. McCassey Called 10 P. M and Staid all night.

7 Tuesday. went to coal Bank for coal, bought 1 Ton coal 2.50 Tobac[c]o 45¢ Total \$2.95 Home 5:30 P. M.

8 Wednesday. Fair day. Went to Meredith<sup>27</sup> with George Greathouse. John Davis Peoples candidate for congress spoke to 300 people. Good time. Home 7 p. m. Greathouse Horse Kicked George. Dr. Jeannotte Called in my absence. The Boys and Alba went to the Center to a festival. Brought home a few acorns from Pipe creek.

9 Thursday. Cloudy & high wind north. Very disagreeable day. Misty, moist quite unpretty. Wash day. Boys at school Old Lady Snavelly Called in the evening & Staid all night. Boys went to Pin Town to hear John Davis speak.

10 Friday Cloudy & Pleasant Alba went to Rice. Attended Alliance meeting at the Center. Home 10:35 P M

11 Saturday. Cloudy & threatened rain. Went to town, with J. O. McIntosh. Attended Co. Alliance was elected a delegate to State Alliance to [be] held in Topeka, on the 15 inst. Dinner 25¢ cigars 30¢ Total 55¢. Attend[ed] Alliance on Oak creek. Home 9 P. M

12 Sunday. George went to Thompson's. Cloudy

13 Monday. cloudy & cold. High wind north. Went to town. Drew from Cloud Co. Bank \$100.00 Paid N. W. Thomas note for Studebaker wagon bought October 14th 1889 \$71.50 In full for all demands to date. Bought Day book 20¢ postage 4¢ gave Mother 50¢ Total 72.24 Home 11.30 A. M. Fearful wind north.

14 Tuesday. Ma and Pa and Freddie started this morning for Topeka Fearful cold wind S. W. [Written by Alba.]

27. Meredith post office was located in Meredith township, southern Cloud county.—Edwards' *Atlas of Cloud County* (Quincy, Ill., 1885), pp. 5, 11, 59.

15 Wednesday, wash day. Lizzie Bertrand called this morning returning the spade. Cold, wind, North. Will Goble called this evening. [By Alba.]

16 Thursday Very pleasant day, the boys at school. Us youngsters went to No 8 to hear a darkey speech. Had a splendid time. [By Alba.]

17 Friday, Had a letter from Pa. Chas came out this evening started home at 9 P. M. nice day. [By Alba.]

18 Saturday started [home] from Topeka at 11 A. M. arrived at Strong City 4 P. M. changed cars for Aurora Layed over (3) hours. Started from Strong City 6 P. M. At Manchester received telegram ordering Mother & I to come home. Arrived at Aurora 10 P. M. Arrived at home 11 P. M. We were surprised our neighbors had taken possession of our home to extend their appreciation and greetings to us. The following named neighbors and friends here to receive us, Mrs and Mr Kellenbarger, Ida, Henry Sallie, and Geo. Secrist, Will and Mollie Goble Mr & Mrs Elias Lillibridge, Lucy, Sarah and Chas Lillibridge. J. E. Hagaman Anna McManimie [McManimee?] Mr and Mrs Bolen Mr. & Mrs Truman Pierce and children Ella Stoner, Mattie Matthews. Went to bed 1:30 P. M. [A. M.?]

19 Sunday. Clear & cool. Found every thing all right at home. Had a good visit while attend[ing] the State Alliance. The States of Georgia and South Carolina Sent greetings. Col. Polk Pres. [of the] National Alliance spoke also Col. Livingston Congressman elect from Atlanta and farmer Wilson of Americus Georgia also Dr. Stone of Atlanta form[er]ly a member of 2nd Michigan Vol. but now of Georgia. All in All we had a good and Profitabl[e] meeting. Mr. & Mrs Sawdy Mrs W. B. Smith, Dr. McCassey and family Called today. Good Day and good visit.

20 Monday cloudy & cool Paid J. A. Secrist cash 80¢ for 20 lbs beef. Loaned our cider mill to Jack Matthews.

21 Tuesday. Rained a good shower last night. Killed a hog This morning & traded it to Festus Sawdy for a seed hog. J. E. Stillinger [here] this morning Also Charles Keostter. Stillinger and Keostter got into trouble. They want to arbitrate. I went with Keostter but Stillinger failed to put in. cloudy & cool.

22 Wednesday pretty good good day. Went to W. S. Lillibridge in fore noon. After noon went with John Stillingers and assisted him [to] make settlement with him and his renter. Charley came home this eve. had supper with us then went to town.

23 Thursday Went to school house in the morning Met Director Lillibridge school Mother & Davy Secrist and made a little settlement.<sup>28</sup> I then went to Skeel's had Dinner with Dave, then went to Aurora. Bought stove pipe for School house Candy 10¢ & coffee 65 = 90¢ [?]

24 Friday Good day. Mother & Alba went to town. Gave Mother 1.00 I went to Aurora in the evening with Jake Matthews. Bought Pens 5¢ Pen Holders 10¢ Pepsin 10¢ paper 10¢ flour 1.25 = \$1.60. Home 10:30 P. M.

25 Saturday. Made cider & Picked apples in forenoon. Went to town with John after dinner. Bought Shoes for John Cash \$2.50 socks 50¢ Tobacco 15¢ Subscribed for the Alliant one year for Virg Stewart Wolf Lake Ind. Paid Cash 1.00 Subscribed for the Blade for one year for T. J. Young Merriam Ind Paid cash \$1.00 Total \$5.15 Attended Alliance at Dis. No 8 Home 11 P M

26 Sunday. Went visiting to Truman Pierce. Called at Stoner's home at Sundown. Boys went to Hen Peck this evening.

27 Monday. Good day. Went to town, was introduced to his excellency Hon. Mayor Clemens of Wichita. Also to Hon. D. A. Banta of Great Bend. Mr. Banta is the resubmission candidate for Lieutenant Governor. Bought Tobacco 45¢, Dr. ——— gave me 1 pint of good whiskey, home 7 p. m. Drew School fund \$43.40 Deposited it with Cloud Co. Bank.

28 Tuesday Pretty good day. High wind North West. C. C. Stoner Bill H. Savery Mr. Rose, Candidates for Judge of probate, County Attorney and clerk of the District Court Called this Morning. Bill H. Bolen brought me J. C. Zimmermans corn about 25 bushels of stuff worth about 15 or 20¢ per Bushel. Corn worth \$3.75 Due J. C. Zimmerman that amount. Turned Sow in pen with "Festus." Big speech at the school house tonight. Judge Stoner B. F. Rose, Billy Savery and Coon Burdett called in the evening and took Supper with us. The above named made speeches at Dis. 76. We all went to the speech. We took our organ. Bill Savery staid all night with us, and for dinner.

29 Wednesday John Burroughs stop[p]ed for dinner. I went to town after Dinner. Home 7 P. M. Boys went to Hen Peck in the evening. Paid school Mother 1st month wages by check on Cloud Co. Bank for \$35.00

30 Thursday. Good day. Township Caucus, at the Center.

28. He refers to the local schoolteacher as the "school mother."

H H Young & T. S. McHenry were placed in nomination and resulted in H. H. Young 73 to T. S. McHenrys 32 votes<sup>29</sup> If this is an indication the Peoples Party will win next Tuesday. Went down on the bottom to No 8 and heard Savery, Stoner, Rose and Dr. Walling of Sumner Co. speak. I must Say the Dr. is a stem winder. I met the Dr. in State Alliance. Bought oil at Rice 25¢, Home 11:15 P. M.

31 Friday Good day. Jim Flynn, Tut Carver and Fred Yont came here. Had dinner with us. Went with them to Clyde. Staid all night in Clyde. Went from Clyde to Concordia. Arrived in Concordia 12 Noon. An immense crowd, of the Peoples Party. . . . Home 7 P. M whiskey 75¢ Tobacco 10¢ cigars .30 [Total] \$1.15.

November, 1890

1 Saturday Great crowd in town. Home 7 P. M

2 Sunday Fearful wind North west cold & cloudy.

3 Monday, Clear went to Rice and Concordia. Bought cigars \$4.00 Beer 50¢ Home 7 P. M. Went to the center and heard J E Wood, old Chamness, and old Beef Head speak. They all sawed the air. Home 10:30 P. M. Was at Kellenbargers before coming from town.

4 Tuesday, Election day H H Young was elected Trustee without opposition C. C. Stoner was elected Probate Judge. Was on Board of election Home 1:30 A. M.

5 Wednesday, fine day. Big crowd in town. The grand old republican party was snowed under all over the State, From governor Down. A great big victory for the people of the State of Kansas. Bought Beef 55¢ Came home with D. Hebert

6 Thursday. High wind north Killed a hog, Boys Husked corn after Dinner. Cool. Judge Stoner came from town this fore noon, Howdy Judge Stoner. Went to Rice after noon. Received a letter from Sister Amelia Adair of Columbia City Ind. Begging for me to come home Cant go.

8 [??] Friday. The old man worke[d] on the road til noon Halled dirt around the house. . . . John Geor. & Alba went to Concordia to engage in the jolification over the result of the late election Commenced to rain about Dark. A bad dark and disagreeable night. Cold and high wind east.

29. Young was elected trustee in November, 1887, but resigned the post April 12, 1888, to sell farm machinery for L. A. Bartlett & Co. at Aurora. T. S. McHenry was appointed trustee in his place.

9 [8?] Saturday Rained nearly all day Boys came home about noon. Alba staid in town. Bad Disagreeable day. Tied up the colts for the first time this fall. Judge Stoner called on his way home from town.

10 [9?] Sunday cloudy & cold. Ground froze this morning. Made out Horticulture report yesterday. Funeral and burial of Ameal Walker to day. Issue[d] check yesterday to Pay Flavius Langtin \$4.20 for Pasture, Leaving me in Bank To date \$35.80 Cloud co Bank The Boys went to Hen Peck to Dutch church in the evening. Cold. Boys at home 10 P. M.

10 Monday Clear & cool Boys Halling Manure

11 Tuesday. Good Day. went to town. Home in good season. George went to town in the eve.

12 Wednesday. Good Day. The Boys Mother & Freddie went to Sawdys the Boys to Dig Potatoes and Mother & Freddie to visit. Mabel at school. Alba went to Rice after Dinner. The old man at home alone during the after noon.

13 Thursday. Good Day. Mrs Jack Matthews had a kid last night. Girl. Wash Day. Mother was called last night and this morning to Jack Matthews. Boys helping old Man Sawdy Dig potatoes. Jack Matthews called this morning. The Boys got 4 bushels of potatoes for their work for Sawdy

14 Friday. Good Day. Boys finished husking 4 a [?] acres of corn til noon. After noon Pulled & Buried turnips Went to the Alliance at the Center. School Dis. brought the organ from the station. It is untried as yet. The School Dis. is to pay one half and the good people the other half. Attended Alliance meeting at the center.

15 Saturday Fair Day. Went to town after Dinner Bought Ink & cigar 30¢. Home after Dark. Attended Alliance meeting at Hen Peck. Hom[e] 11 P. M. 1:30 P. M. Billy Williams Deputy Sheriff called and said 1 Prisoner broke Jail. Billy staid all night

16 Sunday. Went to Kellenbargers with Mother Mabel and Freddie. Commenced to rain about 1 P. M. Misted and rained during the after noon. Home 5 P. M. Good rain last night

17 Monday. Good Day. Helped Henderson dehorn his cattle, also helped Jack Matthews Dehorn his cows. Had my Bond for Township Trustee made out, Signed By J. T. Henderson and C. C. Stoner. I Also signed Hendersons Bond for Town Treasure[r] Wash Day. Old Gentleman Sawdy called about noon and Staid



for Dinner. John & Mabel went to School. George husked corn.

18 Tuesday. Fine day. Went to town. Bought Tobacco 15¢  
2 Butcher K[n]ives 70¢, nails 25¢ staples 25¢ repairing 20¢ =  
\$1.55 Sold 18 Roosters \$3.12. Mrs McCCasey and children came  
[home] with us. They & Alba Mother Mabel Freddie and  
John went to church at the center in the evening. Kitt sick Colic.  
Dehorned My yearling cattle Filed my Bond for Trustee of Nelson  
township Beautiful evening 9 P. M.

19 Wednesday Fine day Paid Baker Medicine man for 2  
bottles Pain relife \$1.10 Mrs McCCasey and children are here  
John at School George husking corn.

20 Thursday. Fine day. Mrs McCCasey went home this after  
noon. George husking corn. John at School. Alba went to town  
after noon. Mabel Sick this morning could not go to School.  
Col. D. A. Skeels Called to day. The Col. is enthusiastic on the  
question of [the] Alliance.

21 Friday Cloudy. High wind north. George Husking corn.  
John laid up with sprained ankle. Gave Elias Lillibridge 7 Pigs.  
The old man unwell to day. Rheumatism.

22 Saturday Fine Day. Went to town with St. Peter, staid  
all night with Democrat Smith Paid for Sundries 65¢ Dinner 25¢.

23 Sunday fine day Came home with G W Sparger. Home  
2:30 P M Alba & Georg[e] went to Sawdys.

24 Monday. Fine day. Went to town. John & George Also  
Jack Matthews. Sold 12 Hogs weight 3165 3.25 per hundred  
= \$102.85 Bought Clothing for my self and Boys Suit for John  
\$10.00 over coat for John 7.50 over coat for George \$7.50  
over coat for the old Man \$10.00 Under shirts for the Boys  
1.00 [Total] \$36.00 Gave the boys \$1.50 Dinner for Jake and  
me .75 207 lbs barbed wire 7.88 Cigar & tobacco .15 Cabbage  
& Coffee 1.80 Total \$48.08 Deposited in Cloud Co Bank 50.00  
Home at Sundown Mother in town today Jack Matthews Halled  
a load of Hog[s] for the old Man. The Boys Alba Mabel and  
Mother went to Stoners in the evening.

26 [25?] Tuesday. high wind north Cold & cloudy. Went to  
Ames Bought 350 feet [of] lumber Paid \$6.50 Borrowed 25¢  
of Davy Secrist home 2 P. M. Boys at school. Kentucky Smith  
came 3 P M and Staid all night. Festus Hog got out among the  
Sows Not earlier than March 17th 1891

26 Wednesday. Fine day. Stoners Sale an immense crowd.

Everything sold well.<sup>30</sup> Received for my work Six dollars. Boys at school. Kentucky Smith took Mabel home with him. Alba and the boys at church this evening.

27 Thursday. Thanks Giving or turkey time. Mother Freddie and the old Man went to town Had dinner with Kentucky Smith. Had Good dinner. Home a little after dark. Boys & Alba went to church Mother Mabel Freddie and the old Man went to Jacke Matthews to an oyster supper. Had fine Supper. Home 9 P. M.

28 Friday Good Day. Made fence Turned Cattle & colts on the Oats Pasture. Old Gentleman Lillibridge Called & I gave him his election Credentials. Mrs. G. W. Spargur Called during the after noon and Staid for Supper. John Kellenbarger Called in the evening on his way to church. Alba went with them to church. Mother & Mabel went with Mrs. Spargur to Jack Matthews, after Supper. John unwell The old Man tired and full of Rheumatism

29 Saturday Good day Made hay rack for cattle and Horses. Made new Stable Door. Alba went to town Took Mrs. Spargur home Alba and John went to Rice in after noon. Bought Tob 50¢ The old Man tired turned Black Sow to Festus yesterday Time March 20th 1891 Big Alliance meeting at the center this evening.

30 Sunday. Good day but windy at home all day Went to Geo. Reeves in the evening.

#### December, 1890

1 Monday. Clear & cool. Went to town Bought Lumber \$6.00 Lime 1.40 Salt 1.50 nails 25¢ To[ta]l \$9.15 Home 2:30 P. M. Boys helped Jack Matthews Husk corn.

2 Tuesday, cloudy & cold High wind north east Jack Matthews Laid floor in our Kitchen. Boys Halled straw and manure John went to Rice in the evening bought nails 25¢ Postage 6¢, = 31¢

3 Wednesday. Clear & cold wind North Went to town Bought lumber 1.10 Paint 75¢ cigar 5¢ Total \$1.90. Boys at School. Alba went to Rice. Jack Matthews working at the floor

4 Thursday. Fair day but cool High wind south. Boys at school Boys & Alba went to church at the center in the evening. Jack Matthews Did not work to day.

5 Friday Cloudy & coold Wind north & North East. Boys

30. Stoner sold his stock and farm equipment and moved to Concordia to live while judge of the probate court. Young did the same when he was elected probate judge in 1894.

at School. Jack Matthews Finished flooring Our Kitchen. Black sow Boared out by *Festus* Bought Beef .96¢

6 Saturday. Cloudy & cold Went to town with John Miller Bought over shoes 1.50 Sigars 10¢ Bitters 35¢ 2 Sack[s] flour 2.70 Medicine for Freddie 25¢ Matches 25¢ To[ta]l 5.15 Home 4 P. M

7 Sunday Clear & cold 10 Degrees above Zero. Elder Bushong and wife Had Dinner with us also Ella Stoner. Switze Goble and Davy Secrist Called in the evening going to Church. Boys & Alba went to church this evening

8 Monday Fine day. John Husking Corn. John went to John Campbells and then to Lewis Hoffman's 2 Sows Boared out this Morning by *Festus*, one yesterday. Finished Husking corn. Had about 300 Bushels, On 85 Acres. Middling Small crop for the no of acres

9 Tuesday. Good day. Went to town. Bought 2 shirts 3.00 Shirting \$1.13 cigar 5¢ Tob 40¢ sugar 1.00 Coffee 1.00 su[n]dries 50¢ Paid Taxes \$29[.]39 Box crackers \$1.00 Paper carpet Tax 5¢ = \$38.13 [?] Home 5:40 P M Thank God My taxes are paid for this Year. My taxes are \$15.00 less this year than last. Boys at School. Had a bottle of Beer With Dr Pigman

10 Wednesday. Good day Went to Dave Skeels. Had dinner with him then Went to Aurora with Dave. Had Bottle of Beer with Dr McDonald. Played High (5) Home 5 P. M. George & School Mother had racket in school. Bought Medicine 35¢, Tobacco 10¢. = 45¢

11 Thursday. Fearful day. High wind from North. Fearful Dust. Cold. Judge Stoner Moving to town Col. D A Skeels Truman Pierce Bill Henry Bolen & J S. Lillibridge Halled each a load for him. E B. Lillibridge Moved On to Judge Stoners farm. Moving to day. Boys at School.

12 Friday. Good day. Dick Reeves Plastered 1 day & Repaired the house. J. T. Henderson called this morning.

13 Saturday. Good day Went to town after dinner. Bought Paint 75¢, cigar 5 Pepper 30¢, Kerosene oil 25¢ Total, \$1.35¢ Home a little after dark. Went to Alliance Meeting at the center. 4 New Members initiated. Big Meeting. Full house. Much enthusiasm. Home from Alliance 11 P M

14 Sunday Clear and pleasant. Alba & John went to Sunday School. Ida Kellenbarger came last Night and remained over

Night. Dr Day Mrs McCasey and children visited us to day. Mrs Parvin & family visited us to day. Jack Matthews Called this evening Ira Pierce and George Secrist Called in the evening. Ira staid all night. They Just came from Arkansas and are well satisfied to Stay in Bloody Kansas

15 Monday. Cloudy & Pleasant George Greathouse Called. A D Goble Called & I make out his paper for the Alliance. Loaned him cash 50¢, for Membership fee. Boys & Mabel at School. Loaned Jack Matthews my wagon Good day Dick Reeves Called in the evening. Had Sore Arm and could not finish the plastering. I settled with him. Due Dick \$1.25 in Seed corn Next Spring. Mrs Morland Key & Bertram Called with Petition for Legislature Signed it.

16 Tuesday. Clear & cool wind North west. Plastered Bed rooms, and white washed them. D A Skeels stop[p]ed as he went by to town. Jack Matthews borrowed Our Butcher Knife. A. D. Goble Called in the evening And brought us some fresh Meat Davy Secrist Called in the evening. fearful tired to night

17 Wednesday. Fine day indeed. Wash Day. Boys at School. The Old Man stiff and sore this Morning

18 Thursday. Good day went to town with Dave Skeels. Bought Broom 25¢ Cigar 5¢ Dinner 50¢ Gloves 1.00 Stove Black 10¢ = 1.90 St. Johns F. & A. M. Festival 1.00 = \$2.90 Home at dark. John & Alba Went to Rice in eve. J t Secrist Called in the evening

19 Friday Good Day. Truman Pierce came down and went to town with me. Annual election. Paid My Dues \$4.50 cigar 5¢ Total \$4.55. Had Team in Mrs McCaseys stable. Great big time at Lodge. Fine Supper. Good feeling Made manifest during the evening. Side degrees confer[r]ed after the lodge closed. The tall cedars of Lebenon Or Building Bridges in the low land was immense. Also Corn Wine and oil, & Taylors Degree.

20 Saturday Cloudy & cool home 10:30 A. M. Met Mr Finigan who is a mason. Fine fellow. Good day. Peoples Caucus. Was elected delegate to Peoples convention Monday the 22 1890. Attended Plumb creek Alliance. 11 New Member[s] taken in. was elected delegate to co Alliance, for Jan. 3rd 1891.

21 Sunday Good day. F A Thompson and wife visited us to day. Davy Secrist Called this eve. John & Davy Went to Hen Peck in the evening to Dutch Meeting

22 Monday. Good day. Peoples Party Senatorial conven-

tion for the 32nd District Held at Concordia. S C. Wheeler nominated On first Ballot. Home a little after dark Dinner 25¢ Cigar 5¢ = 30¢ Attended Singing at the Center. Home 9:10 P M.

23 Tuesday. Good day. Was[h] Day. Went to Rice after Dinner. Played High (5) and had One Drink. bought Tea 40 Cigars 10¢ = 50¢. John Shot A rab[b]it. Home just at dark

24 Wednesday. Cloudy & cold Wind North & East. Went to town. Sold turkey 80¢ Gave George 1.00 bought Tob 40¢ Candy & Nuts 65¢ Candy & oranges 55¢, Pants 1.50 Express On turkey to Topeka 50¢ Blade for G W Delp 50¢ Blade for W W Mills Ril[e]y Ks 50¢. Total \$4.85. Had Bottle of Beer with Dr Pigman. Home 2 P. M. cold & Disagreeable

25 Thursday. Fine day but Cold. This is Christmas. *Christ* would be if living 1890 years *old*. John went to Rice for coal \$2.00 Cash. . . . Had turkey for dinner. Dr Day Mrs Mc-Casey & children and Mrs Smith & Daughter visited us and had Dinner with *us*. Fine day indeed. Warm & pleasant. Good time today. Played high (5) And George & Dr Day went hunting.

26 Friday Good day till noon & then it was fearful Wind & Dust. Hig[h] Wind North. Fearful Dust. John & George Went to Tom McHenrys after Ballot Box and Books of Nelson township. Home til noon. After Dinner John went to Jack Matthews. George and Alba went to Rice. Fearful Dust. bad day. Old Grand Pap Grove Call[ed] in the fore noon. Mrs W. B Smith went home this morning. Big Supper at Dis 8 on Oak creek tonight. A D Goble Called in the evening & played high (5) til 9 P M Bright And clear 9 P M I am now Sorry I did not go to Oak creek

27 Saturday. Good day. Went to town to hear Judge Peffer speak. Had 1 4 horse team, Banner & Motto Judge Peffer sick. John G. Otis took his place Mr Otis is congressman elect from 4th Dis. Fine speaker. Had 2 Bottles of Beer with Jimmy Flynn, 25¢, Cigars 10¢ Oil Keresone 25¢ Total 60¢. Home a little After dark. A day well spent. Good time around.

28 Sunday. Clear & cool. George Went to Carvers this Morning Wind South west. Boys and Alba went to J. T. Hendersons in the evening Kitt Goble staid with us During the evening. Jack Matthews Called during the day. Which Way is the Party Musket p[o]inting today.

29 Monday. Good day Butchered 4 Hogs. Jack Matthews helped us. Made sausage. Hard Days work Grand Pap Groves ate Dinner with us. Judge Stoner Called this evening & left a box of Cigars for the Boys tomorrow

30 Tuesday. Misty rained a little. Muggy & Disagreeable all day. Election day for State Senator, for 32nd Dis. Special election Ballot stood S. C. Wheeler Peoples Candidate 86 votes and John W Shafer Republican Candidate 25 votes. Home 7:20 P M Paid my Shear of tickets 50¢

31 Wednesday. Cloudy and cool, Misty rained a little. Disagreeable. went to town with election returns. 2 cigars 10¢, 2 Sacks flour, \$2.50 Candy 25¢ 2 lbs Nuts 25¢ [Total] \$3.10 Wheeler Peoples Candidate for State Senator elected by 1200 Majority. Home 5:40 P. M. Freddie Sick Quite unwell Fearful night 11 P. M. Raining Snowing & blowing. went to bed 11:30 P M. Stormy night.

January, 1891

1 Thursday. Fearful stormy. Snowing and blowing. High wind North west.

2 Friday Fine nice warm pleasant day. Frankie calved Heifer 11 days Over time. Boys Hunting for Rabbits

3 Friday [Saturday?] Good day. Went to town with John attended co alliance Over \$100.00 School Money deposited it in cloud co Bank

4 Sunday. Good day. at home all day.

5 Monday. cloudy & cool. Went to town sold 5 Hogs weighed 1550 lbs Docked 80 lbs = 1470 lbs Price 2.75 per Hundred = \$40.40 Bought Bed stead & springs 7.00 Dinner 25¢ Oil Barrel 1.00 Georges Shoes repaired 80¢ Cigars 5¢ coffee 50¢ Sugar 1.00 Tobacco 40¢ postage 4¢ = \$11.04 Home 6:20 P. M. Deposited 30 Dollars in Cloud co Bank, then drew Out One Dollar. In Bank to My credit to date is \$36.60

6 Tuesday. Cloudy & disagreeable Proff Sawdy Called in the after noon on his way to the center. Had Supper with us. Ida Kellenbarger with the old Man brough[t] us 4 quarter of Bull beef. Ida staid all night. The Night being dre[a]dful dark and threate[n]ing storm we did not go to the entertainment at the School house. Only the Boys from here were there. Proff Sawdy staid all night with us. We played high (5) And had *Music* til Low 12 and then went to bed. The Boys report a good time at the entertainment Home 11 P. M.

7 Wednesday. Cloudy and Disagreeable this Morning. Alba took Mr Sawdy home also Ida Kellenbarger. Bill Price Had his leg broken yesterday. John Secrist Called to day as he went by. The old Man under the Weather. Jimmy Bertram Called to day & Said Price had his leg broken.

8 Thursday. Bad Day Snowing and blowing Snowed all day. Commenced to Snow last night. Boys did not go to School today. Only one team on the road this day. Storm from East and North east Storm[ed] all day & still storming 9 P. M. The best snow this Season. Tied up & Shut up all the Stock we could get in Side.

9 Friday. Good Snow Boys went [hunting?] But did not get anything. The best snow for years. Will make Plenty of water when it melts went to Alliance meeting. But no Meeting. Home 7:45 P M.

10 Saturday. John George & Alba went to town. Gave John check for \$5.00 to pay Zimmermans tax. Cloudy & warm. Good day.

11 Sunday. Good day. Mother & I went to Bertrams in the evening. Pleasant & clear 9 P. M.

12 Monday clear and cold Went to see Bill Price & Breed [?] & Harrison<sup>31</sup> in relation to supplies for P——'s family. A. D. Goble went with me I went to Rice, then to town Had Dinner with Charley and a bottle of Beer with John Lamb. Home at dark Black Heifer & Josie Had Calves during the night

13 Tuesday. Clear & cool. Weighed Kellensbargers Beef. 180 lbs.

14 Wednesday. Good Day. John Kellenbarg[e] & family Called to day Settled With [him] for the Bull Beef. 180 lbs at 4¢ cents per pound [Total] \$7.20 Too Damed Much for Bull Beef. Due Kellenbarger \$2.20 Bull Beef. Loaned Jack Matthews, Fan, to Hall Straw. Bill Jones returned Fan in the evening.

15 Thursday cloudy & cool all day. Wind North east. Blustered & Snowed a little Boys went to Rice in the evening.

16 Friday. Good day. Clear & pleasant.

17 Saturday. John & I Went to town Also Freddie. Bought shoes for Freddie \$1.25 Mabel 1.00 over Shoes sugar 1.00 coffee 50¢ Toba 50¢ Beans 25¢ cigar 5¢, = 4.65 [?] Home 5:40

31. Harrison & Reed maintained a general store and were livestock dealers at Rice. Breed Bros. were grain dealers at that place.—*Kansas State Gazetteer and Business Directory* (R. L. Polk & Co., Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, 1891), v. VII.

P. M Alba came home with us. Went to Alliance meeting at night.

18 Sunday. Pleasant At home all day Dont feel good.

19 Monday. Good Day. Boys at School. Lizzie Bullied by John Henry Bill.

20 Tuesday. Good Day. Wash Day. Lizzy Bullied by John Henry Bill Time October 20 1891 Boy[s] at school. Jack Matthews & Gurly Spargur Called

21 Wednesday. Mother & I went to town. Bough[t] 1 Cigar 5¢, Buggy seat repaired 35¢, = 40¢. Home 6:20 P M. The old man under the weather.

22 Thursday. Good day. Wind west, & North West.

23 Friday. Cold & cloudy high wind north. Went to Rice bought 1000 lbs coal. Gave check for \$2.27 Home 3 P. M. 1 cigar = \$2.32 Kansas city Times 1.00 Envelopes 15¢ Total \$3.47

24 Saturday. Good Day Boys Halling Straw. Little spotted sow with crop off right ear boared by Festus Went to town, with J. O. McIntosh. Home 6 P. M. Alliance meeting Cigars 10¢. Paid Bolen 70¢ for Shingles

25 Sunday Good Day. Mother Alba Freddie & Mabel went to Aurora. Charley Jim Hagaman & Mr Sweet Called on [us] to day and staid for supper. started for town 7:50 P. M John went to Dis 40 to church in the evening. The old Man at home all day.

26 Monday. Fine day Visited Bill P—— a poor person. Then went to Rice. Bought Tobacco 38¢ Nails 10¢ cigar 5 = .53. Jace Cook gave me a pusk[?] Dog. Home before Dark.

27 Tuesday. Cloudy. Wind east. The old Man on the lift. Gave Bill P—— 49 lbs Bull Beef Commenced to rain 8 P. M.

28 Wednesday. Rained most of the day. Helped Georg[e] Snavelly take up and put down his pump. One of Kentuckys Smith colts Died last night. Helped Jack Matthews burry it. Boys not at School today

29 Thursday. Good Day. Wash Day. Betsy calved 14 days over time. Received news to day that John Jim Ingalls was De-feated for U S. S[enate]. and Judge Peffer was elected his successor. Thank God for that. The Boys & Alba went to Rice in the evening to the Lyceum.

30 Friday. Cloudy & cool. Went to Rice with Truman Pierce. Home 12. M. Stormed a little while Coming home. After Dinner,



it snowed furiously for awhile then Rained a little & then snowed again. At 6 P. M. Misting. Ground white with Snow.

31 Saturday. Cloudy & cool. Town Board Meeting at Township Clerks house. Home at 3:20 P. M. Grand Pap Groves Called during the after noon. Switze Goble & Davy Secrist & Lizzy [Liz-zie] Bertram Called in the evening. Too cold to go to Alliance.

February, 1891

1 Sunday clear & Cold 2 Degrees above Zero the coldest morning this winter. Grand Pap Grove Called today for his mail. Home all day.

2 Monday. Cloudy & cold- High wind North Stormy. Disagreeable. Blustery & Bad day Generally. Spitting Snow & otherwise unpretty. Fancys Calf died this morning 20 days old.

3 Tuesday. Clear & cold. High wind West. 6 Degrees above zero this Morning. Wash Day. Clock Tincker Called today and cleaned & repaired our clock & had his dinner with us. Paid him Cash 75¢. John went to Rice Bought flour 1.25 Kerosene Oil 25¢ = \$2.50 [?] Fine & Pleasant after dinner. Went to Jack Matthews & Had 3 pairs Shears Sharpened.

4 Wednesday. Good day went to town with Oda McIntosh. Had Dinner with Democrat Smith. cigars 10¢. Paid for repairing Johns watch 2.00 Total \$2.10 Drew School Money, \$85.00 Deposited in cloud co. Bank \$79.50 Paid W. S. Lillibridge school Money \$5.50. Paid Ida Barlow check on cloud co. Bank for \$35.00

5 Thursday. Good Day. fine Mother Alba & Freddie went to town. Gave Mother check for 20.00 Dollars on cloud co Bank Leaving Me in Bank \$7.33 Black cow Bullled by John Henry Bill Time Nov 5 1891 Went to S. Went to the School house to District board meeting. The director failed to put in. The Boys went to Rice in the evening. Mother got her Teeth Cost \$20.00

6 Friday Good Day. Cloudy & warm. Mother Alba & Freddie went to Dave Skeels & to Aurora. The old Man at home alone. Lizzie Bullled Sally Secrist & Ella Stoner Called after noon. Dull all Day Alone. No good to be alone.

7 Saturday. Good Day. Went to town Also John & George. Sold 7 Hogs weight 1660 lbs Price  $2\frac{1}{2}$ ¢ per pound = \$41.50 Deposited in cloud co Bank \$40.00 Dinne[r] 25¢, cigars 10¢ Tobacco 40¢ Dinner for the Boys 50¢ Total \$1.00 [?] Mrs McCassey & children came home with me. Home 6 P. M. Attended Alliance Meeting & In the Discussion was knocked out, in Good

Shape. Commenced to rain 1 P. M. Went to bed 1. P. M. [1 A. M.?)

8 Sunday. Bad Day indeed. Snowing and blowing at a fearful rate. Grand Pap Groves called this morning. Mrs McCCasey & children with us, with prospect of getting home to day. Ira Ark[e]nsaw Called today. Stormy all day, & Disagreeable

9 Monday. Clear & cold. Dr Day Came after Mrs McCCasey. Boys at home. Went to see Thomas N——'s family Poor people. Then to Rice Left Orders with J M Harrison to supply them to the amount of \$10.00 Ten dollars. Home just dark Bought cedar Pail 50¢ 1 Pair gloves 50¢ = \$1.00

10 Tuesday. Good day. Snow all Melted. Fair & Pleasant. Col. D A Skeels Sale Clerked his Sale for *fun*. Home 5:30 P. M. Everything went low. Horse no price. Mrs Goble & Mollie visited us today.

11 Wednesday. Good day. Boys and Alba went to Bertram[s] in the evening. John Killed a Jack Rabbit. Warm & Pleasant.

12 Thursday. Good Day. Mother & Alba went to town Gave Mother 25¢ Boys at School.

13 Friday. Good day. Went to George Gelino M. A. Morris & Jules Patnaude. N. Courville Went with me. Went in the interest of Judge Stoner Home 3. P M. Warm & pleasant. Boys at School.

14 Saturday. Good Day. Boys went to town after dinner. Drew 5.00 from Cloud Co Bank. Due me \$42.33 Went to Alliance Meeting at the Center. Good Meeting.

15 [Sunday.] Hig[h] wind south. John & Alba went to Sawdy. This is Georges Birthday. 16 years old today. Wind changed to north E about dark. At 8 P. M it is threatening Storm. Boys went to Hen Peck in the evening.

16 Monday. Cloudy & cold Hig[h] wind north Ida Kellenbarger called & staid all night. Mrs Matthews called in the evening. Alba sick

17 Tuesday. Cloud[y] & cold High wind north.

18 [Wednesday.] Cloudy & cold Snowed a little. went to Rice bought coal \$2.45 cedar Pail 50 Tobacco 39¢ cigar 5¢, Oil 20¢ Total \$3.24 [?]

19 Thursday. Bad Day. Rained & Snowed most of the day. Some sleet. Hard on stock. Mabel did not go to School

20 Friday Good Day. Went to town with Bolingar, & came

Home with Jack Matthews. Dr. McCCasey at home. Had a talk with Sam Scott Assistant State Alliance Lecture[r]. Had a bottle of Beer and Dinner with Ben Lake. Tobacco 10¢ cigars 10¢ Bible \$1.25 = \$1.45. Home 7 P. M.

21 Saturday. Pretty fair day. Helped Colonel Dave Skeels Move his Household goods to Aurora Will Start Sunday morning for Oklahoma. Good luck to you Dave. Went with Jack Matthews. Home 6 P. M. Attended Alliance at the center Question for discussion Resolved a high Tariff is to the best interest of the American people. I was on the negative and the Affirmative was Knocked out.

22 [Sunday.] Cloudy & cool. This is Washingtons Birthday Age 159 years Old today. N. Courville Called to day and left notes & Mort[g]ages. Paid him \$1.00 for his services Charge the Same to C. C. Stoner Paid out [of] my own pocket.

23 Monday. Good Day. Went to John Fortin's. A D. Goble Called in the morning. Also in the evening. Antony Gobiet Called. Gave Mrs H. E. T—— an order for \$3.00 Commenced to Smoke our Meet this morning.

24 Tuesday Cloudy & cold Fearful high wind north & north west. Boys at School. Bill P—— Called today. I gave him an order for \$3.00 in goods also an order for 1,000 lbs coal. Antewine Betters Called and paid Stoner's note \$20.00 in full.

25 Wednesday. Cloudy & cold. High wind north. Went to Concordia with team to Move out old Jimmy Acton on to his farm. Snowed & stormed, & Blowed. Dr E. L. Day Drove my team home, & I staid all night with Dr McCCasey.

26 Thursday. Clear and cold. 4 Degrees above Zero. Came home this Morning with Dr McCCasey. Bought Brad and Two bits \$1.00 Dr Day started hom[e] 2 P M Dr McCCasey Staid all night.

27 Friday. Pleasant til noon. Then turned cold. Blowed High wind North. Snowed. Went with Dr McCCasey to Aurora. Had good time. Played High (5) & had some beer. Dinner 50¢. hand Medicine 20¢ Flour 1.35 Tol \$2.05 Home 4 P. M. Fearful Cold & Disagreeable 10:20 P. M still Blowing & cold.

28 Saturday. This is the last day of February. Clear & cold. 5 Degrees below Zero this Morning. This is the coldest this winter. Dr McCCasey went home. John & Mother went to town. Gave Mother \$2.00. Grand Pap Groves Called today. . . .

March, 1891

1 Sunday. Fine Bright clear day. At home all day. John Henderson Taylor Burroughs Called

2 Monday. Cloudy & cold Wind East. Went to town The assessors Met to establish a basis for assesment. Had dinner with Judge Stoner. Home 6:30 P M Switze Goble Called during the evening. Mollie Cow calved from Bull in herd.

3 Tuesday. Clear & cold High wind north & north west. Dick Reeves called to day & had his road over seer business fixed up. John Burroughs Henderson Taylor Started to day for Oregon, so he said. Boys at home today. Killed 2 Rabbits to day.

4 Wednesday. Cloudy & Cold. Started out to assess Nelson town[ship]. Took dinner with F. A. Thompson. Assessed Figil [Vegil or Virgil?] Feif Frank Derias [Darais or Darrais?] sen. Victor Brimell and Adolph St. Pierre. Home after dark.

5 Thursday. cloudy & cool Assessed today Truman Pierce Willett McManimie W. H. Bolen E. B. Lillibridge J. S. Lillibridge Charles Muller Nelson Breauet Emery Greenwood Frank Ruff C. Stoner Old Grand Pap Groves Called in the evening.

6 Friday Cloudy & stormy Assessed to day Jack Matthews Henry Slutman John Miller W A Pierce, Fred & Jo Keoster A. D. Goble & Switze Goble Home 2 P. M. Q Secrists Kids Called in the evening. George Went to Rice for our Mail. Commened to Snow 7 P. M

7 Saturday. Bad day. Stormy High wind north. Disagr[ee]able day. Snow about 3 inches Best Snow this Season. Snowed & Blowed all day. Still Snowing 9 P. M.

8 Sunday Morning snow about 1 foot Deep. Clear Light wind north west. Fine big day. Bright and Clear. Thawing. Snow Mel[t]ing Boss Sonow.

9 Monday. Bright & clear Assessed Julius White L M Swope, John Fortin, stephen Breauet Jake. E. Cota E. Gardner Home 4 P. M.

10 Tuesday. Fair day Assessed J. E. Stillinger Geor[g]e Reeves Isaac Reeves G. W. Greathouse, F. Sawdy Jo Paquette Henry Paulin [Poulin?] and George Cota Home 4:30 P. M. Boys hauled in one load of ice

11 Wednesday. Snowed a little last night. High wind North & cold til noon. Fine & clear after noon. Hauled 2 loads of ice. Switze Goble Called in the evening. The Boys went to the School

house in the evening. Fine evening. Mother vis[i]ted in the afternoon with Mrs. Matthews Mrs Matthe[w]s is sick

12 Thursday. Fine til about 4 P. M Then snowed to beat the Jews Fearful snow for One hour. Assessed Theodore St. Pierre, Flavius Longtin, George J Lavalle Ed Lavalle, Mitchel Lavalle, J. B. Collette Benoine Ledoux Paul Ward Frank Richardson & Pete Stay. Home 5:30 P. M & J. O. McIntosh

13 Friday Pretty fair day. Helped Jack Matthews Kill & dress a go[?] hog. George returned John W Brocaws Ice tools.

14 Saturday. Fine day. Mother Mable & George went to town. Gave Mother \$15.00 Leaves me \$21.00 in Bank. Bought Mabel Shoes 1.50 George Suit of clothes \$9.50 2 Elbows 35¢ 1 sack Grah[a]m flour 25¢ Total \$11.60 Attend[ed] alliance at the center. Hom[e] 11 P M sick the balance of the night.

15 Sunday. Fine day indeed. Sunday School organized to day. Col. Bill A Pierce was elected Captain. May they have good luck, & convert many sinners during the summer. Betsy Ellen Bulled

16 Monday. Fine day. Assessed D. Hebert E E Moberly Mike Reginer Jo. Regnier Jo Alexander Alex Derias Frank Derias Old Lady Moisant Albert Delude G W Gill. Home 7 P M

17 Tuesday. Fair day. assessed G. Huscher Dick Reeves, Bill Reeves J A Secrist & George Snavely.

18 [Wednesday.] Bad Stormy Day. Snowed & Blowed Nearly all day. George W Greathouse Called to day asked me to clerk his Sale tomorrow. Ground covered with Snow. Bad Day. Disagreeable & unpretty. F M. Shrader was here yesterday.

19 Thursday. Good day Clerked George Greathouses Sale. Property Sold fairly well. Home 5 P. M. Mrs Naillieux & Miss Bertram Called during the Day. Assessed Giles Bertram Frank Bertram, & Empson

[20] Friday good day. Drove Bill Assessed Lheureux, Delforge Dinsmor [Dinsmore?], Andrew Pepperell Custer P Morgan, Goodreau Ward, V. D. Clev[e]land, H. D. Clev[e]land, Mrs. Hoinlin Home 6 P M

21 Saturday Good day Assessed Octave Souliner [Soulinger or Salingey?] Nelson Courville N. D. Courville Dutch Bill Max Savoy Moses Beckerd & J. T. Acton. Home at dark, on the [job?] from 8 A. M. put in 11 hours to day.

22 Sunday. Fine day. Charley came home to day. Hitched Dan to day for the first time. Arkansaw Pierce Called to day. I

paid him for building fires in school house \$2.75 The Boys & Alba at church this evening

23 Monday. Cloudy & cold High wind north east. Town Board Met in special cession, & examined Road between Sections 7 & 8 in relation to laying a road off Section line at or on Said Section. Also for a bridge across Elm creek on Section line between Sections 29 & 32. Object a new bridge. Assessed F M Shrader and F. M. Burroughs. Nelson township owes me Two Dollars for todays Service.

24 Tuesday. Stormed all day. Snowed & rained all day. Jack Matthews Called during the day. 8 P. M. Commenced to Snow. 9 P. M. big snow and Still Snowing. At home All day. Shut up and tied up every thing we could this eve.

25. Wednesday. Snowed all night and still s[n]owing 10 A. M. Snow dri[fted] badly. About a foot of snow on the level. The old Man unwell to day. Got it in the "Gut." Fearful Disagreeable and unpretty. 8 P. M. still snowing. Snow 14 or 16 inches deep. biggest snow this Season. This is the Biggest day this winter

26 Thursday. Cloudy & Warm. Boys hauling Straw. Biggest snow this Season. This is the day for Burroughs Sale. But I fear there will not be Enough to make much of a sale. Went to Burroughs Sale a failure. Snow soft and settling Home 2 P. M. Assessed Jo. B. Campbell John W Campbell and Charles Huscher. Home 8 P M

27 Friday Clear & Warm, Snow Melting. Mother & George went to town. Sold Eggs & Butter \$4.10 Bought flour \$1.20 sugar 1.00 coffee 50¢ George a hat 85¢ = \$3.55—55¢ Home 6 P. M.

28 Saturday Pretty Good day. Thawed. George and John went to Rice and Bought each a pair of rubber Boots cost 4.50 paper 10¢ Tob 10¢ New York World 1.00 Total \$5.70 Boys went to Alliance at the center.

29 Sunday. Fearful Cloudy & disagreeable til 3 P. M. then turned pleasant. Sun shineing. Snow all gone only where it is *drifted*.

30 Monday. High wind North West. Cloudy & cold. Assessed Jake Deibel [Diebel] John Trost, Henry Aumsbaugh B. E. Carver Big Jo Bertrand, Henry Price, Charl[e]y Price S. D Leonard Link Davis W W. Cook J. C. Smith John Berk and Isaac Woodruff Home 7 P M

31 Tuesday. Fine day. Clerked F. M. Burroughs Sale. Rec[e]ived 1.25 Bought cuppoard \$1.25 Home 5 P M Alba went to Rice after noon

April, 1891

1 Wednesday. Commenced to rain in the morning then turned to Snow, and snowed the Ballance of the day. French Key Called and left \$63.50 for F M Burroughs Key had Dinner with us This is a fearful bad day. Hard on Stalk [stock] of all Kinds

2 Thursday Cloudy & cold High wind north west Assessed Bill Price, Mrs Routhmier Georg[e] Layman, Lambert Detrixhe Sam Marshall, Bill Marshall, Charles Lagasse Sen. Charles Lagasse Jr. L. C. Hoffman Lewis Hoffman, Dutch Krimmel Home 6 P. M.

3 Friday Bad cold day High wind north. Assessed Joe LeClare Peter LeClare Frank Regnier J. B. Bergeron A[r]-thur Bergeron and Ferdinand Breoult. Home 6 P M

4 Saturday. Cold. Assessed Jim Ward T. S. McHenry, Char McHenry Ed McHenry, Sam Townsdin J. E. Bean, K Morgan, F Matthews Frank Boyer, Dick Hony 10. Home 7 P. M. Charley came this after noon. Went to Alliance Meeting at the Center at night.

5 Sunday. Fine Day. Mabel and Alba went to S. School. Charley went to Rice in the evening. Dave Horse Jumped on to a fence post and nearly tore his insides out. Jack Matthews sowed it up. Fearful Bad wound. Dangerous Wound.

6 Monday Fine day Assessed Bill Longtin Fred Wood I Went to town and assessed J W Harris and L D Blackwell Dr. McCases Called and Dressed Dave Horse wound Had Supper with us.

7 Tuesday Went to town Bought 2 new cultivators 33 to be paid in 10 days Drew from Bank \$5.00 Had 8 Cultivator shovels and 4 bull Tongues sharpened and 2 plow lays 1.90.

8 Wednesday. Fair day Went to F A Thompson and had him help me out on my book. Quite unwell after Dinner, Home 6 P. M.

9 Thursday. Sowed Oats used Fred Wards seeder Paid him \$1.05 for the use of it. Paid Trost 2.00 for Potatoes = \$3.05

10 Friday fine day. J C Zimmerman<sup>32</sup> came 10 a. m.

32. Zimmerman was Young's brother-in-law, and at that time lived in Noble county, Indiana.

11 Saturday Fine & warm. Went with J. C Zimmerman to his farm the Banta. Home 3:30 P M

12 Sunday. Judge Stoner & family Sally Secrist, Proff Sawdy & Wife & Grand Pap Groves Called & had Dinner with us Good visit Played high five. Good Day fine

13 Monday. Cloudy & pleasant. Went to F. M Shraders J. C. Zimmerman & Freddie went with me. George Harrowing in Oats & John Making fence. Home 10:30 A M

14 Tuesday. Rained last night Went to town J C Zimmerman Mother & Freddie with Me. Returned my assessment returns. Bill 78 Dollars for the Assessment & 6.00 Doll. for over seer of the poor. Bought Sugar, 1.00 Gave Mother \$5.00 Beer 50¢ Tobacco 50¢ cigar 10¢ Lister subsoiler \$1.50 = \$8.60 staid all night with Judge Stoner Had Dinner with Dr McCCasey. Home 3:30 P M J C Zimmerman went to Beloit & from there to Wichita.

15 Wednesday. Home 5 P M.

16 Thursday. Big rain last night. Measured road at F M Shraders. Home 12 M. Clerked Sawdys Sale after noon. Poor Sale. Everything Sold cheap. Bought crow Bar Sledge & 4 Jars cash \$2.20 Clerked his Sale for fun.

17 Friday. Fair day. Boys cut stalks after Dinner. Eve Bulled Big rain between 6 & 7 P. M. Hailed some. The old Man On *the lift*. Got it in the Sotomach.

18 Saturday. Good day. Good rain last night Went to town with Switze Goble. Mother & George went to town. John went to town after dinner Horse back. Attended Co Alliance was chairman of co[mmittee]. on credentials. also co[mmittee]. on insurance Heard V B Prather speak Bought lamp & oil can \$1.00 Hat 2.00 Paper & envelopes 1.00 Gave John 1.00 Dinner 25 cigars 10¢ Li[s]ter lay sharpened 40¢ total 5.75 Home 7 P. M. John staid all night

19 Sunday. Mother Freddie & Mabel & the old Man went to Empson. Good rain Got pie plant root. Home 6 P. M Dr McCCasey called & Staid all night.

20 Monday. Cloudy & warm. A. D Goble Borrowed my Harrow. John went to Reeves to see about Some hay. 9 P. M wind north west. John Campbell Got some cherry trees from our orchards.

21 Tuesday. Cloudy & Pleasant Warm after dinner. Mrs Matthews & Mrs Jones called after dinner. Bought Hay from Jack Matthews.



22 Wednesday. Fine day. cut stalks after dinner. Alba went to Rice After dinner. Good day.

23 Thursday. Fine warm day. Cut stalks. C. W. Townsdin Called to day. Planted Potatoes & Pumpkin seeds. Did a little of Everything today.

24 [Friday.] Clear & Bright. Fearful warm. John Plowing. George & the old Man fixing up grove vines. This is the last day of school for this Season. School no good. Money thrown away. Too *Bad*.

25 Saturday Mother & I went to town Drew from County for assessing 78<sup>00</sup> & 6<sup>00</sup> for over seer of the Poor Total 84.00 Bought Collar 2.50 lime 1.25 Bridle 1.75 Refrigerator 7.00 oil 15¢ [Total] \$12.65 Beer 1.00 Paid for 2 cultivators 33.00 Ice freezer 2.00 Advocate 1.00 K. C. Daily times 1.00 Beef 85¢ Total \$50.75 [?] Home 7 P M Attended Alliance meeting at the center in the evening

26 Sunday. Fine day. Clear & warm. wind south. Commenced to use Ice this Morning. Put ice in refr[ig]erator for the first time.<sup>33</sup> Its Dandy. John Kellenbarger & family visited us to day. Hig[h] wind North west Rece[i]ved a letter from Brother Informing me my Share of expenses in Fathers estate amounted to \$5.78

27 Monday. Good day. Commenced to list Corn. George Went to Rice. Mother & Alba went to Sheppherds Freddie & Mabel went to Matthews. Old Gentlemen Lillibridge & Wife went to Sheppherds During the after Noon. Beautiful day. Wrote to J. C Zimmerman & Thomas J. Young Bought Oil 20¢ Tob 40¢ Total 60¢. Mell foaled 8 days over time Horse colt. Gyp foaled 6 Days short Mare colt. Both Mares foaled exactly at the same time just at dark

28 Tuesday. Fine day. 2 Machine Men stop[p]ed for dinner. John listing corn. old Mares & colts doing fine. Named the colts Dudly & Maud.

29 Wednesday. Clear & Warm. High wind South. Dusty. John Listing corn. Alba went to Rice after Dinner. Hot, & getting Dry.

30 [Thursday.] Pretty good day. John listed corn. John A. Jackman & Lady visited us to day. George caught 2 Gophers. cost the old man 50¢.

33. This was their first refrigerator in Kansas. Ice was cut from the Republican river during the winter and stored for use in warm weather.

May, 1891

1 Friday Pretty fair day.

2 Saturday. Cloudy & cool. Misted rain during forenoon. Went to town with Truman Pierce J. T. Acton & J. T. Henderson. Bought Potatoes 1.35 sugar 43¢ cigar 5¢ dinner 10¢. Paid J. C. Zimmerman 8.00 Paid T. J. Young \$5.78 Lister sharpened 50¢ Gave John \$1.00 Total \$17.21 Home 6 P. M. Saw H. P. Applebough. Attended Board Meeting at School house in evening. Home 10:30 P. M.

3 Sunday Cloudy & cool Children Went to Sunday school. Mollie Goble and Switze Calle[d] during the after noon. A J Hadley Called in the after noon. Also A D Goble & Wife. Made Ice cream. Henry Price Road over Seer & son called in evening

4 Monday. Cloudy & cool George Snavelly Brought my plow home. John listed corn Turned my Horses on Grass this evening for the 1st this Season.

5 Tuesday. Cloudy & cold. Took my cattle to Harris's Pasture. Mollie & calf, Heifer Betsy Ellen & calf Bull, Ikes Jake & Buck, & Lizz[i]e. 4 Yearlings, 2 Cows and 2 sucking Calves. 8 Head John listing. George plowing. Commenced to work Mell & Gyp 1st Since having colts. Gurley Spargur Got 8 Bushels of corn for seed for Democrat Smith. Sam, Prat & Old Man Barker Called in the after noon. Mell Took the Horse 6:40 P. M. Hadleys Horse English Shire, Insurance 10.00 to insure a mare to be with foal.

6 Wednesday clear & cool Went to town with Goble Bought 4 sacks flour \$5.00. 1 cigar 5¢ Total \$5.05 Home 2:30 P. M. George & Alba went to Rice after noon John listed corn.

7 Thursday. Clear & cool. Went to Rice after dinner with Davy Secrist. Received a letter from J C Zimmerman acknowledging receipt for 8.00 Dollars for interest Also letter from Co. Clerk Proctor Notifying me to open the new road as Petitioned for. John finished listing corn this forenoon. Both Boys plowing this afternoon

8 Friday. Clear & high wind south. Went to town with Jim Wilson. Home 5:30 P. M. Boys plowing. Went to Jack Matthews in evening. John Went to Bertrands in evening for their wagon to hall hogs. Fearful Dusty & Disagreeable

9 Saturday clear & Hot in the fore noon. Cloudy & cool after noon. Went to town. sold 22 Hogs Weighed 5000 lbs, 4¢ per pound = \$200.00 Deposited the Money in Cloud co Bank. John

& George went to town. Bought 1 Barrel Sugar 321. lbs \$17.34  
Dinner 25¢ cigars 25¢ stable for Horses 75¢ Gave Mother \$5.00  
\$23.59. Home 6 P M Mother went to town with Jack Matthews.  
Home 7 P. M. Went to school house to alliance Rained a l[i]ttle.

10 Sunday. Raining. Cold

11 Monday. Dr McCCasey came last night and Staid All night.  
Bought some Hay of Truman Pierce Went with Dr McCCasey To  
Heberts Davy Allens Furgersons Rogers Snyders Then to  
Brickers Then to Aurora. Had 2 Bottles of Beer and played one  
game of Old 100. Home 7 P. M Bought a setting of Black spanish  
eggs of Furgerson. Paid 15¢, cigars 25¢ = 40¢ Dr started  
home 8 P. M. Mrs. Lareheux Called in the evening.

12 Tuesday. Good day. Planted Corn & harrowed. Got yel-  
low corn of Jack Matthews. Gave him white corn for it.

13 [Wednesday.] Fine day. Finished planting corn & Beans.  
Returned Hendersons Planter. Alba, went to Rice. Paid Truman  
Pierce cash \$2.75 for hay. Due Pierce 25¢. Loaned J A Secrist  
My Boar Hog. Fred Ward & Josiah Jackman Called in eve

14 Thursday. Fan. Took the Horse 5:35 A. M. Finished  
planting Corn yester day. Mother Alba John Mabel & Freddie  
went to town. George listing for Jack Matthews. Mother home  
from town 5 P M High wind South. Mrs D H. Judy burried to  
day in Concordia.

15 Friday. Planted Potatoes. Went to town with Switze Go-  
ble. Bought 1 Bus Potato[e]s 1.25 Dinner 20¢ = \$1.45 Home  
2:30 P. M. Pappy Barlow & Daughter Ida called to day for money.  
Paid them \$15.00

16 Saturday. Commenced to rain last night & Continued til  
Middle of foreno[o]n. Wind East. Cool. Fine rain whitch bright-  
ens all vegetation Went to town after noon with J. T. Henderson.  
Home 6 P. M. George went to Rice. Bought 200. Sweet Potatoes  
50¢.

17 Sunday. Rained And Misted Most of the day. Old Grand  
Pap Groves Called.

18 Monday. Cloudy & cool. Plowed in Orchard and dug out  
Cherry sprouts. Set 200 Cabbage plants. Everything looks pros-  
perous

19 [Tuesday.] This is the great convention at Cincinnatti.  
May it be harmonious. Good rain this Morning. Both Mares on  
a spree—

20 Wednesday. Good day. Went to town with J S Lillibridge.

Bought Tobacco 40¢, cigars 10¢ Sweet Potato plants 25¢, squash seed 10¢ Knife for Fred 5¢ Total 90¢. Home 3 P. M. Gyp Took the Horse 4:30 P. M George Snavelly had his Cow to My bull. Alba & John Went to Rice after Dinner.

21 Thursday. Commenced to rain last night 10 P. M. and rained nearly all night, and Still raining 11 A. M. Cold for the Season. Ground full of water. The ground well soaked. Bad Dismal rainy day. 9 P. M. Raining fearful hard Biggest rain in 7 years. Brought in our Mares & colts. one litter of pigs and one Brood of turkeys. Hard rain. Heavy

22 Friday Cloudy & cool. John went to Rice after dinner. And to A. J. Hadleys Paid Hadley \$40.00 Cash for the insurance for 4 colts, \$10.00 each. Too Much Money for a colt.

23 Saturday. Went to town with John & Mother. Bought 2 pair shoes 6.25 1 Wheelebarrow Scythe Snaith Whip & Whetstone 3.05¢, Beer 25¢, suit clothes \$10.00 Carbolic acid 25¢ Cigar 5¢ = \$19.80 [?] Home 7:30 P M Attended alliance at the center in evening Home 12 Midnight.

24 Sunday. Cloudy & Cool. Alba and John went to Sunday School. Alba went to Gills. Boys went to Hen Peck to church in the evening. Alba not at home 8 P. M.

25 Monday. Cloudy & cold. Alba came this after noon. Dan got in the fence and about ruined himself, Which makes one feel sick. Loaned Jack Matthews my spade & wire stretcher

26 Tuesday. Cloudy & cool high wind North east. Wash day. Fan Took the Horse 6:10 P M

27 Wednesday. Pretty fair day. Commenced to plow corn but it was too wet Mother Freddie & Mabel went [to] Grand Mother Reeves. Matt went to town. Had Our Buggy. Fred Thompson Called after dinner. The old Man was Hotter than Hell, about the Worlds fair business. Alba went to Rice after dinner. Borrowed Grand Pap Groves Cart. Mrs Harrison Sick

28 Thursday. fine day Dr McCases Called and had dinner with us. I went with him to Frank Ruffs Jim Buckleys J M Ijames. Had Supper with Jim Buckleys. Went to St. Jo.<sup>34</sup> Had 2 Bottles Beer. Started him [home?] 9 P. M. Got home 10:30 P M.

29 Friday. Fine day. Went with Dr McCases To Thompsons

34. St. Joseph post office was located in eastern Shirley township, Cloud county, approximately seven miles east and nearly a mile south of Nelson post office.—*The Official State Atlas of Kansas* (L. H. Everts & Co., Philadelphia, 1887), p. 183.

Lafe Brickers, Then to Aurora. Had dinner with F. A. Thompson Home 6 P. M.

30 Saturday. Big rain this Morning Alba & G[e]orge Went to town. John Fred, & I went to Rice. Drove Dave for the 1st time. Bought Toba. 40¢ candy 5¢ Hat 15¢ = 60¢ attended alliance at night.

31 Sunday. Cloudy & warm. Boys and Girls went to S. School. C Muller & W. A. Pierce Called to day. Thundered and lightnined and threatened rain.

June, 1891

1 Monday. Went to Town with Fred Thompson Mother Freddie & Mabel. Hard rain in town. Cigars 20¢ Beer 25¢, oil 50¢, window glass 55¢, Stable Room 25¢, = 2.35 [?] Home 7:30 P M. A man by the Name of Stewart from Salina Staid all night with us. He is a preacher. This is the day for the Worlds fair. it was rather discouraging for the G. O. P. I was Made Chairman of the Meeting. The Hay seeds were on top

2 Tuesday Fair day. Wash day.

3 Wednesday. Good day. Boys plowing corn. The Old Man howing in the garden Alba went to Rice after dinner.

4 Thursday. Cloudy & cool. Dr McCCasey called for dinner. After dinner I went with him to Jo. LeClares, Then to Montys and F A Thompson. Home 7:35 P M. Dr Staid all night.

5 Friday Great big good rain this morning. Ground full of water. Thoroughly Soaked. Thank God for it All. Went to town with Dr McCCasey. Attended lodge. Rained most of the day.

6 Saturday. Cloudy & Misty. came home with Pierce and Henderson. Bought Potatoes 65¢, Tobacco 50¢ Cigars 25¢.

7 Sunday. Cloudy & cool. at home all day.

8 Monday cloudy & cool. The Boys went to town.

9 Tuesday. Cloudy & warm Went to town. Bought Lumber \$5.28 Paid interest on 40 acres School land \$7.00 Dinner 15¢, Tobacco 10¢ = \$12.53 Home 6:30 P. M. Alba went to Rice after Dinner. Jack Matthews Called in the evening.

10 Wednesday. Cloudy & cool. Finished planting Potatoes. Alba Mabel & Freddie Went to the school house to assist in Singing for childrens day June 21st

11 Thursday. Cloudy & warm. Plowed corn. Finished plowing listed corn 1st time. Commenced in checked corn after dinner. Planted corn beans. Sent 3 letters to P O With J A Secrist.

One to Robert Hanson, one to H. P. Blake & one to C. H. Willard  
 12 Friday Good day. Warm. High wind South. Rained a little in the morning. Boy[s] Plowing corn. Alba went to Routhmiers' after noon.

13 Saturday. Cloudy & Warm. Finished plowing checked [corn] the 1st time. Mother & John went to town after dinner. Plowed Sweet corn 3rd time. Gave John \$2.00 Gave Mother check for \$10.00 for Charley. Dead loss High wind South. George went to Rice in evening, for our Mail.

14 Sunday Warm & cloudy. The children attended Sunday School at the center. Judge Stoner and family visited in Nelson to day

15 Monday. I went to town with Mother Mabel & Freddie Had dinner with Smith. Attended Exchange Meeting. Fearful Rain. hardest this Season. Staid all night with Democrat Smith. Had dinner with Dr McCCasey. Ground full of water.

16 Tuesday. Good day. Home 3 P M.

17 Wednesday. Rained hard this morning. Ground full of Water. Cloudy & cool. Alba went to Rice after dinner. Alba & the Boys attended Singing at the center in the evening.

18 Thursday. Cloudy & cool Wind north west. Wash day. F A Thompson Called Mrs George Snavelly, sick Mother & Alba went to Snavelys. John Went to town for the Dr. for Mrs Snavelly. Started 9:25 P. M Mrs Matthews Called also Mrs Jones & Miss Davis in the evening. Went to Bed 11 P. M.

19 [Friday.] Cloudy. Rained after dinner. Dr J. H. McCCasey Called in the morning. Ella Stoner Called in eve, and staid All night.

20 Saturday. Good day. Went [to] town with Mother & Mabel. Bought tacks 5¢ cigars 10¢ Beer 25¢, Neck yoke hold back 75¢ Beef 85¢ = 2.00 Bill Jones came with us. Home 8 P. M. Attended Alliance Meeting at Plumb Creek. Home 1 A. M.

21 Sunday. Clear & cool. Pleasant. This is childrens day May the Lord help and defend them. Services in Actons Grove. Home from Childrens day 4 P. M. Big crowd, and a good time. Pleasant cool day. Bill Goble & Mollie stop[p]ed with us in the evening, for 3 Hours.

22 Monday. Fine day. Boys plowed corn. Gooday Boss Young Merica called today. He is in trouble with John Stillinger

23 Tuesday. Good day. high wind South. Went to town with J. S. Lillibridge. Had Dinner with Prince the Printer. Bought

Twine \$5.00 Cigars 15¢ Tobacco 20¢, Shirt 1.00 Flour \$1.40  
 [Total] \$7.75 Home 5 P. M. Jake Matthews bought a new  
 Binder. The last Bit of ice use[d] today. Sorry indeed for it  
 I[t] was such a luxury. Too Bad Too Bad i[t]s all gone.

24 Wednesday. Clear & hot high wind South. Mother visited  
 old lady Reeves. Jack Matthews Started his Wood Binder in our  
 wheat.

25 Thursday. Good rain last night & this morning. Boys  
 plowed corn. Burried a sow, that could not pig. Sol McCray called  
 to day. Jim Bertram Mowed our Alfalfa

26 Friday Cloudy & hot. Cut my wheat. Finished culti-  
 vating listed corn the Second time. Good rain in the evening.  
 Jack Matthews cut my wheat 50¢ per acre, \$2.00

27 Saturday. Cloudy & warm. Went to town. Sold Eggs &  
 Butter 2.83. Bought Tob 40, cigars 10¢ Meet 70¢ = \$2.05 [?]  
 Home 2 P. M. Fearful hot. Boy went To Rice. Drove Tup &  
 Dave together for the first time. A J McCalister & wife called in  
 the evening and Staid all night. A. J. is co. Lecture[r] and spoke  
 at the Center. Big rain about 5 P M

28 Sunday. Cloudy & hot A J. McCalister & Wife started for  
 home 10 A. M. Wind South. Went with Alba to Rice. childrens  
 Day. Alba came home with Henderson. I went down to A. J.  
 Hadleys. Home 8 P. M.

29 Monday. Fine day. Finished plowing checked corn 2nd  
 time Picked cherries. Dr McCasey & Family Called in the eve-  
 ning and staid all night.

29 [30?] Tuesday. Fine day. Went by Alex Hadleys to town.  
 From Concordia I went to Clay Center to Attend the 5[th] Con-  
 gressi[on]al Dis. Alliance Meeting. Rail road fair 2.20 Board  
 1.00 Total \$3.20 Staid over night at the Comstock house.  
 Started to Concordia 7:20 A M arrived in Concordia 10.30 Had  
 dinner with John Lambs. Arrived home 8:20 P. M. Bought a shirt  
 in Concordia \$2.00

July, 1891

1 [Wednesday.] Home . . . June 30 drew \$60.00 school  
 money and deposited it in Cloud Bank took receipt for it. I did  
 not have check or bank book with me.

2 Thursday. Clear & warm. Sold 2 Bushels of Cherries \$2.56  
 George & Alba went to town Plowed corn after dinner. Picked 3  
 Bushels of cherries after noon. Corn full of Chinch bugs.

3 Friday. Cloudy & hot Went to town. Sold  $2\frac{1}{2}$  Bushels of cherries 1.00 Per Bus Gave Dr McCCasey  $\frac{1}{2}$  bus cherries. Home 1 P. M. Dave Coleman, John Schattlerback, & old Christ Rivir Picked cherries here to day. Boys stacked alfalfa this after noon. Had a bottle of Beer with Jack Uglow.

4 Saturday. The glorious fourth of July. George Alba and the old Man went to Wilcox Grove to celebrate. John went to clyde Rained a littl[e] in the fore noon. Good crowd. Had a good time. Broke the doub[le] tree, & had a bad mishap. Comence[d] to rain when six Miles from home and continued to rain all the way home 9 P. M still raining, & thus ends our anaversary The 115th long may she wave.

5 Sunday. Fine day. Gurly Sparger & family Called to day & picked cherries. Dr McCCasey Family and Brother Malcomb called & had dinner and Supper with us. Played a few games of old 100. The Boys & Alba went to Rogers for bug Medicine.

6 Monday Cloudy & warm. I went with George Laman to Meet Town board of center Township to divide town line between Nelson & center Townships. Center Board failed to come to time. Home 11:30 A. M. The following named picked cherries here to day. Short & Wife Mrs Uglow & Daughter Mrs Bertram & Liz Bertram, Mrs W. B Smith & Daughter. John Schattlerback passed by to day. Mrs Smith & Daughter staid all night.

7 Tuesday. Good rain last night. Cloudy & cold. High wind north. Alba & John went to Rice in fore noon.

8 Wednesday. Fine day. Went to town. Sold 2 Bushels of cherries to M. C. McCCasey \$2.00 Bought oil 20¢ coffee 25, Tea 25¢ Double tree for buggy 50¢ Scythe 65¢ = \$1.85. Home 6 P. M.

9 Thursday. Clear & warm. George Sick. Had cholera Morbus last night. Mrs Mattie Matthews Called in the evening. Finished plowing listed the third time.

10 Friday. Cloudy & cool The old Man fearful sick last night. Rained a good Shower this morning. Boys plowing Corn. The old Man unwell. Bad for the old Man

11 Saturday good day. Mother & Alba went to town. Boys Mowed weeds in fore noon. Played Ball after dinner. Mothe[r] home 5 P. M.

12 Sunday. Clear and hot. wind South & South west. Mother the Old Man, Mabel & Freddie went to Kellenbargers. Lots of People there. Among them A. D. Goble & Famlie. E. Gardner



Wife & Boy, & Several other Ladies. Home 5 P. M. Jack Matthews cutting Oats for L. M. Swoop

13 Monday. Fine day. Finished plowing or cultivating corn for this year. The old man unwell. Sister Ella Stangland arrived here 10 P. M.

14 Tuesday fine day. Cloudy & warm. George & John went to W. B Smiths fishing.

15 Wednesday. Fine day. Boys came home at noon. Caught a few fish. George Worked for Henderson after noon.

16 Thursday. Fine day. Went to town after Dinner. Bought Twine \$4.20 Picture frame \$2.00 Beef 50¢, over alls 85¢, Total \$8.10 [?] Drew \$10.00 from Bank. Home 8 P. M. Jack Matthews commenced to cut my oats after Dinner.

17 [Friday.] Good rain last night. Good Day. Cutting Oats. Sister Dawsy Called to Kiss her son, who is riding a horse for Jack Matthews Gave Ida Barlow ex School Teacher check for \$55.00 yesterday. This closes our business with the thing.

18 Saturday Good day. Went to town with Alba. Bought Twine \$1.35 Sent Alba home with the Twine. Attended co. Alliance. Was elected vice President. Dinner 25 cigars 15¢, coffee 50¢ = \$2.25 Drew from Bank 5.00

19 Sunday. Fearful warm At home all day

20 Monday. Rained all night last night. Mother Alba & Sister Ella went to town, to hear Joint discussion between Mrs Lease<sup>35</sup> & [John M.] Brumbaugh [of Concordia]. Poor Brumbaugh was not in it. Home after dark. Dr McCCasey Called and Staid all night.

21 Tuesday. Went [with] Dr McCCasey to Aurora home 2 P M. Good day Went to Jo Campbell & Dutch Price. Bill Reeves & Dutch Price called in evening. Dr McCCasey Called about Midnight, then went home.

22 [Wednesday.] Cloudy & warm. Went to town. Sold 6 Hogs weight 14.30 4.70 per hundred = 67.20 deposited in Bank \$60.00 Home 2 P. M. Boys making Hay Honey Snavelly Called 2 times to day. Borrowed my wire Stretcher & returned it.

23 Thursday. Cloudy & warm. All went fishing but the old Man. John Kellenbarger called and left some peaches apricots & Plumbs. This a lonesome day for the old Man. Home from fishing 6 P. M. usual luck.

35. Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Lease was a widely known speaker for the Populist party.

24 Friday Good day. Charley Shepherd stacked our wheat & Oats & hauled 2 loads of Hay. Paid him cash \$1.00

25 Saturday cloudy & warm Big rain last night. Went to Rice after Dinner. Had 2 plow Shares sharpened 50¢ 2 cigars 10¢ candy 10¢ Postage 6¢ = 76¢. Home 6 P. M Boys played Ball this after noon.

26 Sunday. Good day. F. A. Thompson & wife visited us to day. Rained a little in the evening.

27 Monday. Cloudy & warm. Town Board meeting to day. Boys plowed wheat stubble this after noon, Mother & Sister visited with Hendersons this day. Mother Sister Alba and Mabel spent the evening with Jack Matthews. This is his Birth Day.

28 Tuesday. Mother Sister & John went to town. Home 7 P. M 1 Sack flour \$1.20

29 Wednesday. Good day. Boys Helping Jack Matthews stack wheat. Mother Mabel Alba, Freddie & Sister visiting with Gills & Clev[e]lands. The old Man at home alone.

30 Thursday Cloudy & warm. went to Rice. Bought Bologna 20¢ fish 60¢, cigars 10¢ = 90¢. school Meeting. John Secrist Elected clerk. Home 6 P. M.

31 Friday. Boys helped Jack Matthews stack wheat. Commenced to stack at home 5 P. M. rained a little.

#### August, 1891

1 Saturday. Stacked Oats. Went to town after noon with William Lillibridge. Bought Beef 90¢ Beer 5¢ cigars 10¢ = 1.05 Home at dark. Mother & sister went to Hendersons after Supper. Henderson paid Me \$2.00 for town Service.

2 Sunday. Fine day. Judge Stoner & family visited us to day. Eli Groves Called.

3 Monday. Hot. Stacked oats. Kentucky election to day. I owe Jim Bertram for 1 day Stacking Oats.

4 Tuesday. Clear & hot high wind South. Finished Stacking Oats. Went to Ames with 3 Hogs Weight 8.70 Price  $4\frac{3}{4}$  = 38.00 Dock 70 lbs. Bought lumber \$4.80 Tobacco 45 Paper 5¢ Total \$5.30 Home 7 P M Mother Alba Mabel Freddie & Sister went to Gobles.

5 Wednesday. Rained a little bit this morning. Hot. Wind S E & S. Boys went to Hamlins. But no threshing.

6 Thursday. Clear. Mother & the old Man went to town Bought coal \$1.25 Salt \$1.60 Rope 40¢. = \$3.25 Home 8:30 P. M. Mrs Young beat the old Man out of \$2.00

7 [Friday.] Clear & hot. High wind S. Boys Helped Delforge thresh. Mrs W B. Smith & Daughter came this eve. & Staid all night. Fearful Dusty to day. I fear hot tomorrow

8 Saturday. Clear & hot went to town with Lewis Lawrence. Fearful Dusty. Home 8 P. M. attended alliance at the Center. Home 11:15 P. M.

9 Sunday. Clear & hot wind W. Subscribed for the K C Daily times yesterday \$1.00 Sister Alba & George went to Thompsons in the evening

10 Monday. Clear & hot. John went to town. Sister Alba and the Old Man went to town in the evening. Staid all night with Dr McCasey Sold 1 bus apples 1.00 1 bus crabs 1.00 Home Tuesday the 11[th], 10 A M. Bought Cinnamon 10¢ alspice 10¢, ice 25¢ = 1 sack flour 1.20 = \$1.65

11 Tuesday A little rain last night. Boys helped Moberly thresh Halled wheat with team.

12 Wednesday. Cloudy & warm. Boys helped Moberly thresh Jack Matthews Called in eve. Culp Called to day School Blacks. Attended school Meeting eve. Home 11 P M

13 Thursday. Clear & Pleasant. John helped Bill A Pierce Thres[h]. Sister Alba came from town Also Maud. Ellison our niece from Topeka. George, Mabel and Freddie went to Rice after the above named. Received a complim[en]ta[r]y Ticket

14 Friday. Went to town with Eli Groves, Co. Alliance. Chaper Mason, Met. I took the Mark Masters Deegree

15 Saturday. Good day. staid all night with Dr McCasey. Went to Aurora with Dr McDonald. Had dinner With the Dr. Dr brought me home 5 P. M. Rained a little last night. Boys helped Bertrams yesterday and to day.

16 Sunday. Clear & warm. Dr McCasey & family visited us to day. Mabels birth day. The little of the neighborhood visited with her to day. Borrowed 26½ lb Hog of J. A. Secrist yesterday. Mark H/-Y.

17 Monday Cloudy & warm. George went to town. Had the old Buggy repaired. Miss Maud went to town with George. Home 4:40 P M. John working on the road. Wash Day. Went to Goble fore noon. The old lady on the lift. The old Man not much better.

18 [Tuesday.] Clear & hot. George Alba Maud & Mabel went to the river after noon. John Helped Switze [Goble] thresh from 4 P M till evening.

19 Wednesday. Clear & hot. Mother Alba Mable Freddie, Sister & Maud went to Kellenbargers. Boys helped Switze thresh. My Shear [share?] flax 49½ Bus

20 Thursday. Clear & hot til after noon. Went [to] town Sold 44.35 bus flax seed 72¢ per bus, = \$32.03 Bought Beef 1.40, Shirting 1.35 Buggy 5.00 Peeler 75¢, Jars 60¢, Rice 25 Sacks 2.80 Pepper 20¢ Medicine 40¢ cigar 5¢. Total \$12.75 [?] Rained a little shower about Six Oclock. Home 7 P. M. Boys helped Secrist thresh. Mrs G W Gill and J T Acton Called to day.

21 Friday. Good rain after noon. Threshed 420 bus Oats

22 Saturday. Cloudy & cool. Did My threshing Rye 18 Bus Wheat, 59 Bus. . . . 77 [x] 3 \$2.31 Oats 931 Bus [x] 1½ \$13.96 Oats. \$2.31 wheat & Rye, [Total] \$16.28 Paid in full, 22nd This day. Sold 1 load [o]ats 55 Bus 22¢ = 12.08 Mr & Mrs Sawdy called & staid all night

23 Sunday. Clear & cold Mother Alba Mabel & Freddie and sister visited on the top of the twin mounds.<sup>36</sup> George took Maud to town, this forenoon.

24 Monday. Clear & cool. high wind south. Boys helping Henderson thresh. John in Jack Matthews place. Wash day.

25 Tuesday. Good day Boys plowing for wheat. I went to town with Alba & Sister. Bought, Paint 75¢ Tin ware 1.00 Buggy repaired 4.00 Cans 2.20 Tobacco 40¢ coffee 50¢ Lye 10¢ Matches 25¢ ice 20¢ Brush & putty 20¢, = \$9.60 Home 9 P. M.

26 Wednesday. Cloudy & cool. Rained a little During the day. Lady Empson called During the day. Lady Matthews a little better. Boys plowed. Ordered 206 feet iron inch pipe Force pump head, and 8 barrel tank from Lyman Coleman. Total \$29.64

27 Thursday. Cloudy & cool Helped Ike Woodruff thresh for C M Shepherd ¾ day Boys plowing. Grand Mother McManimie & Mrs J. T. Henderson visited us this after noon. Mother & sister Called on Lady Matthe[w]s in the eve.

28 Friday. Good day. Boys Finished plowing flax ground. Boys & I went to town after Dinner. I staid in town all night, and took The Paster Master and most exc[el]lent Masters Degrees Paid \$10.00

29 [Saturday.] Clear & warm. Dinner 35¢, cigars 10¢ =

36. Twin Mounds are located in Nelson township in sections 23, 26 and 27 of T. 6, R. 2, and were embraced in the farms of Charles Muller, W. B. Brisbine and D. Hebert.—Edwards' *Atlas of Cloud County*, p. 29.

\$10.45 Came home with Switze Goble 5 P. M. Boys helped C. M. Shepherd thresh.

30 Sunday. Good day. Dr. McCCasey and family called to day & had dinner with us.

31 Monday. Clear & hot. Went to Concordia in the morning Drew School funds \$9.00. Home 12 M. Went to Ames after dinner Home 7 P M. Failed to get limb at Concordia or Ames. Sister started for Home, Wichita. Boys helped Swope thresh. Alba and John went to Aurora with *Sister*.

September, 1891

1 Tuesday Clear and hot high wind S. Boys helped W. B. Lillibridge Thresh John helped  $\frac{1}{2}$  day for Jim Bertram. Mother & Alba & Freddie went [to] town.

2 Wednesday. Good day. John and the Old Man went to the fair. staid at night with Kentucky Smith. John Swanson called in the evening.

3 Thursday. Goodday. George and Alba went to the fair. The Baloon assension was grand. Home 6:15 P M. Spent 20¢ to day for cigars. Mother [to?] Truman Pierce 9 P. M Mrs. Pierce sick

4 Friday good day. Mother Mabel Freddie and the old Man went [to] the fair. Staid all night with Dr. McCCasey. Went with Dr. to Byrnes to See [a] sick Horse Home to Drs. 2 P. M.

5 Saturday. Good day. Attended the fair. Home 6:30 P M

6 Sunday. Brought my cattle from Harris'es Pasture. Paid Harris check (cash) \$8.40 cattle in good condition. Loaned Jack Matthews Some whiskey.

7 Monday. Cloudy & cool. Jim Bertram mowed all day. Sprinkled a little in the eve. Looks gloomy for haying. George went to Reeves in eve for Bull Rake. Mother & John went to town. John started to School at Concordia. Mother hom[e] High twelve. Dr. McDonald Called to day. Mrs. Matthews no better, this eve. Gave Mother \$10.00

8 [Tuesday.] Commenced to rain last night and rained all night & all or nearly all day to day. Gloomy, bad on new mown hay. Peeled apples.

9 Wednesday. Cloudy & cool. George helped at School house Mother went to Matthews, Mat a little Better.

10 Thursday. Cloudy & cool. Worked at the hay, spread & dried it. George went to Reeves in the evening. Mother was Called

to C. M. Sheppherds in the eve. Mrs Sheppherd took very sick Cider Mill returned by Sear.

11 [Friday.] Made hay, Jim Bertram & Ike Reeves helped. Went to town and to mill 4 Bushels wheat. Flour 134 lbs & 50 lbs Brand. John came home with team. Staid all night with Dr. McCCasey Took the Royal Arch degree which is immense. Went to Bed 4 A. M.

12 Saturday. fine day. Got medicine from Dr. Rains. Home 5:30 P M. Boys made hay.

13 Sunday. Fine day. John went to town with Judge Stoner. Mother & Alba visited at Truman Pierce's in evening. Gather[ed] Some Peaches.

14 Monday. High wind Wash day. Tried to make hay. Jim Bertram mowed  $\frac{1}{2}$  day & helped  $\frac{1}{2}$  day. Ike Reeves helped  $\frac{1}{2}$  day. Fearful wind.

15 Tuesday. Clear & warm. Made hay. Jim mowed  $\frac{1}{2}$  day & helped  $\frac{1}{2}$  day. Ike Reeves helped 1 day. Finished mowing.

16 Wednesday. Clear & high wind South west. Ike Reeves helped  $\frac{1}{2}$  day. Paid Ike cash for  $3\frac{1}{2}$  day[s] cash \$3.50 Lady Reeves appeared for Peaches. Fearful wind.

17 [Thursday.] Clear & high wind south. Fearful dusty. Went to town. Bought cans 90¢ Tobacco 40¢ Coffee 50¢ cigar 5¢ Beer 25¢ Total 2.10 Home 7 P. M

18 [Friday.] Clear & hot. High wind South W. S. Lillibridge returned my wagon. Dr. McCCasey & family visited with us to day. Mrs W. B. Smith Called to day for Peaches. John Blackledge was here to day. John came home this evening. Sent Fan to town for John to come home with. But John came home with Willet Mc[Manimie]. So Fan is in town. George helped Henderson.

19 Saturday went to town and home til noon Bought cans 2.70 Tobacco 40¢, wax 15¢, cigars 5¢ Books 80¢ oil 20¢ = \$4.30 Attended Peoples caucus at the Center was elected delegate to Peoples Convention. Thundered & lightened. Threatened rain, Made a big fuss but no rain. Attended Alliance at the Center. No Alliance. Home 9:30 P. M

20 Sunday. Cloudy & cool. George took John to town. Old Man & Willard Lillibridge Called in the evening. Will start for the Promised land tomorrow May good luck go with them.

21 Monday good day. Worked on the road  $\frac{1}{2}$  day. Cut corn

after noon. J. O. McIntosh & Frank Richards Called this after noon. George Started to School this morning.

22 Tuesday. Good People's Party Convention. Did a good job at it. Dinner 25¢ cigars 25¢ Total 50¢. Went to town with Henderson. Came home with C. Muller, 7 P. M.

23 Wednesday Clear & fearful wind south. Wind Mill gave out in tower, Lyman Coleman Called to day. Finished the Peach business to day.

24 Thursday. Cloudy. High [wind]s til no[o]n. Then wind turned to west & north. Sprinkled a little. Loaned Matthews cider mill. Fixed my wind mill. George & Alba went to the Center to Singing.

25 Friday. Cloudy & warm. Went to Ames. Bought lumber 3.25 Went to Rice after noon. Paid Freight on pipe & pump \$2.97 Alba Mother and Freddie went to town. Home after dark. Dr. Else made cider

26 Saturday. Cloudy & rained a little. Had C. M. Shepherd Ike Reeves & L. M. Swope helping make ditch for pipe. Paid Ike Reeves cash \$1.00 Sam Demers called and had Supper with us & made [a] speech at the Center & Staid all night with us. Rained a little during the night.

27 Sunday. Cloudy & cool. John went to town with Sam Demers, Truman Pierce called

28 Monday. Cloudy & cool wind north. Weaned the colts. Lyman Coleman came after noon.

29 Tuesday. Good day. Finished up the pipe & tank. Due Baxter Springs Mill company for 211½ feet iron pipe 6½¢ per foot 1 tank \$8.25 1 pump head 8.00 1 union 25¢ 1 valve 1.00 & 2 other things 50¢. Total \$31.75 Freight on the above \$2.97 Due the company \$28.78 To be paid in 60 days

30 Wednesday. Cloudy & high wind South, Went to Rice bought coal and Lime \$1.42 went to Hoffmans for School seat irons. Took them to School house. Got a little Sand at School house. Repaired the well after dinner. Jack Matthews called in eve Old Dutch Hunt called also Julius White.

October, 1891

1 Thursday. Commenced to rain last night and rained all day. Bolinger called to day. Ground full of water. Alba took Mabel to and from School.

2 Friday. Cloudy & warm. Elias Lillibridge called also John Harris, & Borrowed my cider mill. Dr. McCCasey Called in eve-

ning. I went to town with him. Rained before we got to town. Attended Lodge, Staid all night with Dr.

3 Saturday. In town, rained all day. Drew \$10.00 from Bank. Paid for cigars 20¢ umbrella \$1.00 gave John 1.50 Book 40¢. Rail road fair 18¢ Tobacco 40¢ Total 3.61 [?]

4 Sunday. Bright & clear. Came home. George & Freddie met [me] at Rice.

5 Monday. Cloudy & cool. Cleaned Seed wheat. George Staid at home from School. Goplip [Gottlieb?] Huscher called. Jack Matthews Borrowed my wagon. Budwiser moved his goods into F. A. Thompson's House, then returned to Matthews. George went to Rice in evening. Commenced to rain 6:30 P. M. Bad night

6 Tuesday. Rained last night Painted the Buggy. Elias Lillibridge made cider, settled with Dick Reeves as Over Seer Dis. No 3

7 Wednesday. Fine day. Went to town with J. B. Collett, Home with Grand Pap Groves. Made return of Road over seers reports to County Clerk. Had dinner with Judge Stoner. Bought cigars 15¢, Book 10¢ Tobacco 10¢ Sewing Machine repairs 19¢ = 54¢. Alba went to Rice [in] after noon. Tried to drill in wheat but it was too wet.

8 Thursday. Cloudy & cool. Wind north. Drilled wheat. I helped Jack Matthews thresh half day.

9 Friday. Clear & cool. I helped Jack Matthews thresh, Finished Drilling wheat.

10 Saturday. Good day. John helped Jack Matthews finish threshing. Worked for George Lamon after noon. George and the Old Man dug Potatoes [in the] after noon. Mother went to town. Attend[ed] Alliance meeting at the Center. Dr. McCasesy Judge Carnahan & Judge Stoner spoke. The Old Man was made chairman of the meeting. Mother brought Frankie McCasesy home with her.

11 Sunday. Clear & high wind South east. Alba went to Sunday School. Judge Stoner came out from town John went to town on Walker's express. Mother Alba & Mabel went to Kellenbargers [in the] after noon. George went to Rice after noon. George and Alba went to church in the evening. Jack Matthews Called in the evening to borrow my wagon Sum more.

12 Monday. Cloudy & cool. High wind north. Town Board met on town of Shirley to divide Said town line. Home 4 P. M.



Sam Demers and C. W. Dutton called & Staid all night. Rained and Spoiled the speech.

13 Tuesday. Fine day. Killed a hog. Returned J. A. Secrist 26 lbs [of pork] Borrowed last August. Blackwell Willett McManimie and J. A. Secrist called. Loaned Sam Demers my Scrap Book.

14 Wednesday. Good day. Went to town on train and from there to Minersville with Dr. McCassey. Made speech Home to town with Sam Demers 12:30 Staid all night with Demers.

15 Thursday Clear and cool Settled with Jack Matthews for Harvesting 14.00 for Beef \$1.10. Jack bought horse collar for the one he borrowed a year ago. Came home with Jake 3 P. M. Church social at the Center last night. Davy Secrist bought new Buggy and harness. Loaned my wagon seat to Budd. The seat returned in the evening

16 Friday Went to town with J. T. Henderson. Attended Co Alliance. Went down to Meredith to hear Savary speak went with Hon. S. O. Everly, staid all night with Jim Flynn.

17 Saturday. Morning at Jim Flynn's. Went with him to A. J. McAllisters, and from there to C C Eyes. Had dinner there. Then went to Miltonvale and back to Eye's & there met Savary & Mosher. Had Supper at Eyes. From [there] to School house 103 After the meeting 10:15 P M Started for home. Arrived home 1:15 A. M.

18 Sunday. Good Day. John Lamb & Family, Dr. McCassey and Truman Pierce visited us to day. John went to town with Dr. McCassey. This is Mother's Birth Day she being 46 years old. May she live to enjoy many more birth days. This is also our 26th Anaversary.

19 Monday. Good Day. Commenced to gather corn. That is to crib corn. Made cider and apple butter. Hen. Bolen called this morning. Borrowed Henderson's copper Kettle to boil cider in. Dr Else made cider last Saturday. Proff Sawdy Called Truman Pierce called in the evening

20 Tuesday. Clear & Pleasant. George Husked corn, I went to Rice after noon with William Lillibridge. Dug sweet potatoes. George & Alba went to Singing at the Center, in the evening

21 Wednesday. Clear and Pleasant. Went to Ames with 2 loads of Oats 102 Bushels at 23¢, = \$23.46 Bought coal 680 lbs 20¢ = \$1.36 Lumber \$4.76. Home 3:30 P M Borrowed Jacks wagon. Loaned Mrs. Jack my Buggy. Jack returned my Buggy

and Borrowed my wagon. Returned Jacks wagon. Alba went to town with Mrs. Henderson. The infernal republican lumber yard at Ames beat me out of 28¢.

22 Thursday. Good day. Wash day. George Husked corn. Paid Truman Pierce cash \$2.95 for Beef. In full [payment] for all demands to date

23 Friday. Good day. Went to town with Rye & wheat wheat 14.50 bus. 64¢. Rye 13.20 Bus 63¢ = \$17.94 [?] Bought gloves \$1.50, Tobacco 75¢ Gave Mother \$10.00 nails 25¢, cigar 5¢. Paid Jim Hagaman cash \$1.00 for years Blade, 100 lbs flour \$2.50 1 shirt \$1.50 Total \$17.55. Mother was in town with me. Home 6:30 P. M. Found W H Savary and W. A. Mosher [Populist] candidate for Treasure[r] was at our House. John came home. Went to speech at the Center. Home 12:30 P. M.

24 Saturday. Good day. Boys husking corn. Attended Township Caucus, at the Center. Charles Muller nominated for Trustee, G. W. Laman for Clerk J. T. Henderson, for Treasure[r], J. O. McIntosh for Constable & J. W. Campbell for Constable. J. E. Bean Jack Matthews Dick Reeves and J. O. McIntosh over seers. Caucus Harmonious throughout. The repubs did not Stand much show.

25 Sunday. Good day. Hinman, Bolinger<sup>37</sup> Couch and Alexander Passe[d] by and called.

26 Monday. Good day. Town board meeting at George Laman's. Mother went to town Home 1:30 P. M George Husked corn.

27 Tuesday. Good day. Made fence, George husked corn. Lew Cabels & wife had Supper with us and attended the Alliance. Home 11:15 P M I gave \$5.00 to Aurora Alliance Exchange, or rather I loaned them \$5.00

28 Wednesday. Clear & warm. Dr. McCCasey called after dinner and spayed 9 Sows. George & Alba went to Rice in the evening to hear W. H. Savary speak. Paid Jim Bertram cash \$4.00 Due Jim \$3.00 Went to Hendersons in the evening. Henderson paid me \$2.00 Balance due me on Trus[tee] business.

29 Thursday. Good Day. Went to town [in] after noon with Mother & Alba. Alba came home. Mother & I went with the R. A. Mason[s] to Superior Neb. to a Masonic festival. Attende[d]

37. A. H. Bolinger was the Democratic candidate for county commissioner for the second district.—Concordia *Daylight*, November 17, 1891.

Chapter R. A. Masons there (2) teams went through. Grand & elegant Banquet. Good time all around. Back to Concordia 6 A. M. Bill to Superior for Mother & the old Man \$4.40

30 Friday Came to Rice from Concordia cost 35¢ Home 12 noon. John came home from town 6.30 P. M

31 Saturday. Good day. Boys Husked corn til noon then Hauled hay and dug potatoes. Attended Alliance meeting at the Center. Home 10:20 Paid Jim Bertram cash \$3.00 on haying.

November, 1891

1 Sunday. Cloudy & cool. Mother, Mabel, Freddie, Alba & the Old Man visited with Proff Sawdys. Home 5 P. M. Johny went to town this after noon. Cut and dehorned my bulls yesterday. The first dehorning I ever did.

2 Monday. Cloudy & cool. Made cider & Picked apples. Rained a little in evening. Went to Geor. Laman's in the evening to finish town report. School mother called in the eve.

3 Tuesday Election day. Disagreeable all day, cloudy and unpretty. Big falling off in P. P. [Populist party] vote from last year if this falling off hold[s] good over the co it will elect the repub. ticket.

4 Wednesday. Went to town with election returns, went with L. M. Swope and returned with him. P. P. Ticket elected. The repubs blue about the "gills."

5 Thursday good day. Attended rail road meeting at Hen Peck. Was made chairman. Home 9:15 P M

6 Friday Good day. Went to town with T[ruman] Pierce Bought Toba. 15¢ Brush 25¢ oil 55¢ whiting 20¢ cockeye 5¢ = \$1.20¢ Home 5:30 P. M

7 Saturday. Good day. Went to Aurora after dinner. Home after dark. George & Alba went to Millers to Surprise Mattie Matthews John failed to come home last night or to day.

8 Sunday Cloudy & cool. High wind north. Fearful Dusty & Disagreeabel. Truman Pierce also Arkansaw Pierce called to day.

9 Monday. Clear & Pleasant. Worked on Rail Road. My 1st work on rail road. I must Say I am not struck on that Kind of work. Wash Day.

10 Tuesday. Worked on the R. R. Cleaned House. Mollie Goble helped us at the house cleaning. Wind change[d] to north in the evening and rained a little. Col. George Huscher returned

from Colorado, Albert Woodruff & family returned from California Lizza Had calf Heifer 4 days over time.

11 Wednesday. Cold & Fearful Windy & dusty. Bad cold and disagreeable day. Went to town after noon. Staid all night with Democrat Smith. Home at noon. Snowed

12 Thursday. Clear & cool. Home 12 m. Went to Aurora after dinner. Home 5:30 P. M. Mad[e] partial arrangements to buy corn at Aurora for Smith Sidwell and Smith.

13 Friday Cloudy & cool. Made fence. George went to town after noon. Sold a load [of] corn 28 bus 28¢ per bus = \$7.84 Boys bought shoes \$5.25 John came home with George, Home 7 P M

14 Saturday. Cloud[y] and disagreeable. Boys hauled hay and Husked corn. Old gentleman Hoffman Was buried age 77 years.

15 Sunday. Bad disagreeable day John went to town

16 Monday. Cloudy & cool. Went to town staid all night Drew \$10.00 from Bank. Bought pair gloves 50¢ George coat & vest 2.00 Glass 30¢ lamp chimney. Staid all night with Judge Stoner.

17 Tuesday Went to Aurora and commenced to work [for] W. B. Smith & Co.

20 Saturday [Friday?]. Cloudy and misted and rained. Sister Sybilla came from California. Alba came to Aurora for me. Arrived 6:30 P M

21 Saturday. At Aurora Turned fearful cold in the evening.

22 Sunday cloudy & cold High wind north west. Took John to town and then went to Smiths. Jo Freeborn & Somebody els[e] Called to day. Cloudy & cold in the eve.

23 Monday. Fair day. Sold 12 Hogs weight 2950 Price 3.40 = \$100.30

23 [24?] Tuesday I pulled 30 bu of corn a small day's work for the boss. [This was written by George.]

24 [25?] Wednesday Husked corn poor business for me begolly. [Written by George.]

25 [26?] Thursday Thanksgiving day I went over to Aurora after Pa in the eve. had turkey for supper pretty good stuff bought nails at Aurora 25¢ [Written by George.]

26 [27?] Friday good day John took Pa. over to Aurora this morning & took Aunt Sybilla this eve. John almost peetered out. [Written by George.]

December, 1891

14 This is my last [day] for W. B. Smith & Co. Buying grain at Aurora. Rained yesterday and last night, and nearly all this forenoon. Met Mr. Smith at Aurora and made settlement and quit. Home 5:30 P. M. Ground full of water. George at School. Our corn Husker came in this evening. Bought lumber Cash \$6.75 Dinner 20¢ Total \$6.95 Wind North and threatens Storm.

15 Tuesday. Cloudy and disagreeable, worked all day repairing gates and fences, sold 3 steers for \$51.00 to be delivered in Concordia 17th, 1891. Spotted Sow Boared by festus. Benson Morgan Called in after noon Wanted to buy steers.

16 Wednesday. Cloud[y] and Disagreeable. Went to town with Benoni Ledoux. Home 4 P. M. George & Alba went to Aurora in the evening. The old man went to Henderson's in the eve.

17 Thursday. Good day. Took my steers to Concordia. They weighed 2555  $2\frac{1}{4} = 57.48$  Bought 2 Bridles \$3.50 crackers \$1.75 oil 15¢ Gave George \$1.00 oysters 80¢ Freddie \$1.15 Total \$9.15 [?]

18 Pretty good day. Mother and I went to town with Truman Pierce & wife. Attended Lodge and Banquet. Good time all around. Mother and I staid all night with Dr. McCassey. Paid my taxes for this year 1891 \$39.00 Bought suit [of] clothes \$17.50 New Tongue for buggy 2.25 Total \$58.75 Hom[e] 11 A m Paid corn Husker \$14.00 for  $11\frac{1}{2}$  days Husking *corn*. John & George & corn husker went to Rice in the evening

20 Sunday. Good day. This is my 49th Birth Day. George took John to Rice Alba went to George Lamans his wife being very sick George went to church.

21 Monday. Mrs. Laman Died this morning. I went to town with Truman Pierce for coffin Home after Dark. Rained a little in forenoon, Cold and Disagreeable after noon. Wash Day. The old Lady quite unwell. Bought whiskey 10¢ cigars 10¢ Dinner 15¢ = 35¢ Paid G. A. R. Dues \$2.00 which releases me from all liabilities from Concordia Post G. A. R. 9 P. M. High wind West. Disagreeable

22 Tuesday. Pretty fair day. George Mother Freddie & Alba went to town. Alba started for Lincoln Neb. Gave Alba Cash \$8.00 The old man at home alone. Mrs. Laman buried today at St Peter. Mrs John A Jackman Died last night. Mabel at School George went to Gobels in the evening.

23 Wednesday. Good day Went to Aurora. Bought coal \$3.37 Home 3 P. M. A. D. Goble went to Aurora with me. & home with me.

24 Thursday. Went to town after Dinner. Bought candies & nuts for the children John & Frankie McCCasey came home with us. Fanny and Dr came later. Helped Jack Matthews Kill and dress a beef in forenoon. Attended Christmas tree at the center, in the evening.

25 Friday. Cold. Snowed last night. High wind west. Turkey for dinner. I went with Dr to town His family staid at our house. Attended Chapter. Fearful cold. After Chapter Meeting had lunch & Beer Saw Billy Conner from Scandia. Staid all night with Dr.

26 Saturday. Pretty fair day. Went to Aurora from Concordia. Paid my chapter dues while at Chapter meeting Friday evening \$1.00 Had dinner with P Miller. John came after me at Aurora George took Mrs. McCCasey home. Dr and the old Man both sick. home from Aurora 5:30 P. M.

27 Sunday. Pretty fair day. the old Man unwell.

28 Monday. Good day. the old Man down sick. Had Dr McDonald in the night. The old man sick.

29 Tuesday. Good day. Killed Beef John Henry Bill. Old man sick and put in a bad night. John went to Aurora in the evening. Alliance Meeting too sick to attend.

30 Wednesday. Good day. Boys finished Husking corn. Wash day. The old man better. Am right glad of it.

31 Thursday. Pretty fair Day. Boys & mother went to town. Sold 1 load corn Sold Dr McCCasey 185 [lbs.] Beef at 5¢ per lb = \$9.25 Also 2 Bushels of Flax seed at 1.70 Per bus = 3.40 Making payment to Dr McCCasey \$12.65 Wind Changed about 8 P. M. and got cold. This is the last day of the old year. Good by old Year. You havent been a failure. *Come Again.*

[Part Three Will Appear in the November, 1946, Issue]

## Bypaths of Kansas History

HIS SLIP SHOWED

From *The Independent*, Oskaloosa, October 11, 1873.

The Fair ground track on the south side is cut down for a short distance so that it cannot be seen by persons on the north side, where the crowd usually congregates. But the married man who rode around the ring with a woman who was not his wife and employed his time on that part of the track by hugging and kissing her, should have reflected that the fence has very large cracks in it! Keep dark!

---

### EITHER WAY THEY GOT IN THE CORN

From *The Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, October 12, 1873.

Work at the state printing office has closed for the present, and will not be resumed again until the heads of departments furnish more copy. This will enable the compositors to harvest their corn and potatoes.

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### ONE WAY OF DOING IT

From the *Girard Press*, February 24, 1876.

In an obscure corner of this county (if any place in the county *can* be obscure) lives a young man who was troubled with a ring, too tight for his finger. To remove it he adopted the original plan of shooting it off with his revolver. He made a perfect success of it, but the probabilities are that the doctor will have to finish the job of taking off the finger.

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### LIVESTOCK ON KANSAS AVENUE, TOPEKA, IN 1876

From the *Topeka Daily Blade*, July 29, 1876.

A herd of sheep probably 250 or 300 were being driven along the avenue when at the corner of 6th they saw Will O. King's dog and in order to evade him took the sidewalk on the west side. The dog seeing the sheep coming, became frightened and ran in the book store, and the sheep followed in after him. As is customary with sheep they crowded and scrambled to get in, and the sight was so funny that a large crowd soon collected, enough in fact to have taken a sheep apiece and carried them out. But strange enough there was not a man in the crowd but that was afraid to take ahold, afraid they would bite. The back door of the store happened to be standing open, and the sheep were easily driven through without doing any damage, except what can be repaired with a broom. King's store is the pleasantest thoroughfare in the city, at any rate runaway horses, sheep and cattle generally seem to have a weakness for it.

## Kansas History as Published in the Press

A story of the Communist colony which settled at Urbana, Neosho county, in 1877 and 1878, by W. W. Graves, was printed in the *Chanute Tribune*, January 5, 1946. Four issues of the colony's newspaper, *The Star of Hope*, are on file in the Kansas State Historical Society's newspaper collection.

Wellington newspapers have printed a number of articles on local history in connection with the city's diamond jubilee being celebrated this year. The seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of Wellington is being observed with a series of public events scheduled from April through August 24, 1946. The *Daily News* published an article February 7, on the organization of Sumner county. It was based on material in the files of the Wellington chapter, D. A. R. The *Monitor-Press* printed a series of 12 historical articles between January 31 and April 22, 1946. Some of the subjects were: "Settlement of Wellington," "Wellington's First Business Firms," "Many New Settlers Arrive in 1876," "Many Social Events in 1878," "Wellington Triples During 1879," "Beginning of the Boom," and "Wellington Loses Southwestern College."

"Cultural Interests in Kansas" was the subject of a talk by Miss Anna Carlson before the Round Table Women's Study Club at Lindsborg. The text of the speech appeared in the *Lindsborg News-Record*, February 21, 1946.

The Luray Methodist church celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the erection of its first permanent building, February 17, 1946. A historical sketch of the church was published in the *Luray Herald*, February 28. Services were held for a number of years in private homes and in the schoolhouse prior to the building of the first church in 1896.

An episode in a Texas cattle drive through Saline county in 1869, was recalled in *The McPherson County News*, McPherson, February 28, 1946. It was written by Carl G. Lindholm, who at the age of five settled with his parents in southern Saline county.

The *Kingman Journal*, established March 8, 1888, observed its anniversary in March, 1946. Founded by S. H. Snider and O. P. Fuller, the newspaper was first published under the name *Voice of the People*. The founders announced the policy of upholding the principles of the Union Labor Platform. The name was changed to the *Kingman Weekly Journal* by a subsequent editor, John A.



Maxey, who published the paper in the early part of 1890. The word "Weekly" was later dropped from the title. Edwin Bronaugh is the present publisher.

Included among articles of historical interest to Kansans in recent issues of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* were: "Humor and Playfulness of Dr. [Charles M.] Sheldon Revealed in Prized Letters to Friends," by Margaret Whittemore, March 29, 1946; "Shelter Belts Alter Old Time View of the Treeless Prairies of Kansas," April 18, and "Cattle Driven Over Chisholm Trail in '60's Helped Break a Meat Shortage," by Cecil Howes, April 26; "This 'Town of Kansas' [Kansas City, Mo.] Took Its First Firm Step Just a Century Ago," by Edward R. Schauffler, April 28. Articles in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* were: "Weird [Wind-Driven] Wagons That Might Have Been, Turned Kansans Against Liquor, Perhaps," by Edward R. Schauffler, April 3, 1946; "Mount Oread's Carillon Will Bring Type of Bell Music New to Kansas," by Bill Mahoney, April 13; "A Santa Fe Trail Honeymoon Recorded in Bride's Diary of Mexican War Days," by Edward R. Schauffler, April 19; "White's Book and a Pastor's [Oliver M. Keve] Letter Recall Senator Burton of Kansas," by Cecil Howes, May 2, and "Three Sisters' Defense of [Indian] Cemetery [in Kansas City, Kan.] Continued for Nearly Forty Years," by Henry Van Brunt, June 7.

W. W. Graves, editor of the St. Paul *Journal*, resumed publication of his series of articles entitled "History of Neosho County," in April, 1946. Recent subjects, and dates of publication, include: "Grasshopper Plagues," May 2; "Ferries," May 9; "Drouths," May 16; "Storms" and "Neosho River Floods," May 23; "Flood Control Movements," June 6, and "Ghost Towns," June 13, 20, 27, July 4.

A letter written by Col. D. R. Anthony August 17, 1857, after an inspection journey through northeastern Kansas was quoted by George Remsburg in the Atchison *Daily Globe*, May 16, 1946. Another article by Mr. Remsburg entitled, "Notes of the Early Days in and Around Atchison," was printed May 2.

The experiences of H. T. Hineman, pioneer of Lane county who increased his acreage from 320 to 13,000 in 60 years by producing livestock and wheat, were reviewed in a three-column article in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Daily Drovers Telegram*, May 9, 1946.

Hutchinson celebrated the seventy-fifth anniversary of its founding with a four-day "Diamond Pow Wow" May 15-18, 1946, featured by street entertainment, pioneer and industrial parades, and a his-

torical pageant. The arrival of a pony express, which left St. Joseph May 12 with a packet of letters, opened the celebration. The event included a wedding on horseback and a golden wedding ceremony honoring more than 100 couples, all of them married more than 50 years. The longest-married couple on the stage was Mr. and Mrs. Charles Kingman of Walnut township, Reno county, who have been married more than 66 years, the Hutchinson *News-Herald* reported. Three pages of pictures taken during the celebration were featured in the June 17 issue of *Life*.

The fight between Gum Springs (now Shawnee) and Olathe in 1858 for the county seat of Johnson county was briefly reviewed in the *Johnson County Herald*, Overland Park, May 30, 1946.

The Baxter Springs *Citizen* issued a historical edition on May 30, 1946, as a memorial to the war dead of the community. It contained pictures of Baxter Springs men who lost their lives in World War II, a photograph of the federal monument in Baxter Springs cemetery in memory of the 135 men who lost their lives in the Quantrill massacre there in 1863, and a photograph of General Blunt's band, which was wiped out in the massacre. The historical sketch of Baxter Springs was based largely on a thesis written by Mrs. A. T. St. Clair. Other articles featured the histories of the city's churches, clubs and newspapers.

A list of pioneers who settled in Ness county between 1872 and 1880 was printed in the *Ness County News*, Ness City, June 13, 1946. It was compiled from the registration at the old settlers' reunion held at Ness City, June 5 and 6. Thad Levan, who settled in the county in 1872, has lived there longer than anyone else who was present. Gov. Andrew F. Schoepel was a reunion speaker. Historical articles in the annual reunion edition of the *Ness County News*, May 30, included: "Ness City Library History," by Edna Robison; "Early History of Ness County," by Ellen Maguire; "Thad Levan Recalls Beaver Creek Battle," and "Early Day Industrial Development Halted by Sugar Mill Fire in 1890," by George A. Borthwick. Other topics included a story of the life of George Washington Carver; homesteading in Ness county in 1879, by L. T. Miller, and the history of "Dutch Flats," by Mrs. Minnie Dubbs Millbrook. A roster of Ness county officers from 1880 to 1946 and a list of Ness county discharged veterans of World War II were also published in this issue.

## Kansas Historical Notes

Lawrence voters on April 2, 1946, approved a \$325,000 bond issue for a new city building which will provide quarters for the Douglas County Historical Society as well as veterans' organizations and the fire and police departments. Sponsors of the project pointed out that the new structure will provide room for a museum to preserve items of historical value now scattered over the city.

A description of old Shawnee Friends Mission was given by Dr. Charles Loomis at a meeting of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society at Merriam, April 22, 1946. The mission was located on property long owned by the Loomis family and the site is in the present Merriam community. Loomis also mentioned the town of Gum Springs, now Shawnee. The present name of the latter town was derived from the Indian tribe. Mrs. Pauline Van Hercke and others spoke on Catholic churches and schools of Shawnee township at the March 25 meeting of the society held at Shawnee.

Chancellor Deane W. Malott of the University of Kansas addressed a dinner of the William Allen White Foundation in New York City, April 24, 1946. Chancellor Malott said the foundation was planned to provide "realistic teaching material" for the school of journalism and public information at the University of Kansas. Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower was guest of honor at the dinner. Other speakers included Sen. Arthur Capper; Frank E. Tripp, general manager of Gannett newspapers; A. D. Willard, Jr., executive vice-president of the National Association of Broadcasters, and Francis Harmon, vice-president of the Motion Picture Producers' Association.

The Ness County Historical Society is planning to erect markers in memory of Dr. George Washington Carver, one upon the quarter section of land south of Beeler which the famed Negro scientist homesteaded in the late 1880's, and the other on nearby K-96 highway. Dr. Carver was for years head of agricultural research at Tuskegee Institute.

Preliminary steps for the organization of the Decatur County Historical Society were taken at a meeting at Oberlin, May 22, 1946. Temporary officers chosen were: H. Q. Banta, president; E. R. Woodward, vice-president; Ben Miller, secretary, and Dr. A. J. Thomsen, treasurer. Temporary officers plan to call a county-wide meeting to complete a permanent organization.

The 100th anniversary of the arrival of the ill-fated Donner

party at Alcove Springs in present Marshall county and the death of Mrs. Sarah Keyes was observed by the Marysville D. A. R. May 26, 1946, with commemorative services at the historic camping grounds on the old California-Oregon road seven miles south of present Marysville. In 1941 the Kansas state legislature memorialized the National Parks Board to make a national monument or historic shrine of the Alcove Springs area, but as yet no action has been taken.

A marker at the site of Lamb's Point, one-half mile east of Detroit, Dickinson county, was dedicated June 14, 1946, with Charles M. Harger of Abilene, former president of the Kansas State Historical Society, giving the dedicatory address. Lamb's Point, named for William Lamb, was the seat of the county government for a time in the late 1850's, and was a stopping place on early stage lines. The memorial was erected by the Dickinson County Historical Society and members of the Lamb family.

Citizens residing in Riley county 50 or more years were honored at a basket dinner and program sponsored by the Riley County Historical Association at Manhattan June 16, 1946. The featured speaker, Alvin Springer, Manhattan attorney, discussed early days in Kansas. Walter E. McKeen is president of the association.

Former students of old Garfield University, 1887-1890, the predecessor of present Friends University, of Wichita, unveiled a bronze tablet at the university on June 18, 1946, commemorating the establishment of Garfield University. A bronze plate was fastened to the door of a room which is to serve as a Garfield memorial room.

The histories of Crawford county's Catholic churches and patriotic organizations and the story of Washington Irving's trip across the county were highlights of the summer meeting of the Crawford County Historical Society at Pittsburg, June 20, 1946. Dr. O. P. Dellinger is president of the society and Mrs. C. M. Paris is secretary.

Miss Stella B. Haines, president of the Augusta Historical Society, has announced that the society's museum will be open to the public each Sunday afternoon during the summer. New postal cards of the museum are on sale.

The Dodge City Historical Society has contracted for the purchase of show cases for its museum objects. They will be placed in a Southwest Fair building until permanent space is available in the new municipal auditorium.

Plans are being made to organize a Shawnee County Historical Society. Paul B. Sweet, of Topeka, is temporary treasurer.

More than 100 articles from the museum of the University of Wichita have been lent to the Wichita Public Historical Museum for display at the forum. Some of the larger pieces are an ox yoke, a wheel for fixing wool in strands, a cradle for cutting wheat and a loom with pedals. Museum hours are 1:30 to 4:30 p. m., Tuesdays through Saturdays. Mrs. Frank Slay is curator.

Aerial views of business districts and industrial sites in 16 Kansas cities are included in a 220-page, illustrated volume, *Kansas Industrial Properties*, recently issued by the Union Pacific Railroad Company. The book features pictures of buildings and maps of industrial sections, together with data on area and population, major industrial activities, labor, climate, railroads, industrial power, water and gas, financial institutions and natural resources. The state's general industrial activities, potential resources and transportation are also discussed. Kansas cities described in the volume are: Kansas City, Elwood, Leavenworth, Lawrence, Topeka, Manhattan, Marysville, Junction City, Clay Center, Concordia, Abilene, Salina, McPherson, Russell, Hays and Ellis.

The new 136-page book, *Wichita People*, issued by the Wichita Chamber of Commerce, is an excellent review of Wichita in pictures and story. In addition to the sections devoted to the activities of Wichita citizens, there are thirty-two pages filled with photographs of articles manufactured or produced in the city's metropolitan area.

*Fifty Years of Secondary Education in Oxford, Kansas* is the title of a 151-page history of Oxford Rural High School prepared and written by members of the 1945-1946 office-practice class and E. Esther Griswold, teacher. The high school was organized as a two-year course beginning in 1895. The school's 1946 annual, *Oxford Wildcats*, also observed the golden anniversary by publishing historical sketches of the athletic teams and pictures of teams and classes of earlier years. Views of the first school buildings were included.

*Seventy-five Years of Kansas City Livestock Market History* is the title of a 40-page booklet issued by the Kansas City Stock Yards Company. The growth and development of the livestock market is sketched in three 25-year periods and is illustrated with drawings and photographs of early structures and photographs of the present yards and offices.

Kansas cities and towns are again issuing colored illustrated folders or booklets featuring their business and community life and historical background. Included among the cities whose booklets have reached this Society are Topeka, Smith Center, Lawrence and Phillipsburg.

An illustrated 52-page booklet, *Wealth in Depth—The Minerals of Kansas*, has been issued by the Kansas Industrial Development Commission, Topeka. The publication features pictures of mineral formations and products, and geological and ground water supply maps. A folder, *Kansas Horizons*, was also recently issued by the Development Commission. It contains pictures of the Kansas state flag, flower, bird, and statehouse in colors and discusses the state's productive record under the heading, "Kansas, the Balanced State."

*Birds in Kansas* is the title of a 340-page book published in March, 1946, by the Kansas State Board of Agriculture. The author is Dr. Arthur L. Goodrich, Jr., of the department of zoölogy of Kansas State College. In addition to six sketches of Kansas birds in color by Margaret Whittemore, there are numerous other illustrations. Also featured are a list of colloquial names and "finding lists," which consist of tabulations of more common Kansas birds by habitat, by time of year or residence, and by their major colors.

A 326-page book, *General George Crook—His Autobiography*, edited and annotated by Martin F. Schmitt, was published in March, 1946, by the University of Oklahoma Press, Norman. General Crook spent his military career, excepting the four Civil War years, in Western United States and was commanding general of the Department of the Missouri, "the largest and most active of all frontier commands," at his death in 1890.

The Social Science Research Council of New York City has published a 177-page bulletin entitled *Theory and Practice in Historical Study: A Report of the Committee on Historiography*. Subjects include "Grounds For a Reconsideration of Historiography," and "Problems of Terminology in Historical Writing," by Charles A. Beard; "Controlling Assumptions in the Practice of American Historians," by John Herman Randall, Jr., and George Haines, IV; "What Historians Have Said About the Causes of the Civil War," by Howard K. Beale, and "Selective Reading List on Historiography and the Philosophy of History," by Ronald Thompson.

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### THE COVER

"Custer's Last Fight," the Adams-Becker picture lithographed by Anheuser-Busch, Inc., St. Louis, through whose courtesy it is reproduced.



# THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XIV

November, 1946

Number 4

## The Pictorial Record of the Old West

### IV. CUSTER'S LAST STAND—

JOHN MULVANY, CASSILLY ADAMS AND OTTO BECKER

ROBERT TAFT

(Copyright, 1946, by Robert Taft)

WHAT painting—or its reproduction—has been viewed, commented on and discussed by more people in this country than has any other? Rosa Bonheur's "The Horse Fair"? Landseer's "The Stag at Bay"? The "September Morn" of Paul Chabas? Willard's "Spirit of '76"? "Washington Crossing the Delaware" by Emanuel Leutze? Hovenden's "Breaking Home Ties"?<sup>1</sup> Doubtless each amateur connoisseur will have his own candidate for this position of honor but the writer's nominations for the place are two figure paintings of the same subject, John Mulvany's "Custer's Last Rally" and Cassilly Adams' "Custer's Last Fight." Mulvany's painting, completed in 1881, was for ten or a dozen years, displayed, known, and admired throughout the country. Chromolithographic copies

DR. ROBERT TAFT, of Lawrence, is professor of chemistry at the University of Kansas and editor of the *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*. He is author of *Photography and the American Scene* (Macmillan, 1938), and *Across the Years on Mount Oread* (University of Kansas, 1941).

For a general introduction to this pictorial series, see *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, February, 1946, pp. 1-5.

1. Note that portraits have not been included in the above list. If such pictures were included, mention should be made of Whistler's "Mother" and Gilbert Stuart's "Washington." The story of Willard's "Spirit of '76" will be found in an interesting privately printed item of Americana by Henry Kelsey Devereux, *The Spirit of '76* (Cleveland, 1926). I mention this fact because "The Spirit of '76" is probably the closest competitor for the author's candidates of popular favor, yet it is not mentioned in such histories of American art as Samuel Isham's *The History of American Painting* (New York, 1927), nor in Eugen Neuhaus, *The History & Ideals of American Art* (Stanford University, 1931). Neuhaus, however, does point out (p. 143) that when Hovenden's "Breaking Home Ties" was exhibited at the great Chicago Fair of 1893 "the carpet in front of it had to be replaced many times; it was easily the most popular picture of that period." Many years later the same picture was exhibited in San Francisco and St. Louis and was apparently as popular as ever.

The "September Morn" of Chabas attracted tremendous attention, partly because of the activities of Anthony Comstock, when it was first exhibited in this country in 1913 as can be seen by examining the *New York Times Index For 1913*. The widespread attention was but temporary, however, for "September Morn" is remembered now only by oldsters who were impressionable youths at the time of its first appearance. The other paintings listed above are such well-known favorites that further comment seems unnecessary.

of the painting can still be occasionally found. The Adams painting, done in the middle 1880's, was lithographed in modified version by Otto Becker and published by the Anheuser-Busch Company of St. Louis in 1896 and is still distributed by that concern. Copies can be viewed in barrooms, taverns, hotels, restaurants, and museums throughout the country. It is probably safe to say that in the 50 years elapsing since 1896 it has been viewed by a greater number of the lower-browed members of society—and by fewer art critics—than any other picture in American history. To be more specific, the writer on a bus trip to St. Louis in the summer of 1940, stopped for rest and refreshment at a tavern in a small mid-Missouri town. On one wall of the tavern, a busy rest stop for bus lines traveling east and west, was "Custer's Last Fight." Each bus that came to rest disgorged its passengers, many of whom found their way into the tavern. As each group entered, some one was sure to see the Custer picture with the result that there were always several people—sometimes a crowd—around it, viewing it, commenting on it, and then hurrying on. Probably hundreds of people saw this picture every month. When one considers that 150,000 copies have been published and distributed (*see* page 383) since the picture was first published in 1896, it is evident that "Custer's Last Fight" has been viewed by an almost countless throng. Kirke Mechem, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, tells me that a reproduction of the painting in the Memorial building close to his work room, is likewise viewed by a constantly changing daily audience. The picture fascinates all beholders, for after viewing it and passing on to examine other pictures and exhibits, return is made to see again "Custer's Last Fight." "It is the most popular by far of all our many pictures," reports Mr. Mechem.

Why? The scene is totally imaginary, for no white witness survived the Custer tragedy. Postponing for the moment the detailed consideration of Mulvany's and Adams' masterpieces, it can be pointed out that the fundamental reason for the popularity of these pieces is the event itself, the event centering around the great climactic of Custer's life.

Doubtless the name of George Armstrong Custer will be the center of controversy as long as this country honors its military heroes. Few individuals in the nation's history have had the spectacular and varying career that became Custer's lot. At 23 he was a first lieutenant in the United States army assigned to General McClell-

lan's staff who were then assembling the famed Army of the Potomac. Overnight Custer rose from first lieutenant to brigadier general of volunteer cavalry. Two years later, he was a major general. The close of the Civil War brought almost as abrupt downward changes and nearly disaster to his fortunes. From major general to captain, from hero to deserter were his downward steps. The desertion was followed by suspension, but eventually reinstatement to his regiment (the 7th cavalry organized in 1866) started him again on his upward way. At the battle of the Washita against the Plains Indians in 1868 he again gained the eye of the nation. It was not long, however, before he incurred the displeasure of President Grant and was ordered detached from his command. At the last moment the order was rescinded and as lieutenant-colonel in command of the 7th cavalry, he led his command in that long-remembered battle above the Little Big Horn river on July 25, 1876. On the bare Montana uplands of that bright and burning summer day, Custer and his immediate followers entered Valhalla with a drama and suddenness that left the nation shocked. Not a man in that group survived as the Sioux and their allies gave battle. Small wonder that the tragedy of the Little Big Horn has been told by writer, poet and painter in the days since 1876, for here are the elements that should rouse imagination. Indians, the great West, the boys in blue, great tragedy and no living white observer to witness the culmination of a spectacular career.

And imagination has been used. So much so that it is difficult to trace the events of that day. Students of Custer and of the battle of the Little Big Horn have appeared in number. The event still attracts attention and each contribution, as it has appeared, has been almost immediately the subject of extensive adverse criticism or praise.<sup>2</sup>

2. To the writer's mind, the most satisfactory biography of Custer is Frederic F. Van de Water's *Glory-Hunter* (Indianapolis, 1934). No sooner had it appeared, however, than it was the subject of violent and bitter criticism. No less a person than Gen. Hugh Johnson, of N. R. A. fame, despite a very obvious lack of knowledge, launched an attack on the book.—"General Johnson Rides to the Defense," *Today*, December 29, 1934, p. 16; see, also, the *New York Times*, December 27, 1934, p. 19, col. 6; December 28, 1934, p. 20, col. 4 (editorial); January 4, 1935, p. 20, col. 6. That the subject of Custer and the battle of the Little Big Horn is one of perennial interest is shown by the fact that in the last 25 years the index of the *New York Times* reveals that discussions, notices, letters, articles, etc., have appeared over 40 times. The most extensive bibliography of Custer material will be found as an appendix to Fred Dustin's *The Custer Tragedy* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1939, 251pp.). Mr. Dustin lists nearly 300 items in his bibliography which scarcely touch the truly voluminous mass of newspaper material on Custer which has accumulated since 1876. *The Custer Tragedy* bears evidence of painstaking and exhaustive work and is one of the most valuable sources of information on the battle of the Little Big Horn available to the student. Other Custer items that have come to the writer's attention since the publication of the Dustin book are: Charles J. Brill, *Conquest of the Southern Plains* (Oklahoma City, 1938), a severe criticism of Custer's Washita campaign; Edward S. Luce, *Keogh, Comanche and Custer* (St. Louis, 1939); Katherine Gibson Fougere, *With Custer's Cavalry* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1940); Charles Kuhlman, *Gen. George A. Custer—also called Custer and the Gall Saga* (Billings, Mont., 1940), by a real student of Custer's career; F. W. Benteen, *The Custer Fight* (Hollywood, Cal., 1940),

Pictures of Custer's Last Stand have not often been the subject of serious consideration. The student of art, if he has ever condescended to look at such pictures, politely sniffs the tainted air because, it is true, few of such pictures have any artistic merit. There are, however, some exceptions as will be subsequently pointed out. The professional historian, since such pictures must be, as we have already observed, figments of the imagination, relegates them to the limbo of worthless things. It remains, therefore, for the interested busybody who has nothing else to do to consider their worth, if worth they have. As historical documents, pictures of Custer's Last Stand are admittedly worthless,<sup>3</sup> but any product of man's endeavor which has attracted the attention of millions of his fellows must certainly have some worth. Such pictures have kindled imagination and speculation, have developed observation and criticism<sup>4</sup> and have renewed and aroused interest in our past. In any well-rounded system of history, then, the consideration of such pictures has a place, even if a humble one. Are they not closer and more vital to our American way of life than is Chinese art or the primitive masters? If the art historian or teacher feels that it is his duty to improve the artistic sense and taste of his fellow man, why cannot "popular" pictures—rather than being held up to scorn—be used as a starting point in such a program of education? The wide appeal of such pictures would insure a large audience and therefore a more fertile field for the zealous in art. The strength and weakness of such pictures are easily pointed out and interest in art might be readily stimulated by this method rather than by the use of more conventional ones. Or if this suggestion does not meet the approval of teachers of art, one might make a further suggestion and remark to the reformers: "Here is a subject which has been of national interest for many years. Let's see how your imagination and talents would depict this or similar scenes in a manner befitting the high standards of the profession."

It can, however, be pointed out that there is now available abundant source material for the critical examination of such pictures

published by E. A. Brininstool, another Custer student; William Alexander Graham, *The Story of the Little Big Horn* (sec. ed., Harrisburg, Pa., 1942), a standard work the first edition of which was published in 1926; Albert Britt, "Custer's Last Fight," *Pacific Historical Review*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, Cal., v. 13 (March, 1944), pp. 12-20, undocumented; Fred Dustin, "George Armstrong Custer," *Michigan History Magazine*, Lansing, v. 30 (April-June, 1946), pp. 227-254, a biographical review.

3. See the classification of pictures suggested in the general introduction to this series, *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 14 (February, 1946), p. 2. Pictures of the Custer battle would be classed in the second and fourth groups there given.

4. It is worth a few moments of anyone's time to listen to the critical comments and the discussion of detail not immediately apparent, which result as groups of observers, both young and old, cluster around Adams' and Becker's "Custer's Last Rally."

if the observer is so inclined. Maps and photographs of the terrain upon which Custer fought his last battle are accessible to the interested critic or artist as are details of equipment of both Indians and soldiers.<sup>5</sup> Description of many incidents, for which there is good evidence, are also available.

Dustin, one of the careful students of the battle of the Little Big Horn, writes in this connection:

Pictures have a proper place in history, provided they are true to life, and many have been painted and drawn of "Custer's Last Battle" and related scenes. In some of the most thrilling, officers' and men are represented fighting with sabers and clothed in full dress uniforms, the former with shoulder knots, cords, and aquillettes, and the latter with brass shoulder scales. Custer himself has been depicted arrayed in a short jacket, an enormous red tie, and long red hair falling over his shoulders. In fact, not a saber or sword was carried in this fight, and the dress was the ordinary fatigue uniform, although some of the officers, among them Custer, wore comfortable buckskin coats. The men were armed with the Springfield carbine and Colt or Remington revolver, while many of the officers had rifles of different patterns, belonging to them personally.<sup>6</sup>

Custer's long hair, mentioned above by Dustin, had been cut before his last campaign,<sup>7</sup> and it seems possible from accounts of surviving Indian participants of the battle, that Custer fell early in the final stages of the fight,<sup>8</sup> although some artists have depicted him as the final survivor.<sup>9</sup> It is true that the body of Custer was found near the summit of a ridge overlooking the Little Big Horn river surrounded by the bodies of 40 or 50 of his men and of many horses. Dustin describes the scene as follows:

Custer himself was lying on the slope just south of the monument, face upwards, head uphill, right heel resting on a dead horse, his right leg over a dead soldier lying close to the horse. The right hand was extended and looked as though something had been wrenched from his grip. The body was stripped but not mutilated in any way, and it was with difficulty that the wounds were found which caused his death. One was in the left side of the head through the ear; another on the same side under the heart, and a third in the right forearm.<sup>10</sup>

5. For those who wish, examination of the battlefield itself would be in order. According to Dustin, *The Custer Tragedy*, p. xi, some changes in the course of the Little Big Horn river have occurred since 1876 but the general features of the landscape, of course, remain the same.

6. *Ibid.*, p. xiv. Reprinted through the courtesy of Mr. Dustin.

7. *The Tepee Book* (Sheridan, Wyc., June, 1916), p. 50.

8. *New York Times*, June 19, 1927, p. 13, col. 2.

9. The absurd pictorial climax of the Warner Brothers picture of 1941, *They Died With Their Boots On*, shows Custer, the final survivor, surrounded by a group of prostrate soldiers arrayed in new and scarcely wrinkled uniforms; see *Life*, December 8, 1941, pp. 75-78.

10. Dustin, *The Custer Tragedy*, p. 185; see, also, p. 184. The monument mentioned by Dustin above is one erected on the summit of the ridge overlooking the valley of the Little Big Horn river and is part of the Custer Battlefield National Cemetery, Crow Agency, Montana. On the monument are inscribed the names of those who fell during the battle. For the topography of the battle site, see the reproduction of the Morrow photograph of 1877 oppo-

For Indian equipment and costumes there is available the extensive description of the Cheyenne warrior, Wooden Leg, who took part in the battle.<sup>11</sup> According to Wooden Leg, warbonnets were worn by 12 of the several hundred Cheyenne warriors present, of which 10 had trails.

Not any Cheyenne fought naked in this battle. All of them who were in the fight were dressed in their best, according to the custom of both the Cheyennes and the Sioux. Of our warriors, Sun Bear was nearest to nakedness. He had on a special buffalo-horn head-dress. I saw several naked Sioux, perhaps a dozen or more. Of course, these had special medicine painting on the body. Two different Sioux I saw wearing buffalo head skins and horns, and one of them had a bear's skin over his head and body. These three were not dressed in the usual war clothing. It is likely there were others I did not see. Perhaps some of the naked ones were No Clothing Indians.<sup>12</sup>

Wooden Leg also described his own preparations for battle, "I got my paints and my little mirror. The blue-black circle soon appeared around my face. The red and yellow colorings were applied on all of the skin inside the circle. I combed my hair. It properly should have been oiled and braided neatly, but my father again was saying, 'Hurry,' so I just looped a buckskin thong about it and tied it close up against the back of my head, to float loose from there."<sup>13</sup>

For weapons Wooden Leg had a six-shooter and lariat, and his war pony had a blanket strapped upon its back and a leather thong looped through its mouth. Bows and arrows, however, were the usual weapons of the Indians, many securing their first guns from their fallen enemies.<sup>14</sup>

Indian witnesses of the battle have also reported important incidents of the tragic fray which artists of the event could—or have—used in their portrayal. Many of the attacking Indians advanced up numerous side gulleys thus protecting themselves from the fire of the soldiers.<sup>15</sup> In this manner, the total losses among the Indians

site p. 376. This photograph, by S. J. Morrow of Yankton, Dakota territory, is one of a group of 12 photographs made by Morrow, at the interment of the Custer soldiers in June and July, 1877.—See Robert Taft, *Photography and the American Scene* (New York, 1938), p. 307. The burial party which Morrow accompanied consisted of Company I of the 7th cavalry under the command of Capt. H. J. Nowlan. Captain Nowlan's command reached the military cantonment on the Tongue river on the way to the Custer battlefield on June 20, 1877, and after completing the burial returned to the cantonment on July 13, 1877.—*House Executive Documents*, 45 Cong., 2 Sess., *Doc. No. 1*, Part 2 (Washington, 1877), v. 1, pp. 540, 544, 545. Further description of the burial party of 1877 will be found in Joseph Mills Hanson, *The Conquest of the Missouri* (Chicago, 1909), Ch. 44.

11. Thomas B. Marquis, *A Warrior Who Fought Custer* (Minneapolis, 1931). Dr. Marquis has made a contribution of first rate importance to Custer literature in recording in simple language the story of Wooden Leg. Chapters VIII, IX, and X are devoted to the battle of the Little Big Horn.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 245. Reprinted by permission of the copyright owners, The Caxton Printers, Caldwell, Idaho.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 219.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 224, 230, 243.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 229-231.

were kept exceedingly low considering the magnitude of the engagement. Only about 30 Indians were killed,<sup>16</sup> but the portion of the 7th cavalry under Custer's immediate command, which was wiped out, numbered some 220.<sup>17</sup> If many of the Indians fought dismounted, probably a greater number on horseback circled the fight. "We circled all round him [Custer]" is the brief statement of Two Moon, another Indian survivor. Two Moon also recalled that "The smoke [over the battlefield] was like a great cloud, and everywhere the Sioux went the dust rose like smoke."<sup>18</sup>

Several of the paintings of the Custer battle have apparently utilized another recollection of Two Moon. "All along," states Two Moon, "the bugler kept blowing his commands. He was very brave too."<sup>19</sup> The bugler was doubtless Chief Trumpeter Henry Voss, killed in action.<sup>20</sup>

Still another incident of the battle which has not yet found its way into any picturization of Custer's final hour, as far as the writer knows, was the recollection of Rain-in-the-Face, a Sioux, still another survivor. Rain-in-the-Face told Charles A. Eastman, the well-known Sioux writer, that Tashenamani, an Indian maiden whose brother had just been killed in an engagement with General Crook shortly before the battle of the Little Big Horn, took part in one of the charges against Custer. "Holding her brother's war staff over her head, and leaning forward upon her charger, she looked as pretty as a bird. . . . 'Behold, there is among us a young woman,' I shouted. 'Let no young man hide behind her garment.'" <sup>21</sup>

Scalping of the dead and dying soldiers, depicted in some of the pictures of Custer's Last Stand, was a fact. Known mutilation of the dead soldiers' bodies, however, was the work of boys, women and old men when the field was won for the Indians.<sup>22</sup>

Much more might be written concerning factual aspects of the battle but what has been written above will enable us to make some judgment—if we must stick to facts—in the various portrayals

16. *Ibid.*, p. 274. Marquis also attributed the low losses among the Indians to extensive suicide among the troops.

17. Dustin, *The Custer Tragedy*, p. 184.

18. Hamlin Garland, "General Custer's Last Fight As Seen by Two Moon," *McClure's Magazine*, New York City, v. 11 (September, 1898), pp. 443-448.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 448.

20. Dustin, *The Custer Tragedy*, p. 225.

21. Charles A. Eastman, "Rain-in-the-Face, The Story of a Sioux Warrior," *The Outlook*, New York, v. 34 (October 27, 1906), pp. 507-512. Rain-in-the-Face also stated that Custer fought with "a big knife [saber]." Two Moon (Garland, *loc. cit.*) reported a trooper (possibly a scout) who "fought hard with a big knife." These statements, as against the statement of Dustin (see page 365 of text) that no sabers were used, are difficult to reconcile and indicate some of the difficulties in obtaining specific facts with certainty at this late date. It should, of course, be noted, that the statements of Two Moon and Rain-in-the-Face are recollections made many years after the battle of 1876.

22. Dustin, *The Custer Tragedy*, p. 188; Marquis, *op. cit.*, Chapter X; Eastman, *loc. cit.*

of the battle scene; or the brief review, made above, might indicate the way for some artist of the future whose talents, ambition and imagination might lead him to attempt another version of Custer's Last Stand.<sup>23</sup>

Since the Mulvany and Adams paintings and the Becker lithograph are by far the best known of this group of battle paintings, their history, with some information concerning the artists, will be given in some detail. We shall then follow the discussion of these two paintings by a listing, and brief description, of other pictorial records of the same event.

### JOHN MULVANY

Mulvany, an Irishman by birth, was born about 1844 and came to this country when 12 years of age. As a boy, after his arrival in New York City, he worked around the old Academy of Design and evidently picked up some training in drawing and sketching. Judging from the meager information concerning his early career, he joined the Union army at the outbreak of the Civil War and continued his sketching in the field. At the close of the war he had enough money to take him abroad, where he became an art student in the famous centers of Dusseldorf, Munich, and Antwerp. He achieved considerable success as a student, winning a medal for

23. For the reader who wishes to review briefly the main features of the battle of the Little Big Horn the following summary may be useful:

During the summer of 1876, a vigorous and three-pronged campaign was planned by the U. S. army in an attempt to force the Plains Indians back to their reservations. One prong, led by Gen. A. H. Terry, came into present Montana from the east and reached the mouth of the Tongue river, where it empties into the Yellowstone river, early in June, 1876. Here, after some delay, the Seventh cavalry under Lieutenant Colonel Custer (Col. S. D. Sturgis, the commanding officer of the Seventh, was on detached duty) was sent south by Terry to locate any concentrations of hostile tribes supposed to be in the open country of southeastern Montana. It was this move that led to the fateful engagement.

About 12 or 15 miles from the scene of battle General Custer divided his command, the 7th cavalry, into four battalions, two of which were commanded by Custer personally, another was commanded by Major Reno and the fourth by Captain Benteen. At the time the division was made, the 7th cavalry was on a small tributary of the Little Big Horn. Captain Benteen's battalion was detached and ordered to move to the left and to scout and engage any hostiles encountered. Custer's and Reno's battalions proceeded down the tributary toward the Little Big Horn but on its opposite sides. Upon nearing the Little Big Horn, Reno received orders from Custer to advance across that stream and attack the Indians who were now believed to be close at hand in force. Custer turned to the right before reaching the Little Big Horn and soon found himself cut off from Reno and Benteen and overwhelmed by the Indians in the hills overlooking the river.

Reno, meanwhile, had encountered, after making contact with the Indians, such stiff resistance that he fell back to the river and was finally forced to re-ford it, taking refuge in the high bluffs above the river where he was joined by Benteen's command. Here the combined battalions were able to hold the Indians at bay for two days until relieved by General Terry and the infantry under his command. Reno's and Benteen's losses amounted to nearly 50 killed and a somewhat larger number wounded. "The defense of the position on the hill [by Reno and Benteen]," reads the official report of the court of inquiry, "was a heroic one against fearful odds."

This brief outline of the action of the 7th cavalry on July 25-27, 1876, is based on "General Orders No. 17," March 11, 1879, a report of the court of inquiry requested by Major Reno. It will be found quoted in Dustin, *The Custer Tragedy*, p. 210. Casualties of the 7th cavalry during the above days will be found in Appendixes II and III of *ibid.*, pp. 225-230. The dead of Custer's immediate command totaled about 220.—*Ibid.*, p. 184.

Despite Reno's and Benteen's *successful* defensive stand against the overwhelming numbers of the Indians, the heroic action "against fearful odds" has scarcely attracted the attention of any artist.



excellence at Munich. At Munich he was a student of Wagner and of the famous Piloty, well known for his historical paintings, including a number of battle scenes. Later he went to Antwerp where he studied under De Keyser, the Flemish painter of battle pieces.<sup>24</sup> He returned to this country in the early 1870's and was for a time a resident of St. Louis and Chicago. After the great fire of 1871, Mulvany went farther West and lived near the Iowa-Nebraska border where he began accumulating Western material. His first painting of note, "The Preliminary Trial of a Horse Thief—Scene in a Western Justice's Court," was exhibited before the National Academy of Design in 1876.<sup>25</sup>

As a resident of the West, Mulvany, like countless other Americans of 1876, was shocked by the Custer tragedy and his interest in Western life doubtless led him to contemplate the Custer battle as a theme for his brush. In 1879, after establishing headquarters in Kansas City, he visited the Custer battlefield, made sketches of the terrain and visited the Sioux on reservation. Mulvany also studied, according to his own account, the dress and equipment of the U. S. cavalry and obtained portraits and descriptions of General Custer and his officers. "I made that visit," he stated two years after the trip to the Little Big Horn, "because I wished to rid the painting of any conventionality. Whenever nature is to be represented it should be nature itself, and not somebody's guess. I made myself acquainted with every detail of my work, the gay caparisoning of the Indian ponies, the dress of the Indian chiefs and braves; in fact, everything that could bear upon the work."<sup>26</sup> For two years he worked on his masterpiece which he named "Custer's Last Rally." The work of painting was done in Kansas City, although Mulvany seems to have made other Western trips in this period as well as occasional excursions to nearby Fort Leavenworth for the purpose of consulting army officers at that post.

The painting was nearly complete by the end of March, 1881, for on March 18, the reporters of the Kansas City newspapers, some

24. This information on Mulvany's early life comes from obituaries in the *New York Sun*, May 23, 1906, p. 3, col. 1; *New York Times*, May 23, 1906, p. 9; *New York Tribune*, May 23, 1906, p. 6, col. 6, and the *American Art Annual*, 1907-1908, v. 6, p. 112. The last account states that he was born about 1842 but does not state the source of its information. None of the above accounts specifically states that Mulvany was born in Ireland but in an eight-page pamphlet, *Press Comments on John Mulvany's Painting of Custer's Last Rally* (no date, but published about 1882), there is a brief biographical sketch which doubtless was prepared by Mulvany himself and which states that he was "an Irishman by birth."

25. *Chicago Times*, August 13, 1882, supplement, p. 8, col. 8, and the *Art Journal*, v. 2 (1876), p. 159. The *Times* account above states that "The Trial of a Horse Thief" was "now the property of a Boston gentleman." For reference to Mulvany in St. Louis, see Footnote 41.

26. Kansas City (Mo.) *Daily Journal*, March 2, 1881, p. 5, col. 1. This account is a lengthy description of Mulvany's newly-completed painting as well as an interview with the artist. It is of major importance in any estimate of Mulvany's painting.

20 in number, were invited to view the work.<sup>27</sup> The painting which the 20 gentlemen of the press beheld with awe and admiration was an enormous work, measuring 20 x 11 feet with figures of heroic size. In describing it, one of the journalists wrote:

Custer is, of course, the central figure. He is depicted as standing below, and a little to the right of his favorite horse, in the middle of the barricade formed by the few soldiers who participated in the final hopeless struggle. In his left hand, which is extended at full length, is a revolver, which he is aiming at some unseen foe, while with his right he grasps a glittering saber, holding it tightly at his side. His face expresses all that a man would feel when confronted by certain death. Despair is crowded out by undaunted courage; the thought of personal danger seems to have been sunk in hatred for a bloodthirsty foe, and a subdued expression in the eyes shows that pity for the gallant boys in blue, whom he has hurried to impending doom, is struggling hard for supremacy. His face is flushed with the heat of battle, his broad-brimmed hat lies carelessly on one side, and the long yellow locks, which added so greatly to his manly beauty, are tossed impetuously back. He stands erect, undaunted and sublime. Near him, kneeling upon the ground, and with bandaged head from which blood is spurting, is Capt. Cook, adjutant of the regiment, and a warm friend of Custer's. Cook darts a glance of hatred at the red devils and has his hand upon the trigger of his rifle waiting for a chance to shoot. In the immediate foreground are two Sioux Indians, both dead. One lies with his face turned upward to the June sun, and a more hideous countenance could not be found if a search was made from Dan to Beersheba. The face was covered with paint, the ears and nose are pierced, a gaudy bonnet of eagles' feathers adorns the head, and the features are horribly savage, even in death. The artist has been true to nature in his treatment of the redskin. The breech clout and moccasins and headdress are faithfully delineated.

The general plan of the painting is that of a semi-circle of soldiers entrenched behind dead and dying horses and surrounded by an innumerable horde of Sioux warriors. With the exception of three officers and perhaps half a dozen privates, the soldiers' faces cannot be seen as they are turned to the foe. The barricade is irregular in outline, but preserves some semblance of a circle. The men kneel behind the horses, which have either been killed by the Indians or which the soldiers have themselves killed for shelter, and from this partial cover are making

#### AS BRAVE A DEFENSE AS THEY CAN.

Outside of the enclosure a countless host of savages are pouring a deadly fire upon the little band. The artist has graphically delineated that phase of Indian fighting which is most characteristic of the race. It is well known that an Indian never exposes his person unless the odds are overwhelmingly in his favor. Custer being in such a hopeless minority the foe expose themselves recklessly, and present many fine targets for the blue coats, not seem-

27. Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, March 17, 1881, p. 8, col. 3; March 19, 1881, p. 5, col. 3. Note that the Kansas City *Journal* account had appeared before the reporters as a group viewed the painting. Evidently it was the *Journal* description that whetted their appetites for they addressed a public letter to Mulvany requesting the privilege of seeing the painting.

ing to realize that some stray shots may wander that way and hurry them to a timely grave.<sup>28</sup>

Mulvany told his guests that he was planning to take the picture East for exhibition and reproduction, and shortly the painting was in Boston. The fact that such a work of art had been produced in the West itself did not go unnoticed and we find the same journalist commenting, as he brings his description of Mulvany's painting to a close:

That such a work has been produced in Kansas City shows that art is not neglected even in the midst of the great commercial activity that so distinctively marks this growing metropolis. The effect upon other artists here cannot but be beneficial. Of course nothing can be predicated of the reception that Mr. Mulvany's work will meet in the East, but it is fair to presume that it will create the favorable impression that it so richly deserves.<sup>29</sup>

Mulvany, with "Custer's Last Rally" reached Boston in April, 1881, and apparently at the suggestion of friends, some changes in composition were made. Mulvany, therefore, rented a studio in "Kenneday Hall in the Highlands" and proceeded with the suggested alterations. The size of Custer's figure was reduced somewhat; his hair shortened and his face strengthened. After those changes had been made, Mulvany invited the art critics and journalists of the city to examine his work. Edward Clements of the Boston *Evening Transcript* was evidently very favorably impressed after seeing it, for he wrote the following intelligent account:

The magnificent bravery of the artist's purpose in this picture and the sustained power as well as heroic pluck with which he has bent himself to a great subject are allowed to make their effect upon all who appreciate what it is to project and *carry out* an extended composition like this. . . . To multiply the figure or two of the ordinary achievements of our artists by twenty or forty (as in the case of this huge canvas, containing more than two score of figures) would give but a slight notion of the comparative strength drawn upon to complete such a picture as this of Mulvany's. It is not a mere matter of posing studio models. The subject cannot be posed except in the artist's imagination, and not there until after the creative effort, the "sheer dead lift" of invention which calls it into being. Custer and his command were cut off to the last man, and only the confused boastings of the Indians engaged in the slaughter furnish the material for the artist's detail. To call up the counterpart of the Indians' account, to fill the reflex of their war dance brag with the heroism of the devoted three hundred, must be the work of fervent and sympathetic artistic imagination. . . .

The fighting here portrayed is real, not only in its vigor and desperation, but in fidelity to the facts of modern and contemporary American fighting. Conventional battle-pieces of European art could indeed have furnished but

28. *Kansas City Journal*, *loc. cit.*

29. *Ibid.*

little help in a picture of a death struggle with Indians, had it not been the artist's chief purpose to make an original and American composition. It is a grim, dismal melee. No beautiful uniforms, no picturesque flags, no regular formation of troops into ranks, squares or lines of battle are available to give color, balance and form to the composition, the white puffs of carbine shots and the dense cloud of dust almost concealing the overwhelming cloud of savages, whose myriad numbers it awfully suggests, form the background against which the army-blue trousers and dark blue flannel shirts of these fighting soldiers can add but little richness of color. The highest tint is in Custer's yellow buckskin suit. . . . The picture will go straight to the hearts of the people, especially in the great West.<sup>30</sup>

Such favorable comment brought the painting its first publicity in the East and although it was not publicly exhibited in Boston, it was soon shipped to New York City for exhibition and was there placed on view in the summer of 1881. No less a personage than Walt Whitman, that constant protagonist of Americanism, saw it on a day's visit to New York and was profoundly impressed. What is more important to us now, Whitman described his impressions, which we shall quote at length. The quotations which we have already made from the Kansas City and Boston papers, and which we shall make from the New York *Tribune*, in which Whitman's account appears, seem well justified. In the first place they are intrinsically interesting and important, for they reveal what was felt and thought at the time Mulvany's picture was first placed on display. Possibly more important, however, is the concern of the individual writers—possibly an apologetic concern—with American art and American themes in art. That Whitman showed this interest and concern is not surprising, for 10 years previously, in 1871, he had published his *Democratic Vistas* in which was written "I say that democracy [i. e., America] can never prove itself beyond cavil, until it finds and luxuriantly grows its own forms of art, poems, schools, theology, displacing all that exists, or that has been produced anywhere in the past, under opposite influences"; a statement which throws considerable light on the following description of the Mulvany picture, written in his characteristic and irregular prose style:

I went to-day to see this just-finished painting by John Mulvany, who has been out in far Montana on the spot at the Forts, and among the frontiersmen, soldiers and Indians, for the last two or three years on purpose to sketch it in from reality, or the best that could be got of it. I sat for over an hour be-

30. Boston *Evening Transcript*, June 20, 1881, p. 6, cols. 3, 4. Part of the same account was reprinted (but credited to the Boston *Advertiser*) in the Kansas City *Sunday Times*, June 26, 1881, p. 5, col. 2. I am indebted to the reference department of the Boston Public Library for verifying the location of the Boston *Transcript* account. The account is given in the Mulvany pamphlet mentioned in Footnote 24, where it is credited to the *Transcript* of "June 21st, 1881." The pamphlet credits the account to "Ed. Clements."

fore the picture, completely absorbed in the first view. A vast canvas, I should say twenty or twenty-two feet by twelve, all crowded, and yet not crowded, conveying such a vivid play of color, it takes a little time to get used to it. There are no tricks; there is no throwing of shades in masses; it is all at first painfully real, overwhelming, needs good nerves to look at it. Forty or fifty figures, perhaps more, in full finish and detail, life-size, in the mid-ground, with three times that number, or more, through the rest—swarms upon swarms of savage Sioux, in their war-bonnets, frantic, mostly on ponies, driving through the background, through the smoke, like a hurricane of demons. A dozen of the figures are wonderful. Altogether a Western, autochthonic phase of America, the frontiers, culminating typical, deadly, heroic to the uttermost; nothing in the books like it, nothing in Homer, nothing in Shakespeare; more grim and sublime than either, all native, all our own and all a fact. A great lot of muscular, tan-faced men brought to bay under terrible circumstances. Death ahoid of them, yet every man undaunted, not one losing his head, wringing out every cent of the pay before they sell their lives.

Custer (his hair cut short) stands in the middle with dilated eye and extended arm, aiming a huge cavalry pistol. Captain Cook is there, partially wounded, blood on the white handkerchief around his head, but aiming his carbine [pistol] coolly, half kneeling (his body was afterward found close by Custer's). The slaughtered or half-slaughtered horses, for breastworks, make a peculiar feature. Two dead Indians, herculean, lie in the foreground clutching their Winchester rifles, very characteristic. The many soldiers, their faces and attitudes, the carbines, the broad-brimmed Western hats, the powder-smoke in puffs, the dying horses with their rolling eyes almost human in their agony, the clouds of war-bonneted Sioux in the background, the figures of Custer and Cook, with, indeed, the whole scene, inexpressible, dreadful, yet with an attraction and beauty that will remain forever in my memory. With all its color and fierce action a certain Greek continence pervades it. A sunny sky and clear light envelop all. There is an almost entire absence of the stock traits of European war pictures. The physiognomy of the work is realistic and Western.

I only saw it for an hour or so; but it needs to be seen many times—needs to be studied over and over again. I could look on such a work at brief intervals all my life without tiring. It is very tonic to me. Then it has an ethic purpose below all, as all great art must have.

The artist said the sending of the picture abroad, probably to London, had been talked of. I advised him if it went abroad to take it to Paris. I think they might appreciate it there—nay, they certainly would. Then I would like to show Monsieur Crapeau that some things can be done in America as well as others.

Altogether, "Custer's Last Rally" is one of the very few attempts at deliberate artistic expression for our land and people, on a pretty ambitious standard and programme, that impressed me as filling the bill.<sup>31</sup>

How long the painting remained on display in New York City we do not know. The next record of its public exhibition comes

31. New York *Tribune*, August 15, 1881, p. 5, col. 5. Whitman reprinted this account in his *Specimen Days*, first published in 1883; see Walt Whitman, *Complete Prose Works* (Philadelphia, 1897), p. 186.

from Louisville in December, 1881. Here again it met with great popular favor if we may judge by newspaper accounts. The *Courier-Journal* with a fulsome rhetoric that surpassed any of its competitors reports:

A poet of the brush who has walked out to meet the new sun of American art upon the upland lawn of the West has just come back with his inspiration to lay before the country. We refer to John Mulvany and his historical painting of "Custer's Last Rally," now on exhibition at the Polytechnic Library building. We do not care to know just how large the canvas is; it is enough to know that it is large enough to contain the genius of battle. We do not care to lessen the glory of the painter's work by applauding his art. Who would put a rule to the Raphaelles or measure the lines of Homer? These are not results of Art, they are the realizations of genius. And upon Mulvany's canvas one can see the poetical magnificence of that slaughter in the lonely valley of the Little Big Horn as it appeared to the mind of genius. It breathes the spirit of mortal hate, of heroic sullenness, and that matchless courage jewelng the sword of Custer, which even in its fall "Flashed out a blaze that charmed the world."<sup>32</sup>

"Custer's Last Rally" was next reported on exhibit in Chicago where it was shown during August and September of 1882. We could again quote at length from the Chicago press for this period, for the painting and John Mulvany were mentioned many times during the exhibition in Chicago.<sup>33</sup> Enough has already been quoted (the reactions in the Chicago press were similar to those already given) to establish the fact that the Mulvany picture had a wide popular appeal. Indeed, 13 years later the Chicago *Inter Ocean*, when Mulvany stopped off in the Windy City after a visit to the Pacific coast, commented "Mr. Mulvaney [*sic*] needs no introduction to a city in which his magnificent work, 'Custer's Last Charge,' was exhibited. . . ." <sup>34</sup>

32. Quoted in the Mulvany pamphlet cited in Footnote 24 and credited to "Mr. Allison." The pamphlet dates the account "December 18, 1882." Miss Edna J. Grauman of the reference department, Louisville Free Public Library, has very kindly made an examination of the Louisville newspapers of the above date but could find no reference to the Mulvany picture. An examination of the Louisville *Commercial* for December 18, 1881, p. 2, described the painting and the Louisville *Courier-Journal* for December 18, 1881, p. 4, also had mention of the painting as follows:

*"CUSTER'S LAST RALLY"*

"This grand work of art is drawing crowds daily to the Polytechnic Society. At the special request of nearly all who see it season tickets have been issued at fifty cents each, entitling the holder to admission at all times, visitors on entering the room stand in awe and admiration for hours in some instances. It is truly the most thrilling and realistic picture ever brought to this city. The exhibition room adjoins the Polytechnic Library, entrance on the north side."

Miss Grauman also identified "Mr. Allison" as Young E. Allison, prominent Louisville writer and editor.

33. Mention and extensive discussion appear in the Chicago *Times*, August 6, 1882, supplement, p. 5, col. 8; August 13, 1882, supplement, p. 8, col. 8; August 20, 1882, p. 5, col. 8; August 27, 1882, supplement, p. 6, col. 8, and Chicago *Tribune*, August 13, 1882, p. 7, col. 7. I am greatly indebted to Miss Frances Gazda of the Newberry library, Chicago, for the above extensive array of information. Miss Gazda writes me that the last mention of display of the painting is reported on September 9, 1882. In addition to the newspaper mention of the painting given above, the Mulvany pamphlet (see Footnote 24) quotes from the Chicago *Weekly Magazine*, the Chicago *Citizen*, and still another account (not located) from the Chicago *Times*.

34. Chicago *Inter Ocean*, November 24, 1895, p. 35, col. 3, a six-paragraph account of Mulvany and his work.

One of the Chicago newspaper accounts of 1882, however, mentions another Western painting which should find its way into our record. Mulvany rented a studio while in Chicago and had on display there other pictures in addition to the "Last Rally." One was called "The Scouts of the Yellowstone." The painting depicted in the foreground two kneeling figures, rifles in hand with another scout in the background holding three horses. The figures were set on a hilly landscape with a river in the distance, the highest land represented in the picture just catching the reflection of the sun. The foreground figures were said to be the same as two of the soldiers portrayed in "Custer's Last Rally."<sup>35</sup>

"Custer's Last Rally" was likely exhibited in many other American cities than those already described. It was again on exhibit in Chicago in 1890 and it was probably sent abroad for display.<sup>36</sup> Doubtless on one of its trip to Chicago, the painting was lithographed in color. The Kansas State Historical Society fortunately possesses one of the lithographs which is on display in its museum. The lithographic print itself (without mat) measures  $34\frac{3}{8}$  inches by  $18\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The signature "Jno. Mulvany, 1881" appears (hand-printed) in the lower right hand corner of the print and below [in type, also lower right] the name of the lithographer "D. C. Fabronius, Del.," and lower left [in type] "Jno. Mulvany, Pinxt." The copyrighted print (no date) was published by the Chicago Lithographic and Engraving Company. Comparison of this print with

35. Chicago *Times*, August 27, 1882, supplement, p. 6, col. 8. The *Times* for August 13, 1882, supplement, p. 8, col. 8, mentions a painting "On the Alert," but whether it is a Western picture is uncertain.

36. *Ibid.*, August 27, 1882, supplement, p. 6, col. 8, reports that "it will be returned to New York and thence go to Paris for reproduction in photogravure"; see, also, Whitman's comment on p. 373. Mention of the exhibition of the painting in Chicago in 1890 is found in the concluding paragraph of the following account from the Denver *Republican*, September 23, 1890, p. 8, col. 2, which is reprinted in full as it gives considerable additional information on Mulvany's celebrity as an artist. I am indebted to Miss Ina T. Aulls, of the Western History department, Denver Public Library, for the account:

"Mr. John Mulvaney [*sic*], the artist who painted the celebrated picture of Custer's rally in the fatal fight of the Big Horn, is in Denver with friends. He arrived last Saturday night. For several weeks past he has been visiting his brother in Salida. He has been sketching all through the mountains during the past summer—up the Shavano range, along the line of the Colorado Midland and in the beautiful stretch of country about Marshall pass. His sketches, most of them, were done in colors, and many of them are paintings in themselves. From these rough and sketchy studies he proposes soon to give to the public some oil-paintings, on an elaborate scale, of the picturesque scenery of the Rockies.

"He has with him a new painting which he has just finished. It is entitled 'McPherson and Revenge.' It is an incident from the battles about Atlanta. The most prominent figure in it is General John A. Logan. He is riding down the front of the rifle-pits and the improvised breastworks. He is materializing out of a white cloud of smoke that the guns of both sides have sent rolling across the field of battle. His horse is as black as night; as black as his own tossed hair. He seems a genius or a demon of battle. The soldiers have sprung out [of] the breastworks. They are waving their hats in the air, shouting and yelling their enthusiasm for that splendid leader, who is sweeping down their hue. The picture is full of color; full of action, and the portrait of Logan is a telling likeness. The painting is 12 x 6 feet in dimensions, and is framed in an elegant gilt frame, twelve inches broad. The picture was only finished recently. It was never exhibited before in its finished form. It was on exhibition at the national convention which nominated Harrison for president. Some of the speakers of that memorable convention referred to it. It was only an earnest then of what it would be.

"Mr. Mulvaney still has 'Custer's Last Rally' in his possession. It made his fame. The picture is now in Chicago on exhibition. It has made a small fortune for its painter."

a photograph of the original painting in the writer's possession shows that, with minor changes, the figures and surroundings were faithfully copied. The lithograph is subdued in color but whether the original colors are correctly reproduced, I do not know as I have not seen the original painting. I also have no information on the number of copies of the lithograph that were published.

The history of "Custer's Last Rally" from 1890 until the early 1900's is obscure. At the latter date it seems to have been purchased by H. K. Heinz of Pittsburgh<sup>37</sup> and was, in 1940, still in the possession of the H. K. Heinz Company of Pittsburgh which kindly measured the painting and supplied me with the photograph which is reproduced in this article (see picture supplement).<sup>38</sup> Several years after Mr. Heinz purchased the original painting of "Custer's Last Rally" he commissioned Mulvany to paint a duplicate (for \$200) and which Mr. Heinz is reported to have taken to London for exhibition.<sup>39</sup> Mulvany had a long career, but in his later years he seems to have depended upon portrait work for a living. Liquor, however, got the best of him, and in May, 1906, he ended his existence by plunging into the East river. "From a fine physique of a man," reports the *New York Times*, with "handsome features and a kindly countenance, he had sunk to a ragged derelict, uncertain of a night's lodging or a day's food."<sup>40</sup>

Despite Mulvany's tragic end and despite the fact that Mulvany today is virtually unknown, he played a real and not an unimportant part in past American life. The wide response and enthusiastic reception accorded "Custer's Last Rally" is proof enough of the statement above. But Mulvany has other claims to a place in

37. *New York Times*, May 23, 1906, p. 9.

38. Information to the writer from A. L. Schiel, secretary to Howard Heinz, president, in letters dated September 20, September 30, and October 17, 1940. In his last letter Mr. Schiel wrote that the painting was in storage but it was brought out and measured for me. The exact dimensions given by Mr. Schiel were 236 inches by 131 inches.

39. This fact is mentioned in the obituaries of Mulvany appearing both in the *New York Times* and in the *New York Sun*.—See Footnote 24.

40. See Footnote 24. Since no other adequate biographical sketch of Mulvany has apparently been attempted, a listing of his paintings as they have been found in my newspaper search seems to be in order. Mulvany's paintings of Western interest have already been described in the text and will not be repeated here. The other titles found include "Love's Mirror" or "Venus at the Bath," "The Old Professor" (*Kansas City Times*, March 19, 1881, p. 5, col. 3; March 31, 1884, p. 8, col. 4; March 1, 1885, p. 2, cols. 1, 2; November 16, 1885, p. 5, col. 2; evidently the latter was quite a remarkable picture for I have seen other favorable comments on it); "A Discussion of the Tariff Question" (*Chicago Times*, August 27, 1882, supplement, p. 6, col. 8, two Southerners and a Negro servant in the living room of one of the heated debaters); "Sheridan's Ride from Winchester," "Sunrise on Killarney," "Sunrise on the Rocky Mountains" (*Chicago Inter Ocean*, November 24, 1895, p. 35, col. 3); "The Striker" (coal miner), "The Anarchist" (a group of a half dozen men cutting cards to see who would commit murder), "An Incident of the Boer War," "Major Dunne of Chicago" (portrait), "Henry Watterson of Louisville" (portrait), "John C. Breckenridge" (portrait), paid for by Kentucky legislature (*New York Times*, May 23, 1906, p. 9); "The Battle of Aughrin," "The Battle of Atlanta" (*New York Sun*, May 23, 1906, p. 3, col. 1). There were probably many others. The *New York Times* cited above states, "He painted many other Western pictures which he sold for trifling sums."





THE CUSTER BATTLEFIELD, 1877. THE BONES IN THE FOREGROUND WERE GATHERED BY THE BURIAL PARTY OF 1877. THEY ARE APPROXIMATELY WHERE CUSTER'S BODY WAS FOUND AFTER THE BATTLE IN THE PREVIOUS YEAR. COMPARE THE WINDING LITTLE BIG HORN RIVER AND ITS VALLEY IN THE BACKGROUND WITH THE VIEW SHOWN IN THE LITHOGRAPH REPRODUCED ON THE COVER. PHOTOGRAPH BY S. J. MORROW, YANKTON, DAKOTA TERRITORY.



CUSTER'S LAST BATTLE

JOHN MULVANY'S FAMOUS PICTURE OF 1881, PAINTED CHIEFLY AT KANSAS CITY, MO. [Courtesy the H. J. Heinz Company, Pittsburgh, Pa.]



"CUSTER'S LAST FIGHT," THE CASSILLY ADAMS PAINTING AS IT APPEARED AFTER THE RESTORATION OF 1938.  
[Courtesy Maj. E. C. Johnston, Seventh Cavalry, Fort Bliss, Texas.]



"CUSTER'S LAST FIGHT," PAINTED BY W. R. LEIGH, 1939. [Courtesy the Owners, Woolaroc Museum, Frank Phillips Ranch, Bartlesville, Okla.]

American history. Samuel Isham, the historian of American art, points out that William M. Chase exerted a very considerable influence on American painting during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Chase was greatly stimulated by examining the work of Mulvany. So much so that Chase went abroad and studied under Piloty and Wagner at Munich, both of whom had been Mulvany's teachers.<sup>41</sup>

More recently, G. V. Millet, an artist of Kansas City, has suggested that Remington, who as a very young man lived in Kansas City in the early 1880's, knew Mulvany and "Custer's Last Rally," and was influenced by these contacts.<sup>42</sup> It does not seem probable that Remington knew Mulvany personally, as Remington did not move to Kansas City until 1884 and Mulvany by that time had moved on.<sup>43</sup> Although Remington was probably not acquainted with Mulvany during his stay in Kansas City it is not at all unlikely that he had seen and marveled at "Custer's Last Rally" as did thousands of other Americans of that day.

It seems reasonable, too, that Mulvany's painting of the Custer tragedy suggested the theme to other artists. It was the first of some 20 attempts with which I am familiar and, being widely known, served as the incentive for subsequent artists, including possibly Cassilly Adams.

#### CASSILLY ADAMS AND OTTO BECKER

Our fund of information concerning the life and work of Cassilly Adams is not as extensive as is that concerning Mulvany. Adams is not listed in any of the biographical directories of artists but through fortunate contact with a daughter-in-law and a son of Adams, some fundamental information has been secured. Cassilly Adams, a veteran of the Civil War, was born at Zanesville, Ohio, July 18, 1843, the son of a lawyer, William Apthorp Adams, who

41. Samuel Isham, *The History of American Painting* (New York, 1927), pp. 382, 383; Katherine Metcalf Roof, *The Life and Letters of William Merritt Chase* (New York, 1917), p. 25. It is apparent that Isham and Roof knew little about Mulvany. Roof even spells the name "Mulvaney" and Isham repeats the error. It should be pointed out that the work of Mulvany seen by Chase did not include "Custer's Last Rally." According to Roof, Chase saw Mulvany's work in St. Louis about 1871 or 1872. If this date is correct, it would suggest that Mulvany lived in St. Louis for a time. Mulvany was evidently a restless spirit, never satisfied for long in one place. The account of Clements in the *Boston Transcript* of 1881 (see Footnote 30) also states that not only was Mulvany responsible for Chase's trip to Munich but that he also furnished the incentive that sent Frank Duveneck, another important leader in American art, to Munich.

42. *Kansas City Star*, May 3, 1925, magazine section, p. 16.

43. The proprietor of the St. James Hotel of Kansas City brought suit in 1884 against Mulvany to recover judgment for \$450, allegedly due "in the shape of borrowed money and an unpaid board bill of four years' standing." Mulvany was reported as being "now in Detroit."—*Kansas City Times*, March 31, 1884, p. 8, col. 4. Several of Mulvany's paintings were seized in the court action and sold by the sheriff under the execution to satisfy the judgment obtained by the hotel proprietor.—*Ibid.*, March 1, 1885, p. 2, cols. 1, 2.

My information concerning Remington's career is to be published subsequently.

traced his ancestry back to the John Adams family of Boston. The elder Adams was himself an amateur artist and he saw that his son Cassilly secured an art education at the Boston Academy of Arts. Later (about 1870) Cassilly Adams studied under Thomas S. Noble at the Cincinnati Art School.<sup>44</sup> Some time in the late 1870's, Adams moved to St. Louis where he secured work as an artist and an engraver and for a time had a studio with Matt Hastings, a well-known St. Louis artist.<sup>45</sup>

During the summer of 1940, the writer spent a week in St. Louis making the rounds of the libraries, art galleries, art dealers and art writers of the city newspapers but found no one who had any information concerning Cassilly Adams and his work. I was finally referred to William McCaughen, a retired art dealer of that city. McCaughen told me that he and Adams had belonged to the same social club in the early 1880's but even the information that he could supply me about Adams was meager. McCaughen recalled one other painting (in addition to "Custer's Last Fight") executed by Adams, "Moonlight on the Mississippi." McCaughen also stated that he had arranged the original sale of "Custer's Last Fight" to a saloon owner in St. Louis but could not recall the sale price. For the information available on the painting of this famous piece, we are dependent upon the memory of William Apthorp Adams, son of Cassilly Adams. The son states that he himself saw his father painting the picture in a studio at the corner of 5th and Olive Streets (St. Louis). Over a year was taken in the painting and the figures "were posed by Sioux Indians in their war paint and also by cavalymen in the costumes of the period."<sup>46</sup> The painting was produced for two associate members of the St. Louis Art Club, C. J. Budd and William T. Richards, who promoted the painting for exhibition purposes, stimulated, no doubt by the success of the Mulvany picture. The date of the painting has not been fixed with certainty but it was made about 1885. The promoters then exhibited it about the country, according to Mr. Adams, in Cincinnati, De-

44. This biographical information was obtained from Mrs. C. C. Adams of Washington, D. C., and William Apthorp Adams of Hammersley's Fork, Pa., a son of Cassilly Adams. Mrs. Adams wrote me that Cassilly Adams' birth date and Civil War record were obtained from the files of the pension office in Washington. Cassilly Adams served as ensign on the U. S. S. *Osage* and was wounded at the battle of Vicksburg.

45. Adams is listed in the St. Louis city directories from 1879 to 1884 at various addresses: sometimes as an artist and sometimes as an engraver. W. A. Adams wrote me that his father lived in St. Louis from 1878 to 1885 and then moved to Cincinnati. Cassilly Adams died at Trader's Point (near Indianapolis), Ind., on May 8, 1921. (See death notices of Adams in *Indianapolis News*, May 9, 1921, p. 24, col. 1, and *Indianapolis Star*, May 9, 1921, p. 13, col. 8. I am indebted to the reference department of the Indianapolis Public Library for locating these notices.) Francis O. Healey, a retired art dealer of St. Louis, wrote me under date of October 15, 1940, that Adams and Hastings had a studio together.

46. Letters to the writer, August, 1946.

troit, Indianapolis, and Chicago, "at 50c admission for adults and 25c for children under 15 years of age. Charles Fox, a brother of Della Fox, the actress, was the advance agent. My father traveled with the exhibition part of the time."<sup>47</sup> The exhibition of the painting did not realize the profits expected by the promoters and the sale of the picture was arranged by William McCaughen as noted above. The painting was on display in the saloon for several years and achieved a very considerable local reputation. Here a St. Louis reporter saw it and later commented:

In 1888, when the writer of these lines was a reporter in St. Louis, the original painting [Custer's Last Fight] . . . hung on the wall of a saloon near Eighth and Olive streets—at the "postoffice corner." The place was a sort of headquarters for city and visiting politicians, and reporters assigned to political work were expected to visit it in their news-gathering rounds; but aside from this fact, there were many who visited the place especially to see the picture, which was a very large one, and was valued at \$10,000.<sup>48</sup>

The owner of the saloon died and his heirs unsuccessfully attempted to conduct the business for a time but eventually creditors took over the place. Chief among the creditors was the brewing firm of Anheuser-Busch, Inc., of St. Louis, whose claim against the saloon is said to have amounted to \$35,000. Important among the assets of the saloon was the painting of "Custer's Last Fight" which Anheuser-Busch acquired and which has doubtless given rise to the frequently-quoted statement that Adolphus Busch of the Anheuser-Busch company paid the above sum for the painting.<sup>49</sup>

Adams' painting of the Custer fight, like that of Mulvany's, was

47. Letter to the writer, August 12, 1946. Cassilly Adams, according to his son, also painted many other Western pictures including Indians, buffalo hunting, and other game-shooting scenes. The illustrations for Col. Frank Triplett's *Conquering the Wilderness* (New York and St. Louis, 1883), were drawn in part *on wood* by Cassilly Adams according to W. A. Adams, although they are not so credited in the book itself. The title page of this book credits the *original* illustrations to "Nast, Darley and other eminent artists." As a matter of fact many of the illustrations have been borrowed from other books without the least attempt on the publishers part to give due credit.

48. *Kansas City Gazette*, August 11, 1903, p. 2, col. 1. In a letter to the writer dated October 3, 1940, Maj. E. C. Johnston, then adjutant of the 7th cavalry, also stated (from the records of the 7th cavalry) that the painting was acquired by a saloonkeeper. The owner of the saloon was identified as one John Ferber but examination of the city directories of St. Louis for the years 1885-1892 failed to show any listing of Ferber's name. However, in the St. Louis city directories for the years 1885 through 1888, the entry "Furber, John G., saloon, 724 [or 726] Olive" was found for me by the reference department of the St. Louis Public Library. A more positive connection between Furber and the Adams painting is found by the fact that the Library of Congress possesses a four-page pamphlet *Custer's Last Fight* which bears a copyright stamp dated "Apr. 26, 1886," the copyright being issued to John G. Furber, St. Louis. Apparently the pamphlet was published by Furber to accompany copyright of the painting and to use in exhibitions of the painting. The subtitle of the pamphlet reads "Painted by Cassilly Adams—Representing the Last Grand Indian battle that will be fought on this Continent. 12 feet high by 32 feet long, and valued at \$50,000." The pamphlet is essentially a description of the Custer battle and has little to say about the painting itself.

49. The statement concerning the supposed "cost" of the painting occurs frequently in newspaper comments on the Adams painting (sometimes it is given as \$35,000; sometimes as \$30,000). The most recent newspaper statement to this effect with which the author is familiar will be found in the *Kansas City Times*, June 14, 1946, p. 1, col. 2. Note that the account cited above in the *Kansas City Gazette*, August 11, 1903, p. 2, col. 1, states "[t]he painting" was valued at \$10,000," and in the pamphlet cited in Footnote 48 the claim "valued at \$50,000."

of large size. The painting proper measured 9'6" by 16'5".<sup>50</sup> There were, however, two end panels when the painting was first displayed. One depicted Custer as a small boy in his father's shop playing with toy soldiers. The other panel portrayed Custer dead on the field of battle and facing the setting sun.<sup>51</sup> The panels soon disappeared after it came into possession of Anheuser-Busch.

Upon acquiring the painting, Adolphus Busch had it lithographed in color and printed for distribution. The lithograph was copyrighted in 1896 so that evidently some time elapsed between the acquisition of the painting and its reproduction. In this interval (*i. e.*, some time between 1888 and 1896) it was presented to the 7th cavalry, then stationed at Fort Riley. It seems probable that the presentation was made about 1895, but from records available at present the exact date is uncertain.<sup>52</sup>

In May, 1895, headquarters of the 7th cavalry was transferred from Fort Riley to Fort Grant at the Carlos Indian Agency, Arizona,<sup>53</sup> and then in the next few years to still other forts. Apparently in these moves the painting was lost and not found again until 1925 when it was rediscovered in bad condition, in an attic of a storage building at Fort Bliss, Texas.<sup>54</sup>

There was some discussion on the part of army officials concern-

50. Information from Maj. E. C. Johnston, Fort Bliss, Tex., in a letter dated October 3 1940. Major Johnston measured the painting for me. See Footnote 48 for the size of the original painting and panels.

51. Information from W. A. Adams. The end panels are also mentioned by the reporter in the account of the *Kansas City Gazette*, August 11, 1903, p. 2, col. 1, and are briefly described in the pamphlet *Custer's Last Fight* cited in Footnote 48.

52. Maj. E. C. Johnston, then adjutant of the 7th cavalry, wrote me (April 22, 1940) that the records of the 7th cavalry indicated that the painting was presented to the 7th cavalry (then at Fort Riley) some time between September, 1887, and March, 1888. Later (October 3, 1940) Major Johnston wrote me that Adolphus Busch presented it to the 7th cavalry, "at the outbreak of the Spanish-American war. During Mr. Busch's presentation speech he claimed he paid \$35,000 for the painting." Evidently the 7th cavalry possessed no clear records of the presentation. The newspaper reporter writing in the *Kansas City Gazette* for August 11, 1903, p. 2, col. 1, wrote, it will be recalled, "In 1888, when the writer of these lines was a reporter in St. Louis, the original painting . . . hung on the wall of a saloon near Eighth and Olive streets—at the 'postoffice corner.'" If the reporter's memory was correct, the 7th cavalry didn't come into possession of the painting until 1888 at least. Further the lithographic copy of the painting published by Anheuser-Busch bears the legend under the main title, "The Original Painting has been Presented to the Seventh Regiment U. S. Cavalry," and the notation (lower left), "Entered according to Act of Congress by Adolphus Busch, March 30th, 1896, in the Office of the Librarian of Congress at Washington, D. C." As the picture would have to be published before it was entered for copyright, it is obvious that the 7th cavalry came into possession of the painting before March 30, 1896. An undated newspaper clipping in the *Kansas State Historical Society* ("Indian Depredations and Battles" clippings, v. 2, p. 149) states with some show of authority that the painting was given the 7th cavalry in 1895. In *Custer's Last Battle*, an 11-page pamphlet published by Anheuser-Busch, Inc. (no date, but probably published within the last eight years), is a frontispiece of Becker's version (see p. 382) of "Custer's Last Fight." The legend beneath the illustration reads "The Original Painting Was Presented by Adolphus Busch in 1890 to the Seventh Regiment U. S. Cavalry." There is no indication, however, of the source of this date for correspondence with Anheuser-Busch has produced no contemporary evidence that would substantiate 1890 as the date of acquisition by the 7th cavalry. The pamphlet makes no other comment on the Custer picture but discusses the Custer battle from well-known accounts by General Fry, Captain Godfrey, Capt. Charles King and others.

53. *Junction City Union*, April 27, 1895, p. 2, col. 2, and May 25, 1895, p. 3, col. 4.

54. *Kansas City Star*, June 22, 1930, p. 16A, col. 3; Harold Evans, "Custer's Last Fight," *Kansas Magazine*, 1938, pp. 72-74, gives a somewhat different version. The undated clipping referred to in Footnote 52, indicates that the painting was lost as early as 1903.



ing the restoration and disposition of the painting and it was suggested that it be hung in the office of the chief of cavalry in Washington. Nothing was done and the painting again disappeared from view. In 1934, Col. John K. Herr, commanding the 7th cavalry, took his regiment on a 21-day practice march which included abandoned Fort Grant, Ariz., in its tour. In prowling through the abandoned camp "Custer's Last Fight" was again rediscovered and returned to Fort Bliss, headquarters of the Seventh cavalry.<sup>55</sup> The painting had been folded and torn and its image was badly cracked. Estimates on restoring the painting were secured by officers of the 7th cavalry but as they ranged from \$5,000 to \$12,000, too great a sum for regimental funds, no immediate steps were taken in its restoration. Finally it was restored by the art division of the W. P. A. in Boston and returned in 1938 to headquarters of the 7th cavalry at Fort Bliss.<sup>56</sup> The painting was then hung until 1946 in the officers' club building at Fort Bliss, Texas. On June 13, 1946, Associated Press dispatches reported that the painting was destroyed by fire.<sup>57</sup>

From this brief history of the painting it can be seen that it never achieved very wide recognition.<sup>58</sup> "Custer's Last Fight" owes its chief claim to fame, however, to the lithographic reproduction published by Anheuser-Busch.

A comparison of the original painting reproduced in this article (see picture supplement) with the lithograph (reproduced on the cover) will show immediately that considerable differences exist between the two pictures. As a matter of fact, the lithograph is far more realistic in depicting the topography of the battlefield than is the Adams painting.<sup>59</sup> A number of the figures in the two pictures are similar but the most surprising difference is the fact that the two represent quite different viewpoints. In the lithograph, the background shows the valley of the Little Big Horn river and the river itself while in the painting the slope behind Custer rises abruptly in a steep hill. A comparison of the figure of Custer in the

55. Information from Supt. E. S. Luce, Custer Battlefield National Monument, Crow Agency, Montana, in a letter to the writer dated July 17, 1946.

56. Information from Maj. E. C. Johnston, the adjutant of the 7th cavalry, in a letter to the writer dated October 3, 1940, and from Superintendent Luce (see Footnote 55). Superintendent Luce believes that it cost the W. P. A. some \$4,200 to restore the painting.

57. *Kansas City Times*, June 14, 1946, p. 1, col. 2.

58. In an article in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, November 26, 1942, it is reported that in a recent letter of Adams' son written to Anheuser-Busch, Inc., the painting was exhibited, after its completion, "all over the United States." This reference is probably that already described on pp. 378, 379. From the fact that the promoters gave up their venture as there described, the Adams painting never achieved the national recognition given to Mulvany.

59. E. A. Brininstool of Hollywood, Cal., long a student of Western history and of Custer in particular, writes me "The lay of the land [in the lithograph] is perfect—I have been over it many times, and can vouch for that part. . . ."

two pictures also shows marked difference. In the painting, Custer is lunging forward with his saber;<sup>60</sup> in the lithograph Custer is swinging the saber back over his shoulder in preparation for a desperate blow.

In considering these—and other—differences, two facts must be kept in mind: First, the lithograph was reproduced on stone by a second artist, and second, the painting was “restored,” as pointed out previously, in 1938. The original printing of the lithograph<sup>61</sup> bears as part of the legend (in print) the words “Taken From the Artist’s Sketches. The Original Painting by Cassily Adams.” The original printings of the lithograph also have the signature (in script and on the print itself) “O. Becker” in the lower right-hand corner. Further, the original lithograph was prepared for publication by the Milwaukee Lithographic and Engraving Company (Milwaukee, Wis.) as is likewise stated in type as part of the legend. A query directed to the Milwaukee Public Library brought the interesting response that Otto Becker, a lithographer by trade, was so listed in the city directories of Milwaukee for the years 1890-1896, inclusive.<sup>62</sup>

Following this lead further, correspondence was established with Miss Blanche Becker of Milwaukee, daughter of Otto Becker. Miss Becker wrote at length concerning the work of her father who was foreman of the art department of the Milwaukee Lithographic and Engraving Company. A letter written by her father in 1933 states “I painted Custer’s Last Stand in 1895. The original painting is still in my possession, but unfortunately, I was forced to cut it into pieces so that a number of artists could work on it at the same time, making the color plates.”<sup>63</sup> The oil painting was subsequently patched together and restored by Mr. Becker and it was then acquired by Anheuser-Busch. The restored painting measures 24” by 40” and is now on display at the offices of Anheuser-Busch in St. Louis.<sup>64</sup> Becker, a one-time resident of St. Louis, had become acquainted with Adolphus Busch and after the acquisition of the Adams painting by Busch, plans were made to lithograph the paint-

60. See comment about saber on p. 365, and Footnote 21.

61. Copies of the original lithograph, one of which was published as early as 1896, are owned by the Kansas State Historical Society and are those upon which the subsequent remarks in the text are based. Modern printings of the lithograph show the halftone screen very distinctly; the early copies show no screen marks at all.

62. Letter from the reference department of the Milwaukee Public Library dated July 25, 1946. I am indebted to Miss Mamie E. Rehnquist of the Milwaukee Public Library for this information.

63. Miss Becker wrote me under dates of August 9 and 14, 1946. I am greatly indebted to her for her kindness and help in supplying the information concerning her father given above and described subsequently in the text.

64. Information from a letter to the writer by F. W. Webber, of Anheuser-Busch, Inc., July 29, 1946.

ing. If we can believe the legend on the original painting "after the artist's sketches," Busch presented several sketches of Adams' work to Becker and Becker would therefore have the right of selecting and making his own composition.<sup>65</sup>

Part of the differences between the two pictures can thus be satisfactorily accounted for. There is, however, the added possibility that in the restoration of the Adams painting in 1938, still other differences were introduced. The painting, after its several discoveries, was admittedly in very bad condition and, since no one was available who knew the original painting,<sup>66</sup> no guide would be available for the restorers. A bad stain or loss of considerable pigment in the background, for example, could be covered by the hill apparent in the painting. Its inclusion would have saved many hours of tedious toil in painting in again (if originally present) the very considerable detail that appears in the background of the lithograph.<sup>67</sup>

It seems probable in considering all of these facts that the differences between painting and lithograph are due to original differences produced in the lithography and to subsequent differences arising in the restoration.

Since the lithograph, however, is the picture that is better known, the differences noted above, after all, are of minor importance. Some 150,000 copies of the large print have been distributed by Anheuser-Busch since the lithograph was first published in 1896, and in 1942, copies were being mailed out to servicemen and others at the rate of 2,000 a month.<sup>68</sup> With this wide distribution of the lithograph it is probably safe to say that few dealers in the products of Anheuser-Busch have been without a copy of the lithograph and doubtless most of them have displayed the print. Some thirst emporiums may have had their original copies on display for the

65. Otto Becker was born on January 23, 1854, in Dresden, Germany, and as a young man studied in the Royal Academy of Arts in Dresden. He came to New York in 1873 and worked as artist and lithographer in that city as well as in Boston, Philadelphia and St. Louis. In 1880, he went to Milwaukee and was associated with the Milwaukee Lithographic and Engraving Company for 35 years. In oil and water color, he painted copy for many of the publications of that firm and supervised the work of preparing the copy on stone. On his own account he painted many Western pictures of Indians, cowboys, and portraits of Indian chiefs "after the manner of Remington." Later in life, he supported himself by making city views, religious paintings, marines, and Dutch interior views. Oddly enough, the prolific work of Becker has found no record in one of the most important regional studies of Western art, Porter Butts, *Art in Wisconsin* (Madison, Wis., 1936). Mr. Becker died in Milwaukee on November 12, 1945, in his 92d year. This biographical information is, of course, from Miss Blanche Becker.

66. Recall that the painting's whereabouts was practically unknown from at least 1903 to 1934; see page 381, and Footnote 54.

67. If the original painting was photographed upon its receipt by W. P. A. it could be readily ascertained if such a possibility, as described above, existed. So far, I have been unable to find anyone with knowledge of such a photograph.

68. St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, November 26, 1942, and letter to the writer from F. W. Webber of the advertising department of Anheuser-Busch, Inc., July 18, 1946.

fifty years of the print's existence; especially if they faithfully followed the instructions reportedly sent out with early copies of the lithograph, "Keep this picture under fly-netting in the summer time and it will remain bright for many years."

How many have seen and viewed the lithograph is, of course, any man's guess. An examination, however, will soon show that it is no work of art—if by work of art we mean an object of beauty. But it is indeed a picture that tells a powerful, if melodramatic and horrendous, tale. Be it recalled, however, that it is no more melodramatic or horrendous, however, than was the event itself. Troopers are being brained, scalped, stripped; white men, Indians and horses are dying by the dozens; Custer with flowing red tie<sup>69</sup> and long ringlets is about to deal a terrible saber blow to an advancing Indian who in turn is shot by a dying trooper; and hundreds of Indians are pictured or suggested in the background.<sup>70</sup>

A careful survey of the lithograph is enough to give a sensitive soul a nightmare for a week. No doubt many a well meaning imbibor who has tarried too long with his foot on the rail and his eye on the picture, has cast hurried and apprehensive glances over his shoulder when a sudden yell from a passing newsboy brought him too swiftly back to the day's realities. The writer has one of these lithographs in his back laboratory which is occasionally shown to students, friends, and fellow university professors. The reaction of those who have never seen the picture before is always interesting to observe. Incredulous first glances are always followed by study of all the gory details. "Holy H. Smoke! Was it as bad as that?," was the comment of one university professor as he instinctively rubbed his bald pate. If not the best liked of all American pictures, it doubtless has been the most extensively examined and discussed of any.

Other events have also added to the fame of this remarkable picture. For example, not long after first publication, Adolphus Busch presented a copy of the lithograph to Gov. E. N. Morrill of Kansas. Morrill, who served as governor from 1895 to 1897, upon retiring

69. The red tie may have been suggested to Adams or Becker by Mrs. Custer who wrote, in a letter dated January 25, 1889, a description of the flowing red merino cravat that Custer wore when with the Third cavalry division of the Army of the Potomac.—See *Cyclorama of Custer's Last Battle* (Boston, 1889), pp. 13-17.

70. The legend below the print identifies by name a number of the individuals: "Sioux Warrior Who Killed Custer"; "Rain in the Face"; "Autie Reed, Custer's Nephew"; "Capt. T. W. Custer"; "General Custer"; "Lieut. A. E. Smith"; "Lieut. Cook"; "Lieut. W. Van W. Reilly"; "Capt. G. W. Yates"; "Courier From Sitting Bull," etc. It may be noted here that there are at least three printings of the lithograph known to the writer. In the original printing, the print itself measures 24¼" x 38½". A modern version on paper, a gift from Anheuser-Busch, Inc., in 1940, shows screen marks (as stated in Footnote 61) and the print measures 23¾" by 37¼". The colors are brighter than the original lithograph but considerable detail has been lost. There apparently is still another printing for E. A. Brinnistool writes me that he has a copy printed on canvas.



CASSILLY ADAMS

An informal photograph made in middle age. *Courtesy*  
Mrs. C. Cassilly Adams, Washington, D. C.



OTTO BECKER

A photograph made about 1881. *Courtesy* Miss Blanche  
Becker, Milwaukee, Wis.

from office gave the picture to the State Historical Society. Just when it was put on display in that institution there is apparently no definite record, but from the activities of the late Carrie Nation in the early 1900's, there arose a considerable interest because the name of the brewer appeared in large letters beneath the lithographic print of "Custer's Last Fight." The prohibitionists of the state began to sit up and take notice when one of their number called attention to the fact that a beer advertisement was appearing in one of the state's public buildings. The notice became notoriety when on January 9, 1904, Blanche Boies, one of Carrie Nation's faithful followers, entered the State Historical Museum, then in the state house, with an axe in her hand and the light of grim determination in her eye. She advanced on the offensive advertisement of Messrs. Anheuser and Busch and crashed her axe through the picture. Secretary Martin of the Historical Society hastily called the police who politely escorted Blanche to the city jail where she languished until bailed out by her friends. The Topeka papers gave Blanche a very handsome writeup for her efforts and the press of the state followed suit. One account called attention to the fact, however, that such excursions were nothing unusual for this disciple of Carrie Nation, for she "had wielded her hatchet with destructive effect on numerous occasions in Topeka's illicit pubs."<sup>71</sup>

Blanche's well-intended efforts in protecting the morals of Kansas citizens were, alas, in vain. Some one immediately wired Anheuser-Busch for a new copy of "Custer's Last Fight" and the brewers responded promptly with the copy which now hangs in one of the hallways of the State Historical Society's building. Mr. Martin, however, did have the foresight to opaque out the names of the donors which appear on the legend beneath the picture.

#### WORK OF OTHER ARTISTS

The pictures of Mulvany and Adams have, as our account has shown, attracted wide interest for more than 65 years. Their efforts to recall the Custer tragedy, however, have not been the only ones. Because of the universal interest in this event it seems worth while to make a list of other pictures of Custer's Last Stand. The list as presented below is probably not complete, as new ones—or at least new to the writer—are still being found. Many well-known as well as obscure artists have attempted to portray the

71. Topeka *State Journal*, January 9, 1904, p. 5, col. 1. Miss Boies' attack on the Custer lithograph has been interestingly described by Harold C. Evans in the *Kansas Magazine*, 1938, pp. 72-74. Much information on the history of the lithograph will be found in this article. I am also indebted to Mr. Evans for supplying me with additional leads concerning the lithograph.

event. In the list which follows, some comment on the pictures has been made. Biographical information, when available, also has been included for the lesser known artists. Information about the better known artists can be secured from such useful handbooks as D. T. Mallett's *Index of Artists* (New York, 1935) and *Supplement to Mallett's Index of Artists* (New York, 1940). The list of other Custer pictures follows:

1881. In 1881, Dr. Charles E. McChesney, an army surgeon stationed at the Cheyenne River Agency, South Dakota, secured an account of the Custer battle from Red-Horse, a Sioux chief who took part in the battle. In addition to the narrative, Red-Horse prepared a number of pictographs, many in color, on sheets of manila paper about 24 by 26 inches in size. Although most primitive in design and execution, one can still visualize details of dress, action and incident from the pictographs. Nine of the sheets are reproduced in the *Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*.<sup>72</sup>

1881. "Death of General Custer," tinted woodcut, unsigned; a crude illustration in J. W. Buel's *Heroes of the Plains* (New York, 1882).

1883. "Custer's Last Fight on the Little Big Horn," a full-page illustration in the 1883 edition of Custer's *Wild Life on the Plains*, signed "Barnsley, del." The illustrations in this book are wood cuts and are for the most part very crudely done.<sup>73</sup>

1884. "Custer's Last Charge," a painting (present location unknown) about four by seven feet in size by John Elder of Richmond, Va. No reproductions are known to the writer.<sup>74</sup>

1888. "Cyclorama of Gen. Custer's Last Fight" painted by E. Pierpont and staff of New York. The cyclorama, one of the popular predecessors of the motion picture in the history of American amusements, depicted many scenes and events of historical interest and it is not surprising that the Custer tragedy found expression in this form of art. The Custer cyclorama was on display in Boston early in 1889, replacing the famous cyclorama of the Battle of Get-

72. *Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1893), pp. 563-566, and Plates XXXIX to XLVIII. Thomas B. Marquis, *op. cit.*, opposite p. 220, reproduces a photograph of Wooden Leg, the Cheyenne survivor of the Battle of the Little Big Horn, making Custer battle drawings but none of the drawings are reproduced save one which shows up faintly in the photograph.

73. George Armstrong Custer, *Wild Life on the Plains* (St. Louis, 1883), p. 389. There are a number of editions of this book, but the illustrations are all equally poor in the editions I have seen. Many of the illustrations are quite patently copied from those appearing in *Harper's Weekly* and *Leslie's Weekly*. Barnsley's name appears frequently as the delineator of many Western illustrations in this period, but I have been unable to find any information concerning him.

74. *Magazine of American History*, New York City, v. 12 (September, 1884), p. 280.



tsburg. Pierpont, the "executive artist" of the Custer piece, is said to have visited the battlefield on the Little Big Horn before work was begun, and secured photographs, interviewed some of Reno's survivors, and studied official reports. On Pierpont's staff were M. M. Salvador-Mege, Ernest Gros and Emile Merlot who painted the landscape of the cyclorama; the foreground figures on the huge painting were the work of Chas. A. Corwin, Theo. Wendall, and G. A. Travers; E. J. Austin was responsible for many of the distant figures and the Indian village. A number of these artists are said to have worked on the Gettysburg cyclorama as well.<sup>75</sup> There is no record of the fate of this huge canvas.

1889. "The Last Stand," by Rufus Zogbaum, a popular illustrator for *Harper's Weekly* and *Harper's Magazine*. The illustration, of no great merit, shows Custer as the central figure.<sup>76</sup>

1890. "Custer's Last Stand," Frederic Remington. A small pen and ink drawing made for Mrs. Custer.<sup>77</sup> It should be noted that Remington later produced other pictures which were titled "The Last Stand," none of which had reference to the Custer battle. These illustrations, of course, may have been inspired by the Custer tragedy. One depicts a group of dismounted troopers and scouts making their stand at the top of a rocky hill. The main figures are an army officer (with mustache) and a scout.<sup>78</sup> Remington's second "Last Stand" shows a group of troopers on the plains still holding off the attacking Indians.<sup>79</sup>

1891. "Custer's Last Battle," signed only "Williams." This picture, a crude wood cut, will be found in the *Life of Sitting Bull*, by W. Fletcher Johnson.<sup>80</sup>

1893. "Custer's Last Stand," by Edgar S. Paxson. A canvas measuring approximately 5 by 9 feet, now displayed in the entrance of the Natural Science Hall, Montana State University, Missoula. Begun in the early 1890's, it was on display at the Chicago World's Fair of 1893 but it was not brought to its present state for nearly 20 years after Mr. Paxson first began work on it. The painting contains the portraits of 36 members of Custer's command which

75. *Cyclorama of Gen. Custer's Last Fight* (Boston, 1889, 30pp.), p. 11.

76. *Harper's Magazine*, New York City, v. 80 (April, 1890), p. 732, about ½ page. Zogbaum's career as a Western illustrator will be discussed later in this series.

77. *The Cosmopolitan*, New York City, v. 11 (July, 1891), p. 302.

78. *Harper's Weekly*, January 10, 1891, pp. 24, 25; also reproduced in Frederic Remington's *Pony Tracks* (New York, 1895), frontispiece. In the *Harper's Weekly* version (p. 23) the comment is made: "How many scenes of which this is typical have been made on this continent, who can say?"

79. *The Mentor*, New York, June 15, 1915, Serial No. 85.

80. W. Fletcher Johnson, *Life of Sitting Bull* (Edgewood Publishing Co., c1891), p. 128.

Paxson secured from photographs. It is one of the most widely known of the Custer pictures.<sup>81</sup>

1897. "We Circled All Round Him," Ernest L. Blumenschein, a full-page decorative illustration showing Custer in the faint background mounted on a horse.<sup>82</sup>

1899. "Gen. Custer's Last Battle," copyright by H. R. Locke. No further information available and it is not even certain from the legend that Locke was the artist.<sup>83</sup>

1902. "Custer's Fight—Little Big Horn River," by Edgar Cameron. One of four paintings prepared by Mr. Cameron for the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*. The others in the series were "The Discovery of Pike's Peak," "The Burning of Fort Madison" and "The Founding of St. Louis." The Custer piece was reproduced as a color supplement to the *Globe-Democrat* for May 4, 1902. I have been unable to trace the original painting.<sup>84</sup>

1903. "Custer's Last Stand," Charles M. Russell. Reproduced in *Outing*, showing dead and dying troopers, the dim figure of Custer in the center.<sup>85</sup> A color reproduction of another Russell painting, "The Custer Fight," was published in *Scribner's Magazine*.<sup>86</sup> Indians only are distinctly visible, the troopers on the hill being nearly obscured by dust.

1908. "The Custer Battlefield," J. H. Sharp. One of 52 paintings exhibited by Mr. Sharp in St. Louis in 1908. Reproductions and the location of the original painting are unknown to the writer.<sup>87</sup>

1915. "Custer's Last Stand," by W. H. Dunton, reproduced in *The Mentor*. Present location of the painting unknown.<sup>88</sup>

1923. "Custer's Last Stand," by Theodore B. Pitman of Cambridge, Mass. The painting, 25 x 37 inches, was produced originally for illustration in *The Frontier Trail*, by Homer W. Wheeler.<sup>89</sup> It

81. Helen F. Sanders, "Edgar Samuel Paxson," *Overland Monthly*, Alameda, Cal., n. s., v. 48 (September, 1906), p. 183; see, also, *The American Magazine*, v. 80, July, 1915, p. 50. I am indebted to Miss M. Catherine White, reference librarian of the Montana State University, Missoula, and to the Historical Society of Montana, Helena, for information concerning Mr. Paxson. A reproduction of the Paxson painting of the Custer battle will be found in Kate Hammond Fogarty, *The Story of Montana* (New York and Chicago, 1916), p. 183.

82. *McClure's Magazine*, New York City, v. 11 (September, 1898), p. 447.

83. Annie D. Tallent, *The Black Hills* (St. Louis, 1899), opposite p. 220.

84. Information from the *Globe-Democrat* of the above date and from Mrs. Edgar Cameron, widow of the artist. Mrs. Cameron wrote me under date of July 4, 1946, telling me of her husband's death on November 5, 1944.

85. *Outing*, New York City, v. 45 (December, 1904), p. 271. In black and white.

86. *Scribner's Magazine*, v. 37 (February, 1945), p. 158.

87. *Special Exhibition Catalogue*, St. Louis Museum of Fine Arts, November 14, 1908. The Custer piece is No. 46 in the list.

88. Arthur Hoerber, "Painters of Western Life," *The Mentor*, June 15, 1915, Serial No. 85, p. 10. About ½ page, in black and white.

89. Col. Homer W. Wheeler, *The Frontier Trail* (Los Angeles, 1923), opposite p. 216.

was also reproduced in color as the jacket cover of Stanley Vestal's *Sitting Bull*.<sup>90</sup> The original painting now hangs in Trumbell's "Country Store" in Concord, Mass.<sup>91</sup>

1926. "General Custer's Lekte Schact," by Elk Eber. This painting is reproduced in black and white on the cover of the current descriptive pamphlet of the Custer Battlefield National Cemetery, Montana.<sup>92</sup> The original painting is (or was) in the famous Indian collections of the Karl May Museum in Dresden, Germany. Elk Eber was the son of Herr Eber, a German, and Little Elk, a Sioux woman, who as a young girl witnessed part of the Custer battle. Several years later Little Elk joined Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show and went to Europe where she met and married Herr Eber. Elk Eber's painting is based on his mother's recollections and stories of the Custer battle. Eber himself was recently (February, 1944) reported deceased.<sup>93</sup>

1934. "Custer's Last Stand," a miniature group by Dwight Franklin. A photograph of the group is reproduced in Van de Water's *Glory Hunter*.<sup>94</sup> The original clay figures of the miniature are about a foot high and the group is still owned by the artist who plans to complete the piece and eventually to sell it to a museum.<sup>95</sup> Mr. Franklin states that he obtained much information for the group by interviewing Reno's chief of scouts.

1939. "Custer's Last Fight," by W. R. Leigh, the well-known artist. The original painting, which measures 6½ feet by 10½ feet, is now in the possession of the Woolaroc Museum, Frank Phillips' ranch, Bartlesville, Okla.<sup>96</sup> In the writer's judgment, it is the

90. Stanley Vestal, *Sitting Bull* (Boston and New York, 1932).

91. I am indebted to Mr. Pitman for this information. E. A. Brininstool of Hollywood, Cal., kindly called my attention to Mr. Pitman's work.

92. U. S. Department of Interior, National Park Service, *Custer Battlefield National Cemetery, Montana* (Washington, 1942, 16pp.).

93. I am indebted to Supt. E. S. Luce of the Custer Battlefield National Monument for this information. Mr. Luce states that two weeks before he wrote me (June 22, 1946) a correspondent in Zurich, Switzerland, reported that the Dresden Museum was but little damaged by Russian bombing so that Eber's painting may exist. Mr. Luce, through correspondence with Eber prior to the war, had obtained Eber's promise that the painting would be given to the museum at the Custer battlefield but the gift probably will not now materialize. According to Mr. Luce, the Eber painting "is the nearest and most correct conception of what occurred here on this battlefield 70 years ago." The picture was painted, according to Mr. Luce, in either 1926 or 1927. The painting is also reproduced in Mr. Luce's book *Keogh, Comanche, and Custer* (n. p., 1939), opposite p. 58.

94. Van de Water, *op. cit.*, opposite p. 250.

95. Letter of Dwight Franklin to the writer, July 13, 1946.

96. My information concerning the Leigh picture comes from Mr. Leigh himself. Leigh, well known as an artist and student of the Western horse—as well as in other fields—wrote me under dates of October 1, 1940, and July 26, 1946, as follows: "After visiting the battlefield, and spending a summer among the Indian tribes in those parts, I had the head authority, Dr. Whistler of the Museum of Natural History here (New York City), . . . pass upon the picture while it was yet in the charcoal. . . . the bonneted rider in the foreground is Chief Gall, Sioux. The rider further to the left waving a feathered lance is a medicine chief. Custer is seen on the hill, a dim silhouette in the dust and smoke; he is firing a revolver."

most satisfactory picture of all the Custer battle scenes. The beautifully modeled foreground figures of Indian warriors and horses (*see* picture supplement) are shown realistically, and the imaginative effect in portraying Custer and his command dimmed by the clouds of battle dust is in keeping with the fact that many of the realities of the Custer battle are obscured by the passage of years and the battle of words since 1876.<sup>97</sup>

97. Other artists who have attempted the depiction of the Custer battle are suggested by Harry B. McConnell, of the Cadiz (Ohio) *Republican*, who wrote me that he has seen calendar illustrations of the scene credited to James Drummond Ball, National Art Company, Boston, and another credited to "Coyle-Harken, 1928"; and still another one he found in an edition of Whittier's poems (one of the poets to write of Custer—as did Longfellow) that is signed "McCracken."

# Dust Storms

## Part Three, 1881-1900

(Concluded)

JAMES C. MALIN

THE first of this series of articles on dust storms was based primarily upon the record of weather in the tall grass or eastern third of Kansas of the 1850's. The second article drew upon the weather experience of the mixed grass region of middle Kansas, and the perspective was enlarged further at the end of the 1870's by the inauguration (1879) of reporting by the federal weather service of dust storms for the whole United States. The present article draws more explicitly upon the experience of the country west of the 100th meridian, the short-grass plains, the west third of Kansas, in relation to the whole Trans-Mississippi Western setting.

The traditional view of weather is that good and bad years follow each other in a fairly definite cyclic succession. The most favorable judgment on that kind of a generalization is that it is an oversimplification. The weather record of the 1850's presented in the first article, and of the 1860's and 1870's in the second article, revealed no particular rhythm or cycle, but there were a variety of fluctuations. The more complete record of weather phenomena after 1880 only tends to emphasize this variability and uncertainty as to what each year was to bring forth.

In the case of dust storms as in the case of crop production, the total annual precipitation of any particular year was not necessarily a determinant. The cumulative effect of a series of years of greater or less than average precipitation did exercise an important influence. So far as single years were concerned, the time factor, the seasonal distribution of the available moisture, as well as the kind of crop, winter wheat or corn and other row crops, were factors. For example, winter wheat prospects were determined particularly by depth of moisture in the soil at seeding time in the fall; the amount of precipitation in the form of rain or snow be-

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tween that time and harvest was secondary. Adequate soil moisture at seeding time generally assured a growth sufficient to provide vegetational cover throughout the winter and spring as a protection against blowing. Even when the cover was inadequate, soil blowing might be minimized or prevented by timely snow cover or rains which provided topsoil moisture at the critical windy seasons. Over the Western grassland as a whole, because of local variability, there were few years when blowing conditions did not occur at some point even during the years when moisture conditions were most favorable. The native grass when subject to prairie fires or overgrazing or prolonged drought was reduced to much the same topsoil status as cultivated fields, and blowing occurred in much the same manner under conditions that produced dust storms from cultivated fields.

In September, 1880, dust was "flying again" at Salina and the general drought continued until the big January snow, Yates Center reporting the driest winter in memory. Wellington reported an exceptionally long severe winter, with 15.5 inches of snow and large amounts of moisture in the ground in March. Lawrence reported the greatest snow and rain on record in February with a high wind February 11, and a rainfall deficiency in March with very high winds March 31. Crop reports indicated damage to the winter wheat from the extremes of weather.<sup>1</sup> Although the cumulative deficiency in rainfall over several years provided an underlying condition favorable to dust storms, there seem to have been no serious instances until April when the wheat condition was reported critical because cold weather and moisture deficiency retarded growth sufficient for ground cover.<sup>2</sup> The *Salina Herald* reported April 9: "The dust took full possession, Wednesday [April 6], filling houses and mouths with impartiality (?)." On May 2, Great Bend reported "the finest rain since 1878."<sup>3</sup>

A contributor to the *Chase County Leader*, Cottonwood Falls, May 26, 1881, summed up the month of May in contrast with 1880:

What a wonderful change for the May of 1881 over the same month one year ago? Then dry, and the wind hurled the dust in drifts. The little, pale wheat, oats, rye and corn thirsted for water as an Arab would in the desert, and with hope deferred again and again the heart grew sick. Our clouds were clouds of dust, carried about by the tempest. How often came the husbandman from the field, righted things and made ready apparently for a heavy

1. *Salina Journal*, September 16, 1880; *Monthly Weather Review*, 1881, published by the Weather Bureau, Washington, D. C.; Kansas State Board of Agriculture, *First Quarterly Report for 1881*, pp. 14, 15, 17; *Topeka Daily Capital*, March 7, April 4, 1881.

2. *Salina Journal*, April 7, 1881.

3. *Topeka Capital*, May 5, 1881.

rain. Although the clouds appeared dark and heavy, the wind and thunder all indicated rain; a light shower, the clouds broke, the wind ceased; still hope deferred. Our season, this month, all that man could wish: wet enough and not too much. . . .

A country community correspondent, writing for the issue of June 16, was not so optimistic. "The poet says that the dew 'is the tears of the sky for the loss of the sun.' The plants cry out in the language of Mark Antony 'If you have tears prepare to shed them now.' Let them come in a copious shower." Violent storms were the characteristic of that summer, however, and the summer was the warmest since 1874 and 3° warmer than 1880.<sup>4</sup> On September 8 the *Salina Journal* reported:

The "sand storms" of Monday [September 5] and Tuesday were absolutely frightful. The "Arabs" sought refuge from the driving sands in their bur-nooses and then fortified themselves behind the carcasses of the stifled camels. This is speaking in hyperbole, of course.

On September 22 the same paper called attention to "Some exquisite 'dust clouds' nowadays." Marion and Solomon reported high winds, the latter saying "The wind and dust last week were eminently disagreeable, and the man who refrained from profanity and growling was a rare exception and hard to find."<sup>5</sup>

The winter of 1881-1882 was the warmest on record at Lawrence and in February one report compared it with the winter of 1857-1858. Over the West as a whole March was a windy month, with widespread dust storms during the last 10 days and violent electrical disturbances interfering with the operation of the telegraph. A dust storm was reported from Fort Garland, Colo., on March 17; from Leavenworth, March 21; from Fort Cummins, N. M., March 24; from Umatilla, Ore., March 24-28, and on the latter date "trains were delayed on account of the track being covered with sand"; from Fort Custer, Mont., March 28, a "gale from the west, maximum velocity 64 miles at 4:15 p. m." The sky was completely obscured by clouds of dust and pebbles. Farther east, St. Louis, Mo., assembled reports for March 21, on "a marked dust storm" at Greenfield, Clinton, Harrisonville, Pleasant Hill, Lexington and Savannah, in the western part of the state. The April exhibit was the usual dust storms in California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Oregon, and a severe dust storm in Nebraska, April 3, reported from the Clear Creek station and from Lincoln, the latter saying that

4. Kansas State Board of Agriculture, *Third Quarterly Report for 1881*, p. 35.

5. *Marion County Record*, Marion, September 30, 1881; *Abilene Gazette*, September 30, 1881.

it was the "severest sandstorm that has been known in this state in many years." Fort Garland, Colo., reported a sandstorm on April 6, and Stockton, Tex., in Pecos county, on April 21. Coleman City, west central Texas, reported sandstorms on June 19 and 20, and Las Animas, Colo., on April 29, "a violent storm from the northwest."<sup>6</sup>

In Kansas, at Marion, "the equinoxial storm came to time with great vigor, the first part of the week. Monday [March 20], especially, was a miserable day, with clouds of dust filling the air," and on Sunday, March 26, walking and riding was interrupted, when suddenly from the northwest "a violent wind storm, accompanied by dense clouds of dust, swept down upon us." At Salina, "the wind and dust, Monday [March 20], was the principle [*sic*] factor in Salina weather," and the next week likewise, "Dust clouds now and then." By April 6 the succession of hot winds and "dusty atmosphere" was terminated by "gentle showers."<sup>7</sup> At Junction City, "the past few weeks a large amount of real estate, in the shape of dust, has changed ownership."<sup>8</sup> Later from Salina the comment was that "Monday [April 17] was a regular, old-fashioned dusty day. . . . The loveliness of our climate is not uppermost on such a day—save that part of it which is elevated by the stormy south-wind," but there was some consolation in the misery of others because "On Monday when dust was flying here to all points of the compass, there was a terrific sand storm on the Colorado desert and a howling gale in California."<sup>9</sup>

The fall of 1882 presented much the same kind of a record as the spring. In August sandstorms were reported from Coleman and Stockton, Tex., and in October from West Las Animas and Fort Garland, Colo.<sup>10</sup> Brookville reported dust in August and September and Topeka a particularly hot, dusty day on September 12:

A terribly hot wind commenced about 12 o'clock yesterday, and prevailed during the remainder of the day. It came almost directly from the west, and blew clouds of fine particles of dust with such force as to sting the face and skin. The mercury rose rapidly, and soon registered 108° in the shade, where exposed to its effects. . . .

Up-town, business generally was almost suspended, the doors being closed and kept so as much as possible. The universal opinion was that the day

6. *Monthly Weather Review*, March, April, May, June, 1882.

7. *Marion County Record*, Marion, March 24, 31, 1882; *Salina Herald*, March 25, 1882; *Salina Journal*, March 30, April 6, 1882.

8. *Junction City Union*, April 15, 1882.

9. *Salina Journal*, April 20, 1882.

10. *Monthly Weather Review*, August, October, 1882.



was the worst ever experienced in Kansas. Toward evening the storm abated. . . .<sup>11</sup>

In November Abilene reported wind and dust that made outdoor pursuits "unpleasant in the extreme."<sup>12</sup>

The year 1883 is usually thought of as marking the early stage of the favorable crop cycle and the boom of the 1880's in the Trans-Mississippi West, but the *Monthly Weather Review* offered the following discouraging listings by dates of sand or dust storms. In January Arizona and California had their usual quota—West Las Animas, Colo., 7, 12, 18, 29; Fort Union, N. M., 7, 29, 30, 31; El Paso, Tex., 16, 18, 19. In February the listing included California, Arizona, and New Mexico, and El Paso, Tex., 3, 6, 15, and Fort Garland, Colo., 1, 2. In March Kansas appeared in the list: Salina, 18, 20, 22; and Table Rock, Neb., 18. In April California, New Mexico and El Paso, Tex., had several listings, and Crete, Neb., had sandstorms, 8, 10, 13, 20, 21, and West Las Animas, Colo., 9, 20. In May Arizona, and New Mexico as usual, and Fort Garland, Colo., June 29. In June the states reporting included Arizona, New Mexico and Idaho.

The Dodge City *Times*, January 18, 1883, provided an introduction to that year which exhibited the kind of rationalization so often resorted to for keeping up appearances:

The winds and dust remind us forcibly of the season of 1879. It doesn't require any vivid imagination to draw the recollection to that memorable period. The winter was exceedingly dry and winds and dust were prevailing constantly. In the summer an abundance of rain fell, and altogether the season was favorable for grass and stock. The spring of 1880 was also dry, rain falling in sufficient quantities in May and the summer months following. Reference is made to these years, so that our readers may bring their minds to the approach of similar seasons, though we do not believe the future drouths will be as severe as those in the years past. Last year was not considered a drouthy year, yet vegetation did not thrive, though there was an abundance of grass, and the winter range is excellent. Feed crops can be raised in what are termed drouthy years. In this region the wheat prospects are not promising. But the settlers are devoting attention to stock raising, and this industry is to be the pursuit of the country. Whether dry or wet, there is always an abundance of grass, and no alarm is felt on account of the dry winds.

At Salina the storm of March 18 was the one that drew out most explicit comment:

The month of March thus far has not been the "regulation March" of Kansas. We have had few dust storms and very fine weather most of the month.

11. Brookville *Transcript*, August 17, 24, September 14, 1882; Topeka *Daily Commonwealth*, September 13, 1882.

12. Abilene *Chronicle*, November 17, 1882.

Last Sunday was a Kansas March day in every respect. The clouds of dust were stupendously suffocating all day.<sup>13</sup>

April and May had their dusty days and particularly May 8. "The dust was like the historic 'pillar of cloud,' that guided the 'Children of Israel,' and the wind was strong enough to blow a fife inside out."<sup>14</sup>

Farther west toward the 100th meridian the storm of April 13 received this comment from the *Kinsley Graphic*, April 19, 1883:

Kinsley was visited on Friday last by one of the most ungentle zephyrs that it has been our misfortune to experience since a resident here. A perfect cloud of dust and sand filled the air and dusted in every crack and crevice of the buildings, and the unlucky pedestrian who was compelled to be abroad absorbed the full peck of dirt that is allotted to each one's life, and what his or her stomach would not hold was stowed away in their ears, eyes and clothing. The flies laid low; the dogs crawled into the cellars, and the birds nestled closely wherever shelter could be found. Irrigators as well as anti-irrigators prayed loud and continuously for water,—it matter not how or by what means it was obtained,—and their prayers were answered as the day wound up by a heavy rain and hail storm. We suppose it is necessary that we should occasionally have these little visitations or we would not know how to appreciate the delightful climate with which we are blessed, as there is certainly no other good object attained.

Dodge City reported on the dust storm of May 8 and again in July commented on the recurrence of dust.<sup>15</sup> In September Dickinson county dust was said to have been terrible.<sup>16</sup>

The general dust storm record from the *Monthly Weather Review* for 1884 was not so extensive for the spring months as in 1883. Kansas had its storms, however, in about the same apparent proportion. The Larned *Chronoscope*, March 21, 1884, philosophized:

If "dust is the bloom of time," as some esthetic party has declared, Kansas must be a species of century plant that blooms a hundred years, and like the century plant "in blooming dies," for if the racket of the past two weeks was kept up for a century the country would be blown away and nothing left to bloom.

Larned had a storm of unusual severity on April 3, Abilene on March 10 and April 9, and Salina reported dust on April 18 and May 12.<sup>17</sup>

The Wichita *Eagle* turned out its "Kansas Spring-Wind Poetry" in the issue of April 10 and the following week explained its tech-

13. *Salina Journal*, March 22, 1883; *Salina Herald*, March 22, 1883.

14. The quotation is from the *Salina Herald*, May 10, 1883. Other references to dust: *Ibid.*, April 26, 1883; *Abilene Chronicle*, May 11, 25, 1883.

15. *Dodge City Times*, May 10, July 5, 1883.

16. *Abilene Chronicle*, September 7, 1883.

17. *Larned Chronoscope*, April 4, 1884; *Abilene Chronicle*, March 14, April 11, 1884; *Salina Journal*, April 24, May 15, 1884.

nique in this way: "The *Eagle* thought it in order to more forcibly impress its readers of the truthfulness of its 'Spring-wind' poem . . . , to order a small sand and wind storm. Hence the last Wednesday evening's blow."

## KANSAS SPRING-WIND POETRY.

Administered to the *Eagle* by E. D. Win.

As spring comes on the poet's mind  
 Seeks, and not in vain, to find  
 Some topic bright on which to write,  
 And give new pleasure to mankind.  
 So I, a spring-time poet, try,  
 Upon the earth or in the sky,  
 Or in the intervening space,  
 To find some one thing that will grace,  
 Or be graced by my little song;  
 So I have hunted all day long  
 For objects rare and faces fair,  
 That only leave me in despair  
 When found. But in that space between  
 The earth and sky—'tis there I find  
 My subject—it is felt, not seen—  
 My topic rare—the Kansas wind.

An hour ago, how fair and bright  
 The evening was with radiant light;  
 And to the breeze the budding trees  
 Bowed their heads, with pure delight,  
 Then straightened back in calm content,  
 As if their nodding only meant,  
 "Good evening gentle wind; you blow  
 So soft and still that we may grow  
 All undisturbed our summer dress?"  
 The gentle breeze seemed saying, "yes"—  
 But then it *lied*. It only tried,  
 With its soft tone, to turn aside  
 All apprehension of a blow.  
 But this is what all things will find:  
 That they can never, *never* know  
 Just how to take a Kansas wind.

But now, look out upon the street,  
 And this is what your eye will meet:  
 That all things loose and of no use,  
 Are hurled in space a thousand feet.  
 And you will see up in the air,  
 A worn-out plow, a woman's hair,  
 ('Tis false of course,) a worthless dray,  
 A stack or two of mouldy hay,

Sign boards, shingles, boots and hats,  
 Dudes and dudelets, dogs and cats.  
 And in and out, and round about,  
 You see them going, without doubt,  
 (Although *this* spring a little late,)  
 A more congenial clime to find;  
 They're going to Missouri State,  
 Blown over there by Kansas wind.

I wonder if a spring-time poet  
 Ever found that he could go it,  
 In making rhyme, without in time,  
 Hitching a moral to it?  
 My inclination lies that way,  
 And this is what I have to say:  
 That if you keep your things of worth  
 Securely anchored to the earth,  
 With care, such as they should receive,  
 That you will soon come to believe  
 'Tis just things loose, and of no use,  
 That from the winds receive abuse;  
 And, that the zephyrs as they blow,  
 Become a blessing to mankind,  
 By making all the rubbish go  
 Abroad, upon the Kansas wind.

The year 1885 in Kansas was characterized as on the whole favorable, with rain well distributed, yet Dodge City propounded this proposition: "Dust is considered a good fertilizer; everything ought to grow well in this country for we have dust to spare in the spring and summer."<sup>18</sup> The *Salina Journal*, March 12, 1885, commented that "When the March winds commenced raising dust Monday [March 9], the average citizen calmly smiled and whispered 'so natural!'" April sandstorms were reported from Fort Yates, Dak., 13; Yutan, Neb., 10; and Dodge City, 8; and in May from Fort Yates, 8, 13, 22.<sup>19</sup>

On October 17 the Junction City *Union* reported an exceedingly dry fall, pastures of "more or less complete barrenness," and stated that this meant "for the winter 1885-86, a feeding season fully six and a half months long." In October and December sandstorms were reported from Fort Yates, Fort Assinaboine, Fort Sill, Fort Union, and Cleburne, Tex. Lovewell's report for Kansas said that "The most remarkable wind of the season or year was on Decem-

18. J. T. Lovewell, "Meteorological Report," in Kansas State Board of Agriculture, *Report for the Quarter Ending December 31, 1885*, p. 182; *The Globe-Livestock Journal*, Dodge City, February 17, 1885.

19. *Monthly Weather Review*, April and May, 1885.

ber 4th, when it blew for an entire day from the northwest with great violence, filling the air with dust. . . ." <sup>20</sup>

The year 1886 opened with severely cold weather and snowstorms even heavier than the winter of 1880-1881.<sup>21</sup> In the south sandstorms occurred in January: El Paso, 19; Abilene, Tex., 26; and Midland, Tex., "a heavy sandstorm occurred at 10 a. m., of the 26th, during which it was impossible to see objects one hundred yards distant." At Austin at 4 p. m. on the 26th,

. . . a shower of very fine dust began falling from a clear sky; there was no wind at the time; the shower increased towards evening and continued late into the night. The dust had a peculiar effect on the lungs and throat, causing irritation and hoarseness. A similar phenomena occurred at this place eight years ago [1878].

Each issue of the *Monthly Weather Review* contained its quota of dust storms throughout the spring. The *Salina Journal*, April 15, commented: "For a few days we have had a little touch of the old-time Kansas wind. Some things grow sweeter and better with age, but never the regulation Kansas wind." A week later: "The balmy south wind is very acceptable—but just at present too heavily laden with dust to 'convulse' anybody with joy."

The drought of July, 1886, was summed up by the *Monthly Weather Review*:

During July a very disastrous drought prevailed over Iowa, Illinois, Dakota, and Minnesota, as well as over the greater part of Wisconsin, Nebraska, Kansas, and Texas. The dry weather commenced in May, and during June and July had become a severe drought, inflicting large losses on the grain-growing interests in the Northwest and the cattlemen in Texas. During the first six days of the month very high temperatures occurred in the northern districts, especially in Dakota on the 6th, which added materially to the injurious effects of the dry weather. In New England also the effect of dry weather could be seen in the brown grass and short crops.

It was not only in Kansas that the quip of the *Abilene Reflector*, August 26, was applicable: "Dust, dustier, dustibus! Who says we have forgotten our latin? It might not be healthy to unearth too much dead language this hot weather." At North Platte, Neb.,

. . . brisk to high southerly winds set in during the afternoon of the 18th; they increased steadily in force, attaining at 8:45 p. m. a velocity of sixty miles per hour. Owing to the prevailing drought heavy clouds of sand and dust were raised by the force of the wind, completely hiding the sky from view.<sup>22</sup>

20. *Ibid.*, October, November, December, 1885; J. T. Lovewell, *loc. cit.*

21. Lovewell, in Kansas State Board of Agriculture, *Report for the Quarter Ending March 31, 1886*, p. 16; *Salina Journal*, January 7, 14, 1886.

22. *Monthly Weather Review*, October, 1886.

On November 3 Fort Assinaboine, Mont.: "The gale was accompanied by clouds of sand which nearly obscured the sky"; and at Fort Buford, Dak., on November 4, "During the prevalence of the gale the air was filled with heavy clouds of dust and sand."<sup>23</sup>

The great boom of the 1880's which prevailed over the whole Trans-Mississippi West, including southern California, reached its most extreme excesses, and the collapse in various degrees was in evidence before the end of this year. In historical perspective, it is evident that the turn had occurred in 1886. The mute evidence of this was to be found in the cornerstones of so many stone buildings bearing the date 1887 in towns west of the 100th meridian in Kansas. Many buildings begun in 1887 stood for years unfinished, the stone finally being used for other purposes. Beginning in late 1886 the principal weather news was intense and prolonged drought.

Most of Texas was dry in 1886 and in January, 1887, in the vicinity of San Antonio "cattle men say that but for the abundant growth of cactus large numbers of cattle would have starved." The observer at Rio Grande City stated that "in some places the ground was entirely bare and very dusty, and during the high winds which occurred on the 17, 19, 20, 21, 23, and 27 very heavy clouds of dust and sand filled the atmosphere." Similar sandstorms occurred at Midland, Tex., the 7th, 12th, 16th, 20th, 22d, 25th, and 30th. At Abilene, Tex.,

. . . during the 18th fresh southwesterly winds prevailed, increasing in force at night, and accompanied by heavy clouds of sand and dust. On the 19th a southwesterly gale set in, filling the atmosphere with sand to such an extent that the sun could not be seen until two hours after sunrise, and throughout the remainder of the day the sky was obscured to an altitude of 45° above the horizon. High winds, with heavy clouds of sand and dust, occurred on the 7th, 16th, 19th, 25th, and 29th.

Similar conditions continued through February, March and April, cattle dying in large numbers, mostly for want of water, and many owners in southwest Texas shipping their herds to the Indian territory to grass.<sup>24</sup>

Two storms of particular severity were recorded in Kansas February 16-18 and March 26. The former was reported in detail from Cheyenne Wells, Colo., near the Kansas-Colorado line, and at Halstead "a high wind prevailed . . . and the dust was almost blinding, at times."

The front belt of this wind was filled with a peculiar, dark haze, which

23. *Ibid.*, November, 1886.

24. *Ibid.*, January, February, March, April, 1887.

proved to be dust, extending from the ground to an altitude of about 200 feet, with a nearly clear sky above. This dark haze lasted for five minutes, and in the southern half of the State was so dense as to temporarily change day to night, being described by eye-witnesses as a black cloud. It was followed by a reddish-brown haze, which gradually disappeared.<sup>25</sup>

The dust storm of March 26 appeared to possess similar characteristics, "bringing with it . . . dense earth clouds, which proved to be dirt whipped up by the wind from the plowed fields . . . , and carried along and high up into the air. . . ." <sup>26</sup> At Belleville "the first seventeen days of the month were remarkable for dry weather and the frequency and force of dust storms. On the 3d and 9th, during windstorms, dust filled the air to such an extent that buildings one hundred feet distant were visible only at intervals." At Independence "on the 3d during a wind storm the sky was obscured by dust."<sup>27</sup>

In May, 1887, Fort Maginnis, Mont., reported

. . . at 9 p. m. of the 7th the air was filled with dense clouds of sand, rendering it almost impossible to face the wind. At 4 p. m. of the 10th the wind was blowing a gale and the air became so densely filled with sand that the sun appeared like a large ball.

Saint Vincent, Minn., reported for April 2:

During the afternoon clouds of dust and sand were raised by the wind, rendering travel on foot and in vehicles difficult and uncomfortable, and causing a general suspension of work among farmers and laborers.

During the afternoon of the 7th a sand storm occurred which was more severe than that on the 2d instant; the air was so full of smoke, sand, dust, and burnt prairie grass that persons caught in it could not see ten feet from them.<sup>28</sup>

During the year 1888 sand and dust storms were less frequent and severe than in 1887. Kansas had snow in January and February and above normal precipitation in March. The most severe dust storms were reported from Fort Gibson on March 18th, 19th, and April 25th; on the last named date the description read:

Facing the storm, the fine sand would cut one's face like shot. Herderboys sought shelter in buffalo wallows. Farm work was abandoned. What little moisture was in the ground seemed to be absorbed by the high winds. Rains on the 27th and 28th put the ground in good condition to again resume work.<sup>29</sup>

25. Kansas State Board of Agriculture, *Report for the Quarter Ending March 31, 1887*, pp. 47-51; Halstead *Independent*, February 18, 1887; *Monthly Weather Review*, January-April, 1887.

26. Kansas State Board of Agriculture, *Report for the Quarter Ending March 31, 1887*, pp. 51, 52.

27. *Monthly Weather Review*, April, 1887, reported under drought heading rather than dust storm section.

28. *Ibid.*, May, 1887.

29. Kansas State Board of Agriculture, *Report for First Quarter, 1888*, pp. 147, 153-159; *ibid.*, April, p. 8; *Monthly Weather Review*, 1888.

The weather reports for 1889 indicated that the year opened with above normal precipitation in Kansas, especially to the westward. Snow was reported in February and the absence of usual March winds was featured. At the end of the year the summary emphasized an absence of extremes of heat and cold, but an abundant and well distributed rainfall.<sup>30</sup>

This was more optimistic than some of the local press comment indicated, but at any rate the year was not conspicuous for dust storms. The *Salina Journal*, February 7, 1889, commented:

The howling winds of Monday [February 4] lifted the surface of the earth into the air, as one of those palaces of the Arabian tales was bodily moved. The earth did not go up in minute particles of dust, but bodily.

A dust storm was reported at Dodge City on January 11, 1888, and a very severe one on February 4. In April sandstorms were reported for Woonsocket, Dak., 1, 2, 3; Pekin, Ill., 3; Concordia, 2, 26; and for Arizona and California. Descriptive notes on the Wolsey, Beadle county, Dak., storm read:

. . . a severe sand storm occurred on the 2d; the wind was very high during the day and drifted the sand three inches in places. A great deal of grain, lately sown, was uncovered by the wind.

From Yankton, Dak., came this descriptive note for April 2:

. . . the wind backed from southeast to north, increasing in force until it attained a maximum velocity of forty-eight miles per hour from the north at 5 p. m. The dust and sand in the air, raised by the wind, became so dense at 2 p. m. as to obscure the sky; at times the sun was entirely hidden from view by sand and dust, and it became so dark as to require artificial light.

On May 5, at Salt Lake City, Utah, occurred the most severe sandstorm in years, so dense as to reduce visibility to the width of the street. The next day on May 6, Concordia reported a sandstorm and Dodge City had one on August 3.<sup>31</sup>

At this point in the record the history of sand and dust storms was discontinued by the *Monthly Weather Review*, 1890-1894, inclusive, and just at a time when full reporting was important to a perspective on the whole Western area. Local Kansas records showed a dry March; the Manhattan station noted that "the effects were also disagreeably noticeable in the clouds of dust which filled the air during the heavy winds the latter part of the month," the two most severe days being March 24 and 27.<sup>32</sup> April had severe storms, especially April 8, when Gove reported "a dust

30. Kansas State Board of Agriculture, *Report for the First Quarter, 1889*, pp. 123, 127, 134, 140; *Report for the Fourth Quarter, 1889*, pp. 139, 140.

31. *Monthly Weather Review*, 1889.

32. Kansas State Board of Agriculture, *First Quarterly Report, 1890*, pp. 56, 57.



storm, doing some damage to late wheat. . . ." Electrical phenomena were more conspicuous at this time than in connection with most such storms. At Offerle "the sky was obscured by dust; the dust was so dense that buildings could not be seen more than one-half mile distant. . . ." <sup>33</sup>

Some of the Kansas newspapers did not report on dust storms during the early 1890's, and relatively few gave details. The *Rooks County Record*, Stockton, is a conspicuous example, giving scarcely a hint of what was going on, so far as weather was concerned, only the notices about relief to settlers in the form of coal and seed indicating the extent of the distress.<sup>34</sup> The Dodge City papers were reticent also, but the extent of dust storms there has been revealed by records of the federal weather service used by J. B. Kincer in an unpublished paper in 1936. These were printed by Call, and by Throckmorton and Compton in 1937:

April 8, 1890: At 10 a. m. the dust in the air was so dense that objects could not be distinguished 100 yards off. No one who could possibly remain indoors was on the street.

August 13, 1892: The wind raised such a cloud of dust that it was impossible to see over 150 feet ahead.

April 6, 1893: The dust was blinding and was deposited so thickly on office furniture that everything looked as though it were covered by a layer of dirt prepared for a hotbed.

May 15, 1894: The dust caused by high wind was terrible.<sup>35</sup>

The *Meade Republican* did not mention the dust but the *Meade County Globe*, April 13, 1893, was more outspoken than some other papers, saying of the storm of April 11, "Tuesday was one of the worst days that we have ever seen in Kansas. The dust was thick in the air and drifted around in heaps like snow." Again: "During the last ten days real estate has probably been as high—in the air—in Kansas, as any time in the history of the state." The issue of April 20 closed the chapter by saying: "Tuesday [April 18] night and Wednesday [April 19] were times of wind and dust—but we wont say anything more about it."

The years 1894 and 1895 appear to have been the climax of the 1890's in the dust storm department and the frequency and severity of the dust storms led to scientific studies of their behavior. A good example is to be found in an analysis by J. A. Udden in *Popular Science Monthly*, New York, v. 49 (1896), pp. 655-664, of 38

33. *Ibid.*, *Monthly Report for May, 1890*, pp. 31-34.

34. *Rooks County Record*, February 22, April 5, 1895.

35. L. E. Call, "Safeguards Against Drought: Storing Surface Feed," Kansas Agricultural Convention, 1937, in *Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture for the Quarter Ending March, 1937*, pp. 53-61; R. I. Throckmorton and L. L. Compton, "Soil Blowing in Kansas and Methods of Control," in "Soil Erosion by Wind," *Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, December, 1937*, pp. 7-44 at 8.

dust storms of 1894 and 1895 based on reports from 14 states. Other studies appeared in the *Monthly Weather Review*. The dust storms of 1895 were so severe that the reticences of the previous years seem to have been relaxed in Kansas newspapers, and the *Monthly Weather Review* resumed reporting although in a somewhat different form.

East of the Mississippi river on the night of January 11-12, 1895, occurred a dustfall of sufficient density and extent to excite interest first in Indiana and Kentucky, and later in other states. The reports in the *Monthly Weather Review*, pp. 15, 18, 19, read:

. . . there fell throughout a large part of Indiana and Kentucky a shower of dust in connection with snow. It does not appear that this dust was the nucleus of snowflakes, but that it was intermingled in the air with the snow or fell with the wind that preceded the second snowfall.

Investigation of the path of the storm led to the conclusion:

This process of raising great clouds of dust, carrying them south and east and depositing the dust finally, either by reason of its own weight or in connection with rain and snow, is a process that must have begun in Montana on the 10th to be concluded in Ohio, Kentucky, Louisiana, and Texas on the 12th and 13th. . . . This process . . . is one that goes on continually throughout the globe. . . .

The special interest that attaches to this present duststorm consists in its bearing on the question of the formation of our agricultural soils, and especially the so-called "loess," which is the lightest and finest of all. Large tracts of loess exist in Nebraska, Kansas, Iowa, and southward to the Gulf; in some places its depth amounts to a hundred feet or more.

Other less conspicuous dustfalls were reported in Kentucky, January 19; Indiana, February 1, 8, and March 25. A phenomenon presented as "a silent electrical and dust storm in Oklahoma," January 20, 1895, was described by J. C. Neal, of the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College:

During the morning of January 20 the sky was filled with cirrus clouds, very feathery and white. In the afternoon it became hazy, then dark, and looked like rain. Wind in puffs from the southwest. At nightfall the sky cleared, but somewhat hazy. At 8 p. m., seventy-fifth meridian time, the wind changed to the west, and a gale began; by 9 p. m. it was frightful. The dust passed along in columns fully 1,000 feet high, the wind arose to a speed of 35, then 45 miles per hour, with gusts reaching 55 miles, the temperature fell rapidly, and we saw for the first time (about 9 p. m.) flashes of light that apparently started from no particular place, but pervaded the dust everywhere. As long as the wind blew, till about 2 a. m., January 21, this free lightning was everywhere but there was no noise whatever. It was a silent electrical storm. This morning the sky is clear and except that the dirt is piled up over books, windows, and in all the house, no one would know what a fierce raging of wind and sky we had.<sup>36</sup>

36. *Monthly Weather Review*, v. 23 (January, 1895), pp. 13, 18.

The next outstanding dust event was the dustfall of February 6-7, 1895, reported from Stattler, Ark., where the ground was covered with snow and was described by the Missouri weather service for that state:

During the prevalence of the high northwesterly winds on the 6th and 7th, a considerable quantity of dust or fine black sand was deposited over the southwestern portion of the State, and as the ground for many miles to the westward was covered with sleet and snow to a considerable depth, it is believed that this dust was brought by the wind from the prairies of Kansas and Nebraska.<sup>37</sup>

One of the most remarkable storms in history, as it was characterized, was reported from South Enid, Oklahoma territory, having occurred March 19-20:

From 4 p. m. until 2 a. m. the wind blew eighty miles an hour from a northwesterly direction, filling the air with sand and dust, causing complete suspension of travel and doing serious damage to property. Wheat and vegetables in the sandy low lands are now hidden from view under several inches of dust.<sup>38</sup>

The worst dust storms of the year were visited upon Kansas during April, one series centering on April 5-6 and the other April 14-15, but in some parts of the country dust storms were reported in an almost continuous succession. In the north, Minnesota reported that "exceeding[ly] disagreeable duststorms were frequent, those of the 12th, 14th, and 21st were especially severe." In North Dakota there were "furious and damaging duststorms at Ellendale, Gallatin, Lakota, and Steele on the 14th," and in South Dakota, "severe sand or dust storms . . . occurred on the 4th, 5th, 14th, 25th, and 27th over portions of the State; the most severe in general occurred on the 14th." From the Pacific Northwest, on April 1, the severest storm known occurred in eastern Washington. In Colorado on April 14 the "sky had a peculiar brazen color; the snow that fell was tinged with pink. Those who were out in this snow reported their clothing covered with a deposit resembling mud." The peak of this storm was reached April 15:

Egyptian darkness is said to have prevailed in western Oklahoma and the Panhandle. Showers of mud fell in Oklahoma, severe lightning occurred, and crops were badly damaged. The number of cattle killed is estimated at 5,000, and a score of these were smothered. Drifts of sand 6 feet deep were reported along the railroad tracks of western Kansas.

Oklahoma reported that "The month was characterized by high winds and sandstorms, the most severe of the latter occurred on

37. *Ibid.* (January, February, 1895), pp. 16, 52, 53.

38. *Topeka Daily Capital*, March 21, 1895.

the 5th." An equally severe storm was reported April 14-15 from Healdton, Alva, Ponca City, and Pond Creek.<sup>39</sup>

The newspaper reports gave a somewhat different emphasis on some parts of the April record, but mostly they were a filling-in of details of local interest. The storm of April 5-6 on the central plains was a combination of snow and dust, and "trains were stalled on all the railway lines east of Denver and hundreds of men and several snow plows are engaged in clearing the tracks of drifting snow and sand." The Kansas Pacific (Union Pacific) train was tied up at Cheyenne Wells near the Kansas-Colorado line; some Rock Island trains were stalled at Goodland, and officials did not hold out hope of clearing their lines before April 7, "as they will probably have to shovel the cuts on account of the drifts being filled with sand." The description of the course of the storm dated from Falcon, Colo., April 6 related that:

A general wind and snow and sand storm, extending 300 miles east of here, and the worst ever known between Limon Junction and the state line, prevailed all day yesterday, and until about two o'clock last night, when the wind suddenly increased threefold in velocity, soon clearing the prairie country of what snow had fallen at midday. The sun was frequently so obscured by sand as to necessitate the lighting of lamps.<sup>40</sup>

By April 8 trains were getting through to Denver on all roads; the Rock Island had been 60 hours late.

Reports from northern Colorado and Wyoming are to the effect that the wind and sand storm was so fierce that the men at work cleaning the way were obliged to wear coverings for their faces, the sand cutting even through the cloth like a knife and lacerating the shovelers in a horrible fashion.

The loss of range stock in some portions of eastern Colorado, it is said, will amount to 20 per cent of the total. Many cattle drifted into Hugo, Colo., and perished, which had been driven before the wind from the north over 100 miles.<sup>41</sup>

Between Wellington and Harper a traveler said that the storm was so violent that "The train could hardly go through it, and the darkness which it caused was like that of going through a tunnel."<sup>42</sup>

From El Reno, Okla., came this description:

Business has been practically stopped and travel greatly impeded. About 4 o'clock yesterday afternoon a cloud of sand came up from the southwest and totally obscured the sun. Buildings could not be seen fifty yards and the sand was scattered along as though sown broadcast from a great hand. The falling of the sand continued for more than an hour, and those out in it

39. This survey is summarized from the *Monthly Weather Review*, v. 23 (April, 1895), pp. 128, 130.

40. *Topeka Daily Capital*, April 7, 1895.

41. *Ibid.*, April 9, 1895.

42. *Eureka Herald*, April 12, 1895, patent page.

had a hard time to breathe. The high wind prevailed all night, and this evening it is raining.<sup>43</sup>

The severe dust storm of April 14-15 as it was dated in the *Monthly Weather Review* reports was described as of April 15 (Monday), at Wichita under the headline "Actually Rained Sand":

The entire southwest, including southern Kansas, Oklahoma and the Panhandle of Texas, witnessed a terrible sand storm today. It was not only terribly damaging to the crops, but it was peculiar for the fact that it produced such an electrification of the air that nearly everything susceptible became charged with electricity. In the western part of K county, Oklahoma and the Panhandle, Egyptian darkness prevailed.

Such a peculiar storm has seldom been seen and the superstitious thought the astronomical conditions which, it is said, are now repeating themselves for the first time since the death of Christ, had something to do with it.

The rain that fell in western Oklahoma was actually a shower of sand.<sup>44</sup>

In the same issue was a report from Larned covering a longer period and including Friday's [April 12] sand storm which "killed many horses and cattle." A special from Larned said that during the sandstorm

drifts of sand six feet deep are piled up along the railroad tracks at the west line of the state. Horses and cattle that were caught by the terrific storm were smothered by the score. It is estimated that 5,000 head of horses and cattle between Larned, Kan., and Lamar, Col., were killed. One Gray county farmer lost thirty-two out of a bunch of forty-six head of cattle, and G. M. Ripple of Larned lost 100 head of cattle that he had been feeding in Ford county.

It was the driest April in the records of the Lawrence station, April, 1870, having formerly held that distinction. At Austin, Tex., to April 17, there had been less than three inches of rain for the year.<sup>45</sup>

The drought continued into the next month, and May 10

A cold wave struck Western Kansas . . . which caused the temperature to drop 40 deg. The wind is blowing a gale, and in Southwestern Kansas sand storms are so violent that people are compelled to seek shelter in their homes. A blinding snow storm raged for two hours at Hays City, Goodland and other points in Northwestern Kansas.<sup>46</sup>

Under a Kansas City date line May 10 came a summary from the Southwest:

One of the worst sand and dust storms in years prevailed in Oklahoma and at one or two points in Kansas to-day. At Pittsburg, Kan., comparatively no out-door work could be done. A dust storm blew nearly the entire afternoon, caking everything in its path.

43. *Topeka Daily Capital*, April 7, 1895.

44. *Ibid.*, April 16, 1895, with Wichita date line of April 15.

45. *Ibid.*, April 18, May 2, 1895.

46. Under Topeka date line in *Eureka Herald*, May 17, 1895.

The ground is baked and all crops suffering for want of rain. Here, as at most points through Kansas, yesterday's heated spell was followed by a drop in the temperature of nearly 20 degrees.

At Guthrie, Okla., a terrible wind storm from the north struck the town this afternoon and the temperature fell rapidly. The air suddenly became dark with dust and sand and for a time the people sought their cyclone cellars in fear of twisters.<sup>47</sup>

What seems to have been the last general dust storm of the spring of 1895 commenced May 27:

Blighting hot winds blew in Kansas for thirty-six hours, commencing Monday morning. A strong wind from the south drove clouds of dust and sand across the Central and Western parts of the State. Travelers on the through lines of road say that they were compelled to keep car windows closed for 300 miles to prevent suffocation. . . .<sup>48</sup>

In June a rural community correspondent wrote: "One of the seven wonders of the world. We haven't had a dust storm for a week."<sup>49</sup>

In Stanton county, in the extreme southwestern corner of the state, the local newspaper told the story of the spring of 1895 from the standpoint of a plains community.

The Johnson City *Journal*, April 13, 1895:

The worst storm ever witnessed by our oldest residents passed over the western part of this county and eastern Colorado, April 5th and 6th. It was a combination of snow, and sand, which was blown across the prairie at a terrific speed uninterrupted for 40 hours.

The snow and sand in its wild flight found its way into the creek beds and draws, soon filling them to the brim, which proved a death trap for stock, that in their mad effort to flee from the storm plunged into, never to leave again.

The Cimarron, North Fork, Little North Fork, San Arroyo, Horse Creek and Butte are strewn for miles with the dead carcasses. The storm came so suddenly that few people got their stock in. Thousands of dollars worth of stock, that required 8 and 9 years of hardship and economy for our farmers to accumulate, was lost. At this time it would be hard to estimate the percent lost as many are completely buried in the drifts that will not be found until the snow melts. Some estimate the loss at 50 per cent while others claim 25 percent will cover the loss. It is very hard to identify brands for the stock is covered with mud. Unless it rains soon many more will perish, as the grass is so completely covered with the mud the stock can not eat it.

Any where else, except Kansas and Colorado, people would be discouraged, but here in a short time, we will have what stock is left to us back on their old ranges and will forget the financial loss of the storm of 1895.

But time can never efface from our minds the loss of the three brave

47. In *ibid.*

48. Patent pages in *Chase County Leader*, Cottonwood Falls, June 6, 1895.

49. *Salina Herald*, June 21, 1895.

children that perished in the storm, while trying to save their stock, a full account of which will be found in another column of this paper.

The story of the three children:

The saddest event in the history of our county occurred in the southwest corner, in the death of three children, who lost their lives in the storm last week. Cora and Charlie Dick aged respectively 10 and 8 and Bertie Orth aged 13. Mrs. Dick and Mrs. Orth were each at home alone with their children, Mr. Dick having gone to Syracuse and Mr. Orth to the Cimarron river. Cora and Charlie left home between one and two o'clock on Friday afternoon (both riding one horse as was their custom) to get the cattle. Soon after leaving the storm came and that was the last seen of them alive. Sunday morning about 8 o'clock they were found by their father, three miles south of home, lying in the road dead. It is supposed they wandered over the prairie until exhausted and had lain down to rest only to awake in another world. They were lying with their faces together, and arms around each other with a peaceful look on their faces, that told no tale of the suffering they had undergone. By their side stood the faithful horse they were riding. She had never left them through the 40 hours of blinding snow and sand.

Bertie Orth left home about noon the same day on the same mission and was found Sunday about 10 o'clock  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile east of his home by some neighbors who were searching for him. He was a cripple and always carried his crutches on his saddle. He was either thrown or fell from his horse and being unable to walk had crawled some distance as was shown by the knees of his pants. His face showed the terrible struggle he had made for life.

The children were taken to the residence of A. O. Dick. On Monday afternoon at 5 o'clock they were laid to rest in the Gillespie cemetery. Cora and Charlie were buried in the same coffin locked in each others arms as they were found. It was the largest funeral ever held in the neighborhood, people coming from a distance to pay their last tribute to the dead. The people of the county extend to these grief stricken parents their heartfelt sympathy in this great sorrow.

The Johnson City *Journal*, May 18, 1895:

Every day the covered wagons are seen headed westward, many of the faint hearted who left us last fall are returning with some new recruits from the east that have been longing for something better than rented farms, and have taken courage from those returning to the deserted claims to cast their lot with the rest of us, and secure a home that they can own and control to suit themselves.

The Johnson City *Journal*, June 1, 1895:

Southwestern Kansas has been refreshed by a rain. One of the old fashioned rains, that commenced with a pouring shower about 9 o'clock Wednesday night, and all through the night the water came down in sheets [*sic*], and up to the time of writing this (8 o'clock Thursday morning) is still raining. The ground is wet into the depths of the earth, and the grateful frogs have come forth from it and are singing their songs of praise. Such a joyful song from our merry croakers has not greeted our ears for a long time.

Stay with your homes. Reports from other places are not encouraging. Dry other places, and the outlook for crops not much better than here.

Grass in the western part of the county is good.

Where are the croakers?—In the buffalo wallows.

A. O. Dick, is getting ready to do some work on timber claims, belonging to non-residents.

Mr. Editor:—

Will you allow me to harp a little on the same old string? While the music may not be so entrancing as if played in a different strain we believe it will be more restful to the discouraged Kansans. My theme shall be the Dry Weather. This spring we know has been unusually dry, and the buffalo grass shorter than it has been for years, but we exort our farmers to wait just a little longer before loosing [sic] courage.

We find by refering back a few years, that a dry spring is not always a sure sign of a failure in crops.

We were talking a few days ago with one of the pioneers of Morton county, and he thinks this spring identical with that of 1886. And that year we all know was one of the most prolific in our history. The rains did not come until June, but from that on they were frequent and copious, and a bountiful harvest the result.

BY ONE NOT DISCOURAGED.

The Johnson City *Journal*, June 8, 1895:

Another good rain on Sunday.

No church Sunday on account of the rain.

We hope now since our good rains that every farmer will go to work with a will and croak no more about our disadvantages, but let his labor speak for our advantages. For the poor man is as well if not better off here than farther east.

In view of the accumulated moisture deficit, some years were required to effect a restoration of the essential soil water which would stop blowing. The fall of 1895 brought forth another installment in the continued story of plains dust storms:

During the 18th, 19th, and 20th of October sand and dust storms, with low temperature and the wind at 50 miles per hour, prevailed over Minnesota, the Dakotas, and Manitoba, and the inconveniences of such a blizzard were intensified by the alkaline character of the dust.<sup>50</sup>

The year 1896 brought some improvement, and 1897 and 1898 were more nearly average seasons. Something of the mood of western Kansas was reflected in the local comment of the conservative minded *Rooks County Record*, Stockton, April 10, 1896: "This year has been set apart by thermal necrologists as the *ne plus ultra* of crop periods, and by the great Jehosephat, these prophecies shall not fail." The next week hopes mounted temporarily:

50. *Monthly Weather Review*, v. 23 (October, 1895), p. 381.



It will not be necessary to hang the local weather prophets this year, we are thinking. For some days their lives hung in the balance, while the dry winds howled around our cabin doors, laden with dust and sand. But at the last, when the patience of our people was about exhausted, and the hempen gear was being woven for the necks of those professional seers who had foretold a wet season for 1896, the flood gates were opened up and the rain fell. Oh what a fall was there, my countrymen!<sup>51</sup>

The year 1899 brought back the all too familiar dust storms in great frequency and intensity. Each month, January to May inclusive, had its list of occurrences.<sup>52</sup> April 30 in Nebraska produced an unusual spectacle:

In the afternoon, following the rain, the air in Eastern Nebraska was filled with dust, generally accompanied by high south, changing to northwest, wind. The yellowish dust increased in density at Ravenna until about 2:30 p. m. One could not read without a light. At 3:50 p. m. there was a dead calm, accompanied by a heavy dustfall, and at 4:00 p. m. a gale came from the northwest:

The darkness, the dead calm coming so suddenly, the weird sky, the rapidly rolling mass of yellowish clouds to the northeast, and the falling dust had brought us all out to watch, ready for a hail storm or a tornado and a dive for the cave.<sup>53</sup>

During the prevalence of the southerly winds

. . . the dust was carried in great quantities northward, but when the clouds coming from the west began to drop a little rain, preliminary to the heavy northwest winds that were to follow, then the dust became mud and the rain became a very dirty rain. This succession of dust followed by muddy rain moved eastward over the greater part of Nebraska, between 1 and 5 p. m., and during most of this time the sunlight was so obscured that lamps were lighted. The muddy rains occurred in Iowa as late as 9 p. m., but preceding that, viz, about 3:30 p. m., there were one or more tornadoes. A muddy rain began at Yankton, S. Dak., at 8 p. m. On the same day the severest northerly storm of the season occurred in Montana.<sup>54</sup>

In the three papers here concluded dealing with dust blowing between 1850 and 1900, the three sections of the state of Kansas and of the Western grassland have been reviewed; the tall grass, the mixed grass and the short grass regions. It is clear that the kinds of records available for such a study have not been all that could be desired, but in that connection one conclusion should stand out clearly. During the period under consideration, meteorology was just emerging as a science, attaining for the first time a new

51. *Rooks County Record*, April 17, 1896.

52. Kansas section of the *Climate and Crop Service of the Weather Bureau*, United States Department of Agriculture, January-May, 1899.

53. Nebraska section of *ibid.*, April, 1899.

54. *Monthly Weather Review*, v. 27 (April, 1899), pp. 158, 159.

level of competence. On the administrative side, a nation-wide system for collecting data and analyzing it was first achieved. This provided a standardized methodology, instruments, and definitions for a more exact quantitative measurement of weather data. Theoretical analysis of weather phenomena was possible on a new level of probability, and this is illustrated conspicuously during the last years of the nineteenth century in the papers published on the dust storm and other problems.<sup>55</sup>

The snow-dust falls of January 11-12 and February 7, 1895, attracted such widespread interest that samples were gathered by the Weather Bureau from many places, especially from Indiana, Kentucky, Illinois, and from Arkansas, and were analyzed by the Department of Agriculture. Samples were reported upon also by private individuals who carried out investigations. The fact of dustfalls in the East was not unusual, but the circumstances were. A snow cover had already fallen so that the snow-dust was conspicuous, and it was easy to gather samples uncontaminated. The various analyses showed that the dust was fine silt mixed with varying proportions of organic matter. Although the suggestion was made that the material might have come from a dried-up fresh-water lake, the more important observation identified the organic material as derived from plants common all over North America. It was pointed out that the texture of the silt material was almost identical with the loess formations of Illinois, Nebraska and adjacent states. By weight the estimates of the volume of the dustfall ranged from 12.77 pounds to 150 pounds per acre.<sup>56</sup> This and other studies made during the late 1890's were inadequate, but what is important is the fact that a large quantity of more or less systematically collected data was being recorded and that a be-

55. Cf., description of publications of the Weather Bureau, "Climate and Crop Service Publications," in *ibid.*, p. 150. The first report on the new model appeared February, 1896, for the New England section. By the close of 1898 all but two states, Iowa and New York, were on a uniform basis, including instruments and definitions.

Oliver L. Fassig, "Statistics of State Weather Services," *ibid.*, v. 23 (June, 1895), pp. 209-212. This gives a skeleton chronological history of state services.

See, also, "A Chronological Outline of the History of Meteorology in the United States of North America," *ibid.*, v. 37 (March, April, May, 1909), pp. 87-89, 146-149, 178-180.

"Nomenclature," *ibid.*, v. 21 (1893), p. 225. C. Abbe, ed., "Historic Droughts in the United States," *ibid.*, v. 26 (June, 1898), p. 262. C. R. Keyes, "The Eolian Origin of Loess," *American Journal of Science*, v. 156 (1898), pp. 299-304.

E. E. Free, "The Movement of Soil Material by the Wind," USDA, Bureau of Soils, *Bulletin No. 68* (Washington, 1911), is the first thorough monograph on the wind erosion problem. More popular and brief is E. E. Free and J. M. Westgate, "The Control of Blowing Soils," USDA, *Farmers' Bulletin 421* (1910). The most recent study of soil blowing is a Canadian work, W. S. Chepil, "Dynamics of Wind Erosion: 1. Nature of Movement of Soil by Wind. II. Initiation of Soil Movement," *Soil Science*, v. 60 (October, November, 1945), pp. 305-320, 397-411.

56. *Monthly Weather Review*, v. 23 (January, 1895), pp. 15-19. Another discussion appeared in *ibid.* (April, 1895), p. 130. See J. A. Udden, "Dust and Sand Storms in the West," *Popular Science Monthly*, v. 49 (1896), pp. 655-664, and W. M. Davis, in *Science*, v. 4 n. s. (October 9, 1896), p. 525.

ginning was made in subjecting it to analysis. In time the outcome of such work would meet more exacting scientific standards.

It was more than a coincidence that the period of agricultural discontent associated with the Granger movement occurred during the drought and soil blowing of the decade of the 1870's, and that the dust crisis of the 1890's was also the period of the Populist movement. In either case, the grievances exploited by those movements fell far short of explaining adequately the condition of the farmer during those discouraging years. The worst manifestations of soil blowing as related to agricultural operations occurred during the pioneering process. The country was new, the population was not settled-in on a firm and stabilized foundation in harmony with the new environment. The people were short of capital, of machinery, of motive power, as well as experience. The older and better established communities usually kept their soil fairly well under control. In recent times, because of the technological revolution in agriculture and as the result of the initial exploitive stage of power farming, the period of the late 1920's was analogous in a sense to pioneering. In the light of that experience and well considered conservation measures, the worst features of those eras need not be repeated. There is no reason to assume that dust storms can be prevented altogether, because without question they were frequent and severe prior to white settlement and the plowing of the sod, but the damage incident to agricultural operations should and can be minimized by careful soil management.

A Hoosier in Kansas  
The Diary of Hiram H. Young, 1886-1895  
Pioneer of Cloud County

PART THREE, 1892

Edited by POWELL MOORE

JANUARY, 1892

1 Friday. Cloudy & cold High wind north. The old Man better. Made shed for little colts. Disagreeable day.

2 Saturday Boss day. Boys took Betsy Ellen cow to town and Brought home Dr. McCaseys cow. . . . I went to Rice after noon. Alba came home from Lincoln. Came part[l]y way home with Switze Goble the Balance of the way with E. E. Moberly Home Good Season. Boys went to Singing at the Center this evening

3 Sunday. Good day. Harry Thompson & Jennie visited us to day. Dr McCasey Called and had dinner with us. I went with Dr to Aurora and F. A. Thompsons Got medicine at Aurora. Plaid old 100 til bed time at home.

4 Monday. Good day. Visited the School for the first time. John went to Mullers in the morning. John hauled Manure after dinner. George at School.

5 Tuesday. Fair day. Went to town. and Mill. Bought lumber \$1.80 Tobacco 40¢ Meat saw 1.00 Nails 40¢ = \$3.60 Home Just at dark. Good day

6 Wednesday. Clear & cold. High wind North. Fine weathe[r] for Winter. Finished making Stable for little colts. George and Mabel at School. John at home. Mother Making Mince Pies. Freddie Blowing Mouth Organ.

7 Thursday. Good Day. Wash day. George at School. Went over to Rail Road. Track half laid. Stop[p]ed at Gottlieb Huschers John went to Budds. Boys went to Rice in the evening. Gottlieb Huscher was butchering Hogs & Beef.

8 Friday. Clear & cold John and I went to town. I staid all night and attended Chapter. Staid all night with Dr McCasey.

DR. POWELL MOORE, of 444 Highland, Hammond, Ind., is assistant professor of history at the Calumet Center of the Indiana University Extension Division. His wife, a daughter of George A. Young, is a granddaughter of Hiram Young, the diarist.

9 Saturday. Cloudy & cold wind north east. Came from town with L. M. Swope. Home about Sundown. George and [?] went to the Center to Singing.

10 Sunday Snowing. Good Snow. Miss Haynes. Came up from Rice to day & stop[p]ed at our house. George took John to Rice in the after noon.

11 Monday. Clear & cold 4 Degrees above Zero. This the coldest Morning this winter. John started to School this Morning in Concordia. George and Mabel at School. Got a sick Hog to day. Snow about 3 inches deep. John Secrist Called in the evening on his way to the School house to attend District meeting I went [with] him Home 9 P. M. 4 Degrees below Zero.

12 Tuesday Clear & cold 12 Degrees below Zero. This the coldest Morning. Davy Secrist Called this morning with School District or[der] for L. C. Hoffman, For repairing School Seats, & he lost the order on the way. George & Mabel at school. Cold day & clear. Marshall Inghram [Ingraham?] called and staid all night. Mr. Inghram lives in republic co. and is in the Show business. George went to the alliance. 9 P. M. Clear & cold.

13 Wednesday. Clear & cold 8 Degrees below zero. Marshall Ingraham still with us. George went to Keosters [Koeste or Koester?] in the evening. Fred, The old Lady and Mary are very sick.

14 Thursday. Clear and cold. 2 Degrees above zero. Marshall Ingraham went to Rice. A. D. Goble Called to day. Good pleasant day for winter. Wind West. Went to Keosters in the eve, and then to the Show at the School House. All our family were at the Show. Home 10 P. M. Pretty good Show. Marshall Ingraham went to Aurora this morning.

15 Friday. Cloudy & cold 2 Degrees below zero. Started to town with Grand Pap Groves. At Dr Else Charles Muller Caught up and I rode to town with him. Attended co Alliance. Drove Jack Matthews team home. 6 P. M. Truman Pierce Called this evening. George & Alba went to J. S. Lillibridges this evening. Had a bottle of Beer with Jo Henley of the Clyde *voice*

16 Saturday. cloudy pleasant George went to town with corn. bou[gh]t coal \$1.25 Home 5:30 P. M. 26 bus corn \$7.28 Paper 25¢ envelop 10¢ Marshall Ingraham Called to day.

17 Sunday. The worst day this winter. Stormed all day. Thermometor stood at zero all day. Bad and stormy & Disagreeable.

18 Monday. Clear and cold 8 Degrees below zero, wind north.

John Kellenbarger Called to day. Lillibridges commenced to move their goods to Aurora to car them to remove to Oklahoma. 9 P. M. 10 Degrees below zero, slight wind north.

19 Tuesday. Bright & clear 22 Degrees below zero this morning. George went to Rice after Dinner sold corn 16 bus. \$4.00 Bought oil 15¢ Tobacco 40¢ coal \$1.02 Mailed 4 letters 8¢ Soda 10¢ = \$1.80 [?] Brought home \$2.20

20 Wednesday. Good day. Wash day. Went to Rice after noon with J. T. Henderson. John Millers horse balked three times. Marshall Ingram & A. D Goble Called and ate dinner with us. George & Alba went to Gobles this evening

21 Thursday. Fair day. Hauled 1 load of corn for Truman Pierce and 1 load for W. A. Pierce. Road slick and hard on teams. Home about dark. The old Man unwell all day. Fearful cold in head. Hauled the corn to Rice.

22 Friday. Fair day. Mother and the old Man went to town. Paid Alliant up to Jan. 1st 1893 Subscribed for the Alliant for Ella Stangland Wichita \$1.00. Paid American Agriculturist \$2.10 and ordered it stop[p]ed Had Dinner with Dr McCassey. Saw George Paff [Pfaff?] of Oswego Ks a member of Co. R. 88th Indiana vol. infantry. Home at dark. Miss Clark & Miss Haynes are at our House. staid all night. John came home from town. A. D. Goble Called in the evening.

23 Saturday. Fine clear day. Frankie Bulled by Empsons Bull. Time October 23rd 1892 John went to Rice after noon.

24 Sunday. Fine day. George Pfaff of Labette co. came to our house last night and staid all night. Judge Stoner & family Called to day & had dinner with us. Had a good visit. George took John to Rice on his way to town. Gave John \$1.00 for History of the U. S.

25 Monday. Fine day. Wash Day. Mother & Alba went to Hamlins Actons & Bolens calling After Dinner. Georg[e] Laman Called to day. Clear & warm.

26 Tuesday. Fine day. Hauled 2 loads corn 55 bus. = \$14.85 Attended Alliance meeting, at the Center. Bought 1 lb Tobacco to day.

27 Wednesday. Good day. Dr McCassey & a sweede called to day to look at Bill & Dan. I asked them \$175.00 [for] them. J. T. Henderson Called to day. George & Mabel at School. Clear & Pleasant. Warm for the time of the Year George & Alba went to Aurora in the evening to attend the Lyceum.

28 Thursday. Fine warm & Pleasant. Went to Rice in fore noon. Mother went to G. L. Reeves. Goble Called in the evening. Sold him 3 turkeys. George went to Bolens in the evening.

29 Friday. Good warm day. Hauled Zimmermans Corn to Rice J. A. Secrist Hauled 2 load, T & Bill Pierce 1 load each. I Hauled 2 loads, & Bolen 4 loads. Total 10 loads 303.60 lbs \$85.00 Check on cloud Co. Bank. John came from town this eve. John, George & Alba went to Hen Peck to spelling School this evening.

30 Saturday. Good day. Drove Bill and Dan to town. Sold Bill for \$100.00 cash down, let Dan go on trial for one week if he suits I am to have \$75.00 for him. Hank Slutman Came this morning from California. Alba and I came home with Lafe Bricker. Home 7 P. M. Alba & George went to Singing. A. D. Goble Called this evening. Deposited to day in Cloud Co. Bank \$85.00 of J. C. Zimmermans money and \$100.00 of my own Total \$185.00

31 Sunday. Good day. George took John to town and brought our wagon & Harness home.

February, 1892

1 Monday. Good day. Nothing more than the usual routine to day.

2 Tuesday. Good day. I went to town to day with Freddie. Bought 2 Stone Jars \$5.00 2 Halters \$1.50 Iron Kettle \$4.50 Box crackers \$1.68 1 Barrel Salt 1.60 1 Pair Shoes \$1.40 repairing Mothers shoes 50¢ Total \$17.50 [?] Grand Pap (V. D.) Cleveland died this morning. Home 6:30 P. M.

3 Wednesday. Good day. Hank Slutman called to day. Hank staid and attended the funeral of old man Cleveland Hank staid all night. Mother & Alba attended the funeral of Grand Pap Cleveland. Alba went to Aurora in the evening.

4 Thursday. Rained half day. Then turned to Snow and Snowed fearful. Went to town after noon with sheriff Campbell. Staid all night with Dr McCCasey.

5 Friday Cloudy & Disagreeable Went to Clay Center. R R fair \$2.18 Dinner 25¢ Total \$2.43 attended District Alliance. Home to Concordia 6 P. M. attended Odd fellows Supper.

6 Saturday. Rained and fearful disagreeable. Came from town with T. Pierce Sold Dan. Got \$70.00 Deposited it with Cloud Co Bank.

7 Sunday. Cloudy & cool George took John to Rice. Got

coal \$1.00 Fearful muddy and nasty. Disagreeable. Ground full of water Ground covered with Snow.

8 Monday. Pretty fair day. George & Mabel at School. Roads in a fearful condition. Ground covered with Snow. Fearful on Stock. Particularly on Hogs.

9 Tuesday. Pretty cool & cloudy. George at School Also Mabel. Abe Linkum Goble called to day. Wash Day.

10 Wednesday. Pretty fair day. Went to Rice after Dinner with E. E. Moberly

11 [Thursday.] Pretty good Day. Two men with cattle stop[p]ed here for Dinner. Went [to] Aurora after noon. L M Swope went to Aurora with me. Paid Dr McDonald Cash \$2.50 in full for all demands to date. Fearful Muddy. Benoni Ledoux Sale.

12 Friday. Good day Hank Slutman Called to day. Alba went to town with Abe Linkum Goble, a bad go.

13 Saturday. Mother George & Mabel went to town. Gave Mother \$25.00 John came home from town.

14 Sunday. High wind north cold & clear. John footed to Rice Dave Horse cut his foot on the Barbed wire fearful. George and Alba went to Singing

15 Monday. Fair day. Killed 4 Hogs. Jack Matthews helped Paid him \$1.00 Hank Slutman Staid all night & helped butcher Borrowed Truman Pierces sausage grinder. Slutman Staid all night Fearful tiered. A. D. Goble Called to day looking for his cows

16 Tuesday Fine day Attended Theodore St. Pierre Sale. Went with Dr McCCasey Dr Staid all night. Dr Bought a horse. Hank Slutman went to town with Dr. Rendered out lard. Cleaned stables

17 Wednesday. Pretty fair day. Mother & I went to town. Judge Pattie spoke. collected \$20.00 for advocate. cigars 10¢ 1 Bottle Beer 25¢. 2 Screws for Harness 5¢ Total 40¢ Home 7 P. M. Frankie McCCasey came home with us.

18 Thursday. Cloudy & cold. Wind north east. Went to Rice after Dinner. Bought coal 1.65 Oil & can \$2.30 cigar 5¢ = \$4.00 Attended Oyster Supper at the School house in the evening. home 9:30 P. M. Big crowd. Stoner & Savary failed to put in.

19 Friday Pretty good day. Hank Slutman Called to day. Dan. Empson & wife Called to day

20 Saturday. Cloudy & gloomy. went to town. Hank Slutman went with me. Took Frankie McCCasey home. Went to Mill



4 bus. wheat Flour 129 lbs. John came home with me. Paid Jo Henley Editor [Clyde] Voice cash \$1.00 last Wednesday The day Pattie spoke in Concordia. Home 5 P. M. Children and Slutman went to Singing in the evening at the center. Singing Teacher came to our place and staid all night.

21 Sunday. Children went to church. Festus Sawdy Called this eve. George & Alba went to church at the center this evening

22 Monday. Washington's Birth day. Prof Sawdy stop[p]ed and fed his team. Wash day. John went to town. Washington's Birth day was Celebrated to day at Dis 76. The exercises were fine indeed. The old Man made a little speech. Mabel was the goddess of Liberty. Proff Sawdy was at the School house.

23 Tuesday. Cloudy. Disagreeable Theodore St. Peter Called to day and Paid me 50¢ cash. in full for all demands to date.

24 Wednesday. Good day. Hank Slutman Called in the eve for Supper. Jack Matthe[w]s Called to day. George went to Rice this eve for our Mail.

25 Thursday. Good day went to town Bought a hat \$2.00 Drew \$10.00 from bank. Home just after dark.

26 Friday. Good day. Alba went to town after dinner. John came home with her.

27 Saturday. Rained all day. My self & Hank Slutman went to Rice & Then to Concordia I staid all night with Dr McCCasey

28 Sunday. Cloudy & cool Snowed a little last night My self & Slutman went to Topeka. Arrived there 4 P. M. R R fair \$3.69

29 Monday. Cloudy & cool. Attended Advocate Meeting During day and evening Paid Advocate co. \$70.00 and took stock for C C Stoner \$50.00 H H Young \$5.00 S. C. Wheeler \$10.00 & J B Campbell \$5.00 Started home Monday night 12 M. R R fair \$3.68

March, 1892

1 [Tuesday.] Cloudy & cool. Arrived Home 9 A. M. Went on U. P. Rout[e] and came home on A. T. & S. F.

2 Wednesday. Wash day. Good day. Went to town after Dinner. Oil \$1.00 Stalk cutter wheels 2.05 Rivits 20¢ Total \$3.25 Home 6:30 P. M Freddie went with me to town.

3 Thursday. Good day. Commenced to cut stalks. John Fuller called. Jack Matthews returned my wagon. Slutman went to town. Old cow Cherry calved. *Heifer*

4 Friday Cloudy & disagreeable George went to town after

noon. John came home with him had stalk cutter sharpened \$1.25  
Paid Miss Clark School Teacher 2 month wages \$94.00

5 Saturday. Rained all day. Bad Disagreeable. Ground full of water. Snowed a little just at dark. Fearful day.

6 Sunday. About 1 inch Snow this morning. Bad & disagreeable. Fearful muddy. Cut Festus this morning Bad Job old Festus Stout as a horse George took John to Rice this after noon.

7 Monday Fine day. No School. Hauled hay. Oyster Supper at Jack Matthews. Sam Roberts Called at night and Staid all night.

8 Tuesday. Mother & I went to town. Fine day. Paid K. C. Daily times \$4.25 Time up June 12th 1892 \$1.00 for New York World and 25¢ for World Almanac Total \$5.50 Hank Slutman came home with us. Mr. & Mrs Sawdy was here and Staid all night. Bugdoffer [Burgdoff?] was here for supper. Sawdy Joined our alliance.

9 Wednesday. Clear & cold. F Sawdy & Wife went home. Hank Slutman Staid all night. Dan Empson Called to day. Also Jack Matthews. Jack Borrowed & Returned my wagon.

10 Thursday. Clear & cold. High wind north west. George went to Rice in the eve.

11 Friday. Good day. Went to town. Bought a flying Dutchman Riding plow \$40.00 Cash. Paid Bolen Cash \$1.30 for J. C. Zimmerman Paid Black Smith \$1.05 for sharpening cultivator shovels and Plow Shear [share?]. Total \$42.35 John came home. Home after dark. George Alba & Hank Slutman went to Rice in the evening to church. Paid Ferd Prince \$1.00 for the Advocat[e] for Sawdy

13 Sunday. cloudy & cold. Mother Freddie, Mabel & the old Man went to Thompsons. John went to town. Grand Pap Groves Called this eve for help, Miss Bell being Sick. Mother went [to] her assi[s]tance. Returned hom[e] 10 P M

14 Monday. Cloudy & cool. Hank Slutman & Old Man Groves Called to day. George And Alba went to Rice after Dinner. Bad disagreeable day

15 Monday [Tuesday]. Cloudy & cold George & Alba & Hank Slutman went to town. Home 6 P M. 2 Map agents called. Hung our Meat to Smoke.

16 Wednesday. Cloudy & Stormy. Fearful disagreeable Hank Slutman Staid all night. Bad all day. Hauled Flax Straw for the cattle.

17 Thursday. Cloudy & cold high wind north east. Road Scrapper trial to day. Fearful bad day. Ground froze. Davy Sechrist Called to day. Charles Muller the assessor was here to day Personal Property \$320.00 [exemption] 200 \$120.00 Taxable property Land Same as last year

18 Friday Pretty fair day. Went to town after noon. John came home with the team. I staid in town and attended Lodge.

19 Saturday. Clear & cold bought Tobacco 60¢ cigars 15¢ = 75 Medicine \$1.25 Pigman 50¢ = \$2.50

20 Sunday. Cloudy & cold Snowed and Fearful disagreeable. John went [to] town after noon. Ground covered with Snow.

21 Monday. Cloudy & Disagreeable Rained and misted Sleeted. Fearful Bad day.

22 Tuesday. Ground covered with ice. Bright & clear. Snow and ice all gone by the middle of the after noon. Mother was called this Morning to Willett McManimie. On a baby Dicker. George & Alba went to town. Freddie and the Old Man at home alone. Prof Sawdy called to day.

23 Wednesday. Good day. Hauled a load [of] corn for old Man Sawdy. I never pulled my Horses as hard in my life. Home a little after dark. Bought curry comb & brush, 65¢ Sundries 50¢.

24 Thursda[y]. Good day. Dr McCCasey & wife visited us to day. Cut Jumbo & Dick Also one bull calf. Burgdoff firend Had dinner with us. Dr brought 2 Bottles of Beer. 8 P. M. cloudy & threatening Rain and fearful dark Road scrapper to day north of the School house. Old Man sick dreadful. . . .

25 Friday. Good day. Harrowed in our wheat for pasture. Cleaned and tried our new Suldy plow. After Some little fixing the plow is doing good work. The old Man sick. . . . Martha Jane took her Kid to the Dr this after noon.

26 Saturday. Heavy rain last night. Cloudy & high wind north west. John came last night. Hank Slutman Called to day on his way to Kellenbargers. From there he will go to town Monday, and Monday eve he will start for New Mexico. Alba & George went to singing at the Center this evening. Bright and clear at 8 P. M

27 Sunday. Fine day. John went to Concordia in the after noon. George went to town in the evening. 9 P. M Pleasant.

28 Monday. High wind S. E. Sowed Oats. Went to town with Mother after dinner Bought 1 Box crackers \$1.44 1 Collar pad \$1.00 1 Cigar 5¢ Total \$2.49 Drew \$5.00 from Bank.

Home 6 P. M. Went to Mill with 4 Bushels Wheat. The old Man on the *lift*.

29 Tuesday. Rained all day. Ground full of Water. Bad Disagreeable day. George went for Mabel Horse back. Jack Matthews & Dan Empson Called to day. The old Man feeling better.

30 Wednesday. Good day. Went to Aurora after dinner. Bought Medicine \$1.00 Bird seed 10¢, Cigars 10¢. Total \$1.20. Home 7 P. M. George went to Rice in forenoon for the Mail. Freddie went with me to Aurora.

31 Thursday. Cloudy & warm. High Wind South. George cultivated in Oats. *Rained a little in the evening*. The old man a little better *Alba on the lift*.

April, 1892

1 Friday. Cloudy and fearful wind west. Wind commenced to blow last night from the South. And blowed at a fearful rate. Wind Blowed awful hard all day. Fearful Day. John came home this [evening] Walked home

2 Saturday. Good day. George sick. The old Man cultivated in Oats in the forenoon. Went to Rice after noon. With Goble. The last day of School. Mother and Alba went after dinner. Alba and John went to Singing in the evening

3 Sunday. Cloudy Hard rain and hail. Heavy rain. Alba took John to Rice on his way to town. George still on the lift. Grand Pap Groves called to day.

4 Monday. Cloud[y?] & high wind South. After noon wind changed to North West. Cold & disagreeable after noon. Finished cultivating in Oats. George better. All better. 8 P. M. High wind North West & cold.

5 Tuesday. High wind North West till about Sun down Then pleasant. Harrowed in oats. George better & went to Rice. Alba and George went to Alliance. Received a letter from L. B. Hay and Dave Skeels also postal Card from Aurora.

6 Wednesday. Good day. Finished our oats. Burgdorf Called to day Some what out of humor. Alba and George went to Moores to a party in the evening Kellenbarger & wife Called to day.

7 Thursday. Cloudy & pleasant. Wind E & S E. Went to Aurora. And got box trees sent by Dave Skeels Express charges \$1.25 The trees not worth the money. Freddie went with me to Aurora. Express charges \$1.25 Candy 5¢ = \$1.30 Gave Agent

Steinburg check on cloud co Bank for \$5.00 and got the change. Home 12:30 P. M. George cutting stalks.

8 Friday. Clear & high wind North. Cool. Gyp had a colt last night 13 days under time. Horse colt. A. D. Goble Called to day and got his trees that were sent from Oklahoma. John Kellenbarger & family Called to day and got their trees that were sent from Oklahoma. Alba & Mabel went to town after dinner. George Cutting stalks. Disagreeable day. Goble paid 25¢ for his shear [share?] of trees John Kellenbarger paid his 25¢ Fan Foaled 7 P M 18 days Short. Horse colt poor & crocked. This the last of School for John this term. 7 months and 1 week

9 Saturday. Good day Hauled hay. John cut stalks

10 Sunday. Cloudy & high wind South. Dr McCCasey and family and Dr Day Called and were here for dinner. Mabel went home with McCCaseys.

11 Monday. Good day. Plowed and planted strawberry plants and Potatoes. P[lan]ted  $1\frac{1}{2}$  bushels of potatoes. John cut stalks. Alba went to Rice. Bought Potato[es] 1 Bushel 40¢ 1 lb Tobacco 40¢ Total 80¢. Mother & Freddie went to Secrists in fore noon and got Strawberry plants. Morgan Sent for his Oklahoma cedars and paid his 25¢. And was much disappointed about them.

12 Tuesday Cloudy and Misted & frizzled & rained nearly all day. Wind South east. Bad disagreeable day.

13 Wednesday. Cloudy & cool. Fearful wind north west. Davy Secrist Called to day. I paid him cash 50¢ balance due on school order. Paid it out of my own pocket. John went to Rice for our Mail Bad disagreeable day High wind. Rained hard last night.

14 Thursday. Fair day. John cut stalks George plowed after Dinner. Mother on the lift.

15 Friday. Attended Co. Alliance Henderson & Alba were delegates. Staid all night with Dr. McCCasey. Attended lodge.

16 Saturday. Good day. Boys brought 5 Hogs to town weighed 1795 pounds 2 Hogs weight 875 at 3.80 3 Hogs weight 920 at 3[.]90 = \$69.13 Deposited 69.13 in cloud co Bank. Drew from cloud co Bank 77.40 for J. C. Zimmerman for corn rent and interest Bought shoes 1 pair for my self 4.00 Drew check on cloud co Bank for \$5.00 Made application for membership in the Knights of Columbia, Gave check on cloud co Bank for initiation] fee & Surgeons certificate. Bought 2 bushels potatoes \$1.35 Coat & vest for John 7.50 and Suspenders 35¢. Gave check on

cloud co Bank for \$7.50. I came home with J. T. Acton. Home 4:30 P M

17 Sunday. Cloudy. Wind east and north east. John Alba & George went to town to attend Catholic church. Home 1 P. M Dr T. C. McCas[e]y called and attended to McGinty Colt. . . . Dug 4 big cherry trees and gave them to Dr McCas[e]y. Ira Arkansas Pierce was here for Supper. the Boys went to church at the center. 8 P. M. Dark and threatens rain.

18 Monday. Cloudy & cool. Wind East. Planted Potato[e]s. George plowed. Went to town with Jack Matthews Made Application for Pension. Bill Norton and C. C. Stoner Signed my application. Dr S. C. Pigman made Affidavit for me free of charge. Bought Rake 50¢ Seeds & Snaps Nails & Staples 1.15 Lister sharpened 50¢ Tob 20¢ Cheese & dinner 35¢ Knife 65¢ Strichinine 10¢ = \$3.45 Home at dark. Cloudy and cold.

19 Tuesday. Cloudy and disagreeable. Boys plowed. quite a rain after noon.

20 Wednesday. Rained during the forenoon. Went to town after noon with T Pierce. Joined the Knights of Columbia Insurance company.

21 Thursday. Cloudy & cool. was summoned on Jury but got off. Came home with A. D. Goble. Home a little before dark. Bought 1 Lister wheel 50¢ one for Dutchman 25¢ cigars 15¢ Tobacco 45¢ = \$1.35 Peanuts 15¢, [Total] \$1.50

22 Friday. Good day. Boys plowed. Planted onions Lettuce Beets Strawberry plants and Beans.

23 Saturday. Good day. John & Mother went to town after dinner. Mrs Swope Called & visited while the old Man went to town. Gave John a check for \$2.00 commenced to rain about 3 P. M. Picked and Sorted our apples. Just about a bushel.

24 Sunday. Cloudy & rained. Mother Still in town. Boys & Alba went to Singing. Bad disagreeable day.

25 Monday. Cloudy. Planted Sweet corn. Commenced to list corn, but was too Wet. George plowing. Mother Still in town.

26 [Tuesday] Went to town with Jake Matthews. Cloudy & cool. Bought over alls \$1.00 Toba 5¢ cigars 25¢ = \$1.30 Home 8 P. M Mother came home with Bolen.

27 Wednesday. Cloudy and pleasant. Wash day. Alba Mabel & Freddie went to Vansickles for a turkey *Gobbler*. Laid down our meat for Summer in cave. Shelled corn. Received notice last night That my Mother was dead Died Saturday April the

23rd *May She rest in Peace.* High wind North West. Horses run away from Alba at Kellenbargers. up set the Buggy and broke the lines. Failed to get Turkey Gobbler. John went to Hoffmans to the Smith Shop in the evening Home 8:30 P. M. Pleasant evening New Moon.

28 Thursday. Good day. Hauled hay and tried to list corn but was too wet. George plowed. Spotted sow had pigs. 8 P M very pleasant. Mother Mabel & Freddie were at Jack Matthews after noon. Alba Called on Jennie Bertram after noon.

29 Friday. Good day. Wind S. Boy Plowing. Planted Peanuts. Sam Roberts Called to dand [day and?] insured our house and furniture for Six Hundred Dollars, \$400.00 on house and \$200.00 on household goods, including Fire Lightning and Tornado. Insured in Continental Insurance company.

30 Saturday. High wind S. Went to town with John Bergeron. Boys plowing. Fan sick in afternoon & evening. Bought 3 collar pads \$1.50 Andvill & vise \$2.25 dinner 25¢ = 4.00 Home 4 P. M. Fearful wind and dust. George went to Singing at the center in the evening. Thundered and Lightning & threatened Storm 9 P. M. very hig[h] wind South.

May, 1892

1 Sunday. Cloudy and cool. Jo Moore Had dinner with us. Fred Keoster Called to day. I Paid him School order No. 4. 65¢. 8:30 P. M. Raining.

2 Monday. John Listed. George plowed. Cloudy and misted all day. Bad disagreeable day. Frizzled and Rained and Misted all day

3 Tuesday. Cloudy & cold. Went to town with Goble. Drew \$5.00 from Bank Loaned 2.00 to Goble. Bou[gh]t Dinner 20¢. Tobacco 45¢ = 65¢ Attended Alliance at [District] 76 [school-house]. Paid our Dues 75¢. Home 10:30 P M Postage 6¢ Total 71¢ [?].

4 Wednesday. Hailed hard early in the morning. Then rained hard afterward. Cold and gloomy. Disagreeable. Rained nearly all after noon. Ground full of water. Wind changed from S. E. to N. W. Then to north then to South east, then to east then to South east. Dr McCCasey called at dark

5 Thursday. Good day Jack Matthews got seed corn. Boys went to Rice and got check wire from L. C. Hoffman.

6 Friday. Good day Tried to list corn but was too wet. Com-menced to plant corn with Planter after noon. Mrs Henderson and

Mrs E. P. Reeves and family visited us to day. John Brought Mrs Henderson Here and George took her home.

7 Saturday. Went to town with Charles Muller. Attended P.P.s, Central com[mittee]. meeting. Dinner 25¢ cigars 10¢. paid Insurance policy in Knights of Columbia \$1.50 Total \$1.85 Came [home] with Ike Woodruff. Rained hard before I got home Home 6 P. M. and still raining at 9 P. M. Heavy rain. Still raining at 11 P. M.

8 Sunday. Rained all night last night. Rained all day to day. Bad Disagreeable day. Fearful cold & muddy. Wind South east.

9 Monday. High wind north west. Still raining and Misting. Ground full of water. Boys hauled hay. Bad disagreeable day Dr McCassey called in the after noon on his way to Nels Breault. I went with him. Home 6:30 P. M. Dr Staid all night. Played old Hundered til 11 P. M.

10 Tuesday. Cloudy and cool High wind north west. Alba & Mabel went to Gobles after noon. John went to Rice after noon. Boys hauled a load [of] Straw.

11 Wednesday. Pretty good day. Listed corn after dinner. Gave Mose Morris a load of Straw. John Georg[e] & Alba went to town. Drove Alex for the 1st time. I went to Rice after noon and then to town. R. R. Fair 17¢ Attended Knights of Columbia Meeting. Staid all night with Stoner. Rained very hard during the night.

12 Thursday Bad disagreeable day. Came down to Rice in the evening R R fair 17¢ Cigars 15¢ Dinner 15¢ = 64¢. Home 7:30 P. M. . . .

13 Friday. Cloudy and rained. The Boys [took] our Cattle to John Campbells pasture 6 yearlings 1 cow and calf 1 white yearling Steer 1 Red Yearling Steer 1 White and red yearling Steer, 2 Red Yearling Heifer 1 white and roan heifer 1 Red and White Spotted cow with roan calf 8 Head in all. \$1.75 per head for the Season. Tup<sup>38</sup> Backed off a bridge throwing George and rolling over George. Kitt Goble was here to day

14 Saturday. Cloudy & Misted rained a little. Disagreeable. Made fence Hauled hay for the Cattle. Sent with E. E. Moberly for our mail. Repaired Stable and stalls in Stable.

15 Sunday. Bright & clear. Fine day. Children attended Sunday School. Ira Arkansaw Pierce took dinner with us. George Secrist Called this after noon. Also Lady Matthews and children and Grand Pap Groves.

38. Tup was one of Young's horses.



16 Monday. Cloudy Went to town. John & George Sold 11 Hogs Weight 2850 4¢ 1 Stag = 2770 = \$110.80 deposited \$100.00 in Bank. Dinner 75¢ Stable room 40¢ Picture frame 50¢ = \$1.90 [?] Came home with Goble Home 5 P. M. Mollie Goble called to day. Commenced to rain about dark and Rained very [hard] until 11:30 P. M. & Still raining . . . hard at that time. The heaviest this Season.

17 Tuesday. Cloudy & raining Awful wet. Fearful wet. Ground full of water. Saw Billy Conner yesterday in town. Billy is a sad wreck of former years. Too bad Too bad Billy. . . . Commenced to rain a little Before dark. High wind north west. Fearful wind. Bad storm. 8:30 P M Still raining. Fearful night. Cold north west wind. This storm is hard on Stock that is without Shelter.

18 [Wednesday.] Good day. Went [to] town to the Show. John Mabel, Freddie & Alba. Good Show. Home 8 P M. Gave George \$1.25 John \$1.25 4 Tickets 1.00 Cigar 5¢ Peanuts 5¢ bitters 25¢ for Kentucky Smith Tot[al] \$3.85 George came home about 10 P M.

19 Thursday. Cloudy and warm. Tried to list corn in the morning but was too wet. Hauled hay. Old Man Sawdy called. George helped Sawdy move his house hold goods on to the Banta Place. John listed corn after dinner. Wind sprung up about 5 P. M. & Blowed fearful for about 1 hour. Rained a little. Burned P[r]airie in the evening

20 Friday. Cloudy. Cold and High wind north west. John listing corn. George & I Planted Potatoes. George went to Rice in the evening. Jack Matthews Kids were here this after noon. Ground wet, too wet to plant. Fearful cold for the Season. Late planting.

21 Saturday. Cloudy & fearful cold. High wind north west. John listed corn. George went to Rice in the evening for our Mail. 13 Degrees above freezing 45 Degrees above zero. Awful cold for the Season. John & Alba went to Singing in the evening. Jack Matthews Borrowed my 3 Horse evener.

22 Sunday. This is a boss day. Bright and clear. Warm and pleasant. Lady Cleveland and grand Son were here for dinner. George went to W. A. Pierces. John Freddie Mabel & Alba went to Sunday School I called at Secrists this after noon.

23 Monday. Good day. John Planted corn with Planter George listed. The old Man covered with the hoe. High wind South.

24 Tuesday. Good day. Finished planting corn. Dr McCasesy Called and Staid all night. Attended Alliance at 1304 Home 10:30 P M.

25 Wednesday. Good day. Commenced to replant corn. Planted Potatoes. Went with Dr McCasesy to Lawrence Derias, Bishards Brickers, Brows, Allens Frybarger, Stoops, Lebarg [Lebarg?], Aurora and George Cota. Cut 11 colts, 1 colt after dark. Home 10:30 P M

26 Thursday. Good day. Boys listing in corn replant. Loaned my planter to Willett McManimie. Planted Beans. Planted Potatoes yesterday. Rained a good Shower last night.

27 Friday. Good day. Finished replanting listed corn. Alex Hadley called I paid him cash \$30.00 for 3 colts Horse Service Wind South east.

28 Saturday. Good day. Big rain last night. Attended Caucus today. Was elected delegate to co. convention at Concorday May 31st. John & Alba went to Rice in the after noon.

29 Sunday. Good day. Thundered nearly all day. Mother Mabel, Freddie and John went to Sunday School then to Sawdys. Grand Pap Groves Called in the evening. The Boys went to church at the center.

30 Monday. Went to town Attended decoration day. Nice arrangements. Good dinner. Rained awful hard in the after noon. Staid all night with Dr McCasesy.

31 Tuesday. P. P. Convention. Was elected Delegate to State convention. Big Strong Stout convention. Rained most all day. Mother came to Concordia this morning and left over the B & M for Lincoln Neb. Staid all night at the Pacific House 50¢. Subscribed for the Blade. Came down to Rice & then footed it home. Alba and George went to Rice After noon. Cloudy and cool.

June, 1892

1 Wednesday. . . . Heard that my application for a pension had been received. No 1,107,093 Mell had a colt yesterday Horse colt. Poor and little

2 Thursday. Fine day. Warm & pleasant. Worked in the garden. Planted cabbage plants Boys plowed in the orchard Boys went to town in the evening. This is the third day Mother is away from home.

3 Friday Good day. John listed corn for Jack Matthews. This is the 4th day Mother is away from home

4 Saturday High wind S. E. George & Mabel went to town

John & Freddie and the old Man went [to] Hoffmans and to Rice. took Hoffmans check wire home. Received a card from Mother. This is the 5th day Mother is away from home. Drove Alex to day. 10 P. M. Commenced to rain Thundering and lightning.

5 Sunday. Fine day. The young people gathered here this after noon to Sing. Also little children. E M DeGroff was here for dinner. This is 6 days Mother has been away. Among the people here to day was Prof Sawdy E. Groves Henderson G. W Layman G. W. Gill Harry Thompson Jim Bertram, Jo Moore, Miss Jennie Thompson, Miss Detree Jennie Bertram, Mrs. Gill Sally Secrist.

6 Monday. Good day. Went to town with T. Pierce. Had dinner with Sam. Demar's Paid interest on School land \$7.00 Peanuts 10¢ = \$7.10 Came home with Goble. Home 5:20 P. M. Wash day Drew School Funds, \$58.85 Paid Miss Frankie Clark school teacher 24.00 on last two orders. In Treasure, \$34.85

7 Tuesday. Good day. Boys plowed corn. George went to Rice in the evening. Received Card from Mother will be home tomorrow. This is 8 days Mother is from home. Hot.

8 Wednesday. Good day. Boys plowing corn. John & Alba went to town after noon. Mother came home this evening. Hig[h] wind South.

9 Thursday. Clear & hot. Boys plowing corn. An old Gent a showman called to day and wanted the use of our School house. Boys & Alba went to the school house to Singing in the evening

10 Friday Fearful hot. George Mother & My Self went to town after noon. I Staid in town all night. Ben Harrison renominated for President.

11 Saturday. Clear & hot. high wind South. Came home from town with Mr. Gardner. Boys & Alba went to town in the evening. Mrs. Sawdy Called a little while this evening.

12 Sunday. Clear and hot. High wind South. Judge Stoner Called this morning. Grand Mother Slutman came to our house. Mother Freddie Mabel Grand Mother & the old man went to Kellenbargers after noon. Children went to Sunday School.

13 Monday Wash day and Pa started for Wichita. John took him to Aurora [Written by Alba.]

14 Tuesday boys plowed corn and was awful warm Ella Stoner visited with us all day. [By Alba.]

15 Wednesday had good rain last night and every thing is so refreshed this morning. went to Rice this afternoon. and got a

card from Pa. He is safe at Wichita Grand Ma Slutman came this evening on [t]he way to Jakes [By Alba.]

16 Thursday Had good rain last night Boys plowing corn Ma went with Mat and Grand Ma to Mr Empsons. Had a heavy rain with wind and some hail I went to the school house with Mabel and Fred to practice for Childrens day Mr. and Mrs. Sawdy came this evening for cabbage plants [By Alba.]

17 Friday to[o] wet to plow so went to town home at 2 Oclock. [By Alba.]

18 Saturday Nice morning Geo went this fore noon to help fix the grove for childrens day. John plowed corn. got a letter from Pa [By Alba.]

19 Sunday We all went to Childrens day. Grand Ma is with us. Nice warm day [By Alba.]

20 Monday Wash day Awful warm Dudley Horse is sick Dr McCCasey was here Saturday night to Dr him and staid all night. [By Alba.]

21 Tuesday Jake commenced to cut the Alfalfa. one of the big hogs died. and Dudley is a little better. awful warm today. [By Alba.]

22 Wednesday Awful windy and dusty. Went to Rice this after noon Got a letter from Pa. he is in Ind[iana] now. [By Alba.]

23 Thursday Awful hot, today Mrs. Henderson and baby John and Minnie Kellenbarger and Mr Potinger called this after noon. Geo is rakeing the Alfalfa. [By Alba.]

28 Tuesday Mel took Louie Lawrence horse last night for the first time.

July, 1892

Sold 4 hogs to McCowen weight 1265 dock 80 lb. @ .05¢ = \$59.25 deposited \$50. Bought fly nets \$2.00 2 pairs gloves \$1.75 give Mother \$2.50 Geo. \$1.25 John \$1.50 Nice rain last night This is all the business that has been transacted. [By Alba.]

10 [Sunday.] Fine hot day John Kellenbarger and wife were here [By Alba.]

13 [Wednesday.] Christ but it was hot. [By George.]

14 Thursday. Arrived home from Indiana after an absence of 4 weeks & 3 day[s]. Found my family well.

15 Friday Went to town & attended co Alliance. Staid in town over night & attended lodge.

16 Saturday Rained a little came home from town. Motherly cutting my Oats.

17 Sunday very warm. Dr McCCasey & family visited us to day. Boys and Alba went to Sunday School Dr McCCasey castrated Alex.

18 Tuesday [Monday].

20 Wednesday. Went to town. Staid all night with Kentucky Smith. Paid J. C. Zimmerman 20 Dollars Borrowed while in Indiana July 9th 1892 was Examined By Pension Board

21 [Thursday.] Broke Dr McCCaseys cart down. came home. Fearful Hot.

22 Friday. Cloudy & Pleasant. Boys went to the river after dinner Fishing.

23 Saturday. Fearful hot. Hot winds. George went to town after noon. Went to Alliance at the center. Ellá Stoner came home and Staid all night.

24 Sunday. Clear & hot. Hot winds. F. A. Thompson and wife & Boy visited us Judge Stoner & family visited us to day. Grand [Pap] Groves Called to[o]. I was at Jack Matthews this morning

25 Monday. Commenced to stack wheat. Link Goble stacked Went to town after dinner.

26 Tuesday. Went to Prosser on the Mo Pacific Hot, fearful hot.

27 [Wednesday.] Came home from Prosser cooler. Good rain in the evening. Home 9 P. M. My thanks are Due Conductor Finnegan and Engineer Fairchild for courtesies Shown me on the trip to Prosser.

28 Thursday. Cloudy & cool Wind north. School Meeting.

29 Friday. Good day Went to town in the evening with L N Swope Attended lodge. Swope Took the Enterprentice Degree Home 1 A. M.

30 Saturday went to town Attended county central committee meeting Home at dark.

31 Sunday. Grand Mother Slutman came this morning. Dr. McCCasey & Family were here to day for Dinner. Mrs McCCasey took Grand Ma Slutman to Kellenbargers.

August, 1892

1 Monday Clear & hot. Stacked Oats, Henderson & Linkum Goble. Wash day.

2 Tuesday. Finished stacking Oats in forenoon. John Hauled

for Henderson after noon & George helped L. N Swope thresh. Hot winds after noon. Wind S. W.

3 Wednesday. Clear & hot, wind West, North & East. Sent for Ice with Mrs. Jack Matthews. Alba still in town. John took old Cherry cow to Henderson Bull in the evening

4 Thursday. Hot winds

5 Friday Wind East & North. Pump gave out. John went to town after 4 P. M. Bought a new cylinder \$4.00 Home at dark. The old Man under the weather. Received a letter from Nellie & from sister Mill. Also Judge Pattie, Miss Jennie Brooks, and P M Gates Knights of Columbia. Got the pump in after dark. Dirty & tiered.

6 Saturday. John & I went to town Bought lumber \$7.10 Barrel sugar \$14.50 Tobacco & Lemons 70¢ Medicine \$1.15 Posters 50¢ Ice 25¢ Knights of Columbia insurance & lodge dues \$3.00 1 Bottle Beer 25¢ Lemonade 10¢ Total \$27.55 The old Man unwell. Home at dark. Coffee \$1.00 Blade \$1.00 = 29.55

7 Sunday. Cloudy & pleasant Mother went to Kellenbargers The children to Sunday School. The old Man at home.

8 Monday. Cloud, South W. Hot winds & Dusty. Helped Jake Matthews tak[e] his pump up. Helped Jim Shafer take his pump up. George hauled load [of] Sand. Mother went to town with Jack Matthews Gave Mother \$10.00

9 Tuesday. Cloudy & warm Repaired my pump tower. Jack Matthews helped me. Burt. Hass was here for dinner.

10 Wednesday. Rained a little this morning Took Eve to Hendersons Bull. George helping Fred Keoster Thresh. Wash day. Cloudy & warm. John & I went to town. Bought Beef 60¢, 2 cigars 10¢ = 70¢. Home at dark.

11 Thursday. Cloudy & hot commenced to plow for Wheat. Ground fearful dry. Fixed South crib for oats. Received a telegram from Charley stating his wife was very Sick.

12 Friday. Mother started for *Lincoln Neb.* George took mother to town. Alba went with [her] to as far as John Shraders. Clear & pleasant, wind South east. John plowing for wheat. Went to Rice, then to town. Attended chapter.

13 Saturday. Attended chapter Kelch, John Lamb & George Bloom, took R. A. degrees staid all night at Pacific House.

14 Sunday. Came from town with Judge Stoner. Mollie Goble was here for dinner. The old Man under the weather. Don't feel well. . . .

15 [Monday.] Went to town & to Mill Borrowed 4 Bushels of wheat of Jack Matthews, Brought my Buggy from the Shop Paid 8.00 for new Box Boys helped Jake Matthews thresh. Came from town about 5 P. M.

16 Tuesday. Good day. Went with the children to Mat Wilcox Grove to P P Picnic. Big crowd and a good time was had all around. Lizzie Bertram went with us. Home just at dark. This is 5 days Mother is away from home.

17 Wednesday. Good day. Jack Matthews mowed  $\frac{3}{4}$  day.

18 Thursday. Boys Hauled hay. High wind north. Disagreeable Hauling

19 Friday. Attended special Meeting of Co. Alliance. Came home with J. T. Henderson. Agreed To Meet the Bretheren at fullers School house Sept. 3rd

20 Saturday. Rained a little in the forenoon. Returned Gobles Rake. George helped Empson Thresh. Went to Soonover to Meet Daughter Nellie. went to Rice to meet her. George went to Rice and Found Nellie & Mother there. Came down on Santa Fe. Nellie and Mother, John went to Alliance at the Center.

21 Sunday. Good day. John went to town after Nellie's Trunk. And Brought the wrong trunk. The old Man returned the trunk and ordered Nellies Trunk from Sterling Ks to come to Concordia Ks.

22 Monday. Good rain in the evening.

23 Tuesday. Rained a shower in the morning. Went to town with A. D. Goble. Home at Sun down.

24 Wednesday. George plowed. This is John's Birth day. John is 20 years old. The young people of this neighborhood came in this evening about 25 of them. Prof Sawdy & wife among them. adjourned about midnight.

25 Thursday. George plowing. Grand Pap Groves mowing. Ella Stoner Called this Morning. Mabel sick last night and this morning. Prof Sawdy called.

26 Friday Boys Hauled Hay.

27 Saturday. Helped Goble take up his pump. Had dinner with Goble. Attended P P Caucus after noon. Was elected delegate to senatorial convention at Bell[e]ville Sep 12th Also central committee for Nelson township. John Mother Alba, Freddie Mabel and Nellie went to town.

28 Sunday. cloudy & cool. John Kellenbarger Brought Grand Ma Slutman this morning. Went to Sawdys. Mother Nellie,

Alba, Grand Ma, and the old Man. Alba took Grand Mother home. Budd & family was at Sawdys. Home 4 P M. Hard rain during the night.

29 Monday. Good rain last night. Went to town with Sawdy. Convention Day for the P. P. old ticket renominated. Took tup to town to Sell but failed

30 Tuesday. Boys helped Jim Bertram thresh. The old Man plowed.

31 Wednesday. Boys Helped Jim Thresh. The old Man plowed Nellie & Alba went to town. Home about dark.

September, 1892

1 Thursday. Went to Palmer to hear John Davis P. P. Candidate for congress. J. R. Burton Repub Candidate. Also [S. G.] Cook Democratic candidate for congress. Home 6:20 P. M. Boys helped Jim Thresh Sent with Jack Matthews to town for Beef.

2 Friday. Threshed after noon 800 Bus Oats.

3 Saturday Finished Threshing Oats, even 1000 Bushels  $1\frac{1}{2}$  = \$15.00 Commenced on the wheat. Threshed out 227 Bushels quit on account of rain Sold 1 load Oats 65 Bus at 22¢ per bus.

4 Sunday. Good day Dr McCCasey & family were here for dinner. Also Grand Ma Slutman. Mr Sawdy came in the after noon. J. T. Henderson & wife came in the evening. I took the Boys to town. They will start to School in the morning. Boug[ht] 2 pair pants and 2 pairs suspenders Total \$3.25 Home 8:30 P M

4 [5] Monday. Finished threshing Had 368 Bushels wheat at 3¢ per Bus for threshing Oats 1000 at  $1\frac{1}{2}$ ¢ = \$15.00 368 [bushels] Wheat at 3¢ = \$11.04 Total \$26.04 Paid by giving check on cloud co Bank for full amount. Nellie Baby took seriously ill. Sent for Dr McDonald. Paid George Secrist Cash 50¢ Ike Reeves \$2.00 E P Reeves \$2.00 Shafer \$1.25 Even with Ike Woodruff. Jack Matthews in my Debt. Also Bertrams. Sold 1 load wheat 39.50 Bus at 55¢ per bus = \$21.90 [?] Gave the amount to Alba and Nellie.

6 Tuesday. Plowed all day. Alba went to Aurora in fore noon. To Shraders in the after noon. Jo. Burns Called in the after noon on bridge business.

7 Wednesday. very warm. Went to Blacksmith Shop & had Dutchman Sharpened. \$1.20 with old account. Mother went to town. Took Nellie & Alba to town. Nellie & Alba Started home over the U. P. May the God of Heaven guide them on their Journey



home.<sup>39</sup> Grand Ma Slutman came home with Mother from town. Mabel went to Gobles I helped Goble take up his *pump*.

8 Thursday. Cloudy & cool. Plowed all day. Grand Mother Slutman with US.

9 Friday. Good day. Plowed. E. E. Moberly stop[p]ed in the eve.

10 Saturday. Cloudy and disagreeable. Went to town with John Bergeron. Drew \$10.00 from Bank Bought books for George 1.87 Paper pens, ink Envelops & tablets, 70¢. Tobacco 45¢ Cigars 15¢ Matches 20¢ Soda 5¢ Boys tuition \$3.00 Total \$6.42. Came home, with Jim Bertram. Rained in the evening.

11 Sunday. Cloudy. Went to town with the Boys. John came home. Staid all night with Stoner.

12 Monday. Went to Belleville to the Senatorial convention. Buggy higher 75¢ feed 10¢ cigars 20¢ Total \$1.05 Back to Concordia 6 P. M. Nominated George Bowling for Senator.<sup>40</sup> Went from Concordia to Rice on train. from there home with George Gill. Home 7 P. M.

13 Tuesday. Clear & cool High wind North. Plowed all day. Jack Matthews Called in the evening. Also Dick Reeves Over Seer, Ordering me on the road tomorrow Grand Mother visited with Jack Matthews this after noon. John Came home from School this evening.

14 Wednesday. Good day. Worked on the road. \$3.00 land tax. Mother Else and Son Called to day & had dinner with us. John came home [from] School this evening. A young Photographer took a pi[c]ture of our house.

15 Thursday. Good day. Finished plowing for wheat. Mother and Gran[d] Mother Slutman went to Gobles. Grand Mother staid all night. John Came home from town

16 Friday Went to Mill John & George came home from school. Went to town Staid all night with Dr McCasey. Attended lodge.

17 [Saturday.] Attended central com. Meeting Came home with Oda McIntosh. Attended Alliance at the center Jo McIntosh had Supper with us. Judge Stoner and family and Bill Savary Had Supper with us. Mrs. Stoner & children Staid all night. Bill Savary & Christ Stoner pulled in 2:30 A. M. & Staid until after brexfast.

39. Nellie's home was in Albion, Ind.

40. George D. Bowling, the Populist party candidate in the Cloud-Republic (thirty-second) state senatorial district, was a resident of Scandia.—Concordia *Blade*, September 30, 1892. He was elected state senator in the general election of November 8.—Secretary of State, *Eighth Biennial Report*, 1891-1892, p. 121.

18 [Sunday.] John took Savary to Rice in the morning. Lewis Called after noon. Dr McCassey sent his man for 2 Plows let him have flying dutchman. The old lady had loaned Dan Empson the wooden beam plow yesterday. Sold Lewis Sow and pigs for \$11.00 Wrote for the Blade Also a few lines for Banner. Grand Mother Slutman Came from Jack Matthews.

19 Monday. Fearful warm. Davy Else commenced to work for me at 50¢ per day. Davy Harrowed. Fan sick J. B. Campbell Called to day. The old man repaired fence

20 Tuesday. Went to town with Oda McIntosh. Hon John Davis & Lewelling Candidates for congress & Governor<sup>41</sup> spoke in Concordia. Came home with Sawdy

21 Wednesday. Clear & hot Went to town with 2 loads of Hogs 12 Hogs weight 2975 4.75 per hundred = \$141.30 Deposited \$120.00 in cloud co. [bank] Bought Lumber & coal \$6.60 Dinner & Stable room \$1.25 F. Sawdy took 1 load of hogs. One half pound Tea 25¢. Neck yoke & axel grease 75 Paid assessment in Knights of Columbia \$1.50 for the September assessment. Have receipt for the money. Home a little before dark.

22 Thursday. Hot winds. Mother & Grand Ma Slutman went to Cabels. I went to Jack Matthews this morning. Then Sent Davy to Ike Woodruffs then Henderson, then Secrists, Then Home for Mowing Machine and failed at all places. Delforge brought my wagon home. Swope returned my Scythe. Davy cut 7 Shocks of corn. Mother home about 5 P. M. John Kellenbarga[r] called.

23 Friday. Cut corn in fore noon. Went to town after Dinner. Staid all night. Attended chapter.

24 Saturday. Staid in town all day. Went to Clyde in the evening. Rode on engine from Concordia to Clyde. Attended John Davis meeting. Was made chairman. Staid at the Commercial house. Home on the Central Branch Sunday morning

25 [Sunday.] John met me at Rice. Took John & George to the R. R. crossing at Nailleux Mother went to Kellenbargers Home in Due season. Davy Else went home returned in the evening. gave him check for his wages last week \$3.00 Cooler

26 Monday. Clear & warm. Finished drilling in wheat. Hen Snavelly Called & Bothered me for awhile also John Secrist Drilled in 14 acres of wheat at 12½¢ per acre = \$1.75 Due Jack

41. John Davis of Junction City was congressman for the Fifth district and was the Populist party nominee for re-election.—State of Kansas, *Laws of 1891*, p. 427; *Concordia Blade*, September 30, 1892. He was re-elected in the general election of November 8.—Secretary of State, *Eighth Biennial Report*, 1891-1892, p. 114. L. D. Lewelling was chosen governor in the same election.—*Ibid.*, p. 104.

Matthews. Ike Woodruff Called and informed me he had bought the Banta farm for \$700.00 Received Deed from J. C. Zimmerman for the Banta farm. Received from Ike Woodruff Cash \$50.00 on the Banta farm

27 Tuesday. Fearful hot. Hauled 3 loads of Shelled corn to Rice for Secrist. 153 Bushels at 3 loads. Paid John Campbell cash \$5.00 on pastureing cattle. Due Campbell \$7.25 Dr McCassey Called to day. Also George Laman & J. T. Henderson. Wash day.

28 Wednesday. Fair day. wind South east. Went to Aurora after Dinner. Bought lumber & Posts \$8.25 Nails 50¢ Rope & cigars 25¢ = \$9.00 Home 7:40 P. M. Had good visit all around with the Boys. Paid \$1.00 cash for 4 Photographs of our house Paid out to day \$10.00

29 Thursday. Pretty good day Jack Matthews Called in the morning. Davy Else helped George Laman *Thresh*.

30 Friday Good day. Grand Pap mowed  $\frac{3}{4}$  day. Boys came home from School. Lady Matthews Called 2 times to day.

October, 1892

1 Saturday Went to town with Derias. Went to the Show. Big crowd. Home Just at dark. Came home with Vinery Attended Plumb Creek Alliance at the center. Christ Stoner was there. Paid C. C. Stoner cash \$6.50 *Board*

2 Sunday. Went to John Campbells pasture for my Cattle. John Georg[e] Davy & Elmer Else. Also George Secrist. Did not get 2 of them, 1 cow & one steer, which was by mistake taken out of the pasture by W. H. Seamen. Had fearful time with one calf at Secrists. John took George to town. John will come home nights during this week. Warm day & fearful dusty.

3 Monday. Good day clear & warm. Hauled hay. Finished mowing. John came home from School. Gave John Cash \$6.00 to pay tuition at School and Coffee & Pepper

4 Tuesday. Fine day for hay. Got in (4) good loads to day. John Came home from school. Jack Matthews pulled in his Machine to Thresh my alfalfa tomorrow.

5 Wednesday. Good day Jack Matthews threshed my Alfalfa. A. D. Goble helped with team. Old Man Woolford helped. Paid him Cash \$1.00 Dr. McCassey Sent hand and team. Finished after dark. John Came home from school. Grand Pap Groves helped with team. Finished choreing this evening 8:45 P M Settled with J. B. Sheaffer, \$1.15 cash, in full for all demands to date Paid Bill Pierce cash \$1.00 for Beef

6 Thursday. Good day. Made fence. Davy went to the fair. John came home from School. E. E Moberly Called also J. O. McIntosh. Davy failed to put in this evening.

7 Friday. Good day. No School in town. The old Man went to town and attended the fair. Ex Gov Foreacre [J. B. Foraker, of Ohio] spoke in town at the fair grounds. Spoke 1½ hours with attention S. M. Scott [state lecturer representing People's Party] Spoke 23 Minits The *repub Mob* Howled him down which is charistic [*sic*] of the republican Machine Staid all night with Dr McCas[e]y

8 Saturday. Received from Ike Woodruff cash \$700.00 for J. C. Zimmerman for the Banta farm. Sent the money to him by Draft on Sprague national bank of N. Y. Came home with John Kellenbarger. Attended speech at the center. B F Rose & S O Everly spoke. House full. And good time. S. O. Everly Staid all night with us. George Came home from Town this evening. Home from speech 10:30 P M

9 Sunday. Good day Prof Sawdy & wife called to day. George rode to town with Al Norton.

10 Monday. High wind South. Disagreeable John came home from School. Made fence around Straw stack.

11 Tuesday. High wind South. Fearful dusty. Mother went to town. Gave her check for \$10.00 Cleaned alfalfa seed cleaned 9 Bushels. Dr McCas[e]y Called and was here for dinner. Mother home from town at dark.

11 [12] Wednesday. The meanest day this fall. Fearful wind & dust, South east Rained a little about 5 P. M.

13 Thursday. Good day. Went to Aurora. Home at noon. Davy went to Rice for our mail. Paid Dr McDonald cash \$2.50 for attending on Nellies baby. Grand Pap Groves Called in the evening.

14 Friday Went to town with McIntosh. Was a delegate to co Alliance. Staid all night with Dr. McCas[e]y. Attended Chapter. Saw companion Henninger. Sold Tup horse for \$40.00 cash.

15 Saturday Drew \$60.85 School funds. Deposited \$95.00 in cloud co Bank Came down to Soonover and footed it home. Home in time for dinner. Went to the Center in the evening. The Alliance failed to materialize Home 9 P. M.

16 Sunday. Good day. Democrat Smith & family John Kellenbarger & wife and Grand Mother Slutman were here to day.

John and George rode to town with Smith. Paid Davy Else cash \$3.00 for 4th week.

17 Monday. Cloudy & cool Rained a little. Truman Pierce drove in During the rain. Lady Matthews Called to day. Cleaned west crib for corn. Sent with Truman Pierce for 140 feet of lumber \$1.80 Repaired fence.

18 Tuesday. Good day. Repaired corn crib. Mother went to Kellenbargers it being Grand Mother Slutmans birth day. Also Mothers birth day, & I hope and trust she may live and enjoy many birth days. Attended P. P. Meeting at the center. Home 10:50 P. M. Frankie McCCasey came home with Mother from Kellenbargers. Dan Empson Called in the evening to borrow my wagon.

19 Wednesday. Good day. Fair day. Commenced to husk corn.

20 Thursday. Cloudy & cool. Rained a little early this morning. Went to F A. Thompsons. Met Fedore Leofler there. Sold Leofler Gyp & Kitt on 15 months time at 8 per cent interest. Took note and mortgage on team Mrs Bertram Leoflers mother in law Signed a note with Leofler Note due January 20, 1894. Left note and mortgage with Thompson for Mrs Leofler to Sign Home 12:30 P. M. (cuss this pen!) Went to town after dinner. Drove Alex. Bought 4 Halters \$4.00 Gave one to Dr McCCasey for the halter Sold with Tup. 1 Pair drawers 90¢ One under shirt 1.25 1 pair socks 35¢ 2 cigars 10¢ Total \$6.60 Home 7:30 P M.

21 Friday. Columbian day at Nelson Center. Good for the children. Good dinner Sold S M Naillieux 9 head of cattle, 3 cows, 3 Heifers & 3 Steers for \$120.00. Received \$5.00 Cash on the Cattle. Cheaper than dirt.

22 Saturday Went to town with Mother. Drew check on cloud co [bank] for \$3.00 for Dv Else Home at dark. John & Davy dug Potatoes. George Husked corn. Went to the Center in evening to P P meeting. Home 10:30 P M

23 Sunday. Kellenbarger & family called to day also Grand Ma Slutman. Cloudy & cool. Mrs T C McCCasey & children and Miss Anna Smith visited us to day. Grand Pap Groves Called. John & George Walked to town this after noon.

24 Monday. Cool in the morning. Went to F. A. Thompsons and got Chattle Mortgage and note. Given by Fedore Lefler, & his wife Note Signed by Victory Demonie. From Thompson I went to Aurora. Bought coal, \$3.50 hinges & screws 30¢ cigars

10¢ Paid Thompson for making out mortgage & note 50¢. Total \$4.10 [?]. Borrowed \$5.00 from Delphin Hebert. Home 1:30 P M. Sent Davy to Heberts for a load of cobs. Dr Else wife & child called to day. Mrs Dan Empson called to day. Dan Empson returned Tobacco Borrowed Some time ago.

25 Tuesday. Good day. Killed a hog in forenoon. Cleaned Alfalfa Seed after noon. Had 16 Bushels, Davy went to Reeves in the evening to a party. Rode Fan.

26 [Wednesday.] Dr McCassey called. Went to Rice after noon with Hen Bolen. Sam Naillieux took the Cattle. Paid \$100.00 Cash and gave check for \$15.00 on 1st National Bank. Davy went to School house in eve to Repub

27 Thursday. Good day. Davy Husked Corn. The old Man went to Henderson in the Morning. Hung north Door. Repaired Bed stead up Stairs. Dan Empson Called at noon and took his Hogs away. Elmer Henderson Called Early in the Morning. Gave Mother \$10.00

28 Friday went to town. Attended chapter. Supper at Colsons at 12 M. Staid all night, With Dr McCassey. Home next evening at dark. Came home with Oda McIntosh Oda & Frank Richardson Had Supper with us. Attended Alliance Meeting at the center. Had good Alliance Meeting. Home from Alliance 12 M. Boys went to town. Home 2 in the Morning. Deposited \$100.00 in cloud co Bank Friday evening.

30 Sunday. Cloudy. Rained a little. Davy took the Boys to the rail Road.

31 Monday. Cloudy & cool. Davy Husked corn E P Reeves Husked ½ day. Went to Oak Creek to speaking in the evening Home 11 P. M.

November, 1892

1 Tuesday. cloudy and Disagreeable. Davy husked corn. E. P. Reeves Husked 52 Bus Judge Stoner Frank McVey Elder Burdett & Bill Savary took Supper with us. The old Man went [with] them to St Jo. Had big meeting & Some Beer Savary & My Self Staid with the Druggist.

2 Wednesday. Home 10 A. M cloudy & disagreeable. Davy & E P. Reeves Husking corn. The old Man quite unwell. Went to Rice after noon with Jo Kecster.

3 Thursday. Good fine day. Wash day. Davy & E P Reeves Husked Corn. An old Sewing Machine man Called to day

4 Friday Went to town with J. O. McIntosh. Home 9:30 P. M. Brought Banners and flags Paid for Banners \$2.00

5 Saturday. Went to Clyde with Sawdy. Heard Ex Gov. Glick speak. The best speech this Season. Home 1:30 A. M.

6 Sunday. Prof & Mrs Sawdy Called Judge Stoner & Daughter also Miss Wilson. The Boys went to town with Stoner John went to town for Banners Home til noon. George came with Stoner

7 Monday. Cloudy & cold High wind north. Big Rally at Concordia Col. [W. A.] Harris<sup>42</sup> and Sam Scott spoke. P P.s enough to make the repubs Sick Big crowd. Home 6 P. M

8 Tuesday Election day. P. P. Elected entire county ticket. Staid all day. Started for Concordia 1:30 A. M. Arrived in Concordia 3:30 A. M. Tiered, cold & hungry. Every thing encouraging. Repubs Bluer than thunder. Home at dark on the eve of Nov 9th 1892 Clev[e]land elected President. Thank God the repubs are down.

10 Thursday Good day E P Reeves Husked Corn. Davy went in the evening to Bell<sup>43</sup> Phil Detiheur [Detrixhe?]

11 Friday Went to Rice in evening afoot. To town on train. Attended chapter. Hugh Alexander Bent Williams & George Britton Took R. A. Degree. Had time. Staid all night with Dr McCasey. Went to Bed 3 A. M.

12 Saturday. High wind and fearful dust. Came from town with Charles Muller. Home 4 P. M. Attended Alliance at the center in the evening

13 Sunday. Mother & I went to Sawdys for dinner. John & George Rode Dr McCaseys Horses home.

14 Monday. Old man Sawdy Hauled a load [of] Oats to Rice 55 Bushels \$12.30 After noon I went to Clyde with Sawdy Great Big Jollification among the democrats & People's party. An immense crowd of people. torch light & transparencies of all Kind and all discreptions [sic]. of course the repubs were Mad. The old Man made a little speech. Staid all night with Baker Borton.

15 Tuesday. Home 12:30 P. M. Old man Sa[w]dy Hauled a load of Oats to Rice. Mrs. Kellenbarger Daughter & Grand Mother Slutman Called to day. Grand Mother Staid with us.

16 Wednesday. Cloudy & cool. Filled west crib to day. Grand

42. Col. W. A. Harris was the candidate of the Populist party for congressman at large.—*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 16, p. 423; *The Farmers Voice*, Clyde, October 27, 1892; *Concordia Blade*, November 4, 1892. He was elected congressman in the November, 1892, general election and in 1897 was elected United States senator by the legislature.—Secretary of State, *Eighth Biennial Report*, pp. 111, 112; *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 16, p. 443.

43. Belling was a charivari.—H. L. Mencken, *The American Language; Supplement I* (New York, 1945), p. 233.

Mother Slutman Went to Jack Matthews. Mr & Mrs Sawdy Called and had Supper with us. Commenced to rain about dark

17 Thursday. Cold wind north. Davy went to Rice after School. Grand pap Groves Called. Also Prof Sawdy. Also Link Goble

18 Friday. Cleaned house. Paid Link Goble 75¢ Went to town after noon with Jake Matthews. Banquet at Jak[e] Matthews Roast turkey & Oysters 34 Neighbors and friends gathered to pay their respects to Grand Mother Slutman, an enjoyable good time Home 10:30 P M the old Man sick the rest of the night. Boys Came home from town.

19 Saturday. George helped wash John & Davy husked corn, the old Man Sick. George Mabel & Freddie went to Sawdys to get Mrs Sawdy to go to town with Mother and me. Big Parade and torchlight. Transparencies good. Judge Doster<sup>44</sup> spoke Saturday evening in Concordia. At the P P Ratification was an immense affair The court house was packed with people. The speech of Judge Doster was well received by the people. Staid all night with Judge Stoner. Also Mr. & Mrs. Sawdy.

20 Sunday. Arrived home from Concordia 11 A. M. George took Sawdy home. High wind north Fearful dusty. Disagreeable.

21 Monday. Good day. Highered 2 Men to husk corn. Young Woodruff and Young Summers. Went to Gobles in fore noon. Killed a skunk in the Cave this morning.

22 Tuesday. Went to town with Turkeys and chickens. Sent Charley 5 Chickens by express to Lincoln, Neb. Sent Frank Ellison 1 big Black Rooster and turkey by express to Topeka. Charges on both lots \$1.15 Had a little Beer with Dr McDonald, Dr Pigman and Dr McCassey. Had Dinner with Dr McCassey. Posts 1.75 Staples 25¢ cigars 10¢ = \$3.25 Paid Sawdy \$2.00 borrowed from him last Sunday Home 4 P M Sold 6 Turkeys weight 74 lbs at 7¢ = \$5.18

23 Wednesday. Cloudy & cold. E P Reeves quit work at noon. Went to Town after noon. Henderson went with me. Bought Beef \$2.90 Sausage 25¢ Pool straps \$1.25 1 Pair Mittens \$1.00 Paid Truman Pierce 45¢ = [omission] 1 Pair Horse covers \$3.00 1 Squash 10¢ total \$8.95 Boys came home from

44. Judge Frank Doster of Marion was a leading figure in the Populist party in Kansas. He served as judge of the twenty-fifth judicial district from March, 1887, until January, 1892. In November, 1891, he was defeated for re-election. However, in 1896 he was elected chief justice of the state supreme court, serving until January, 1903.—Secretary of State, *Sixth Biennial Report*, p. 77; *Eighth Biennial Report*, p. 89; *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 16, pp. 419, 439, 441, 665, 669.



town. Home 6:30 P. M. Dark & cold wind east. School Chart Peddler called Ordered a full Set for District No 76 to cost \$28.00 Besides freight.

24 Thursday. Cloudy & cold. High wind, South east. Festus Sawdy & wife visited us to day. Roast turkey and Winney Wershed [*sic*] for dinner. Pleasant visit. Finished Husking corn on the east Side. About 1500 bushels. Boys at home. Davy went to Rice for our mail.

25 Friday. Good day but fearful wind and dust. Paid Woodruff and Summers Cash for husking corn \$11.00. John & Davy made fence. Wash day. A. D. Goble Called to day

26 Saturday. Mother George & the old man went to town. Bought Bed stead, springs & matrass \$11.50 one stove & pipe \$2.95 coal 1.00 1 chair 35¢ Tobacco 35¢ 1 lamp 1 oil can & oil \$1.20 Paid Stoner for Boys board \$7.00 Total \$24.35

27 Sunday. Good fine day. Boys started to town. Mother took them part way. Miss Secrist and Miss Bertram Called on begging tour for Christmas Tree. Gave them 50¢. Davy footed it home & back to day. Turned cattle and colts in stalk field yesterday for first time this year. Attended Alliance last eve at the center.

28 Monday. Good day. Cleaned House. E. P. Reeves husked corn. Elmer Else Called in the evening for his Brother Dave, whose Brother Willie is very sick. Mollie Goble cleaned house for us. Pleasant for the Season.

29 Tuesday. fine warm pleasant day. Reeves husked corn. Sent with Grand Pap Groves for our Mail. Received a letter from Nellie. E P Reeves went home this evening Sick

30 Wednesday. Good day. Mother went to town. Willie Else died to day, age 6 years. Under Sheriff McCall called to day. Also Jack Matthews, & Elmer Else in the evening. Mother home from town 5 P. M.

December, 1892

1 Thursday. Cloudy & Misted nearly all day. Mother went to attend the funeral of Willie Else, but met the Prosession on the way. She then turned and came home. Jack Matthews Called to day and paid me 2 dollars which I had over paid him last night. Grand Pap Groves called I paid him Cash \$1.00 in full for all demands to date.

2 Friday. Good day Wash day. Went to town after noon. Bought undershirt \$1.25 Halfsoleing Shoes 80¢ = \$2.05 Home after dark.

3 Saturday. Boys Husked corn. Sold 1 load 29 Bus at 27¢. Gave the Boys \$5.00.

4 Sunday. Cloudy & misted all day. Took the Boys to town. Home 5 P. M. Davy Else came in at 6 P. M. Dark and Dreary.

5 Monday. Cloudy & Disagreeable until noon Pleasant after noon & warm. Turned cold in the evening. Very cloudy & high wind north west. Threatening Storm.

6 Tuesday. Bad disagreeable day. Commenced to husk corn in the Morning, and asked to go to Gobles to take up and repair his pump. Misted all day. Wind north, 8 P. M Commenced to Snow. Dr Jeannotte Called to day.

7 Wednesday. Fearful Storm all day. Barn and every thing full of snow. Bad Disagreeable day. The worst day this Season The children did not go to School.

8 Thursday. Cold & pleasant. Went to Rice for coal bought 965 lbs \$2.65 Cinnamon 5¢ Tobacco 40¢ = \$3.10

9 Friday. Cloudy & pleasant Clear and pleasant. variety all day along in turn. Young Tiff called to get Myrtle Tiffs School Teachers wages. But failed, simply because for want of funds

10 Saturday went to town with Sawdy. Cloudy & cold 8 Degrees belo[w] above [?] zero. Home at dark John & George came home this evening.

11 Sunday. Pretty decent day. Davy Else took the Boys to town, Elmer Else came home with him. His Parents being sick Davy went home with him.

12 Monday. Pretty good day. Went to Jack Matthews in the morning for a bull. From there went to J. T. Henderson, For a bull. Home with Swopes Bull. Lizzie Bull. Spotted Heifer on a spree the Same time. Jack Matthews Called & Borrowed my wagon seat. J. A. Secrist Called and wanted my wagon.

13 Tuesday. 3 inches of snow fell last night. Good day. Jack Matthews Called to day & Borrowed my wagon. Received a letter from Alba and sister Mrs Adair.

14 Wednesday. Good day. Went to town. Sold 10 Turkeys weighed 111 lbs. Price 7¢ = \$7.77. Went to the chicken Show. Good. Had Bottle Beer with Dr McCasey. Had dinner with Dr. Home 4:30 P. M. Jim Sheafer came home with me. Paid P. M. Gates cash \$1.50 for assessment No 5 and lodge dues 75¢ ending Dec. 31st 1892 P. M. Gates The Recorder of K. C. Lodge Concordia.

15 Thursday. Good day. Wash day. Went to Rice with a load

of corn 28 Bus. 27¢ per bus 7.60 [?] Jack Matthews Dan Empson and Jim Sheaffer were callers to day. Also Eli Groves

16 Friday. Went to town after noon. Grand Dad Groves went with me. Attended lodge Paid my dues \$4.50 for 1892. Banquet at Colsons. Truman Pierce and I staid over night with Dr McCCasey.

17 Saturday. Attended co alliance. Came Home with L. N. Swope. Paid my taxes for 1892 \$34.34 Home from town 7 P. M. *Cold.*

18 Sunday Clear & cold. Boys went to town after noon. Grand Dad Groves drove the team home.

18 [19] Monday. Cloudy & cold, wind north. Hunted one half day for Swopes Bull. Found him at Secrists Consider it a damed Shame that Secrist did not tell me the bull was there. Jack Matthews Borrowed my wagon. Sold Truman Pierce 5 Bushels of wheat \$2.50

20 Tuesday. This is my birth day. Prof Sawdy Called. Settled in full with E. P. Reeves. Paid \$12.50 Cash as a balance of corn Husking. Total \$22.50. Snowed a little during the day. Mabel not at School to day. It will be remembered The old Man is 50 years old to day.

21 Wednesday. Cloudy & cold Mother went to town with Sawdy. Gave Mother \$5.00 check Mother home at dark. Jack Matthews returned my wagon.

22 Thursday. Cloudy & cold Went to Rice. Sold load [of] corn 2630 = \$6.75 Bought[t] coffee \$1.10 Tea 35¢ Total \$1.45 received a letter from Ella at Wichita.

23 Friday Went to town after Dinner Sold corn for \$3.90 Attended chapter. Staid all night with Dr McCCasey.

24 Saturday. Bought candy and nuts \$2.00 came hom[e] with Oda McIntosh Went to the Center in the evening to Christmas tree. Made a little speech. Home 10 P M.

25 Sunday. Christmas Charley and wife Came this morning. Charley Freddie John and the old Man went to Sawdys for dinner. Home 4:30 P. M. Stormed all after noon. 7 P M Storming raging at fearful rate.

26 Monday. Clear & cold 8 Degrees belo[w] zero West road drifted full Broke the road ourselves. Boys went hunting. Fearful cold.

27 Tuesday. Cloudy & Stormy Snowed nearly all day. George & Charley went to Rice John Borrowed Goble Shot gun

28 Wednesday. Boys Drove Dick to Rice. Received letters from Ella Stangland & Jo Adair.

29 Thursday. John and I went to Rice in fore noon. Stormed fearful all fore noon.

30 Friday. Cloudy & cold Went to town. Started with Jack Matthews. Road [*sic*] to Oak with him. From there I road with Bolinger. Came home with Hebert. 1st Sleigh Ride. Home at dark.

31 Saturday. Good day. Charley & John went to town. Baby sick. George went to Rice for our mail. Grand pap Groves called to day, also Truman Pierce.

*[Part Four Will Appear in the February, 1947, Issue]*

## Bypaths of Kansas History

THEY HAD TO BE BRAVE TO GET MARRIED

From the *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, January 5, 1860.

We believe the practice of belling, and fussing generally, upon wedding occasions, prevails in all parts of the country; but our Western people have a way of their own to do these things. We are informed that a wedding came off somewhere in the Missouri Bottom, a short time ago, and in the evening a crowd went to the place for a spree. They performed such tricks as shooting bullets through the windows, breaking down the door, dragging the couple out of bed, and tumbling them about on the floor, cutting open the feather beds, tearing up the floor, and indulging in other equally innocent tricks. It requires backbone to get married, out this way.

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### THE VANISHING BUFFALO

From *The Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, February 2, 1872.

Gen. W. B. Hazen, commanding at Fort Hays, Kansas, has taken up the cause of the buffalo, and warmly protests against their wanton destruction by hunters and sportsmen. Gen. Hazen says he has seen numbers of men this winter who have killed during the past season 1,000 each, for the paltry sum of \$1 apiece, the carcasses being left to rot on the plains. He further certifies that the buffalo is "a noble and harmless animal, timid, and easily taken as a cow, and very valuable as food for man"—whereupon he insists that the legislative authorities should take steps to prevent "this wicked waste, both of the lives of God's creatures and the valuable food they furnish."

Early in the present session of our legislature, Mr. Edwards, of Ellis, introduced a bill for remedying this evil, so far as Kansas is concerned, and we presume it will be passed. Although the buffalo is not specifically mentioned in our fifteen-times-amended constitution, that instrument unquestionably guarantees him "protection of life," on general principles—at least such protection as will make his "taking off" gradual, careful and regardful.

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### HOPPER STOPPING WITH MUSIC

From *The Commonwealth*, Topeka, April 28, 1877.

The citizens of Winfield turned out en masse lately headed by a band of music and fought grasshoppers all day. The account says: "As the people drove clouds of these pests before them, the band discoursed sweet music, and made the war a very amusing and interesting one. The army of citizens fought them all day long, and returned at night in good order."

## Kansas History as Published in the Press

The history of Milan, Sumner county, was reviewed by Leslie M. Yates in the Wellington *Monitor-Press*, July 13, 1944. The town was laid out in 1880 and incorporated in 1909.

A history of the Mennonite church in the Springfield community, Marion county, was sketched in the Hillsboro *Journal*, January 4, 1945. The church was built in 1894.

"Clifford Township—Originally Part of Towanda Township—Named for John A. Clifford," is the title of an article in the *Western Butler County Times* of Towanda, May 24, 1945.

The organization of Methodist churches in Meade and Seward counties in the latter 1880's was briefly reviewed by the Rev. R. L. Wells in the Plains *Journal*, July 19, 1945.

How Hugoton got its "town-pump," believed to be the only municipally-owned producer of natural gas in the world, was told by W. F. Hubbard in the Hugoton *Hermes*, September 21, 1945. The well, completed September 11, was reported as having a deliverability rate of 2,200,000 cubic feet of gas, and is expected to net the city approximately \$1,000 a month. Mr. Hubbard, representative from Stevens county in the state legislature, was the sponsor of the bill making it possible for Hugoton to decide through an election whether the community was to have the well drilled. At the election only three votes were cast against the proposal. A story of the well was also printed in a four-column illustrated article by Alvin Dumler in the Hutchinson *News-Herald*, October 28, 1945.

A picture and brief history of the old mill at Paxico, on Mill creek, were featured in the October, 1945, issue of *Service*, publication of the Kansas Power and Light Co. of Topeka, and the Kansas Electric Power Co. of Lawrence. The mill was built in 1879. A brief history of Hillsboro, with pictures of present-day people and places, was another feature of the October issue.

December 14, 1945, marked the beginning of the seventy-fifth year of publication of the Ellsworth *Reporter*. The paper was founded in 1871 by M. C. Davis. Edward and Harold Huycke are the present publishers. A list of editors since its establishment was printed in the *Reporter*, November 8, 1945.

The history of the Osborne Mothers' Club was briefly sketched in the Osborne *Farmer-Journal*, November 22, 1945, following the club's observance of the thirtieth anniversary of its founding.

"Cloud County Originally Named After 'Gay' Lady, History Records," is the title of an article in the *Concordia Blade-Empire*, November 30, 1945. The woman was Jane Shirley of Leavenworth. Other stories on the early history of Cloud county by J. M. Hagaman were published from time to time in the *Blade-Empire* during the fall and winter of 1945.

Life in early Seward county was briefly sketched by Sam Jones in *The Southwest Daily Times* of Liberal, January 1, 1946. Mr. Jones homesteaded in Seward county in 1884.

A story briefly describing the old English settlements of Runnymede and Victoria, by Laura Montzingo, was published in the *Hutchinson News-Herald*, January 6, 1946.

Included among Kansas historical articles in recent issues of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* were: J. C. Mohler, secretary of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, "Proposes a Park To Show the Beauty of Bluestem Region," by Cecil Howes, January 6, 1946; "Dr. [William L.] Burdick of K. U. Taught Generations of Lawyers With Accent on Character," by Dwight Pennington, June 15; "Recalls 'Hopper' Raids in Kansas," by Cecil Howes, July 11; Kenneth Christian, Junction City, escapes Nazi-infested area of France in April, 1943, with underground aid, after bailing out of plane, an interview with Robert W. Reed, July 14; "Memories of Populists Still Vivid Forty Years After Their Farewell," by Cecil Howes, July 24; "Two Trails, One Chisholm, the Other Chisum, Followed by Cattle Herds," July 26; and "A Kansas Woman [Virginia A. Miller, of Kansas City] Is Helping at the Nuernberg Trials," by Sarah Kroh, July 28.

"Thirty-Five Years of Newspaper Work in Natoma" is the title of an article by H. B. Brown, printed in the *Natoma Independent*, April 4, 1946. Mr. Brown recently retired as editor and publisher of the *Independent* and the *Luray Herald*. For more than 20 years he published four newspapers in the Natoma plant: the *Independent*, the *Herald*, the *Waldo Advocate* and the *Paradise Farmer*. The *Advocate* and *Farmer* were consolidated in 1942 with the *Herald*, which is still being printed at Natoma.

Two pages of pictures showing early-day and modern Pittsburg were features of the *Pittsburg Headlight*, May 20, 1946, and the

*Sun*, May 21, in observance of the seventieth anniversary of the founding of the city. Contemporaneous news accounts of the founding of Pittsburg as published in the newspapers of nearby towns were also printed.

A history of the Bonner Springs *Chieftain* was sketched in its issue of May 23, 1946, marking the completion of 50 years of publication. The paper was established in 1896 by Ed Matthews and was subsequently purchased and edited by the late Imri Zumwalt. Mrs. M. W. (Frances Zumwalt) Vaughn is the present editor and owner. Historical sketches of the churches of Bonner Springs were also featured in the same issue.

Feature articles in the June, 1946, issue of the *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*, of Lawrence, are: "The Kansa Indians," by Waldo R. Wedel, associate curator of archeology, U. S. National Museum; "A Review of Kansas Ichthyology," by John Breukelman, and "The High Plains Surface in Kansas," by John C. Frye.

During the summer of 1946 the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* carried the following historical articles by Cecil Howes: "Dr. S. J. Crumline Returns to Kansas Scene of Struggles for Public Health," June 4; "Kansas Campaign Stirs a Reporter's Memories of Fight With Senate Lodge," June 26; "Hidden Traces of Old Santa Fe Trail Are Disclosed by Aerial Photography," July 10; "Kansas Showed Its 'Dry' Proclivities While State Was Still a Territory," July 18, and "Early Life on the Kansas Plains Pictured in Letters of Children," August 2. A *Times* article on August 21 recalled the Kansas University football team, coached by the late Fielding H. Yost, which defeated Nebraska in 1899. Mr. Yost died August 20, 1946, at Ann Arbor, Mich.

Pioneers of the 1870's were guests of the Pawnee County Historical Society at an all-day reunion held at Larned, June 6, 1946. Kelso G. Clark was the earliest settler at the reunion, according to *The Daily Tiller and Toiler*, Larned, which printed a roster of the pioneers of the 1870's in its issue of June 7. Clark's residence in that county dates from November 12, 1873.

A brief history of the Parsons *Sun* was published in its issue of June 17, 1946, on the seventy-fifth anniversary of its founding. Sen. Clyde M. Reed, present publisher, has been identified with the paper since 1902.



Recollections of Mrs. J. H. Middlekauff concerning the Indian raid and kidnapping of women and children on the Kansas frontier in the fall of 1869, were featured in the *Hays Daily News*, June 24, 1946. Mrs. Middlekauff was a small child at the time of the raid and her recollections are based on stories heard by her.

The administration of Thomas Moonlight, governor of Wyoming territory, 1887-1889, was discussed by W. Turrentine Jackson in the *Annals of Wyoming*, Cheyenne, July, 1946, pp. 139-162. Governor Moonlight had previously lived in Kansas. He served as lieutenant colonel of the Eleventh Kansas infantry and from 1869 to 1871 he was the Kansas Secretary of State.

An account of a Spanish bull fight in Dodge City in 1884 appeared in the *Dodge City Daily Globe*, July 1, 1946. The article, taken from the early *Globe* files, said five matadors and four bulls participated in the event. John Curtis Hamm's recollections of Dodge City in the summer of 1886 were printed in the *Daily Globe*, July 31. The recollections were contained in a letter from Judge Hamm, former superintendent of the Humboldt schools, now residing in Anaheim, Cal.

Articles describing early towns in Neosho county were published in the *St. Paul Journal*, July 11, 18, August 1 and 22, 1946. They are a part of a series by W. W. Graves, editor of the *Journal*, dealing with the history of the county.

The early history of Lincoln county was sketched by Judge J. C. Ruppenthal of Russell at the Old Settler's Day program at Lincoln July 31, 1946, as a feature of the city's diamond jubilee. Highlights of the address were printed in the *Lincoln Sentinel-Republican*, August 8. Other speakers were H. S. Buzick, Jr., of Sylvan Grove, and A. J. Stanley of Kansas City.

A brief history of the Great Bend *Tribune* was printed in its issue of August 12, 1946, marking the seventieth anniversary of publication. The *Tribune* was founded as a weekly newspaper by Judge C. P. Townsley in 1876. It has been published daily since 1908.

This year marks the seventy-fifth anniversary of the organization of Osborne county and the establishment of the city of Osborne. The Osborne townsite was laid out by settlers from Lancaster and Berks counties, Pennsylvania, and the original settlement was known as the Pennsylvania colony, according to a sketch printed by the

Osborne *Farmer-Journal*, August 15, 1946. Mrs. W. B. VanWormer, daughter of F. R. Grueger, a member of the original colony, resides in Osborne. She was a small child when her parents located in the county.

A "Diamond Fiesta" was held at Lyons, August 22-24, 1946, commemorating the seventy-fifth anniversary of the organization of Rice county and the seventieth anniversary of the platting of the Lyons townsite. Atlanta, the forerunner of Lyons, was established in 1871, the year the county was organized. The Lyons *Daily News* published special articles during the week reviewing the history of the city and county, and on August 17 a 20-page historical edition was issued. Among the subjects were: Naming of Rice county for Gen. Samuel A. Rice, who was killed in the battle of Jenkins Ferry in the Civil War; naming of Lyons for Truman J. Lyon on whose farm the townsite was laid out; excerpts from the diary of U. V. Atkinson, describing the severe winter of 1885-1886; "Rice County History Covers Four Centuries"; early experiences of A. L. McMurphy, who settled in Rice county in 1871; the visit of Capt. Nathan Boone in 1843 to what is now Rice county; election at Beach valley for Peketon county officers in 1860; battle of Cow creek in 1864, and historical sketches of churches. Pictures include views of the first courthouse, early sod house and the first locomotive in Rice county.

# Kansas Historical Notes

## KANSAS CASUALTIES IN WORLD WAR II

The *World War II Honor List of Dead and Missing* for the state of Kansas was issued by the War Department in June, 1946. It contains the latest data available on all military personnel who were killed or died, or became and remained missing, between the President's declaration of unlimited national emergency on May 27, 1941, and the cut-off date of the report, January 31, 1946, and includes both battle and non-battle dead or missing. "The state of Kansas," the report stated, "contained 1.34 percent of the population of the United States and possessions (excluding the Philippine Islands) in 1940 and contributed 1.29 per cent of the total number who entered the army. Of these men and women of Kansas who went to war, 3.56 per cent failed to return. This figure represents 1.48 per cent of the army's total dead and missing." The *Honor List* is published as a preliminary report and the War Department plans to publish a complete and final list of deaths at some time in the future. The Department said the number of missing persons is being reduced daily through operation of army search teams in all theaters of operation.

### Summary of army casualties for Kansas:

Killed in action.....	2,611
Died of wounds.....	364
Died of injuries.....	13
Died non-battle.....	1,190
Finding of death.....	324
Missing .....	24
Total .....	<hr/> 4,526

The *State Summary of War Casualties* for Kansas was compiled by the Navy Department in April, 1946. Casualties listed represent only those on active duty in the navy, marine corps and coast guard, resulting directly from enemy action or from operational activities against the enemy in war zones from December 7, 1941, to the end of the war. Casualties in the United States area or as a result of disease in any location are not included. Inclusion of names in this Kansas group has been determined solely by the residence of next of kin at the time of notification of the last wartime casualty status.

The listing does not necessarily represent the state of residence or official state credit according to service enlistment. The wounded tabulation represents a count by individuals and includes only those whose next of kin were officially notified during the war. Complete data on all wounded naval personnel will be available later, the *Summary* said.

Navy, marine corps and coast guard casualties for Kansas:

Dead:	
Combat .....	904
Prison camp .....	31
Missing .....	31
Wounded .....	1,046
Released prisoners .....	89
 Total .....	 2,101

The Kansas State Board of Agriculture observed its diamond jubilee at a special dinner in Topeka January 9, 1946. As a feature of the occasion the board compiled a list of persons owning Kansas farms which have been lived upon by members of the same family for 75 years or more. Honor guests chosen from this list for introduction at the dinner were George L. McCarty, Lecompton, representing the family with the longest ownership and residence on a Kansas farm (from 1853), and D. W. Gilmore, Neosho county, who had the longest record (since 1864) for one person on the same Kansas farm.

The following were named provisional officers of the Shawnee County Historical Society on July 24, 1946: Arthur J. Carruth, Jr., president; Milton Tabor, vice-president; Paul B. Sweet, treasurer; George A. Root, secretary, and Paul Adams, assistant secretary.

About 300 persons attended the reunion of the Kennebec association held at the old R. B. Landon farm in Russell county August 4, 1946. The purpose of the association is to preserve the history of the community at the junction of Landon creek and Smoky Hill river, eight miles south of Russell on US Highway 281. The Landon farmhouse, built in 1871, is still standing. It was one of the first houses erected between Russell and Great Bend. The group plans to place a marker one-half mile south of the Smoky Hill river near Highway 281, which will point out the Landon homestead and commemorate the coming of the Russian-Germans to the area in 1876 and 1877. Mrs. Mabel Landon Plumer of Downs is one of the leaders of the association. Accounts of the reunion were printed in the

Hutchinson *News-Herald*, August 5, *Russell Record* and *The Russell County News*, August 8, *Hoisington Dispatch*, August 8, and *Great Bend Herald*, August 9. Mrs. George Dietz, age 90, of Russell, was the oldest survivor of the settlement of 1876 present. Capt. John E. Wilson and Judge J. C. Ruppenthal of Russell were speakers. Officers of the Kennebec association, listed in the May, 1946, *Quarterly* (p. 234), were reelected.

## Errata and Addenda, Volume XIV

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Page 3, lines 1, 10 and 40, read "Kurz" instead of "Kurtz."

Page 19, line 22, read "Lakin" instead of "Larned."

The authors of the article on the "Pike's Peak Express Companies" stated that "Billy" Richardson was the first rider of the Pony Express (page 53, lines 3, 4 and 18). This was based on a story in a contemporary newspaper (*The Weekly West*, St. Joseph, April 7, 1860) which they quoted, and on an article in the *Missouri Historical Review*, Columbia, v. 17 (1923), pp. 435-439. The authors also stated (p. 53, Footnote 358) that the honor of making the first ride was sometimes credited to Johnny Frey.

Recently a clipping from the *St. Joseph News-Press*, October 31, 1941, was brought to the attention of the editors. It was titled "Uncle Billy Richardson, 91 Today, Disclaims Fame," and reads in part:

"In W. B. Richardson's own words, he still enjoys the fact that a writer 'billed me as the first Pony Express rider, and everyone knows that's not so.' Uncle Billy is ninety-one years old today. The Pony Express chapter in his life is one of his favorite reminiscences. 'Johnny Frye [*sic*] was the first rider,' he said, 'but I'll tell you what caused the confusion.

"My brother, Paul Couburn, was the manager for the company. That made me a big shot around the station.'

"Having a pretty fine Indian pony, young Billy proposed to accompany Johnny Frye to the ferry when he started his historic ride. When his brother brought the mail sack from the building, he mistakenly threw it on young Billy's pony, instead of Johnny Frye's, and off the two rode. The mail was transferred at the ferry, however, and the credit of being the first rider rightfully belongs to Frye. . . ."

Sheffield Ingalls' *History of Atchison County, Kansas* (Lawrence, 1916), states that the Missouri river was bridged at Atchison in July, 1875, and not in 1860 as reported in Footnote 480, lines 4 and 5, p. 80.

Pages 84, 85, line 7 of Footnote 495, read "Holladay" instead of "Hockaday."

Page 261, line 19, read "D. W." Houston instead of "S. D." Houston.

Page 272, lines 3 and 4, read N. L. "Prentis," instead of "Prentice."

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