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THE
Kansas Historical
Quarterly

KIRKE MECHEM, Editor
JAMES C. MALIN, Associate Editor
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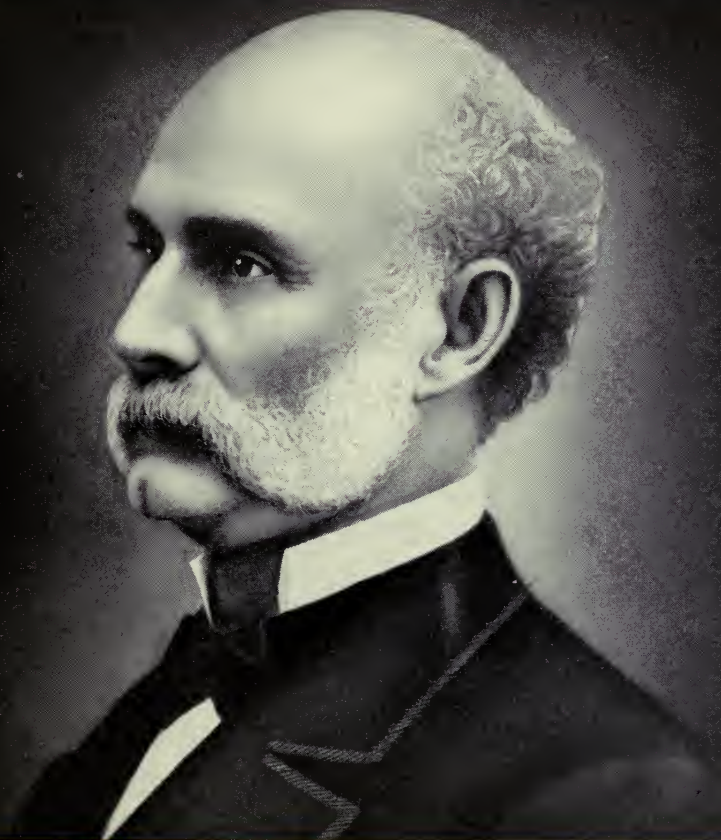
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THE COVER

Cyrus Kurtz Holliday (1826-1900), pioneer Kansas citizen and one of the founders of Topeka, was the organizer of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad (*see* p. 95).

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XVII

February, 1949

Number 1

The Diary of James R. Stewart, Pioneer of Osage County

APRIL, 1855-APRIL, 1857; MAY, 1858-NOVEMBER, 1860

I. INTRODUCTION

JAMES R. Stewart, a young bachelor from New Castle, Pa., came to Kansas territory in the fall of 1854 with his brother William and a company of fellow-Pennsylvanians. The Stewarts had joined an association called the Western Pennsylvania Kansas Company which was organized at Conneautville, Pa., on September 16, 1854, with the stated objective of settling Kansas with anti-slavery and temperance people. An agent of a similar group, the American Settlement Company of New York, was present at the Conneautville meeting, and the Pennsylvanians adopted a resolution to appoint a delegate to confer with the New York company on selecting a site in Kansas.¹

The pioneer colony from western Pennsylvania set out for Kansas on October 27, 1854, under the direction of Charles Albright, one of the secretaries of the company, and arrived at Kansas City, Mo., on November 9. There were probably over 200 persons in this party, but the group quickly broke up after reaching Kansas, the members being disgruntled over lack of accommodations and apparent mismanagement of their affairs, and discouraged by the rainy and snowy weather which they encountered. When George W. Brown, the company's president, arrived in Kansas City a few days later, he found that the members were already scattered. Some had gone to the new towns of Lawrence and Topeka, some had stayed at Kansas City, Westport, Parkville and other points in Missouri, and some had returned to Pennsylvania.²

1. *The Kansas Herald of Freedom*, Wakarusa (Lawrence), October 21, 1854. George W. Brown, editor and publisher of the newspaper, was also president of the Western Pennsylvania company.

2. Letters of C. K. Holliday, December 25, 1854, and G. W. Brown, February 27, 1855, in *ibid.*, March 3, 1855.

Meanwhile, the locating committee of the two companies was traveling over the Kansas prairies in search of a townsite. This group consisted of George H. Stebbins and Lotan Smith of New York state and Joseph W. Kerr and George W. Barnes of New York City, representing the American Settlement Company, and Dr. William F. Owen of Pennsylvania, representing the Western Pennsylvania Kansas Company. They had traveled from St. Louis to Kansas City on the steamer *Polar Star*. Other passengers on this trip were Andrew H. Reeder, newly appointed governor of Kansas territory, and James M. Winchell of New York, who settled in Osage county and later was president of the Wyandotte constitutional convention. Winchell accepted an invitation to accompany the exploratory party in their search for a location for the new colony.

A townsite actually had been selected in advance, and believing that it occupied the old Indian trading post of Council Grove, about 140 miles out on the Santa Fe trail, the locating committee had already christened their new town Council City. However, they were not sure of the exact location, and when they learned that Council Grove was situated on an Indian reservation and was not available for settlement they transferred the name of Council City to a new site.

The tour, which was made in the wagon of a Shawnee Indian named Jackson, took them over the Santa Fe trail through Westport, Shawnee Mission, and Black Jack, where they made their first camp. On the afternoon of the third day they reached One Hundred and Ten crossing, and pushed on the seven miles which separated them from "our imaginary town of Council City." This, according to Winchell, was supposed to be at the crossing of Switzler creek, a few miles above its junction with the Dragoon. "When we reached an eminence overlooking the region lying between the two creeks, the sun was about setting; a light haze softened the picture, and we ordered the wagon to stop, and burst into a cheer of spontaneous admiration. Never before nor since, in Kansas, have I seen a landscape so calculated to excite pleasure as this. . . . Who selected this spot as a site for a 'city'? I do not know: but, at that moment we were unanimously agreed to ratify the choice. . . ." ³

On the other side of Switzler creek the party came in sight of an Indian log house, abandoned by its original occupants and inhabited by Isaac B. Titus and his family, emigrants from Iowa, who are frequently mentioned by Stewart in his diary. There the explorers

3. J. M. Winchell, *Experiences in Kansas Territory, 1854-1855* (untitled manuscript), pp. 9, 15, 19, 32, 35, 36, 48, in the Manuscript division, Kansas State Historical Society.

spent the night, and next day they moved on downstream toward the confluence with Dragoon creek, selecting homesteads as they went. They did not make definite selection of a townsite, but traveled on another day—forty miles—to Council Grove to assure themselves that it was indeed unavailable. They then struck north to Fort Riley, and after leaving there traveled east along the north bank of the Kansas river to a point which they judged nearly opposite Council City. There the party divided. Owen, Smith and Barnes, with Jackson and the wagon, returned to Kansas City, while Stebbins, Kerr and Winchell proceeded south on foot to lay out the townsite.⁴

During the autumn of 1854 and in the following spring, many settlers arrived to take up claims in the vicinity of Council City. In his diary Stewart speaks often of friends and acquaintances in the new settlement. Isaac Titus, his wife Minerva, and their children Lorana, Idelda, and Isaac S., were among the earliest comers. John W. Freel (or Frele), an Iowa farmer, was the first settler to locate in Osage county after the organization of Kansas territory. With his wife, Mary Ann, and their daughter Margaret, he stopped at a point on the Santa Fe trail where Burlingame is now located. Their son Thomas, born that winter, was the first white child born in the county. Absalom W. Hoover, a farmer, was one of the Pennsylvania party which arrived at Council City on November 14. He had a wife, Catherine, and four children. The Bratton family, George and Sarah and their four children, also came from Pennsylvania, as did Joseph McDonald, a tailor, who was one of the oldest men among the settlers. Other Pennsylvanians included Joseph and Johnston McIntire, wagon maker and carpenter respectively; Marcus H. Rose, a stonemason; Ithiel Streit, a carpenter, and his wife and child, and David Condit, a farmer. From Ohio came the Harveys, Henry and George, who were farmers, and Samuel, a cabinetmaker. Foster Harvey, a physician, was perhaps of the same family, but is shown in the census of 1855 as emigrating from Indiana.

Lotan Smith, the resident agent of the American Settlement Company until he was succeeded by James M. Winchell in the spring of 1855, was a farmer from New York. Winchell described him as "an elderly man, of a great deal of energy, and self-esteem, with grey hair and black, sharp eyes, which, in moments of excitement, snapped like torpedoes. . . . [He] was illiterate, but made industry a

4. *Ibid.*, p. 37 ff.

substitute for culture. He wore a pair of horn-rimmed spectacles, through which the sparkles darted when his temper was excited. . . ." In his capacity as agent, Smith built a large log-house on the townsite which was called the council house, and was used for all public purposes. Another of the town fathers, J. W. Kerr, although commonly addressed as "doctor" and listed in the 1855 census as a physician, was said by Winchell to have been a druggist in New York.⁵

Of James Stewart himself comparatively little is known. He was born in or near New Castle on December 20, 1829, and is listed in the territorial census of 1855 as a saddler by profession. He lived at Council City, which was renamed Burlingame in 1857 (*see* diary entry for March 24, 1857), from his arrival in 1854 until 1868. During those years he was active in community affairs, and was elected justice of the peace in 1860. He served briefly in the Civil War as a sergeant in Company D, Second regiment, Kansas Volunteer infantry, from May 14 to October 31, 1861, the dates on which the regiment was mustered into and out of service.⁶ In 1862, while on a visit to his old home in Pennsylvania, he married Mary A. Newell. Later he was county attorney and representative from Osage county in the state legislature. In 1868 he was suffering from "bronchitis and general debility," and planned a trip across the plains to New Mexico, hoping that the journey would improve his health. However, his illness had so weakened him that his doctors warned him against the expedition, and he and his wife left for a visit to New Castle early in May. In late May or early June he died there of consumption.⁷

The diary which follows was secured through the courtesy of Leon R. Mitchell of Burlingame. It is in two volumes, the first covering the period from April, 1855, to April, 1857, and the second from May, 1858, to November, 1860. It will be published in four installments in the *Quarterly*.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 40-42, 77.

6. *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, 1861-'65* (reprint edition of 1896), p. 70.

7. *The Osage Chronicle*, Burlingame, May 2, 9, June 20, 1868.

II. THE DIARY
PART ONE: APRIL-OCTOBER, 1855

APRIL 1855
KANSAS TER.

THUR, 19.

Cool & windy all day but moderat in the evening. Read Great Harmonia⁸ during the forenoon, went down to Hoovers in afternoon, thence to Titus', thence to Freels, back to Hoovers, bought 21 lbs bacon from him, and thence home, got back about 2 oC[1]ock and read Great Harmonia ballance the day.

FRIDAY 20.

Clear Calm warm & pleasant. Went over to Brother Wills⁹ Cabin, worked with him at his chimney two or three hours, returned home, read Great Harmonia untill towards evening, received three letters by the hand of Mr. Johnston, read over my letters, and wrote one to Mr & Mrs Walton.

SAT. 21.

Cloudy distant thunder and threatenng rain in forenoon, clear & pleasant in afternoon. Slept late in the morning Read Great Harmonia short time, eat breakfast, went down to Hoovers, paid Mrs. Hoover for baking my bread, went thence to Titus'. Saw & got acquainted with Mr. Earl, thence to Freels, got acquainted with the Basinger family. Went thence to Hunt our Oxen, crossed Dragoon Creek, stopped at Henry Smiths, got acquainted with Mrs. Howard, passed down the creek to the mouth of Log Chain, thence up log-chain about one mile. found Mr. Amy Smith & two others working at building a cabin, sat and talked short time, went thence back across dragoon Creek to Freels, walked up home with Mrs. Paine,¹⁰ thence home, read Great Harmonia.

8. *The Great Harmonia; Being a Philosophical Revelation of the Natural, Spiritual, and Celestial Universe* . . . by Andrew Jackson Davis. Davis was a young shoemaker's apprentice in Poughkeepsie, N. Y., who claimed to have remarkable clairvoyant powers. In 1845, when he was 19, he dictated, while in a "magnetic sleep," *The Principles of Nature, Her Divine Revelations, and a Voice of Mankind*, which was published as a single bulky volume. It attracted considerable attention and Davis subsequently produced several other works, all supposedly written under the influence of spirits from the other world, including *The Great Harmonia*.—*National Cyclopedia of American Biography* (New York, 1898), v. 8, p. 442.

9. William A. Stewart, the diarist's brother, was a silversmith, according to the 1855 census. He died of consumption in August.—See diary entry for August 30, 1855.

10. Probably Phebe Payne, who is listed in the census of 1855, with her six minor children, as emigrating from Illinois. Isaac D. Earll is not listed in the census, but was one of the signers of a protest against the election of March 30 (see Footnote 15) and served as a clerk at the election of May 22.—Territorial election returns, Archives division, Kansas State Historical Society. P. Baysinger, a farmer, had come from Iowa with his wife, one grown son, and seven minor children. Henry Smith, who may have been a son of Lotan, was a tinner. Mrs. Howard probably was the wife of William Howard, a member of the original Pennsylvania party. Armi Smith, who is consistently called "Amy" by Stewart, was an early settler on Plum creek, south of present Burlingame.

SUN. 22.

Clear & pleasant. Arose early, got breakfast, read Great Harmonia short time, dressed a duck that Gilmore had shot, put it to cooking in a pot of beans, shaved, took a universal bathe, read over some old letters, commenced third vol, Great Harmonia, continued reading some time, eat diner of duck & bean soup, took a walk down to the garden, returned, resumed reading, read short time when Mr. John Dick & another man call[ed] in, directly from New Castle. Was glad to see them being the first living thing, I saw, from New Castle since I left. They brought me some letters & papers. I got them some diner & sat down to read my letters and papers, had long talk with Dick about New Castle. In the evening I received some more papers. looked over them and wrote a letter to O. G. Hazen.

MON. 23.

Cloudy & a few drops of rain. in the morning, cleared up warm about noon with pleasant breeze which increased to a high wind and continued so all day. Got up by sun up, eat breakfast took some flour down to Mrs Hoover to get some bread baked went thence to Titus' got acquainted with Mr & Mrs White, left a letter to be sent to the Post-office, went thence to Freels, stopped & talked short time, thence to hunt the oxen, rowd over to Dragoon Creek in Streits waggon.¹¹ Stopped at Wards & inquired about the oxen, was directed to where they were, found them & drove them home, yoked them up and hauled a load of wood. Read newspapers, worked in my garden, fided, & wrote letters alternately remainder of the day.

TEUS. 24

A little Cloudy with a warm and high breeze all day. Worked in the garden some time, came back to the house put some beans on to cook, read newspapers a while. Went over to Wills, got shovel and hatchet, returned eat diner, worked in garden remainder the day. read Newspapers until bed-time bathed and went to bed.

WED. 25

Cloudy & windy all day with few rain. Worked in the garden some time in the morning, returned to the house, read a while, worked & read alternately all day.

11. Ithiel and Laura R. Streit, with their son George, had come from Pennsylvania. Ithiel was a carpenter.

THUR. 26.

Cool north wind but not unpleasant. Worked in the garden & read alternately all day.

FRI. 27.

Clear & pleasant. Worked in garden all day.

SAT 28

Pleasant but cloudy & a few drops of rain in the evening. Worked in my garden in forenoon, went down in afternoon, returned in evening read fiddled bathed & went to bed.

SUN. 29.

Warm with scatered clouds & high wind. Wrote a letter & read in forenoon, went down to Hoovers and read newspapers there a while, received a letter from J. P. Woodruff by the hand of Lotan Smith, returned home & read untill bed-time; took a universal bathe.

MON 30.

Warm & sultry most of the day, cloudy distant thunder and threatning of rain in evening. Worked in my garden all day, read Great Harmonia in the evening.

MAY [1855]

TEUS. 1.

Cloudy, a light shower about noon, and a little rain through the day. Worked all day in the garden, finished reading Great Harmonia in the evening.

WED 2.

Cloudy & a few drops of rain in the forenoon, clear & pleasant in the afternoon. Worked in garden as usual in forenoon, went down town to attend settlers meeting in afternoon, got home short time before sun down, commenced writing a constitution for a literary society, worked at it for some time and then commenced reading Young Mans Counselor, read some time and retired to bed. The settlers meeting was of no account, had no object in view & did nothing. Brother & I seperated to day, he removing to his own cabin. After the settlers meeting ajourned, a few of us holding an informal meeting to consult about organizing a literry society, we appointed a commitee to make a constitution, myself chairman.

THURS. 3.

Clear & pleasant. Worked in my garden all day untill about five OClock, then went down town, Saw Lotan Smith, got a few

garden seeds from him, recieved a letter & peice of music from Miss Clara E. Mcmillen. Stopped at Hoovers, got some bread, returned home, arrived after dark, found Jim [James J.] Miller & Jim [James H.] Young there, got them some supper, talked, tolld stories &c during the evening.

FRI. 4

Scattered Clodes, the sun appearing occasionally. Worked through the day, fiddled read & wrote some, Saw, heard, nor experienced nothing uncomon.

SAT. 5

Pleasant all day. Worked in garden in forenoon, dressed up and went to Stock holders meeting at Titus' in afternoon, was appointed a committee to invite Lotan Smith to attend, found him at the boarding house, fulfilled my commission and returned to the meeting, remained untill it adjourned returned home, wrote some at constitution for Lyceum.

SUN. 6.

Beautiful all day. Wrote two letters, one to Clara Mcmillen and one to Mary Craven. Went over to Wills, returned, wrote read &c ballance the day.

MON. 7.

Beautiful all day. Worked in garden. went over to Brothers, stopped short time, returned, put some beans and pork to cooking, worked some more in garden, took some flour down to Hoovers to get bread baked, thence to Freels, Saw Mr McDonald, talked with him about breaking prairie, came home in the evening, eat supper, burnt some brush in my garden, wrote ballance of the constitution for Lyceum, read some in the bible, commenced reading Willards Universal history.¹²

TEUS. 8.

A little cool but pleasant. Planted corn in forenoon, went to town in the afternon Stopped at Hoover & got my bread. Came home, went over to Wills, returned read & fiddled till bed time.

WED. 9.

Pleasant, a little cool in evening. Planted Corn, Onions, radishes Beets, peas &c, read & fiddled alternately through the eve-

12. Emma Hart Willard (1787-1870) was one of the great educators of her day. She is credited with being the first woman publicly to advocate higher education for her sex, and the first to prove in her own school that women were capable of mastering mathematics, philosophy and other serious studies without harmful effects upon their brains and nervous systems.—*Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1936), v. 20, pp. 231-233. The volume which Stewart mentions here was probably her *System of Universal History in Perspective*, first published in 1835.

ning. All alone for the last three days beginning to feel lonesome & homesick.

THUR. 10.

A little cool in the morning. Clear & rather pleasant through the day. Went down town in the morning to get McDonalds oxen and plough. The oxen were not home, so I went up to the boarding house and got some garden seeds from Lotan Smith, went thence to Titus', got him to fix McDonalds plough, thence to Freels, thence home, planted my seeds, read, fiddled &c till towards evening, went back for the Oxen & plough, brought them home, went over to Wills, back home read, fiddled &c till bed-time. Am not in very good spirits today

FRI. 11.

Clear warm & beautiful all day. Got up very early and spent about an hour hunting the oxen found them and yoked them up and went over to Wills to plough began it with two yoke of oxen, worked till about 10 O'clock and turned the oxen out to rest, and pasture untill about 2 O'clock Commenced again and continued at it untill sun-down, came home fiddled and read till bed-time.

SAT 12.

Cloudy all day and some rain in the evening. Worked a little at ploughing, but, the ground being very dry and hard, concluded to quit it. Came home, washed dressed and went down town to attend Stockholders meeting, was chosen Sec. of meeting, came home in evening, sold Young some salt, Mr McDonald came about dark and stayed all night.

SUN. 13.

Beautiful in the extreme Read, but nothing else. Had a call from Miller & Freel, and Mr. McDonald for company all day. Good spirits & good nature.

MON. 14.

Beautiful in the morning. Scattered clouds in the evening thunder lightning & rain after night. Took some flour down to Hoovers to get bread baked, went thence to Titus', received four letters, returned home, planted a little corn, sold a bed cord to Jim Young, read some, wrote a letter to J A Addis, had a visit from Amy Smith, walked down town with him, stopped at Freels, thence to Titus' received two letters, went thence to Hoovers, got my bread, thence home, read my letters, and read in Universal history till bed-time.

TEUS. 15

Pleasant through the day, Cloudy, thunder, lightning & rain in the evening. Went up to Youngs the first thing in the morning after some medicine for Mr McDonald, got it and returned home, sat down to read and shortly after four men came in on the hunt of Claims and wished me to go with them. I did so, after showing where they could get them, I returned home and wrote two letters, played cards with Mr McDonald in the evening.

WED 16

Cloudy but pleasant, thunder lightning & rain after dark. Wrote a letter to Bill Pearson in forenoon, went to town in the afternoon, attended a school meeting at the boarding house, was chosen sec. after the school meeting attended a political meeting at which Dr. Kerr was nominated as our candidate for councilman. At the close of the meeting, made a bargain with McDonald & Kerr to join teams and break prairie, came home Read &c untill bed-time.

THUR 17

Pleasant all day. Went over to Wills & got him to take the plough down to the Blacksmith shop to have it repaired, returned home & worked in garden all day.

FRIDAY 18.

Pleasant in the morning. Cloudy, thunder, lightning, & a heavy hail storm about four O'clock. Worked in the garden a short time, recieved a call from Dr Kerr & Mr Earle, who wished me to go down & see Mr Baker, who was expected down from Council Grove, and learn of him what had been done in his district about nominating a candidate for Councilman. I accordingly went down, and Baker not having arrived, I went over to Printiss's and sold him the Oxen, Came home, took the oxen down to him & took his note for the money \$90.00, returned home without seeing Baker.¹³

SAT. 19

Beautiful. Read most all day, finished reading universal history & commenced the American Manual. recieved a call from Dr. Kerr & Mr Earle returning from Topeka.

13. Arthur I. Baker, a farmer from Iowa, was justice of the peace in the eighth election district, in which Council Grove was located when the 1855 census was taken. "Printiss" was Alfonso Prentice (or Prentis), also an Iowa farmer.

SUN 20.

Pleasant but good breeze Slept untill very late. Made a line to go fishing with. Went over to Wills & thence with Johnston over to Dragoon Creek to fish, caught nothing, Started back for home, stopped at Skidmores¹⁴ and got some whiskey, came home, went to bed & read some time, got sleepy & took a nap, woke up about dark, tossed round on the bed a while, got up, took a bathe, & read a short time in the bible. taking all things into consideration this day has been about as good as *Lost*.

MON. 21.

Pleasant, most too warm. Went down to Prentiss' and helped him all day, returned home in the evening, found a rattle-snake in the house, Killed it, read letters, and of course went to bed.

TEUS 22.

Pleasant. Worked with Print. We had a special election to-day for councilman—the result of having contested the former election, at which Strickler & Magee were said to have been elected. We elected Dr Wood of Brownville in our district.¹⁵

WED 23

Rained a little last night, pleasant through the day. Cloudy in the evening, thunder Worked in the garden & read alternately greater part of the day, took some flour down to Hoovers, thence to Allison's.¹⁶ recieved some mail matter, then home. Low spirits to-day.

THUR. 24

Pleasant all day. Worked a little in my garden and read most the day. had a call from Messrs Earle & [John E.] Gould, went down in the evening to Hoovers, got my bread, payed for baking it. and returned home. Had the blues to-day very much.

14. J. D. Skidmore, an emigrant from Missouri, is listed as a merchant in the 1855 census.

15. Hiram J. Strickler was a surveyor from Virginia who subsequently played a prominent part in Kansas affairs during the territorial period and the early years of statehood. At the election of March 30, 1855, he was chosen to represent the 3d, 7th and 8th districts in the council. Mobillon W. McGee was elected to the house of representatives from the 7th district, which included Council City. Several residents of Council City, including Stewart, on March 31 sent a written protest to Governor Reeder, stating that Strickler and McGee were elected by nonresident Missourians in opposition to the wishes of the legal voters of the district. Reeder ordered a new election, which was held on May 22. Jesse D. Wood was elected to the council.—Territorial election returns, Archives division, Kansas State Historical Society. It was Wood who located, surveyed and platted the townsite of Brownville in 1856. The name of the town was changed to Auburn by vote of the citizens in 1857 and by act of the legislature in 1859.—D. W. Wilder, *The Annals of Kansas* (Topeka, 1886), pp. 60-62; A. T. Andreas, and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), pp. 595, 1530. Andreas states that Hollam Rice received all 28 votes for representative from the 7th district on May 22 but that when the legislature met it excluded him and admitted McGee.

16. Samuel A. Allison was a member of the original party from Pennsylvania but is not listed in the 1855 census.—Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 1530.

FRIDAY 25.

Little Cloudy in the morn rained several small showers before noon and the hardest one since I came to the Ter. in the afternoon. also some hail. Went down to Prentiss' early in the morning and helped him plough all day except while it rained. Went over to Freels in the evening to attend meeting to organize a lyceum, got into a discussion on religion with Mr Amy Smith, he being a Universalist, argued with him until dark. the prospects for a meeting being rather slim I concluded to go home, Started and when I arrived at McDonalds Branch the water was so high could not get accross, after runing about five miles to find a place to cross concluded to go back to Hoovers and stay there, got there about twelve OClock at night, wet and cold. got into bed with Squire Rose¹⁷ and put the night over rather comfortably.

SAT 26.

Pleasant, a few drops of rain about one OClock. Got up early and left Hoovers for home, found Gilmore & Bill [William A.] Smith there, got breakfast, and waited a short time on Prentiss who came up with his team and broke prarie for me, myself holding the plough. Brother Will planted after us, this is the first of my Prarie farming. read in the evening. A heavy shower occurred after dark.

SUN 27.

Pleasant all day. Read in the American Manual some time, took a good bathe, eat dinner, & went down town. Loafed round sometime. Came home, had Young onions and radishes for supper, finished reading American Manual and commenced Olneys family book of history, read a few Chapters in the bible.¹⁸

MON 28.

Beautiful all day. Planted a little corn in the morning and worked at ploughing remainder of the day.

TEUS 29.

Cloudy in the morning, rained more or less all afternoon. Ploughed all day. Spirits pretty good.

17. Marcus H. Rose was a stonemason who came from Pennsylvania with the original party. He was justice of the peace for the Council City district.

18. The *American Manual* has not been definitely identified. Jesse Olney (1798-1872) was a well-known Connecticut educator and author. In collaboration with John W. Barber he wrote *The Family Book of History; Comprising a Concise View of the Most Interesting and Important Events in the History of All the Civilized Nations of the Earth . . .*, which was published at Philadelphia in 1839.

WED 30.

Very beautiful all day. Planted corn all day.

THUR. 31.

Pleasant in the forenoon, a little rain in the afternoon. Planted corn, received five letters & a bundle of papers, the letters were respectively from Beck Law, Jim White Oliver, Lisle, & J F Mcmillen, spent the evening in reading my letters & papers, of course.

JUNE [1855]

FRIDAY 1.

A little showery. Planted corn in the forenoon at home, helped Will in the afternoon. Went over to Mr McDonalds claim in the evening and ploughed short time for him. Read Newspapers in evening.

SAT. 2.

A little Cool. Helped Brother Will plant corn in forenoon, took a walk down town in the afternoon, home again in the evening, had touch of the blues to-day.

SUN. 3

Pleasant all day, a few drops of rain about noon. Took a bathe in the morning dressed up and went down to sunday school. After the sunday school, I remained to hear the Reverend Lowry¹⁹ preach. Came home after sermon & wrote two letters. Fiddled some, feel encouraged to-day.

MON 4.

Cloudy & a little chilly. Planted, no—hoed corn in my garden in the morning, went down town to attend meeting of Stockholder, was sec. of same, returned home, wrote & read till bed-time.

TEUS. 5.

Cloudy all day, a little cool. Hoed corn and worked in garden, slept, went down to Hoovers, got my bread, returned home, hoed corn a while, read history after dark.

WED. 6.

Rained steady but lightly all day, cleared up in the evening. Went down town to attend Stockholders meeting, was sec. of the same, bought some meat in the evening, came home about dark.

19. The Rev. John Lowry was sent out by the American Missionary Society, and for three months held meetings regularly at the cabins of various settlers. These were the first regular religious services in the county.—Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 1531.

THUR. 7.

Clear & beautiful. Worked in the garden puling weeds &c, Mr Bouser came and wanted me to go with him to find a claim, did so and returned in about an hour. Worked in garden setting out cabbage & tomato plants &c, wrote through the evening.

FRI 8.

Clear & pleasant. Warm with good breeze all day. Planted a few rows of corn in morning, read & wrote some went down to Prentiss and got my axe ground, came home read & wrote ballance the evening.

SAT 9.

Warm with pleasant breeze, commenced making rails to-day for my corn field, made fifty two read ballance the day. Had a call from Mr [Thomas] Russell to-day. spirits tolerably good to-day, no blues.

SUN 10.

Clear & beautiful, a good breeze. Killed a rattle-snake in the house this morning, wrote a letter to O G Hazen and read Universal history, had a call from two strangers to-day.

MON 11.

Warm & pleasant. Made rails, read, fiddled, rested done nothing, built air castles had big notions of getting a woman, and played hell generally.

TEUS 12.

Rained more or less all day. Made a few rails, read history, went down town, bought some flour, took it over to Hoovers, thence to the boarding house, returned home, got as wet as possible going through the long grass.

WED. 13.

Pleasant all day. Made a few rails, read some worked in the garden, pulled some radishes, took them down to Mrs Hoover, got some bread, returned home with Barnes, gave him some tomato plants, settled with Gilmore, tolerably good spirits to-day.

THURS 14.

Clear but windy all day. Made rails, read, & built air castles, saw no unusual sights, heard no unusual sounds, did no unusual feats.

FRID. 15

Warm with a good breeze. Made a few rails & spent the ballance of the day reading writing &c, sent two dollars to the New Castle Gazette to-day.

SAT. 16.

Warm, a good breeze. Made a few rails in the forenoon, took a bathe, dressed and went to attend a meeting to organize Lyceum at the Boarding house, was appointed on committee to prepare by Laws for society, had good meeting. Came home past Hoovers, got some bread and some fish, came home, wrote a letter, read some—*hold on* Quaker,—forgot somthing, after meeting for Lyceum, attended stockholders meeting and a very interesting one too, I believe that is all my head is rather cloudy to-night.

SUN. 17

Warm & south breeze, Looks like rain this evening Read some in the morning dressed up and went down town to attend Church which was to be at Alissons, got there early and sang musick a while with a few others, heard Rev. Lowry preach a sermon, afterwards went up to the boarding house, recieved a paper, returned home, read ballance the day, bought two Quire paper. Winchels saw mill arrived at Council City, (*the model city*) to-day.²⁰

MON. 18.

Rained some last Night, Cloudy & some rain this morning. Cleared up warm in the afternoon with a few scattered clouds. Threatening more rain. sprung up a high wind about dark and blue like fury and rained hard after dark. Looking like rain this morning. I did not go out to work as I intended, but sat down and read a while, mended my boots, melted some tallow and made some candles, went to the garden and weeded a while, set out cabbage tomatoes &c. Considering all things did not do bad to-day.

TEUS. 19

Warm but not oppressively so. Went over to McDonalds claim in the morning, with the intention of planting corn for him, finding no one there to direct thing, I went on down to Freels, found McDonald there, Came back with him to his Corn field & planted corn untill some time in the afternoon. Came home,

20. After selecting his homestead at the junction of Switzler and Dragoon creeks and assisting in the laying-out of the Council City townsite in October, 1854, James M. Winchell had returned to New York. There he found that he had been made a director of the American Settlement Company. He had no high opinion of some of the men connected with the company, and resolved not to take any "responsible part" in its management. He did plan to return to Kansas, settle on the farm he had chosen, and also operate a portable saw-mill and sell lumber to the other settlers. The company encouraged him in this project, and advertised that a mill would be in operation in the spring of 1855. It was shipped on February 3 from New York, but was so long delayed on the way that it did not reach Council City until June. It was never successful, because it was too small and light to handle the tough oak and walnut of the vicinity.—Winchell, *loc. cit.*, pp. 72-77.

went over to Wills, found the door locked & could not get in. Came back home, went to the garden, hoed corn a while. Came to the house and read until bed-time.

WED 20.

Clear & warm, rained a little Last night. the sun set under a cloud this evening, lightning and distant thunder after dark. Planted corn for Mcdonald to-day, came home in the evening, and went through the usual routine of operations, fiddling, reading, bathing &c.

THUR. 21.

Clear & pleasant all day. rained last night. Planted corn for —*devil take the mosquitoes*,—Mcdonald. Came home in afternoon, worked in garden short time, read fiddled, & fought Mosquitoes which are most confounded hungry to night.

FRIDAY 22.

Cloudy all day, no rain but hard work to hold it up. Worked at planting corn for Mcdonald till noon, went down to Freels, sat & talked some time, thence to Hoovers, got some bread, came home, eat very hearty supper, sat down and read a while, Lay down and slept short time, got up went to the garden, set out a few tomato plants, came back to the house, read some.

SAT 23.

Clear & pleasant. Went over to Wills in morning returned in short time, put on a pot of beans & pork to cook, also some rice, went to the garden, hoed corn a short time, back to the house, eat diner, read short time, washed up and went down town to attend meeting of Lyceum, was appointed on committee to prepare for the fourth of July Celebration, came home, fiddled, wrote, & fought mosquitoes until bed-time. did not advance very far in worldly things to day.

SUN 24.

Beautiful all day. Read some in the morning, dressed and went to church to the boarding house, had no sermon in forenoon but sunday school instead. At two O'clock Rev. Morell preached a sermon, stayed and heard him, after which stayed and sang a while with the choir practising with the view of singing at fourth of July. Came home in evening, read & fiddled ballance the day.

MON 25

Clear & pleasant with south breeze. Slept most of the forenoon, hoed corn some, went over to Dragoon creek with committee of

arrangements for fourth of July Celebration, looked out the ground on which to hold it, made some other arrangements & returned home Stopping short time on the way at the boarding house, at Freels, & at Hoovers, got some bread there, read bathed and went to bed.

TEUS 26.

Warm with a high breeze. Hoed corn & read alternately all day. tolerably good spirits to-day.

WED 27.

Warm & south breeze all day. Hoed corn in the morning, went to town in afternoon, bought some butter, came home.

THUR 28.

Clear warm & good south breeze. Lay awake all last night building air castles. Took a resolution to assume new vigor in the prosecution of worldly schemes. and in obedience to this resolution I got up very early and immediately proceeded to the garden, and worked there till the sun was about half an hour high, returned to the house, eat breakfast, and started out to make one hundred rails, worked about two hours when getting dry I went to the house & Frank Smith calling in about that time, and after talking with him a short time the fever of doing big days work left me.

FRI 29.

Warm & Clear in forenoon, scattered Clouds in afternoon, rain in evening Made forty two rails in the morning, went down to Freels, thence to the boarding house, recieved three paper[s], one of the first No, of the weekly tribune, paid one years postage on it in advance, went thence to Hoovers, got a loaf of bread, came home, sat down and read newspapers ballance of the day.

SAT 30.

Pleasant all day. Made 92 rails and did sundry other work, such as working in the garden, fighting musquitoes and bathing. all things considered did not do bad to-day.

JULY [1855]

SUN. 1.

Clear & beautiful all day. Read faithfully, finished reading Universal history, (Olneys.) & commenced reading Tom Paine, in the spirit world by Rev C Hammond,²¹ also read some in

21. The Rev. C. Hammond, medium, *Light From the Spirit World. The Pilgrimage of Thomas Paine, and Others to the Seventh Circle in the Spirit World* (Rochester and New York, 1852), 264p.

bible. wrote a notice for a meeting of the citizens to inquire into the affairs of the American Set. Co.

MON. 2.

Pleasant with good breeze. Went over to Dragoon in the morning and worked at making preparations for fourth of July celebrations. Came home past Hoovers & got some bread, the first drawing for Council City Lots occurred to-day, did not draw mine.

TEUS 3.

Clear in the forenoon, scattered Clouds in the afternoon, a few drops of rain in the evening. Went over to Dragoon Creek, stopped short time at Rices,²² worked at putting up a table for fourth of July dinner, W[arren] N Haven was with me, I went over with him to Mr. [William] Lords & took dinner there, returned and worked untill towards evening came home, stopping few minutes at Boarding house & at Titus'. fiddled bathed & fought musquitoes.

WED 4.

Scattered Clouds, a few drops of rain but temperature pleasant. This is my first fourth of July in Kansas. Dressed up in the morning, & went to the celebration ground. Being on committee of arrangement I went to work preparing for dinner (a free dinner) provisions haveing been prepared and brought by the Ladies in attendance, worked at this untill the exercises of the day commenced, which consisted of music by the Choir, prayer by the Rev. Lowery, brief address and reading declaration of independence by Edmund Fish Esq. An oration by Dr Kerr, a Poem by M C Haven. Free collation & a multitude of toasts and host of other entertainments, after the assembly dispersed I came home by the boarding house and recieved two letters and some papers, am much pleased with this days experience.

THUR 5.

Fine shower this morning, pleasant but Cloudy through the day. Read newspapers in forenoon, went down town in the afternoon went to the boarding house, settled with Lotan Smith, paid five dollars for T P Woodruff and five for I N Beatie to A. M. Set Co. recieved two letters and a pamphlet, one of the letters containing power of Att from J A Addis & Tom Marshall to

22. Hollam Rice located on Dragoon creek in 1854. He was one of those who signed the protest against the election of March 30. At the special election on May 22 he was elected to the house of representatives from the 7th district but was refused a seat by the legislature in favor of M. W. McGee.

me, the other was from Jim White. came home & answered Whites letter.

FRI 6

Pleasant all day. Made some stakes & forks, read and wrote a letter to E S McLeary Fee[1] Lonesome, wish I was back in Old Pennsylvania.

SAT 7.

Pleasant, a good breeze. Wrote letters all forenoon, went to the Lyceum in afternoon; was sec. was appointed on committee to prepare a report of fourth of July celebration for publication, recieved some papers Came home past Titus' & bought a jug of vinegar from Gilmore went from Titus' to Freels and bought a peice of Liver & some flour. left the [flour?] at Hoovers and came on home Read Tribune through the evening.

SUN 8.

Temperatuer 95 with good breeze. Went over to Wills in the morning; returned, then down to Freels, thence to Tituss, thence to Hoovers, got some bread, back home, read ballance the day.

MON 9

Rained Last night, a good breeze, warm to-day. Made some stakes & forks, got done about 10 OClock, slept read & did nothing ballance the day. Finished reading Paine in the spirit world & commenced reading Pollocks Course of time.²³

TEUS 10.

Warm in the forenoon, a fine shower in the evening, heavy thunder. Lightning & rain after dark. Made stakes & forkes short time Went over to Wills in the forenoon carried his bed over to my cabin, he coming a long to stay with me. Went down town to meet Messrs Rose & Haven to prepare a report of fourth of July celebration for publication, Haven not appearing I went to the Post-office recieved two letters. Started for home but had to stop at Freels on account of the rain, read my letters while there, came home about dark, eat super, re-read my letters, bathed & went to bed.

WED 11.

Warm, scattered Clouds. Worked at my stake making short time, wrote a letter, went down town, stoped at Freels, thence to the boarding house, thence to Hoovers, got some fish & some milk, had a call from Lotan Smith to day.

23. Robert Pollok (1798-1827), a Scottish clergyman, was described by a biographer as "the greatest Christian poet of the century." *The Course of Time* was a heroic poem in ten books embracing the "whole history and final doom" of mankind. It went through at least fifteen American editions before 1850.

THURS 12.

Warm in the forenoon, cloudy and signs of rain in the evening. Had a call from Mrs Young in the morning, went with her to Allisons, returned home read, worked in garden &c

FRI. 13.

Clear & warm all day. Made a few stakes and cut forks, went down to Hoovers, got some bread, thence to the post-office received one letter, thence to Freels, then home, read course of time.

SAT 14.

Warm, scattered clouds, thunder no rain. Went out in the morning to make stakes, cut some stuff for them but split none, came back to the house & trifled away the ballance of the day.

SUN 15.

Warm with good south breeze. Read all day, finished reading Pollocks course of time, and commenced Tomsons seasons.²⁴

MON 16.

Warm with good south breeze. Killed a rattle snake this morning in the garden, made one hundred & six stakes & 26 forks hoed some in the garden, read some, went over to Wills cabin got some things there and returned.

TEUS 17.

Warm a good breeze. Made stakes & forks, wrote a letter, read bathed fiddled &c.

WED 18

Warm with good south breeze, Made a few stakes, went down town, got some Flour, took it to Hoovers, thence to the boarding house, attended stockholders meeting thence home had mush & milk for supper.

THUR 19.

Warm. A fine shower at Hoovers in the afternoon but none at home, Clouds thunder & lightning in evening. Read some in the morning, Went down town, stopped at Titus's, thence to Brattons after a keg, didnt get it, thence to Hoovers, remained there while it rained, got some bread and some butter, came home, finished reading Tomsons seasons & commenced Cowpers task,²⁵ had call from N Schuyler.²⁶

24. *The Seasons* is the best known work of the Scottish poet James Thomson (1700-1748).

25. William Cowper (1731-1800), English poet.

26. N. Schuyler was Nicholas P. B. Schuyler, one of the incorporators of the Burlingame Town Company in 1858.—Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 1533.

FRI 20.

Cloudy all day but no rain, Went up to the boarding house to attend the drawing of Council City Lots, remained there all day and attended stockholders meeting in the evening, was elected member of local board of trustees. bout sack flour in evening came home, read.

SAT 21

Cloudy & rainy nearly all day, rained some last night. Lay back & read most the day, finished reading Cowpers task and commenced Gertrude of Wyoming,²⁷ went down to Hoovers in the afternoon, thence to Freels & paid for some flour, came back home past Hoovers and got a loaf of bread.

SUN 22.

Warm with broken clouds. Lay back and read, had a call from Mr McDonald & Plumb. McDonald stayed all night finished reading Gertrude of Wyoming, had a great deal of talk with Mr McDonald on religion and other things.

MON 23.

little cloudy in the forenoon, Clear & warm in the afternoon. Mended my boots in the morning went over with Mr McDonald to his claim, thence to Hoovers, thence to Freels, thence back to Hoovers, got some bread, & home, cleared out a road through the timber to haul my rails out on, read in the evening.

TEUS 24.

Warm in the forenoon, Clouds and thunder and threatning of rain in the afternoon Worked in the garden in the morning, hauled rails in the afternoon, read in the evening. Mr McDonald is with me to-day & to-night.

WED 25.

Warm with scattered clouds. Hauled rails in the forenoon, attended Lyceum at the boarding house. to-day the first debate in the Pioneer Institute ocured, the question was, should Kansas in the formation of a state government exclude Free negroes, I was on the negative, after the meeting ajourned, came home, past Hoovers & got some bread.

THUR 26.

Clear & warm all day. Wrote a letter in the forenoon to J. Ferris Mcmillen, went down to Hoovers and copied the record of the temperature of the weather in July and enclosed it in

27. Thomas Campbell (1777-1844), a Scotch poet, wrote *Gertrude of Wyoming; A Pennsylvania Tale* in 1809. It is described as the story in verse of the "desolation of Wyoming, in Pennsylvania, which took place in 1778, by an incursion of the Indians."

Ferris's letter. Went thence to Freels and stayed there most the afternoon. Came home, read & built air castles.²⁸

FRI 27.

Clear & very warm with a good breeze. Fought mosquitoes nearly all night last night and slept late this morning. Mr McDonald came up and we hauled the ballance of my rails out, after which we sat & talked on different subjects untill towards evening, when he left & I took a walk over to Wills house, found no one there, came home, fiddled built air castles bathed & went to bed.

SAT 28

Wrote a letter in the morning to Miss M. J. Morrison, had a call from Mr Stanley, went over to Dr Kerrs in the afternoon to attend a meeting of the board of trustees, got home about dark.

SUN 29.

Clear & pleasant all day. Went to Church, heard the Rev. Lowry preach a sermon on war, stoped short time at Freels. Dr Toothman came home with me, Went out in the evening to show him a claim. George Young called in about dark, stoped short time, read some in the bible, wrote took general bathe & went to bed.

MON 30.

Cloudy, thunder & lightning in the morning but no rain. Clear & warm through the midle of the day, heavy wind thunder lightning & strong appearance of rain in the evening. Washed some clothes in the morning, studied and wrote on debate for Lyceum, the question being, resolved that Women should exercise the elective franchise. I wrote four pages of foulds-cap, have a very sore foot, think its poisoned.

TEUS 31.

Terific thunder & lightning and a fine shower last night, Clear & pleasant with a fine breeze. Went up to Youngs in the morn-

28. Stewart's "air castles" were shared by others. A "Member of Settlement Company," roused by the exaggerated stories told of Council City, wrote to *The National Era* of Washington, D. C., on August 15: "In the *Era* of August 2d, I notice a paragraph on the American Settlement in Kansas, named Council City, stating we have 1,500 inhabitants, a saw-mill, post office, Sabbath-school, hundreds of acres in crops, &c. Such statements, I think, are wrong; for, when people arrive, they find it different, and many of our best settlers leave in disappointment. . . . The inhabitants, instead of being 1,500, as stated, I think, would not be more than 500 within ten miles, and as yet not one building on the city proper. A saw-mill we have, but it is not yet running, but hope it will be soon. A post office we have, with a regular monthly mail, with an occasional one between. A Sabbath-school was organized last spring, but is abandoned for the present, on account of sickness, which, I think, was mostly brought on by exposure and change of diet. . . . The number of acres in crops, (or corn,) perhaps, is correct; but the most of it was planted late, and on the prairie sod, and of course we cannot expect a full crop. The most of the settlers are putting in a few acres of wheat."—*The National Era*, October 25, 1855.

ing to draw the water out of his well in order to get my mattock which was buried in the water, worked a while at it and quit for a bad job. Came home went down to Freels, thence to Brattons, thence to Hoovers, took super there, thence home, sang, fiddled on three strings, read wrote & went to bed.

AUGUST [1855]

WED 1.

Clear & warm with a good breeze all day. Got up in the night last night and commenced reading Youngs nights thoughts,²⁹ read an hour or two, slept late this morning, studied & wrote on debate for Lyceum in forenoon, went to town in afternoon, took Mrs Bratton some cucumbers, went from there to Freels, stayed there most the afternoon, came to Hoovers, got my bread, and home, read night thoughts.

THURS 2.

Clear & warm all day. Went out in the morning to build fence, worked at it some time, quit and read a while, had call from Toothman, also one from [John E.] Gould, he stayed all night.

FRIDAY 3.

Clear & very warm. Went out in the morning and put up a few pannel of fence came back to the house, & read till towards evening, worked some more at my fence, read through the evening.

SAT 4.

Warm, temperature 91, scattered clouds through the day, a light shower at dark, thunder lightning & threatning for more at night. Went down to the Post-office & waited all day expecting the Santa-fee stages with the Council City mail. it did not come, so I went over to Hoovers, and eat the first Water-melon in Kansas there, came home and read as usual, money out of pocket to-day.

SUN 5.

Some rain last night, cloudy this morning, cleared off about 10 O'clock, warm ballance the day. Had a call from Mr Roscoe in the morning, went down to the Post-Office in forenoon, remained at Freels remainder of the day, got no mail, came home in the evening, Mr Mcdonald came with me, spent the evening talking on religion & C.

29. Edward Young (1683-1765), English poet and clergyman. *The Complaint, or Night Thoughts on Life, Death and Immortality* is his chief work.

MON 6.

Pleasant all day. Went over with Mr McDonald in the morning to his claim for the purpose of helping him to mark the lines around it. After looking over it, and having no compass we concluded to defer it to another time, went from there to Hoovers taking them some cucumbers, & thence to Freels with some green corn, thence to the Post-office and received 9 letters and six newspapers the letters were respectively from Miss Mary Craven, Miss R. L. Law, J W Johnston, De Cossit, J. S. White, O G Hazen, R C Leslie & J P Woodruff, also a piece of music from Ebb Sanky, Mr Johnston letter contained a Check for 20,00, one of O G Hazen a receipt from New Castle Gazette. After receiving this glorious big mail I came home past Hoovers & got a loaf of bread, read my letters all over & glanced at my papers, eat dinner and went to work at my fence, worked a while & returned to the house, reread my letters & some more in my papers, worked some more & read till all most mid night.

TUES 7.

Pleasant, scattered clouds a few drops of rain in the afternoon. Worked at my fence a while in the morning, went down to Freels, thence to Post-office, received 4 papers, eat dinner at Freels, had new potatoes, came home, read & worked at fence alternately till dark, read papers till late in the night.

WED 8.

Fine rain in the forenoon, Clear & pleasant in the afternoon. Slept nearly all forenoon, read, some, went to attend Lyceum at the Boarding house in the afternoon, debated on the Neg. of the question—resolved that women should exercise the elective franchise. Came home & read through the evening.

THUR. 9.

A gentle but constant rain all day. Wrote three letters, read newspapers balance the day.

FRI 10.

Cloudy in morn. Clear in evening, Worked at my fence and read alternately all day, wrote a letter in the evening, had a call from Jim Miller, he stayed all night.

SAT 11.

Rained a little in the morning. Clear through the day, a fine shower in the evening, heavy thunder Lightning & rain after dark. Wrote a letter in the forenoon, went down town, stopped

some, time at Allisons, went thence to Hoovers, got some bread and home read fided & C as usual.

SUN 12.

Showery all day, heavy thunder & lightning, Wrote three letters, this was about all I did. saw a wild-cat near the house in the evening.

MON. 13

Clear & pleasant in the forenoon showery in the afternoon. Worked at my fence in the morning, took 8 letters down to the post office, stopped a while at Freels, came home in the eve.

TEUS 14.

Cloudy & a little rain, Worked short time at my fence, washed dressed & went down town, stopped at boarding house, thence home, read & C through the evening.

WED 15

Scattered clouds, a few drops of rain. Had a call from Mr. Amy Smith in the morning, went down town with him, stayed there untill towards evening, came home, Johnston McIntyere came with me & stayed all night.

THUR 16.

A fine rain in the forenoon, Clear & pleasant in the afternoon. Lay back and read in forenoon, Helped Dr Toothman raise cabin in afternoon.

FRI 17.

Clear & pleasant, cool in the morning. Finished reading night thoughts and commenced reading Miltons Paridise Lost. finished fencing my corn in the afternoon, read through the evening.

SAT 18.

Pleasant all day. Cut some grass in the morning to fill my bed with, went to the garden & got some corn for Todds, & some for McIntiere, went down to Dr Kerrs to attend meeting of the board, Johnston McIntire accompanying me as far as town, stopped at Todds & took diner, came back to Freels, stoped and stayed all night to set up with Geo. Young who was very low with fever, he died between 9 & 10 O Clock, helped to dress him & sat up ballance of the night.³⁰

30. Of this period J. M. Winchell wrote that heavy midsummer rains were "followed by the general prostration of all the people in my neighborhood by the ague. From the rolling character of the country, we had vainly fancied ourselves free from this malarial scourge; but the rains of August were very heavy, and the people drank the water of the creeks, and lived largely on milk."—Winchell Ms., *loc. cit.*, pp. 81, 82.

SUN 19.

Pleasant all day. Came home from Freels early in the morning, got breakfast, read a short time, Lay down & slept till about 11 O'clock, dressed and went down to attend the funeral, heard the Rev. Lowry preach a funeral sermon, came home past Hoovers & got a Loaf of bread, Youngs funeral was the first I ever attended in Kansas.

MON 20.

Clear & pleasant, a good breeze. Went down town & Loafed round all day, wrote a letter for Freel to the Mayor of Easton, Pa, telling him about the death of Geo. Young who came from that place, took diner at Freels, came home in the evening, fiddled & read balance the eve.

TEUS 21.

Cloudy & rainy nearly all day. Commenced diging for water on the bank of the creek in the morning. worked but little it commencing to rain, Lay up and read ballance the day.

WED 22.

Cloudy in the morning, cleared up about nine o'clock, pleasant the remainder of the day. Lay up and read in the fornoon, went to attend Lyceum in the afternoon, had a good meeting, went to the Post-office, recieved one paper,—the 1st No of my New-Castle Gazette, came home past Hoovers and got some bread.

THUR. 23.

Clear & warm all day. Went over to Mr Lords to attend his little daughters funeral, was one of the pall bearers, came home in the evening, pulled my first ripe Water Melon—weighed 21 Lbs & most Luscious, finished reading Miltons paradise Lost, read some in the bible.

FRIDAY 24.

Clear & pleasant. Had a call from Rev Shaw & Mr Dalton of New Mexico early in the morning, their object being to buy Wells Claim, went with them to see it, came back & went down to Freels, expecting to go to Kansas [City] with Mr Mcdonald, did not, remained and went to church in the afternoon heard Rev [Samuel S.] Snyder preach, attended a meeting of the citezens to see about settling up the buissness of Geo. Young—deceased, in the evening, was chosen administrator came home & read through the evening as usual.

SAT 25.

Scatered clouds, pleasant. Went down to Freels in the morning, intending to go up to Harveys to attend to the appraisement of Geo. Youngs property, found that Messrs Hoover & Freel who were to go along were already gone, so I concluded not to go, remained down town and attended a political meeting, thence to Hoovers, eat some watermelons, got some bread & some butter, thence home, fiddled, read, & fought musquitoes, the ballance of the evening.

SUN 26.

Misty in the morning, scattered clouds, and clear in the evening. Read & eat Water melons all day, wrot some verses to Mary Newel in the evening expected a call from some Ladies.

MON 27.

Misty in the morning, clear & pleasant through the day. Went down town & attended to George Youngs affairs, settling acct's & C. Came home in the evening, Charley Linkinager [C. N. Linkenauger] came with me.

TEUS 28.

Heavy fog and distillations of dew in the morning, clear & pleasant in the afternoon, Remained at home with Charley, a while in the morning. Bill Smith called and told me that Brother Will was worse, went up to see him, found him very sick, sent Smith after the Dr, & remained with Will till the Dr came, came back home riding Wills Pony, filled a [bet-tick?] in the evening read Popes works after dark.

WED. 29.

Clear & beautiful all day. Went down to Freels in the morning and got his horses & Plumbs waggon and went up to Youngs cabin with Charley Linkinager after Brother Will, brought him down to my house and waited on him through the day, went down to the store in the evening and got some wine & peruvian bark, also some milk at Freels, came home, got Will Smith to stay with me, am going to set up with Brother to-night, he is very bad. The Dr thinks he will not live, he called to see him to-day.

THUR 30.

Warm in the morning, a light shower about noon, clear in the evening. Went to the Boarding house after my syringe in the morning, got it and came to Freels, got a chicken for Will, thence to Hoovers, got some bread, thence home, worked about

the house waiting on William & C. Will died about half past eleven O'clock, sent Will Smith to get help to dress him. Mr Hoover & Jim Bothel³¹ came & attended to it. Smith went to see about getting a coffin made, grave dug & shroud made, Mr Hoover remained with [me] untill towards evening & then went home, Smith came back soon after and also Jim Bothel about dark. am setting up to-night with my last Brother for the last time. what luck is to be meted out to me?

FRI 31.

Clear & warm all day. Dressed up in the morning and prepared for Wills funeral, which was to occur at eleven O'clock but on account of detention in making the coffin, did not occur untill about five in the evening, consequently did not get through till after dark, went down to Mr Brattons after the funeral and stayed there all night.

SAT 1.

SEPTEMBER [1885]

Warm, scattered clouds. Came from Mr Brattons in the morning to Freels, remained there all day settling up George Youngs accounts, bought a piece of fresh beef in the evening, came home about dark, Bill Smith came with me.

SUN 2.

Clear & warm all day. Went down town in the morning and remained there untill afternoon, went over to Lords to set up with Cort. Haven³² who is very low with Typhoid fever, arrived there about sun-down, set up untill 12 o'clock, left and came over to Freels, got there about 1 o'clock, remained there all night.

MON 3.

Clear & warm. Got up early in the morning, and found my Pony gone, Learned that Dr Bowin had taken it, waited untill he returned, went home and done chores about the house, for some time, returned to Freels to attend to selling George Youngs effects, had an auction sale, sold a few things, came home in t[h]e evening with Mr Medonald & Will Smith had a spree on Water Mellon.

TEUS 4.

Clear, A good breeze. Washed clothes all day. Loaned fifteen dollars to Mr Wright.³³

31. James Bothel was one of the original Pennsylvania party which arrived in November, 1854.

32. Cortez Haven is the M. C. Haven mentioned in the entry for July 4. He died some time after this entry was written.—*Herald of Freedom*, November 17, 1855.

33. Probably Devilla Wright, a young farmer originally from Iowa.

WED 5.

Clear & pleasant. Didnt feel very well this morning, Lay down after breakfast & slept an hour or two, got up and started out to hunt my Pony, could not find it, came back to the house, went to the garden, gathered some tomatoes and took them down to Mrs. Hoover, found the Pony down there, went over to Freels, thence to the Post-office, recieved five letters & 9 papers, came home & read my letters & papers.

THUR 6.

Scattered clouds, warm. Washed clothes in the forenoon, went up to Youngs cabin in the afternoon and got some things that William had left there, came home and read ballance the day.

FRI. 7.

Warm & sultry. Took some tomatoes down to Freels in the morning, remained there some time, recieved a letter from Alf Addis by the hand of P. O. Conver,³⁴ Came home very sick with fever & head-ache, went to bed.

SAT 8.

Warm & Sultry. Lay up and read in the forenoon, went down to Freels in the afternoon, came home past Hoovers, took supper there.

SUN 9.

Warm, scattered clouds. did Chores about the house some, got sick & lay in bed nearly all day, terrible high fever, think I'm going to be sick.

MON 10.

Pleasant all day. Felt better in the morning. got on my Pony and rode down to Dr Kerrs and got some medicine went thence to [John R.] Caziars, stopped an hour or two, thence to the Boarding house to attend stockholders meeting Got very sick while there & had to go to bed and stay there untill morning.

TEUS 11.

Felt some better, got my Pony and started for home, was sick before I got there, tumbled into bed & lay there very sick, not able to get up.

³⁴ P. O. Conver had emigrated with the Western Pennsylvania Kansas party in 1854. For several months he had been working as a compositor in the office of the *Herald of Freedom* at Lawrence. An announcement in that paper on July 14, 1855, stated that he was planning to publish a weekly newspaper at Council City, to be called the *Council City Banner*, beginning September 1. So far as is known, this journal never materialized.

WED 12.

Warm, scattered clouds. Tried to get up in the morning, couldnt do it. Lay in bed all day, desperate sick, no one near me.

THUR. 13.

A little Cloudy. Had a call from Mr Dalton in the morning, felt some better, got up and eat a little, got on the Pony and went down to Alisons after some medicine, took sick about the time I got there, and had to stop, went to bed and lay there all night.

FRI 14.

Warm & Sultry. Felt some better in the morning, got my Pony and rode home, had a call from Mr Dalton, went over to take diner with him, and his wife, took sick while there and had to hurry home, Lay in bed from then till next morning sick as could get to be.

SAT 15.

Rained a little in the morning, pleasant through the day. Took a bathe in the morning, went down to Alisons with the view of stoping there a few days till get better, had chill & fever in the evening.

SUN 16.

Heavy rain last night, occasional rain and clouds through the day. Read a little in morning, had chills & fever in the afternoon, took 20 Gr Quinine to-day.

MON 17.

Pleasant, south breeze. Came home in the morning and remained there all day, had no fever, read newspapers, think the quinine has done a good work for me.

TEUS 18.

Warm, with south breeze. Stephen Smith stayed with me last night having called after I went to bed, felt better, wrote a letter, had a call from Mrs Dalton, also from Mr Gould.

WED 19.

Rained in the morning, scattered clouds through the day. Lay up and read all day. Had a call from Mr Dalton, & one from a fellow by the name of Tom Hill.

THUR 20.

Warm & south breeze. Took a good bathe in the morning, went to Hoovers, thence to Alisons, took diner there, thence to Brat-

tons, thence to Prentises, got half bushel corn meal, thence home, read Paines age of reason.³⁵

FRI. 21

Warm but good south breeze. Chored about the house fixing the beds & C. Went down to Alisons in the evening, got some butter, thence to Hoovers, got some milk, thence hom had firstrate super on mush & milk.

SAT 22.

Clear & pleasant. Went out in the morning to make rails for a calf pen, worked short time, found it rather hard work, quit and came to the house, read through the greater part of the day, had a call from Hoge,³⁶ paid him for making Williams coffin, went down to Alisons, got Mr Mcdonald on my Pony and started him for my house, I went past Hoovers, and got some bread, & punkin pies, got home about sun-down, Mr Mcdonald stayes with me to-night.

SUN 23.

Warm, scattered Clouds, a few drops of rain. Lay back reading, wrote 4 letters.

MON 24.

Clear & pleasant. Went at making some more rails for my calf pen. Dave Condit³⁷ came in a short time, so I quit work and set in the house & talked to him & Mr Mcdonald untill towards evening. Went down to Hoovers, thence to Titus' after some butter, got none, thence to Brattons, got none there, thence back to Hoovers got some milk, then home, had mush & milk for supper.

TEUS 25.

A fine rain last night, clear & pleasant to-day. Finished making rails for calf pen, and built the pen, had a call from Mr [Frederick C.] Upsom he had a shake while here, cut up some corn in the evening.

WED 26.

Clear & Cool. Went out in the morning to cut corn, worked at it a short time, had a call from Mr Joy, who came to notify me of a meeting of the board of trustees, quit work and went to attend the board meeting, remained there all day, paid Dr

35. Tom Paine (1737-1809), political pamphleteer of the American Revolution, wrote *The Age of Reason* during 1794-1796 while he was living in France. It has been called the "atheists' bible," though Paine was a deist and not an atheist, and most of the ideas expressed are more or less commonplace today.

36. W. H. Hogue was a cabinetmaker, originally from Missouri.

37. David Condit was a member of the Pennsylvania party.

Kerrs bill for attending William, got cloth for a pair of pants from J Byers.

THUR 27.

Clear Cool & pleasant. Cut Corn a while in the morning, went down to Prentiss' after Medonalds cow & calf. tried to drive them home, could not do it. Left them at Prints, stopped there till after diner, thence to Allisons, got some flour & took it over to Hoovers, brought my rifle and Geo Youngs shot gun home from freels, found Dalton there, made a bargain with him to bring the cow & calf up from Prentiss's to-morrow morning.

FRIDAY 28.

Cloudy. Cool. Went down in the morning after the cow. Dalton did not go as I expected, took a shake while at Prentiss' and had to give up the idea of bringing home the contrary cow & calf. Came home late in the evening feel rather slim.

SAT 29.

Rained last night, cloudy and cool through the day. Went over to Daltons in the morning, took a shake while there, husseled home. Lay up ballance of the day. Cousin William Stewart from Illinoise came in about dark, havent seen him for four years before to-night.

SUN 30.

Rained lightly last night also this forenoon. Took a shake early in the morning and Lay up ballance the day. Cousin Will rode around some alone, too sick to go with him, dam this ague.

MON 1.

OCTOBER [1855]

Cloudy & sunshin alternately Had more fever & ague to-day, got Mr Medonald to go after some quinine and butter, took some of bothe when he got back. Cousin Will Left this morning for Lawrence. the Ruffians held an election to-day to elect delegate to Congress.³⁸

TEUS 2.

Clear with high west breeze. Had a very hard shake to-day. felt better in the evening, a pair of some-bodys oxen broke into my corn, took the shot gun out and shot them with beans.

38. At this election J. W. Whitfield received 2,721 of a total vote of 2,738 for territorial delegate to the 34th congress. The Free-State men did not participate. On September 5-6, at the Big Springs convention, they had organized the Free-State party, nominated ex-Governor Reeder for delegate to congress, and named the second Tuesday in October as the date for their own congressional election.

WED 3.

Windy. Cool Fever and ageu as usual. was in bed nearly all day.

THUR 4.

Some rain last night, cool to-day. Got the Ageu broke to-day had no chill.

FRIDAY 5.

Cloudy & cool. Felt better, went out and cut some corn, went down to the Post-office in the evening, recieved 8 letters and a bundle of papers, Came home & read my letters & papers.

SAT 6.

A good breeze. Cut corn part of the day, took Mcdonalds oxen, which have been up here for a few days, down town, got some bread at Hoovers, came home thence to Daltons, back home read newspapers.

SUN. 7.

Went out in the morning to cut corn. Mr Mcdonald was with me, worked at it a short time when the two Mr Roses called, quit work and entertained my visitors till eve.³⁹

MON 8

Warm & dry. Went over to Daltons in the morning. thence down the Creek to hunt Mcdonalds oxen, could not find them, came home, husked and carried in corn ballance of the day.

TEUS 9.

Warm—very warm. Called over to see Daltons in the morning who were both sick, cut them some wood, returned home, carried up some corn. This is election day for delegate to Congress, went to the polls & voted for A H Reeder,⁴⁰ went to Pren-tiss' got some butter, came home and read & wrote.

WED 10.

Clear & high wind. Went over to Daltons, found them very sick, thence to attend meeting of boad of trustees. had good time, thence after Mcdonalds oxen, did not get them came home & brought some bread & potatoes up to Daltons.

39. Marcus H. Rose (see Footnote 17) and his nephew, Marcus C., had come to Kansas together. The latter was a young schoolteacher who taught a subscription school at the Sac and Fox agency from December, 1854, to the end of March, 1855. He returned to Pennsylvania in October, 1856, because of ill health.—*Early Days in Kansas* . . . , C. R. Green's Historical Series (Olathe, 1913), v. 2, pp. [40-45].

40. Reeder received 62 votes at Council City and a total of 2,849 in the territory. In December both he and Whitfield claimed the seat as delegate from Kansas, but congress did not admit either of them.

THUR 11.

Clear & warm. Went over to Daltons, did some chores for them, thence after Mcdonalds oxen, found them and brought them home with the waggon, hauled up some rails & built a corn crib, hauled up one load of corn.

FRI. 12.

Hauled up one load of corn, got sick, Lay in bed ballance the day, went over to Daltons in the evening. found them still sick.

SAT 13.

Warm. Hague & fever, Lay up all day.

SUN 14.

Warm, a light breeze. Felt some better this morning, yoked up the oxen and hauled a load of wood. Lay up the remainder of the day, had a call from Dalton, helped him take over his cow.

MON 15.

Warm & pleasant. Still more ague. Lay up.

TEUS 16.

Pleasant. Some better to-day, went down town in the waggon, got some quinine, and some bread, came home, took a chill. Felt angry, cursed Mr Mcdonald and went to bed, mad.

WED 17.

Clear & pleasant. Went over to Daltons, sold him my corn, engaged to board with him, returned home, took Quinine Lay up rest of the day, Mr Mcdonald left for Kansas city to-day.

THUR 18.

Windy through the day, rain in the night. Not well yet, read newspapers through the day, had a piece of fresh beef sent me in the evening by Mrs Dalton, sent to Kansas [City] for some apples some onions & pair of boots.

FRI 19.

Warm, scattered clouds. Shaved, bathed, put on a clean shirt, took my gun and went after my Pony which I have missed for several days, shot a snake, got very tired, came home, did not find my Pony, rested ballance the day.

SAT 20.

Cloudy, a few drops of rain. Felt pretty well this morning, tinkered a long time at my guns, arranged at the accounts of Geo. Young some, read some, in the bible, rained considerable in the evening.

SUN. 21.

Cold & windy. Drove a lot of cattle out of my corn, went over to Daltons, stopped a few minutes, came home, spent the day reading, Hill came over two or three times.

MON 22.

Rained considerable in the morning, pleasant in the evening. Went down to Hoovers, remained there during the rain, got a [loaf of] bread. came home. Went over to Daltons. Got yoke of cattle and wagon, came back with Hill to get some corn out of my field.

TEUS 23.

Very cold & windy. Sat by the fire all day & read.

WED 24.

Clear & cool pleasant in the afternoon. Went down town to attend meeting of board of trustees,—a quorum not being present no meeting was held, remained till afternoon for the Lyceum, attended it, from thence came to Prentiss's, got some butter, thence to Hoovers, ground some corn on his hand mill, got a loaf of bread, and home.

THUR. 25.

A little cool, rather windy. Husked corn greater part the day, read philosophy some.

FRI 26.

Pleasant, a good breeze. Husked corn, read some philosophy, gathered some beans.

SAT 27.

Pleasant, a little warm, some breeze, Washed clothes in the forenoon, went down town in the afternoon, bought some coffee, went over to Prentiss', settled with him, thence to Hoovers, got some bread, came home through Cleavelands turnip patch and got some turnips, eat a hearty supper on beans & pork received a letter to-day.

SUN 28.

Clear, warm & pleasant. Had call from Mr Dalton in the morning, went home with him, had glass of hot toddy, sat a while, returned, wrote letters ballance the day.

MON 29.

Clear, rather windy in evening. Gathered & hulled hazelnuts most the day, picked a few beans.

TEUS 30.

Warm & pleasant untill near evening, blew up windy and continued so all night. Went over to Daltons in the morn, to help him yoke up his oxen, got it done with some trouble, had a glass of hot toddy, brought the oxen over to my corn field, hitched them to my waggon which had been left there, hauled the waggon over to Daltons, came home, gathered some beans, had chill & fever after dark.

WED 31.

Hallow eve. Rather windy all day. Made preperation to attend meeting of the board of trustees, felt too sick to leave the house, stayed at home, read a little, lay in bed most the day, sent for some medicine, got not, Lord! how I wish I was out of this.

[*Part Two, November, 1855-April, 1857, Will Appear in the May, 1949, Issue*]

The Army Engineers as Road Surveyors and Builders in Kansas and Nebraska, 1854-1858

W. TURRENTINE JACKSON

AT the close of the Mexican war the territory of the United States was greatly increased by the addition of California and the New Mexico and Utah territories. The population of California, gradually becoming stabilized after the gold rush, began to demand better mail facilities and more satisfactory roads for the travel of emigrants from the Mississippi and Missouri valleys to the coast. Delays brought about dissatisfaction and some talk of the establishment of a separate Pacific republic. During the war years the Mormons had also laid the foundations of their commonwealth in the Great Basin. The intermediate country between the Missouri river settlements and the Great Salt Lake and that beyond it to the California communities was controlled by Indian tribes which were often hostile and guilty of occasional depredations.

To facilitate the movement of troops destined for California, New Mexico and Utah as well as to decrease the cost of transporting supplies needed for military operations in the newly acquired domain, it was imperative that the federal government improve the means of communication and travel across the Great Plains. Roads which could be used with reasonable speed would bind the nation together, improve the mail service, aid the emigrant and insure the safety of the frontier settlements. The congress of the United States justified its appropriations for federal road building on the basis of national defense, for the most part, and therefore assigned the supervision of many constructions to the Secretary of War.

The corps of topographical engineers, which since 1838 had been responsible for all nonmilitary engineering projects of the army, including road building, was engaged shortly after the termination of the Mexican war in making surveys for possible military routes into the newly acquired Mexican cession.¹ In 1849 Capt. R. B. Marcy's expedition was ordered from Fort Smith, on the Arkansas, to Santa Fe for the purpose of locating the best route to New Mexico, conciliating the Indian tribes along the way and escorting a group of California-bound emigrants westward. Lt. James H. Simpson, of

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1. W. Stull Holt, *The Office of the Chief of Engineers of the Army, Its Non-Military History, Activities, and Organization* (Baltimore, 1923), pp. 8, 9.

the topographical engineers, was sent along to survey and improve a wagon route along the southern bank of the Canadian river.² Two other officers of the corps, Capt. Howard Stansbury and Lt. J. W. Gunnison, directed an exploring party from Fort Leavenworth to Oregon during the same spring. Captain Stansbury was ordered to make a survey from the northern shore of Salt Lake to Fort Hall to determine the practicability of a wagon road between that fort and the Mormon community.³ A third expedition, sponsored by the topographical engineers, under Capt. L. Sitgreaves, explored the route from Santa Fe to the Bay of California by the way of the Zuni river, a tributary of the Colorado, and down the latter stream to its mouth.⁴

As a result of the recommendations of Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War, the United States congress inaugurated in 1853 an extensive road building program in the territories acquired during the 1840's. Appropriations were first made for Oregon roads,⁵ and during the following two years the activity spread to the entire Pacific Northwest.

Appropriations were approved in 1854 and 1855 for five federal roads in New Mexico territory, connecting the forts and more important towns in the vicinity of Santa Fe.⁶ A survey was ordered from Salt Lake City to the eastern boundary of California for the construction of a military road. Lt. Col. E. J. Steptoe, Third artillery, was charged with making the necessary contracts. Twenty-five thousand dollars had been allocated for this road from Salt Lake, passing through Provo City, Fillmore City, Parovan and Cedar City, in the direction of Cajon pass.⁷ In 1855 additional roads

2. "Report of the Colonel of Topographical Engineers, 1849," in *Report of the Secretary of War, Senate Executive Document No. 1*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess. (1849-1850), p. 295; "Report on the Route From Fort Smith to Santa Fe," *House Executive Document No. 45*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess. (1849-1850), v. 8.

The official report of Simpson has been used extensively by Grant Foreman in editing the journal of Captain Marcy, *Marcy and the Gold Seekers, the Journal of Captain R. B. Marcy, With an Account of the Gold Rush Over the Southern Route* (Norman, Okla., 1939). Background material is also furnished by Ralph P. Bieber's scholarly *Southern Trails to California in 1849* (Glendale, Cal., 1937), and his article "The Southwestern Trails to California in 1849," in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and Lincoln, Neb., v. 12, No. 3 (December, 1925), pp. 342-375.

3. "Report of the Colonel of Topographical Engineers, 1849," *loc. cit.*, pp. 295, 296, 307-309; "Report of the Colonel of Topographical Engineers, 1851," in *Report of the Secretary of War, House Ex. Doc. No. 2*, 32 Cong., 1 Sess. (1851-1852), p. 386; "Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Salt Lake of Utah," *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 3*, Special Sess. (1851). This last document contains extensive material on the Mormon community in the Basin.

4. "Report of the Colonel of Topographical Engineers, 1851," *loc. cit.*, pp. 386, 387; "Report of an Expedition Down the Zuni and Colorado Rivers," *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 59*, 32 Cong., 2 Sess. (1852-1853), v. 10.

5. *United States Statutes at Large*, v. 10, pp. 151, 303.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 303, 638. Several years elapsed before any construction was begun.—"Report of the Chief Topographical Engineer, 1858," in *Report of the Secretary of War, House Ex. Doc. No. 2*, 35 Cong., 2 Sess. (1858-1859), v. 2, Part 2, pp. 1206-1211.

7. *United States Statutes at Large*, v. 10, p. 304; "Report of the Colonel of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, 1855," in *Report of the Secretary of War, Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 1*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., Part 2, pp. 504-507. The correspondence between Davis and Steptoe is printed in this report.

in Oregon and Washington were authorized and the principal forts of the region, such as Columbia City Barracks (Fort Vancouver) and Fort Steilacoom, were to be joined by military routes.⁸

The area between the western boundary of the prairie states and the Rocky Mountains was designated as the Kansas and Nebraska territories in 1854. Across these plains the great tide of migration had swept to Oregon, California and the Great Basin. The valley of the Platte had been the greatest route of all and since the beginning of the Great Migration in 1841 the Oregon trail had been fixed upon its southern bank. In 1847 the Mormons, leaving their winter quarters at Omaha, chose a new western route along the north bank of the stream. The War Department decided in 1854 to improve this Mormon trail from Omaha as far as New Fort Kearny at the southern bend of the Platte. Military supplies could be more quickly and cheaply transported to the post by bringing them up the Missouri along the western Iowa boundary to the Council Bluffs-Omaha region and thence overland on a shorter land route than that from Fort Leavenworth. On February 17, 1855, \$50,000 was made available by the federal government for this public work.⁹

Fort Leavenworth, on the eastern boundary of Kansas, was at this time the principal depot from which the military stations along the routes to Utah, California and Oregon were supplied, and the contracts for the transportation of these supplies amounted to three or four hundred thousand dollars each year. One hundred thirty miles west of Fort Leavenworth, at the forks of the Kansas (Kaw) river, a new fort, known as Fort Riley, was under construction in 1854-1855. This fort, built for the protection of the Kansas settlements and as a subordinate depot and advanced rendezvous for troops, was connected with Leavenworth by a water route on the Kansas and by a military road on its north bank.¹⁰

The President on March 3, 1855, approved a bill for \$50,000 for the construction of a road from Fort Riley to the Arkansas river at any point which the Secretary of War deemed most desirable for military purposes. An equal sum was approved for a road from Fort Riley to Bridger's pass in the Rocky Mountains.¹¹ The army planned that the route to the Arkansas would reach that river either at the Cimarron crossing or at Bent's Fort, so troops and supplies from the two Kansas forts, as well as emigrants, might then travel

8. *United States Statutes at Large*, v. 10, pp. 603, 604, 608.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 608.

10. "Military Roads—Kansas," *House Report No. 36*, 33 Cong., 2 Sess. (1854-1855), p. 3.

11. *United States Statutes at Large*, v. 10, p. 641.

to the New Mexico settlements by the long established Santa Fe trails. The road to the Rockies would provide a more direct route from the Missouri river towns and forts in Kansas to Utah and California than the Oregon trail, diminishing the distance to Great Salt Lake by one hundred miles. The route was declared to be equally easy and Bridger's pass as accessible as the South pass farther north.¹²

FROM FORT RILEY TO THE ARKANSAS RIVER

Lt. Francis T. Bryan, chosen to direct the construction of these three projects and supervise the expenditure of \$150,000 of federal funds, hastened to St. Louis where essential equipment for the surveys was purchased.¹³ At Fort Leavenworth he resolved first to travel the route to the Arkansas and hired several Delaware Indians, reported to be well acquainted with the country between Fort Riley and the Arkansas, to serve as guides for his party. An outbreak of cholera delayed his departure from Fort Riley until July 30, 1855. Accompanied by a military escort, the Bryan survey expedition traveled along the northern bank of the Kansas river for approximately fifty miles, crossing Solomon's fork about 35 miles from Fort Riley and the Saline ten miles farther west. At the Saline the party crossed the plains in a southwesterly direction to avoid the bend in the Smoky Hill. Immense herds of buffalo were observed here.

At their crossing of the Smoky Hill, the explorers reported the river to be 220 feet between its banks, the crests of which were 22 feet above the bottom of the stream. Although the water was only a few inches deep at the time of crossing, the party experienced some difficulty in keeping the wagon wheels from cutting too deeply and becoming stuck in the loose sand. In the opinion of Bryan, the thinly scattered cottonwoods on the banks of the stream near this crossing would be of little value in constructing a bridge.

Leaving the river, Bryan's men headed southwest, crossing open country that they reported to be exceptionally level, covered with buffalo grass and inhabited by prairie dogs, until they arrived at Walnut creek, a tributary of the Arkansas. En route they had crossed the Little Arkansas near its headwaters. Bryan realized that this level country, exceptionally good for a wagon road in dry

12. "Military Roads—Kansas," *loc. cit.*, pp. 3, 4.

13. Letter from Bryan to John J. Abert, colonel and chief of the topographical engineers, June 14, 1855. Bryan had been assigned the duty in Kansas and Nebraska on April 28, 1855. Within two weeks he was on his way to St. Louis.—"Letters Received, Bureau of Topographical Engineers, War Department Records," The National Archives. All correspondence and manuscript reports used in the preparation of this study are in The National Archives. No further reference relative to the location of sources will be necessary.

weather, would be impassable in the wet seasons and resolved on the return trip to seek a parallel route slightly to the north. From Walnut creek, the surveyors crossed over to the Pawnee fork of the Arkansas and ascended it to the headwaters. They noted that the timber on the streams was more scattered and smaller, and the general appearance of the country indicated that they were approaching the dry region bordering the Rocky Mountains. In the march from the Pawnee to the Arkansas the country was destitute of timber and the party resorted to buffalo chips for fuel. At the Arkansas the party came upon the well-beaten road from Fort Atkinson to Bent's Fort.¹⁴

At Bent's Fort, Bryan, learning that a direct route could be made from the Big Timbers at the fort to the head of Walnut creek, attempted to employ competent guides who could direct his party there. Thus, the timberless, desolate stretch between the Pawnee fork and the Arkansas could be avoided. Bent, who knew the country well, was departing for St. Louis the morning following the arrival of Bryan's group and could not assist personally but recommended Cheyenne or Arapaho guides. However, these tribes strongly objected to the road-building activities of the government and would provide no aid. As a result the explorers returned to the camp where they first struck the Arkansas, gathered supplies of wood, and crossed directly to the head of the Pawnee.

Here the first norther of the season struck, bringing heavy rains and bitter cold. Having exhausted their fuel at this encampment, the men were forced to move quickly in search of firewood. The return route took the party down the Pawnee until it was close enough to cross over to the Walnut in a single day's march. The engineer decided it was unnecessary to bridge these streams unless a military post was established in the vicinity and the garrison would be inconvenienced thereby. On the trip down the Walnut and across to the Smoky Hill, bad weather continued to plague the party; it was now the third week in September. Once they struck the Smoky Hill, that stream was followed to Fort Riley along the outward track.¹⁵ The total length of the road surveyed was 360 miles.¹⁶

14. Fort Atkinson was located just west of present Dodge City and Bent's Fort was near present Prowers, Colo. For a history of Bent's Fort, see "Bent's Old Fort and Its Builders," by George Bird Grinnell, in the *Kansas Historical Collections*, Topeka, v. 15, pp. 28-91.

15. Bryan to Abert, December 15, 1855. This annual report of Bryan contains many interesting details of the survey that are too extensive to be included in this account.

All distances mentioned in this study are those recorded by the engineers in their official reports. In many cases they do not correspond with accepted present-day estimates. This is largely explained by the devious routes followed by the army men over unknown terrain, although undoubtedly there were occasional mistakes in estimating distances.

16. "Report of the Chief Topographical Engineer, 1856," in *Report of the Secretary of War, House Ex. Doc. No. 1, 34 Cong., 3 Sess. (1856-1857)*, v. 2, p. 370.

Bryan reported to his superiors that the road was for the most part over open prairie and, since there was no timber to cut out and none at sufficient intervals to provide stakes for the surveyors, there was no means of marking it except by the track of the wagons. The track which his few wagons had made was so dim that within six months it would be obliterated, and he urged the immediate passage of a large train over the road to mark it plainly. After the major streams were bridged the only obstructions to wagon travel would be the small drains of a few inches depth that each pioneer party would be forced to make passable. Bryan recommended that a working party of twenty men travel a day in advance of the next freighters and emigrant trains to prepare the way.

Bridges would be necessary at the crossings of Solomon's fork, the Saline and the Smoky Hill rivers. Oak could be found on the banks of the first two streams that would provide lumber for the 120-foot structures which were needed, but as no suitable timber could be found on the Smoky Hill and as the road crossing was 80 miles beyond Fort Riley's men and materials, the cost of the 200-foot span would be greatly increased. Bryan requested the assignment of one company of infantry as an escort for the contractors and workmen while employed upon these bridges.¹⁷

At Fort Leavenworth all camp and surveying equipment of the expedition was left with the quartermaster, and the animals that would be needed the next season were placed in the care of herders on the post. Bryan then returned to St. Louis for winter quarters where he opened an office and hired two draftsmen to assist in making maps and charts to accompany his report on the season's activities.¹⁸ In February the contract for the building of five bridges on the Fort Riley-Big Timbers road was granted to J. O. Sawyer, whose bid of \$38,400 was the lower of the two submitted.¹⁹ The bureau of topographical engineers refused Bryan's request for an escort for Sawyer's workmen, and the contractor, in desperation, wrote directly to Jefferson Davis:

We have information of hostilities and depredations being commenced by the Cheyenne Indians, now in that region and as I have no protection . . . I should be provided with an escort as was verbally guaranteed to me by Lieut. Bryan and is really a part of the consideration of contract. . . . I am departing for the place of operation today. . . . I hope you will see the importance of granting me an escort, as any depredations, arising for want

17. Bryan to Abert, December 15, 1855.

18. *Ibid.*, October 30, 1855.

19. *Ibid.*, February 8, 1856.

of protection, might prove disastrous to the government as well as seriously injurious to me.²⁰

A detachment from the Second dragoons at Fort Riley was finally ordered by the local commandant to join the laborers after they had been in the field for over a month.

When the army engineer left Leavenworth with his new exploring party to go to Bridger's pass in May, 1856, he left a civilian engineer, Coote Lombard, to superintend Sawyer's construction of the bridges on the road to the Arkansas. Two small creeks, the Sycamore and Armistead's, between Fort Riley and Solomon's fork, were the first bridged. At Solomon's fork the contractor worked from mid-June to mid-July hauling wood and building the false work. As he was ready to start the actual bridge on July 24, the stream began to rise as a result of freshets and in two days it was six feet above its previous high water mark, carrying off all the false work. The contractor began again, but heavy rains in late August and September delayed the completion of the bridge, including the construction of ice breakers, until October.

At the Saline fork the river was also at flood stage most of the time and full of driftwood. The men continued to work, several suffered from exposure, became ill, and the force was steadily reduced. One laborer died at this encampment. From here they moved up to the site of the Smoky Hill river bridge where the climate was drier; most of the men recovered, but a second laborer, who had been ill for several weeks, died shortly after they arrived in the new camp. Lumber was hauled in from the two previous sites by ox teams, which, on at least one occasion, lost the road and had to be located and redirected by the mule wagons transporting rations for the crew.²¹

Sawyer had experienced a difficult season. Realizing that he was losing money on the contract, he appealed to Lombard, and the engineering agent permitted him to omit the construction of ice breakers on the Saline and Smoky Hill bridges since it had become necessary to build the Solomon's fork bridge longer than the contract specified.²² On his return from Bridger's pass, Bryan proceeded to examine the work on the road and accepted the bridges for the United States government. At the beginning of 1857 Sawyer put in claims for what he termed "extra work," not in his contract. The

20. June 26, 1856.

21. Lombard to Bryan, November 22, 1856.

22. *Ibid.* The Secretary of War had agreed to modifications of the contract provided the total payment was not in excess of the contract figure of \$38,400. By omitting the ice breakers at the Saline the contractor had saved the time necessary for the water to go down and on the Smoky Hill it would have been necessary to haul piles for 52 miles.

army engineer forwarded the claims to the bureau with an evaluation of each and a recommendation that all be disallowed. His decision was sustained by the War Department. All concerned admitted that the contractor had little profit to show for his work.²³

Kansas settlers pushed westward as the road was built and the bridges erected. During the season of 1856 the civilian engineer observed:

The bridging of this road has induced settlers to move out at least forty miles beyond the heretofore bounds of civilization, i. e. at and beyond Saline Bridge. I expect that there will be settlers at the Kaw [Smoky Hill] River Bridge eighty-five miles west of Fort Riley by next Spring—the opening of this road has pushed the settlements beyond where they would be if the road had not been opened.²⁴

Bryan notified the War Department early in 1857 that the road from Riley to Bent's Fort was "passable for trains of any kind." His greatest concern was the section of road beyond the Smoky Hill river bridge, which "would be very difficult to find except to persons who had once traversed it and knew it by landmarks, as the prairie grass of two summers has effaced the marks made by the surveying party of 1855."²⁵

FROM FORT RILEY TO BRIDGER'S PASS

During the winter of 1856 in St. Louis, Lieutenant Bryan notified the War Department that the survey to the Arkansas was his accomplishment of the previous season. He requested the appointment of a trained engineer as agent to supervise the Nebraska road from Omaha to Fort Kearny in the spring while he would be engaged in locating the route to Bridger's pass. An escort would be necessary for the safe conduct of both parties.²⁶

Col. John J. Abert, chief of the topographical bureau, quickly reprimanded him for the failure to survey all three roads in the Kansas and Nebraska territories during 1855 and requested an explanation that might be presented to the Secretary of War and possibly to congress. Bryan reminded his chief of the delay at Fort Riley

23. Bryan to Abert, February 10, 1857. Bryan deducted \$50 from Sawyer's payment to complete the grading of the approach to one of the bridges. Sawyer produced the evidence required by law that he had paid his laborers with the exception of four men. In time, Bryan discovered that each of these four had wages coming, one for as much as \$143.75. The administration of contracts was one of the greatest problems that confronted the topographical engineers.

24. Lombard to Bryan, November 22, 1856.

25. Bryan to Abert, February 10, 1857. Bryan reported that trains traveling over the route could be saved detention and much labor if the small streams and sloughs could be bridged and their approaches graded. The remaining \$910.95 of the appropriation on January 1, 1857, was not enough, however, to commence operations. The engineer also renewed his request that a large train be sent over the road to New Mexico so that its wagon wheels would make a trace that could not be effaced before emigrants followed and permanently marked the route. The road, as far as the Smoky Hill, was already thus marked.

26. *Ibid.*, October 30, 1855.

due to the cholera, the two months consumed in traveling to and returning from the Arkansas, and explained that commerce over the plains stopped during October and did not begin until spring. An additional survey late in the season, he thought, would have meant a great loss of material and men from frost and starvation.²⁷

With the coming of spring thaws, the breaking ice and resulting flood waters on the Republican fork of the Kansas river destroyed the bridge in the immediate vicinity of Fort Riley as well as those on the Blue and Grasshopper rivers where the road to Fort Leavenworth crossed those streams. The commanding officer at Riley appealed for assistance to Bryan who was in the midst of preparations for his trip to the Rocky Mountains. The engineer notified the bureau that on the basis of his assignment he could perform no work east of Fort Riley and recommended a \$50,000 additional appropriation by congress to improve the road between the Kansas forts, which he now considered the worst section of his route between the Missouri and Arkansas rivers.²⁸

Bryan wrote the bureau in April that his plans for the reconnaissance of the Fort Riley-Bridger's pass road were nearing completion. Guides had been employed and he intended to start out in May as soon as the grass of the plains would support his animals. Officers from the west reported the Indians hostile to any attempt to make a road through their country and his guides likewise considered an escort necessary in the western part of the territories. The Secretary of War had spoken to the engineer in Washington during 1855 about detailing two companies of dragoons as an escort for this survey and Bryan hoped the necessary orders could be obtained by the bureau and dispatched to Fort Riley. Bryan also restated his intention of placing the Omaha-Fort Kearny road under a civilian agent of the army engineers since his own time would be consumed in going and returning from the Rockies and therefore solicited information relative to the procedure used in hiring agents.²⁹ On May 28 the bureau notified him that Lt. John H. Dickerson had been assigned the responsibility of supervising the road in Nebraska

27. *Ibid.*, November 12, 1855. In reading the correspondence between Bryan and Abert, the historian will discover what appears to be a growing friction between the officers. Bryan felt his chief was unsympathetic with his problems and overly critical; Abert seems to have lacked confidence in the young officer and considered him at times disrespectful, if not bordering on insubordination.

28. *Ibid.*, March 13, 1856.

29. *Ibid.*, April 14, 1856. On April 29, Bryan wrote again: "The appointment of this agent is necessary if these two roads are to be surveyed in the same summer as it is impossible for one person to attend to both at the same time on account of the distance between them and the difficulty of moving about from one point to another in such a wild and unsettled country. . . . Early action is requested as the season is fast approaching when parties destined for the plains should take the field."

territory and Bryan replied by telegram, "I am prepared and wait only for Lt. Dickerson."³⁰

When Bryan left Fort Riley on June 21 he was accompanied by several assistants: a topographer, John Lambert; a geologist, Henry Engelmann; a barometer expert, and two trained rodmen. They traveled along the east bank of the Republican fork for 100 miles to the northwest in the direction of Fort Kearny, and then crossed over the prairie 35 miles to the Little Blue. After crossing the Little Blue, the party struck the established military road between Forts Leavenworth and Kearny which they followed to a point on the Platte about fifteen miles east of Fort Kearny, and then up that stream to the fort. In the opinion of Lieutenant Bryan, a great amount of labor would be necessary on this first division of the route to the Rockies to make an acceptable wagon road. Many of the creeks needed bridging and the approaches to practically all entailed grading to avoid the capsizing of heavily loaded freight and emigrant wagons.

Leaving Fort Kearny, the surveyors' route lay along the valley of the Platte, the usual way traveled by Oregon-bound trains, to a point sixteen miles beyond the much used Laramie crossing.³¹ Here was located a new ford where the river was reported to be 610 yards wide, with a gravel bottom and water scarcely covering the axle trees of the wagons. Like all previous explorers, Bryan realized that bridging the Platte was out of the question and trains must take their chances in locating a good ford. From the Platte crossing the party ascended the south fork of that stream and its tributary, Lodgepole creek, to the Pine Bluffs, just across the present western Nebraska boundary in Wyoming. This area was known as a favorite winter residence of the Sioux and Cheyenne Indians. The members of the expedition gathered dwarf pine for several days' use because fuel, even buffalo chips, was reportedly scarce at the headwaters of Lodgepole creek.

The party crossed the hills between this creek and the Laramie river in a single day and journeyed to the Little Laramie river on the following. Here they struck an emigrant road along the foot of the Medicine Bow range, which Captain Stansbury had used during his explorations of 1849-1850, and followed it for a few miles to an encampment on Cooper's creek. The expedition experienced difficulty with the animals in this mountain country because of sore

30. *Ibid.*, May 28, 1856. Bryan also notified the bureau of the equipment which he might provide for Dickerson's work.

31. The "Laramie crossing" of the Platte was the established ford for emigrants on the Oregon trail traveling to Fort Laramie.

feet, resulting from the wearing out or loss of shoes. Bryan recommended that trains traveling through the country should carry additional horse and mule shoes, a supply of shoe nails, and a forge. From Cooper's creek the men crossed rocky hills to the Medicine Bow in the vicinity of Medicine Bow Butte, a favorite rendezvous for beaver trappers in years past and still a council place used by the Sioux, Snakes and Arapahoes.

From here their circuitous route toward the Continental divide led to the headwaters of Pass creek where, on August 9, they experienced a mountain storm with the temperature dropping to freezing and leaving ice on their tents. From Pass creek to the North Platte the route was so steep that ropes were used to hold the wagons in line and, in spite of precautions, two overturned. The expedition observed several unfinished and abandoned trading houses on the North Platte and assumed that traders had left because of the assaults of hostile Indians.

Leaving the North Platte the party traveled to Sage creek, a tributary, which they assumed would lead to Bridger's pass. None of the guides, who had spent years in the mountains, had been to the pass, and the appearance of the country did not coincide with Captain Stansbury's descriptions. The leaders agreed, however, that they could not be a great distance from Bridger's pass, located on the map between the head of Sage creek, flowing easterly to the North Platte, and Muddy creek, flowing westerly into a branch of the Green. A consultation was held and all concurred that the mission of the expedition was to find a practicable pass to the western slope and that they should not be concerned over the exact location. The party crossed the divide and descended Muddy creek to make certain its waters flowed to the west. The reconnaissance was complete, and the pass over the divide was named Bryan's pass.³²

The engineering party returned to the North Platte, across Pass creek and the Medicine Bow on a route a few miles to the north of the outward route and rejoined it before reaching Laramie river. Seeking a new route which might prove better than the one traveled on the outward journey, the explorers turned to the south, crossing the hills to the Cache la Poudre river in the vicinity of the present Wyoming-Colorado boundary. They descended this stream to its junction with the South Platte, forded the latter stream and descended it in an easterly direction, crossing the Kiowa, Bijou and Beaver creeks flowing from the south.

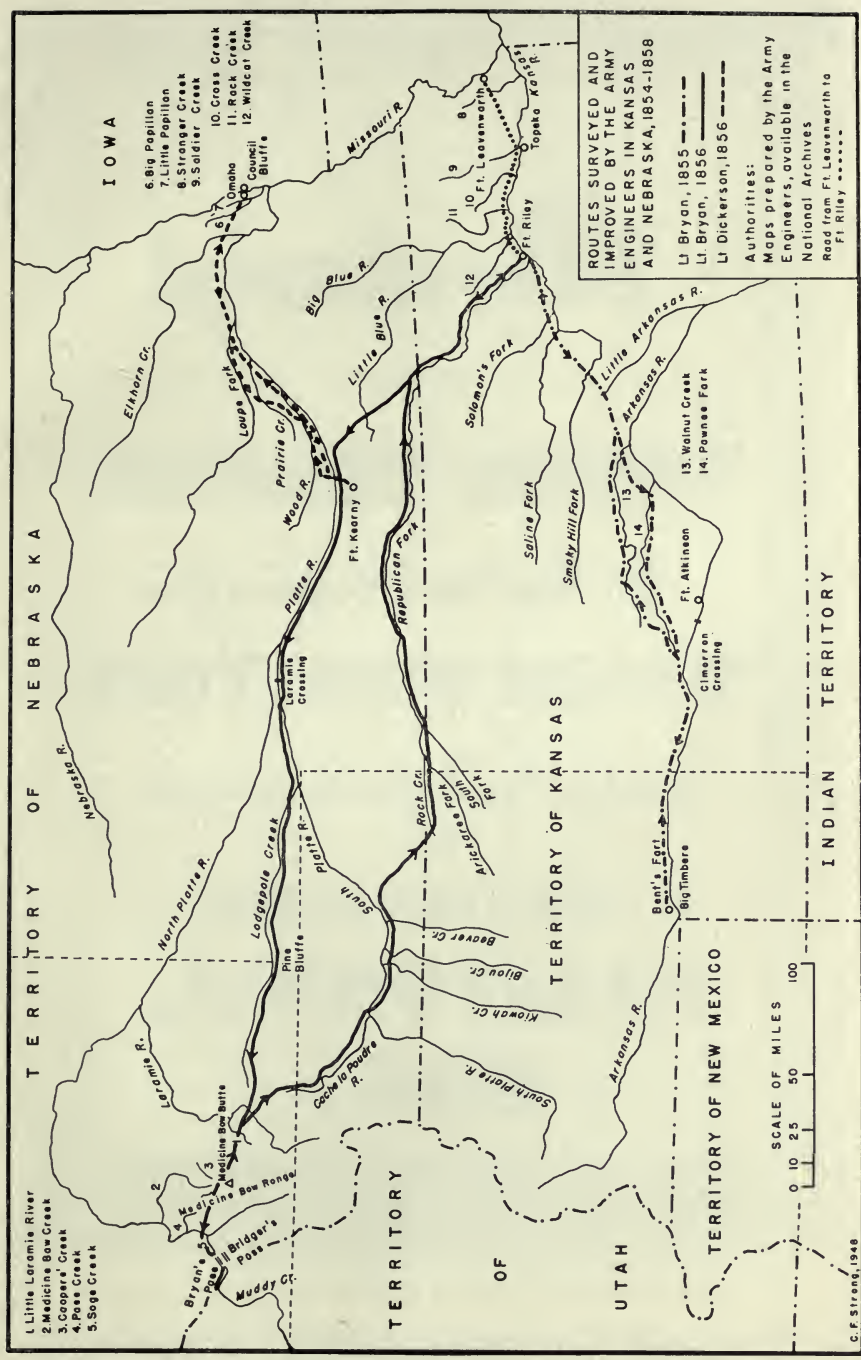
32. Bryan to Abert, February 19, 1857, published in "Report of the Chief Topographical Engineer, 1857," in *Report of the Secretary of War, House Ex. Doc. No. 2, 35 Cong., 1 Sess. (1857)*, v. 2, pp. 455-464.

Fourteen miles beyond the mouth of the Beaver, Bryan resolved to leave the South Platte and cross the open country to the Republican fork of the Kansas. The party remained in camp, however, the following day, September 14, because of the illness and sudden death of Frederick Bortheaux, who was buried on a ridge near the banks of the river. Resuming the march, the surveyors crossed the flat, sandy prairie en route to Rock creek, a tributary of the Arickaree fork of the Republican. This proved the most desolate country of the entire trip and very fatiguing for the draft animals. A large party of Cheyenne Indians met the explorers on Rock creek and gave evidence of preparing to attack before they discovered the strength of the party's escort. Bryan's men went into camp immediately, and the commander of the escort stationed sentinels to keep the Indians out. A cold rain set in, and the party was greatly inconvenienced by lack of fuel, there being only buffalo chips which could not be used in wet weather.

The final section of the return route was down the Arickaree and the Republican fork to Fort Riley. Bryan noted that the river bottoms furnished subsistence for large herds of buffalo and elk which made this valley a favorite hunting ground of the Cheyennes, Comanches and Kiowas. These Indians intended to prevent the government from making a wagon road along the river. He felt this valley was superior to the Platte both for the establishment of military posts and for settlements.

Leaving the main party in charge of John Lambert with instructions to proceed to Fort Riley, the lieutenant took a detachment across to Solomon's fork for a further reconnaissance. After inspecting the new bridges on the Arkansas route constructed in his absence, his party arrived at Fort Riley on October 24. Both groups disbanded at Leavenworth on November 7, having been in the field four and a half months.

Bryan reported to the War Department that in view of the limited funds remaining of the congressional appropriation the route followed on the outward journey was the most advantageous. Running water was available the entire distance and that portion of the road along the Platte was already well established. The greatest obstacle was the lack of fuel. From Fort Kearny to Pine Bluffs, a distance of 300 miles, only buffalo chips were to be found. In Bryan's opinion this absence of timber, and consequently fuel and shelter, would always make traveling along the Platte during the winter a hazardous and painful experience. However, the road be-



- 1. Little Laramie River
- 2. Medicine Bow Creek
- 3. Cooper's Creek
- 4. Pose Creek
- 5. Sage Creek

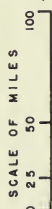
IOWA

- 6. Big Papillon
- 7. Little Papillon
- 8. Stronger Creek
- 9. Soldier Creek
- 10. Cross Creek
- 11. Rock Creek
- 12. Wildcat Creek

ROUTES SURVEYED AND IMPROVED BY THE ARMY ENGINEERS IN KANSAS AND NEBRASKA, 1854-1858

- Li Bryan, 1855
- Li Bryan, 1856
- Li Dickerson, 1856

Authorities:
 Maps prepared by the Army Engineers, available in the National Archives
 Road from Ft. Leavenworth to Ft. Riley



PART I.

Memorial
to the
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
for the Construction of a
WAGON ROAD ^{across} the PLAINS
And for the Establishment
of
MILITARY POSTS.
CALIFORNIA,
1856.

TITLE PAGE FROM CALIFORNIA MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS, 1856

The memorial, for the construction of a wagon road to California, was in two leather-bound volumes and contained 75,000 signatures. It is now in The National Archives, Washington. The lettering on the title page, which is 16" x 11", was in red, blue and gold-leaf.

tween Fort Riley and Bridger's pass could be considered "practicable," for 33 wagons had gone over it in the season of 1856. The engineer's only concern was the fact that his road led into the heart of the mountains with no definite terminus. To make it of some practicable value the War Department was urged to connect it with the posts or stations west of the divide, possibly in the Salt Lake Basin.³³

During the winter in St. Louis, Bryan and his associates prepared a comprehensive report of their season's work. The topographer, with two draftsmen, made an elaborate map of the road, including nearby topographical features. Lambert also reported on several side-surveys made under instructions from the army engineer; Engelmann, the geologist and mining engineer of the expedition, summarized his observations in a technical paper. The fossils he had collected on the government expedition were examined by B. F. Shumard of St. Louis who submitted a report on the paleontology. In time, these maps and reports were forwarded to the bureau in Washington.³⁴

In the spring of 1857 Bryan organized a party of laborers to pass over his road again to remove obstacles and to grade the banks of streams at crossings. Only with the assurance that an armed escort of cavalry would be provided, could the engineer find men willing to leave the settlements for several months on the assignment.³⁵ The distance between Forts Riley and Kearny, measured at 193 miles, was traveled in fourteen days and left in a "passable" state so that the farther portions of the road might be worked first. No improvements were deemed necessary between Fort Kearny and the Laramie crossing, a road distance of 168 miles. When the Bryan party arrived at the ford used the previous season it was impassable due to high water, but four miles upstream a satisfactory crossing was located at a camping ground of the Cheyenne Indians.

Along the route from the Platte to the head of Lodgepole creek the crossings of streams were graded and in the timbered country at the headwaters of the creek, trees and stones were removed from

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 464-481.

34. Bryan to Abert, December 1, 1856, January 1, February 25 and May 14, 1857. The main reports were published by the Secretary of War in his annual report for 1857, *loc. cit.*, pp. 455-520. Two maps were forwarded during the winter: "Military Road from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Riley, Kansas; profiles Rock, Vermilion, Grasshopper & Stranger creeks, & Blue and Republican Rivers" and "Reconnaissance of a Road from Fort Riley, Kansas to Bridger's Pass made in obedience to instructions from the War Department in June, July, August, September, and October, 1856." On the latter map Bryan listed J. Lambert, C. T. Larned and S. M. Cooper as assistants. These maps may be seen in the division of cartographic records, The National Archives.

35. Bryan to Abert, April 24, 1857.

the road. Crossings of the Laramie and Medicine Bow were improved, but Bryan noticed that the Medicine Bow was not susceptible to permanent improvement due to boulders and gravel brought down by the mountain torrents each season when the snows melted. At several crossings of Sage creek, small log bridges were constructed sufficient for the passage of a single wagon. Bryan justified his cursory improvements by remarking: "In opening this road, I have endeavored to carry into effect the instructions of the Secretary of War, namely, not to expend an undue amount on any one section but to equalize as much as possible the expenditure, so as to make all parts practicable before any part was elaborated."³⁶

The laborers returned to Fort Kearny by September 1 and then turned their attention to improving the eastern section of the road. At the crossing of the Little Blue the banks were graded and the road opened through the timbered bottom. No bridge was deemed necessary because the stream was usually fordable, but many of the smaller streams between the Little Blue and Fort Riley were deep and narrow and so difficult to cross that bridges were required. Bryan did not have the requisite tools and mechanics to do the job so resolved to discharge the party and sell the animals and property belonging to the project to secure additional funds for the construction.³⁷

By March, 1858, drawings and specifications for ten small bridges on the road immediately north of Fort Riley had been prepared and a construction contract given to Alfred Hebard for \$12,500.³⁸ The unexpended funds for the road only totaled \$9,500, but Bryan assumed the mules, wagons, harness and other equipment of the expedition would bring \$3,000 at an auction. When this state of affairs was reported to the Secretary of War, Bryan was relieved of his command and the Nebraska and Kansas roads were assigned to Capt. E. G. Beckwith.

On July 23 the public auction held at Fort Leavenworth was stopped by Beckwith's order because no reasonable bids were being made by which a sufficient sum could be realized to cover the contract. Since the Secretary of War's approval of Hebard's contract was contingent upon raising \$3,000 at the auction, Beckwith renegotiated the contract whereby Hebard would accept the balance of the funds for the road plus income from property sales, even if under

36. *Ibid.*, December 10, 1857.

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Ibid.*, March 29, 1858. The bridges were located at the following creeks: Madison, Miry, Middleton, Loup, Parson's, Uphill, Rocky Ford, Crooked, Goodale's branch and Bryan's fork.

\$12,500, provided an extension of time from September 1 to December 1, 1858, was granted to complete the bridges. He was also to be permitted to use government mules for hauling supplies and for construction work. This arrangement was approved by the War Department.³⁹

Hebard's laborers used the timber growing on the Kansas streams to build several log bridges, but iron and flooring had to be hauled in to construct a half dozen frame bridges over the larger creeks. The first grading proved a simple problem, but the contractor noted that it was not permanent, for once the sod was broken the dirt washed out on the slightest grades. During September Beckwith reported the road in good traveling condition fifty miles above Fort Riley. The contractor was putting up the bridge at Parson's creek, which he hoped to complete during the first week of October and, should the season prove favorable for work during November, all the bridges would be completed within contract time.⁴⁰

On November 20 the laborers arrived at Fort Kearny, having completed all bridges except two small log structures. Returning immediately over the route, the contractor supervised the improvement of approaches to bridges and the final constructions prior to the end of the month. Beckwith announced that the road was in excellent condition for the travel of the heaviest trains across the plains, and hastened to Fort Leavenworth to report the close of the season's operations on the road.⁴¹

FROM OMAHA TO NEW FORT KEARNY

While Lieutenant Bryan was engaged in locating the route west of Fort Riley to the Rockies in 1856, Lieutenant Dickerson concentrated his efforts on improving the eastern Nebraska military road. The fifteen months elapsing between the passage of the law authorizing this road and the assignment of Dickerson had been ample for Nebraska residents to evaluate the effects of the government project on the frontier communities. Residents south of the Platte were disappointed that federal funds were to be concentrated on a road along the north bank and at least one, who described himself

39. Beckwith to Lt. Col. J. H. Long, February 12, 1859. This report includes extensive specifications for each of ten bridges which are of interest primarily to the engineer.

40. *Ibid.*, September 27, 1858. This report written at "Camp of the Wagon Road From Fort Riley to Bridger's Pass of the Rocky Mountains on Parson's Creek of the Republican Fork of the Kansas River," was published in "Report of the Chief Topographical Engineer, 1858," *Report of the Secretary of War, House Ex. Doc. No. 2, 35 Cong., 2 Sess. (1858), v. 2, Part 2, pp. 1097, 1098.*

41. Beckwith to Long, February 12, 1859. Beckwith also prepared a map showing the location of bridges constructed in the valley of the Republican fork which is available in the division of cartographic records, The National Archives.

as "a resident of Nebraska interested in the development of the country," wrote the chief of topographical engineers urging the appointment of a surveyor to examine and report on the possibility of bridging the Platte near its mouth and building on the south bank to avoid the crossings of the Elkhorn, Loup fork and Wood rivers.⁴² While the local debate continued, the Nebraska governor, Mark W. Izard, complained to officials in Washington that nothing had been done on the road in the season of 1855.⁴³ This communication inaugurated the investigation of Bryan's activities that culminated in the division of the Kansas-Nebraska road work with the appointment of Lieutenant Dickerson.

Jefferson Davis, intensely concerned over the pattern of the army transportation system as well as emigrant travel to the West, personally prepared Dickerson's instructions, the form and content of which provided the basis for a general circular of instructions to officers and engineering agents of the topographical bureau assigned to road building projects:

The road will be located along the most direct line connecting the two points [wrote the Secretary of War] with due regard to cost of construction, the selection of good points for passing streams by bridges or otherwise, and a supply of wood and water.

The guiding consideration in the construction will be so to apply the amount as to make the road practicable for the passage of wagons throughout its entire length; if this can be accomplished for a less sum than that appropriated then the remainder will be applied to the improvement of those parts which present the greatest natural difficulties and give the least assurance of remaining in repair.

While the best style of road possible should be constructed, no standard should be adopted that will require any expenditure beyond the amount of the appropriation, \$50,000.

It is supposed that the streams to be crossed will form the chief obstacle to overcome; the crossings of these will be carefully selected, with a view to their being readily bridged in the shortest practicable time. You are therefore authorized, after completing the reconnaissance and making the estimates to put the road under construction at once, either by contract for the whole work, or by contract for such portions as may be thus more advantageously constructed, or by contract for the supply of tools, materials, laborers, etc. either for the whole or each part of the work as it may be found more advisable to have performed under your own immediate charge. If contracts are made they will be submitted for approval to the Department, but . . . you will proceed at once to their execution, and if disapproved, the work done, materials supplied will be paid for at the rate agreed upon up to the time such disapproval is communicated to the contractors.

42. Bird B. Chapman to Abert, March 28, 1855.

43. Izard to Robert McClelland, September 18, 1855. McClelland was Secretary of the Interior. The governor obviously did not know where the responsibility for delay should be placed.

Plans and estimates for the work to be contracted for will be sent with the contracts.

As soon after the location of the road as practicable, without . . . interfering with the progress of the construction, you will prepare and transmit a report and map or sketch showing the line of reconnaissance and of location, and also a profile of the route if one should be obtained.

The Quartermaster, Subsistence, and Medical Departments will furnish you with such supplies as you may require for your party. . . . The Ordnance Department will furnish you on your requisitions such arms, accoutrements, and ammunition as may be necessary. . . .

You are authorized to employ two assistants and to purchase such minor instruments as may be necessary to carry out these instructions. Such further instructions as may be required for your guidance will be given by the Colonel of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, to whom your report will be made.⁴⁴

Dickerson met Bryan in St. Louis on June 1. There he received the funds and instruments available for the survey, and within a week departed for Fort Leavenworth where five wagons and teams, twelve riding animals, camp equipage and forty days' rations for his party were provided by the commandant. Dickerson's command included two engineering assistants, hired in St. Louis, a wagon master and twenty teamsters and laborers.⁴⁵ From Leavenworth they crossed the Missouri river at Weston and marched through Missouri and Iowa to Council Bluffs where they recrossed the Missouri to Omaha. The party remained in Omaha four days, employing a guide and collecting information about the route. Out of Omaha the surveyors followed the "Winter Quarters' trail" of the Mormons across the Big and Little Papillon and struck the Elkhorn river 18 miles above its junction with the Platte and 24 miles from Omaha. The broken country between the Missouri and the Elkhorn had made the route circuitous and would necessitate extensive grading on approaches to streams.

At the Elkhorn the party came into the valley of the Platte and continued upstream to the Loup fork which was crossed at the Mormon ferry established to facilitate the migration of the Saints. After continuing up the Loup fork on its southern bank for 57 miles, Dickerson's men crossed the sand hills in a southwesterly direction to Prairie creek, which they followed 20 miles before leaving its banks to pass over to Wood river at a point 25 miles above its junction

44. Jefferson Davis to Dickerson, May 27, 1856. Colonel Abert, as customary, had prepared a rough draft of instructions to be sent to Dickerson and forwarded it to the secretary's office, but it was returned with a notation: "The Secretary desired the instructions to be more full than these contained in the rough draft . . . and finding it necessary to give his authority to other branches of the service to aid Lt. Dickerson in his work he concluded to give the instructions directly to him." Abert was instructed to give further directions relative to reports and accounts.

45. Dickerson to Abert, July 20, 1856.

with the Platte. The group left the Wood after six miles of travel upstream and struck south to the Platte near Grand Island, along which they traveled to a camp opposite Fort Kearny. The Platte valley had not been followed west of its junction with the Loup fork because it was reported to be so miry that wagons could not travel through.

Dickerson's detachment saw no Indians along the route, for the Pawnees, who wintered in villages along the Platte, had gone out to the summer hunting grounds for buffalo, but having met hostile Sioux and Cheyennes, some 3,500 had returned to Fort Kearny for protection. Upon Dickerson's arrival, he was invited to attend a council of their chiefs at which the Pawnees complained bitterly that the federal government was running a road through their country without their approval and without having purchased the right to the land from them as had been the custom when building through lands belonging to other tribes. However, the Pawnees assured Dickerson that they would offer no resistance to his party locating the road, but they wanted to protest now lest it later be said they had consented to the construction. The older chiefs observed that the roads always brought white men who chased away their game, and that emigrant roads involved them in many difficulties because other tribes molested the trains and stole animals for which the Pawnees received the blame.

The army engineer's outward route had coincided with that recently used by Mormon and California emigrant parties, but at the fort he learned that the earliest travelers along the north bank of the Platte had come directly up the valley along the stream without diverging to the north and going up the Loup fork. He resolved to return along the Platte valley. First surveying a line due north of Fort Kearny for three miles, Dickerson turned east, striking the Wood river and following that stream to its junction with the Platte. Moving down the Platte, across two small creeks, the Prairie and the Boovis, the party discovered excellent ground for a road with sufficient wood, water and grass. By this new route the length of the march between Omaha and Kearny could be shortened 26 miles.

In his reports, Dickerson expressed an interest in the development of Nebraska along the route of his road. He observed:

Indian corn, small grains, and vegetables, are being cultivated successfully as far west as Shell Creek [a short distance west of Omaha], and would undoubtedly succeed in other portions of the valley. A luxuriant growth of nutritious grass prevails throughout the Platte country, which will afford good

grazing during the summer and allow the husbandman to provide a supply of hay for winter uses, . . .

This portion of the Territory is fast settling up with an industrious and enterprising class of pioneers. Pre-emption claims have already been located on all the timbered lands along the water courses as far west as the Loup Fork, above which the Indian title has not been extinguished. But the scarcity of timber, stone, and coal, and the remoteness of the country from a market other than home consumption will operate against its ever becoming thickly settled.⁴⁶

On the return trip the engineer was particularly observant of stream crossings to determine the nature and extent of bridge building required. The Platte, seldom confined to one channel, was too shallow for a ferry at Fort Kearny and reportedly too difficult to bridge. Opposite the fort the stream had several channels, varying in width from 30 to 300 yards, and the shifting quicksand bottom even prevented the permanent location of a ford. The Wood, near its junction with the Platte, where the road next crossed a stream, had a hard surface of gravel, and, in the opinion of Dickerson, some slight grading would prepare an excellent ford during the season of 1857.

Prairie and Boovis creeks between the Wood and the Loup fork might be bridged to advantage but the engineer was convinced the Indians would not allow them to stand long. The grass and tall weeds along the creeks were burnt annually and Dickerson feared a prairie fire would consume the bridges once the timbers were allowed to season. He recommended a less expensive project by building corduroy flush with the beds of the streams and fastening the logs down so they would not be washed away by freshets. The Loup fork was 1,056 feet wide at the ferry and he proposed to confine the channel by pilings to improve the ford, but bridging at any reasonable cost was impracticable.

At the Elkhorn, a stream about 200 feet wide, a bridge would be constructed and an embankment thrown up at its western approach for three-quarters of a mile. This was the most extensive of the six bridges to be built between the Elkhorn and the Missouri, varying in length from 50 to 200 feet.⁴⁷

Lieutenant Dickerson completed his season's survey on August 14, stored his instruments and public property at Fort Leavenworth and dismissed his party. In the winter months a contract for the bridges was made with Matthew J. Ragan who went immediately to Omaha

46. *Ibid.*, December 15, 1856, in "Report of the Chief Topographical Engineer, 1857," *loc. cit.*, p. 530.

47. The streams bridged were the Omaha branch, the two Papillon creeks, Rawhide creek, Shell creek and the Elkhorn.

intending to build some of the smaller structures before spring. Dickerson recommended that the \$4,500 remaining after the contract payment be used to hire a laboring party to improve the western sector of the road under an army engineer in the season of 1857. The congressional appropriation had made what Dickerson termed, "a good wagon road for the greater part of the year." To render it passable at all seasons he urged the War Department to request another \$25,000 from congress.⁴⁸

Captain Beckwith, who replaced Dickerson during the spring of 1857, supervised the actual bridge constructions at the eastern end of the road and, with a party of laborers, built small bridges over Monroe and Prairie creeks west of the Loup crossing. Deep trenches were dug alongside each of these as a fire guard. Although this road was again reported as satisfactory in the dry season, it remained impassable along portions of the Platte after the freshets of spring. In the months of April, May and June the majority of emigrants using the north side of the Platte as a route to the west coast were delayed at the outset of their journey.

The \$25,000 request that Dickerson recommended had been considered by the congress but no appropriation was granted.⁴⁹ Beckwith renewed the request for additional funds with the War Department at the season's close, and suggested the bridging of the Loup fork which he considered still the most difficult place on the road:

. . . where it is most practicable to cross it with a ferry boat, one day the boat grounds, the next, in the middle of the stream; compelling the discharge of loads into wagons, brought there across channels from the opposite shore. . . . And as it is impracticable for wagons or teams to stand still, even a short time, anywhere in the river, without miring in the quicksands, the difficulties and labors and losses by emigrants, are very great, . . .⁵⁰

Experience on the Elkhorn indicated that piles driven 25 or 30 feet into the ground would be necessary to form the foundation work of any permanent bridge on the Loup. Cottonwood for the piles could be found nearby, but hard timber for the superstructure

48. The information for this account of Dickerson's work as a road surveyor has been obtained from his reports to the bureau dated July 20, August 13 and December 15, 1856. Only the last of these has been published in the "Report of the Chief Topographical Engineer, 1857," *loc. cit.*, pp. 525-532. Two maps were forwarded to the bureau with the following titles: "Map showing survey made for a Territorial Road from a point on the Missouri River opposite Council Bluffs, Iowa (Omaha, Nebraska) showing located road and line of reconnaissance" and "Map and Profile of a survey made for a Territorial Road from a point on the Missouri River (Omaha), opposite Council Bluffs to New Fort Kearney, Nebraska Territory." Both are available in the division of cartographic records, The National Archives.

49. *House Report No. 180*, 34 Cong., 3 Sess. (1857). *The Congressional Globe*, Washington, D. C., 35 Cong., 1 Sess. (1857-1858), Part 3, pp. 2057, 2118.

50. Beckwith to Abert, October 1, 1857, in "Report of the Chief Topographical Engineer, 1857," *loc. cit.*, p. 533.

would have to be brought 80 miles overland from the Missouri. The estimated cost was \$85,000.

These combined requests, totaling \$110,000, repeatedly were included in the annual report of the Secretary of War to the congress but funds were not appropriated. In 1858 Captain Beckwith notified the department that had the appropriation been made in time to complete the contemplated improvements that season, the cost of transporting supplies overland to the Army of Utah could have been greatly reduced.⁵¹ With a bridge across the Loup fork, the fertile lands on that stream and the Platte would be taken up by settlers who could soon furnish subsistence for Fort Kearny at reduced prices. Even these practical considerations failed to influence the congress.⁵²

The extensive military road building program of the Thirty-third congress, 1853-1855, during which the appropriations for these three major roads in Kansas and Nebraska were approved, had received a sharp setback when the Thirty-fourth congress convened. Sen. John B. Weller of California presented an elaborate petition in two folio volumes containing 75,000 signatures of residents of his state demanding better transportation facilities.⁵³ "Our petition to Congress," he read, "is for the immediate construction of a wagon-road between the frontier of the States of Missouri and California, following the general route of the old emigrant road, passing through the valley of the Great Salt Lake, and reaching California at a point on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada, where the Carson Valley leaves the mountains. . . ." ⁵⁴ This petition, with more signers than any previously presented to congress, was accompanied by a memorial from the legislature of California also urging the construction.

Weller introduced a bill early in the session authorizing the Postmaster General to contract for a triweekly mail service from the Mississippi river to California. Since one of his primary purposes had been the construction of a good wagon road, he included a provision allocating \$150,000 to the contractor for building and grading

51. Twenty-five hundred troops under Col. Albert S. Johnston engaged in the so-called "Utah War" to force Mormon recognition of the authority of the federal government were stationed at Fort Bridger during the winter of 1857-1858 and the following summer were in the Salt Lake Basin. A large percentage of the \$15,000,000 spent on this military expedition went for the transportation of supplies.

52. The information relative to Beckwith's work on the road is obtained from his reports to the bureau on October 1, November 1, December 1, 1857, and September 27, 1858. The first and last of these have been published in the "Report of the Chief Topographical Engineer" for 1857 and 1858.

53. These two heavy volumes were handsomely bound with hand-tooled leather and the title page (*see cut facing p. 49*) elaborately engraved with red, blue and gold-leaf lettering. The volumes may be found in the legislative reference division of The National Archives.

54. *Congressional Globe*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess. (1856), Part 2, p. 1297.

a road over which to carry the mail. He complained bitterly against the committee on post office and post roads which had struck from the bill that provision he deemed vital:

I desired to place the construction of the road under mail contractors. They are the best road-makers in the world. They do not go out, as do the topographical engineers, with barometers and other instruments, to determine the altitude of mountains; nor do they care about the botany, mineralogy, or geology of the country; they take no other instruments than the ax, the shovel, the spade, and the pick-ax. Their only object is to locate a road.⁵⁵

The California senator stormed at the army engineers for their delay:

At the last session of Congress we appropriated \$50,000 to construct a road from Fort Riley to Bridger's Pass. I inquired this morning, whether that road had yet been finished? and, to my astonishment, I received the information, that in a very few days, the parties were going out to *commence the work!* More than fifteen months have elapsed since Congress made an appropriation to open that road, and the first movement has not yet been made! . . . Certainly the whole of the last season and this spring ought not to have been lost.⁵⁶

The Weller oration was the prelude to an extended debate in congress over the government's road building program. All did not agree with the senator when he said, "These memorialists do not ask you to stretch the Constitution to accommodate them. They ask you to make no works of internal improvements within the limits of a State, but they simply ask you to construct a good wagon road *through your own Territories.* . . . You have the absolute power to expend every dollar of the national Treasury, if you choose, in making roads through the Territories."⁵⁷ The southern bloc in the senate urged a military justification for road appropriations and demanded consideration for a southern route to the Pacific.

The upshot of the controversy was the passage of three bills appropriating \$550,000 for wagon roads to California. Fifty thousand dollars was allotted for a road from Fort Ridgely in Minnesota territory to the South pass of the Rocky Mountains in Nebraska territory.⁵⁸ The road was to be joined by another coming west from Fort Kearny to the South pass and thence constructed to the eastern boundary of California near Honey Lake. Three hundred thousand dollars was approved for this project.⁵⁹ A southern route to California from a point opposite El Paso on the Rio Grande to Fort

55. *Ibid.*, p. 1298.

56. *Ibid.*

57. *Ibid.*

58. *United States Statutes at Large*, v. 11, p. 27.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 162.

Yuma at the mouth of the Gila justified another \$200,000 of federal funds.⁶⁰ In each case the responsibility for construction was transferred to the Secretary of the Interior who was to place all work under civilian contractors.

This congress, like those of the two preceding sessions, continued appropriations for military roads in Minnesota, Oregon and New Mexico. But the army engineers had proved themselves too thorough and too slow, according to congress, in constructing the roads needed for the mails and by the emigrants crossing the plains to the Pacific. Although civilian contractors were to take over the road building program of the federal government in Kansas and Nebraska, the army engineers had been the pioneers.

60. *Ibid.*

The Annual Meeting

THE seventy-third annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society and board of directors was held in the rooms of the Society on October 19, 1948.

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

SECRETARY'S REPORT, YEAR ENDING OCTOBER 19, 1948

At the conclusion of last year's meeting, the newly elected president, Robert T. Aitchison, reappointed Robert C. Rankin, Charles M. Correll and Gen. Milton R. McLean to the executive committee. The members holding over were John S. Dawson and T. M. Lillard.

BUDGET REQUESTS

Appropriation requests for the next biennium were filed with the state budget director in September. In addition to the usual requests for salaries and maintenance, several increases and special appropriations were asked for.

Among these are three items for the archives department: \$10,000 a year additional for microfilming, \$32,000 for steel stacks, and \$2,400 a year additional in the calendar clerk's fund. As the archives department, this Society is required to preserve all state records of historical value. In the past two years a vast quantity of documents has been received. Many of these are piled on the floor in the basement and in other parts of the building. Since the modern way to handle many of these archives is to microfilm them and destroy the originals, the increase asked for in the microfilm fund will enable us to operate a night shift on these records. The request for steel stacks is necessary to take care of the archives which must be kept in their original form.

The 1947 legislature appropriated \$38,000 for steel stacks in the library. This sum was based on an estimate made in September, 1946. In the summer of 1947, when we asked for bids, steel prices had increased so much that only a little over half the stacks could have been built. It was felt that it would not be economical to do a partial job, so none of the appropriation was used. New estimates have been made, allowing a 10 percent increase in steel prices over the present market. As nearly as can be estimated, the total cost will be \$60,000. We have requested that the \$38,000 be reappropriated, together with \$22,000 additional.

These stacks will be erected above the library on the third floor, which was left uncompleted when the Memorial building was built 34 years ago. Since then the library has almost doubled in size. Our present shelves are so badly overcrowded that it is impossible to classify or house the books properly, and many of them have been stored in the basement.

An increase of \$1,000 a year is requested for the "Continuation of Wilder's

Annals." Part of this money will be used to increase the salaries of the two annalists and part will be used for a part-time typist.

Since the Historical Society took over the management of the Memorial building, the outside walls have been repointed, caulked and painted, the roof has been repaired, and about four-fifths of all interior walls have been painted. Last spring the Memorial hall and the museum were redecorated. In connection with the latter job, more than 600 pictures were taken down from the walls, cleaned and replaced.

No requests for special improvements on the building were made. Greatly increased costs, however, make larger maintenance appropriations necessary. Our contract for elevator inspection and maintenance, for example, was increased about 60 percent. Much of the plumbing and electric wiring in the building needs replacement, and more money is being asked for this work.

LIBRARY

During the year, 3,421 persons did research in the library, an increase of about 400 over the preceding year. Of these, 1,701 worked on Kansas subjects, 808 on genealogy and 912 on general subjects. Numerous inquiries were answered by letter and 108 packages on Kansas subjects were sent out from the loan file. A total of 4,464 newspaper clippings were mounted from papers covering January through December, 1947.

Many gifts of Kansas books and genealogies were received from individuals. Typed and printed genealogical records were presented by the Colonial Dames, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America and the United States Daughters of 1812.

A microfilm copy of the New Hampshire census for 1850 was purchased.

PICTURE COLLECTION

During the year, 405 pictures were classified and catalogued and added to the picture collection. Of these, 141 were presented by the Woman's Kansas Day Club and 63 by Russell W. Walker of St. John.

ARCHIVES DIVISION

Since the last report the following public records have been transferred to the archives:

Source	Title	Dates	Quantity
Architect's Office.....	Correspondence		
	Files	1937, 1939, 1940	151 mss.
Auditor's Office.....	Blueprints of Railroad		
	Rights-of-Way	1887, 1888, 1893, 1900-1902	580 mss.
	Surveyor General's Plates		
	Illustrating Boundary		
	Markers	No date (Probably territorial period)	56 mss.

Board of Agriculture....	Abstract of Assessors'		
	Rolls	1893-1904	36 vols.
	Abstract of Statistical		
	Rolls (Counties) ..	1905-1910, 1912- 1914, 1916-1930, 1932-1939	3,541 vols.
	Statistical Rolls of		
	Cities	1940-1947	11,063 vols.
	Statistical Rolls of		
	Counties	1940, 1941	3,388 vols. [Ness county, 1941, missing]
Governor's Office.....	Correspondence Files of		
	Governor Schoeppel.....	1946	18,600 mss.
Insurance Department...	Annual Statements of		
	Insurance Companies		
	Operating in Kansas....	1871-1942	1,356 vols.
	Annual Statements:		
	Admission Statements...	1915-1943	49 vols.
	Firemen's Relief Association:		
	Financial Statements....	1927-1942	16 vols.
	Firemen's Relief Fund:		
	Annual Statements and		
	Declarations	1921-1942	42 vols.
	Firemen's Relief Fund:		
	Distribution	1935-1941	7 vols.
School Retirement			
Board	List of Teachers on		
	Retirement Lists as		
	of July 1, 1948.....	1948	1 reel (16 mm. micro- film)

These total 19,387 manuscripts and 19,498 volumes.

The largest accession of the year, that received from the Insurance department, has been piled on the floor in the map room and the third floor annex because no shelf space is available. These volumes, if placed on shelves, would occupy about 360 linear feet of stack area, or about a fourth of the present total capacity.

There are still large quantities of records in the state house which will one day be transferred to our archives. This should be done without unnecessary delay, because storage facilities there are far from adequate. The volumes received from the Insurance department, for instance, had been kept in a basement room and some of them were damaged by water leaking from the newly-installed sprinkler system. Others show signs of attacks by mice.

Every department in the state house holds similar collections. The In-

insurance department, for example, still retains three record series which are valuable as archives. These are the permanent parts of the correspondence files, the records of examinations of Kansas insurance companies, and the file of policy forms, a total of nearly 800 feet of records. More, of course, are added each year. The office of the Secretary of State, for another example, has several series of important records. If only the three or four largest groups were to be transferred to our archives—the original charters and annual statements of corporations, original bonds of notaries, legislative journals, house and senate bills and resolutions—the linear footage required would be almost as much as our present total shelf capacity.

MANUSCRIPT DIVISION

During the year, 24 manuscript volumes and 421 individual manuscripts were received by the manuscript division.

Two diaries kept by James Stewart, one of the founders of Council City, now Burlingame, were secured through the courtesy of Leon R. Mitchell of Burlingame. They cover the years 1855-1857 and 1858-1860, and give much valuable data on early-day life and events in Osage county.

In 1871 the Ohio Soldiers Colony sent a locating committee to Kansas, Colorado and Indian territory to select lands for homes. A detailed journal of the trip, written by George C. Anderson, one of the committee, is a valuable acquisition of the year.

Histories of 21 rural cemeteries in Douglas county, with tombstone inscriptions, 1854-1920, were contributed by the Douglas County Historical Society. This is the second volume of the compilation, which was made by William L. Hastie. The first volume was received in 1944.

Through the cooperation of the Indiana State Historical Society, film prints of an interesting Quaker journal have been added to our collections. The author, Eleazer Bales, set down a minute account of his journey to Kansas territory in May and June, 1859, to visit Quaker settlements.

Some papers of James M. Harvey, governor of Kansas from 1869 to 1873, were received through I. M. Platt of Junction City and members of the Harvey family. Private letters make up the bulk of the collection.

Journals kept by Wilson Purdy, an early settler in south central Kansas, were lent for copying by his daughter, Mrs. Franklin Gilson of Emporia. Purdy wrote of his experiences in that region in 1874 and described in detail his overland journey with four companions from Hutchinson to Santa Fe, New Mexico territory, in October, 1874.

Other donors were: Mrs. Ed Bemish, J. W. Blood, L. G. Bodine, Florence Bond, Geo. H. Browne, Dr. Thomas P. Butcher, Alex H. Case, Mrs. Edith S. (DeMoss) Caughron, Dr. Berlin B. Chapman, Chicago Historical Society, Mrs. O. P. Dellinger, Dickinson County Historical Society, The Fortnightly Club of Topeka, Mrs. Florence (Fox) Harrop, E. S. Hughes, Lois Fern Hull, Arch Jarrell, P. J. Jennings, Mrs. W. H. Jordan, Mrs. William K. McAllister, Mrs. Vernon McArthur, Lincoln Martin, M. R. McLean, Mrs. Eileen Miles, Mrs. Agnes Anderson Murray, C. Broderick Rafter, E. C. Robbins, Irving C. Root, Jacob C. Ruppenthal, Dr. Joseph C. Shaw, George H. Shier, Isabel Smith, Mary Belle Tillotson, Topeka Women's Bowling Association, Oswald Garrison Villard, Mrs. Elizabeth B. White, Mrs. Charles Grob, Woman's Kansas Day Club, Rea Woodman, and Mrs. Sam Zurbuchen.

MICROFILM DIVISION

Over 1,125,000 pages of Kansas newspapers have now been photographed. A major job completed during the year was the filming of the *Wichita Eagle*. There are 25 reels of the *Weekly*, 1872-1919, 472 reels of the *Morning* paper, 1884-1947, and 140 reels of the *Evening* paper, 1927-1947. The entire film of the three *Eagles* to the end of 1947 made 637 100-foot reels, or 63,700 feet. This film, covering about 445,900 pages which the *Wichita Eagle* has published during its first 75 years, requires only ten filing cabinet drawers for storage. Thanks are due Marsh Murdock and Dick Long of the *Eagle* for their coöperation.

Filming of the *Leavenworth Times*, from 1868 through 1944, is practically finished. The early files of the *Times*, 1857-1867, were microfilmed several years ago through a coöperative project arranged by the Society with the publisher, Dan Anthony, and the Library of Congress.

Although we have an extensive collection of Kansas newspaper files, there are gaps that can still be filled. Early issues of three papers were lent by their publishers during the past year to be collated with our files. Runs of the following papers were included in this filming: *Burlingame Chronicle*, 1863-1872 (2 reels), *Russell Record*, 1874-1877 (1 reel), and the *Saline County Journal*, Salina, 1871-1880 (3 reels).

Among other items microfilmed were *E. W. Howe's Monthly*, 1914-1933 (2 reels), a rare file unavailable elsewhere; *Pearson's Magazine*, New York, 1919-1924 (1 reel), lent by W. G. Clugston, Topeka, to complete a gap in the Society's library file, and the *Topeka Daily Capital*, January, 1936, through June, 1938.

A test run has been made on archives volumes. Kansas election returns, 1861-1874, from the office of the Secretary of State, all went into one 100-foot reel.

Since nearly a dozen publishers are now on the Society's list to have their newspapers filmed, it appears that the microfilm division, despite its record of one and one-quarter million photographs, is actually just beginning.

Obviously the Society can best serve posterity by microfilming as many as possible of the old files that are breaking up through use and age. Our newspaper filming is therefore being confined almost wholly to the older papers. These will not be photographed, however, until all available files can be assembled so that only the best pages of each issue are recorded.

Although the work of commercial concerns on old newspapers is seldom satisfactory, we urge publishers to make contracts for filming current issues. One publisher, Angelo Scott of Iola, has already engaged Recordak to film current issues of the *Iola Register*. He is furnishing us with a positive print without charge, and has arranged for all his negatives to be stored under the Society's control. Mr. Scott also will buy a positive copy of the microfilm which the Society will make of the *Register's* early files.

NEWSPAPER AND CENSUS DIVISIONS

Thirty-five hundred patrons were served by the newspaper and census divisions during the year, an increase of four hundred over last year.

Fifteen thousand five hundred single issues of newspapers and 11,122 bound volumes or microfilm reels were consulted; 4,571 census volumes were searched

and from them 2,369 certified copies of family records were issued. These census records are used in making claims for old-age assistance, social security, railroad retirement, pensions and insurance endowments, and for delayed birth certificates and passports.

The 1948 annual *List of Kansas Newspapers and Periodicals* was distributed in September, 1948. This is the 53d newspaper *List* since the Society's organization, and it has become more or less routine. The many complimentary editorial comments and letters testify to the value of the publication.

The 1948 *List* shows the issues of 680 newspapers and periodicals being received regularly for filing. These include 57 dailies, one triweekly, 13 semi-weeklies, 384 weeklies, one three times monthly, 20 fortnightlies, 23 semi-monthlies, two once every three weeks, 117 monthlies, 11 bimonthlies, 28 quarterlies, 19 occasionals, two semiannuals and two annuals, coming from all the 105 Kansas counties. Of these 680 publications, 247 are listed as independent, 122 Republican and 22 as Democratic in politics; 92 are school or college, 37 religious, 22 fraternal, seven labor, 10 industrial, 14 trade and 107 miscellaneous.

On January 1, 1948, the Society's collection contained 52,241 bound volumes of Kansas newspapers, in addition to more than 10,000 bound volumes of out-of-state newspapers dated from 1767 to 1948.

With the daily *Leavenworth Times* which Dan Anthony sent us for micro-filing were the following weekly *Times* volumes not previously in the files of the Historical Society: 1870-1873, 1881 and 1882. These volumes have been added to our collections. Among other donors of miscellaneous newspapers were: I. M. Platt, Junction City; Mrs. Jane C. Rupp, Lincolnvillle; Cecil Kingery, Phillipsburg; Frances Bearnes, Salina; Karl Menninger, J. Walter Mills and Rod Runyan, Topeka, and Miss Ruby Boory, Winfield.

ANNALS OF KANSAS

The years 1900 to 1906, inclusive, of the *Annals of Kansas* have been compiled during the past year. This entailed the scanning of 112,000 newspaper pages: mostly the Topeka *Daily Capital*, the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, the Wichita *Daily Eagle*, the *Kansas Farmer*, and in addition, the Topeka *Daily Herald* for 1905 and 1906, when it was the official state paper. Approximately 650 weeklies and 250 dailies were used for checking items, besides state reports, charters, directories and other library reference books and magazines.

More than ninety percent of the entries for those years are taken from the Topeka *Daily Capital*. The Kansas City *Times* affords an excellent check on the *Capital* on state news. The Wichita *Daily Eagle* of the period is used only for local items, as it carried Oklahoma rather than Kansas news. The *Kansas Farmer* was the official farm organ. Special effort is made to get a fair news coverage of the state, to avoid having the *Annals* top-heavy with Topeka and eastern Kansas news.

Newspapers of the 1900's are more conservative, more authentic, and consequently more easily checked than those of the 1880's and 1890's. They have more pages, however, and it still takes two annalists about eight weeks to read, check, and write an *Annals* year. More than half the time is spent in reading. Manuscripts in the period reported average 90 typewritten pages. This does not include reports.

The compilation is being made by Miss Jennie Owen and Miss Ruth Hutson.

MUSEUM

The attendance for the year in the museum was 38,635. The largest number on any one day was 1,009, when the Santa Fe railroad sponsored a special tour by parties from out of town. The museum was closed for redecorating from February 3 to March 8. Since last March it has been kept open on Sunday afternoons from 1 to 4:30 o'clock.

There were 60 accessions. Among the most interesting was a clock with wooden works made by Daniel Pratt, Jr., who was an early American clock maker of Reading, Mass. It was owned in the family of Cecil Kingery of Phillipsburg for five generations.

Mrs. Harry Stucker of Lawrence gave a large walnut bed which had been made especially for Governor Robinson. The sunflower motive is carried out in the carving.

Two medicine cases and a "Materia Medica" used by Franklin Home, a homeopathic physician of Beloit from 1888 to 1914, was donated by his son, A. E. Home, and daughters, Mrs. H. W. Harbaugh and Mrs. G. W. McClung.

Fifteen souvenir dishes with Kansas scenes have been added to the collection.

John S. Swenson of Jewell county gave a reaper which was manufactured in the 1870's by the Walter A. Wood Mowing and Reaping Machine Company of Hoosick Falls, N. Y. It was purchased in Concordia and was used for many years in Jewell county. A distinctive feature is the self-rake mechanism, the rake rotating around the platform, sweeping the grain onto the ground in bunches.

SUBJECTS FOR RESEARCH

Extended research on the following subjects was done during the year: *Biography*: Edgar Watson Howe; Cyrus K. Holliday; William Clark; George Washington Carver. *General*: Methodism in Kansas; State Board of Education; Anti-Saloon League in Kansas politics; history of oil and gas conservation in Kansas; foreign immigration in Kansas; linguistic survey of Kansas; French in Osage county; Western Surgical Association; legislative career of Victor Murdock, 1909-1911; medical education in Kansas; history of the amendments to the Kansas constitution from 1861 to 1930; history of Harper county; history of Hodgeman county; history of Ness county; Negro education in Topeka; segregation of Negro and white children in Topeka grade schools; floods in the Pottawatomie river basin; history of the Beatrice Foods Company; circus history; Doniphan expedition; Santa Fe trail; background of Irving, Kan.; history of athletics at Midland College; Populist oratory, 1890-1894; oratory of John James Ingalls; history of Gunnison county, Colorado; cattle industry; municipal-owned electric utilities.

ACCESSIONS

October 1, 1947, to September 30, 1948

Library:

Books	868
Pamphlets	1,775
Magazines (bound volumes).....	185
Withdrawn—127 volumes and 25 pamphlets	

Archives:	
Separate manuscripts	19,387
Manuscript volumes	19,498
Manuscript maps	None
1 reel 16 mm. microfilm	
Private manuscripts:	
Separate manuscripts	421
Volumes	24
Printed maps, atlases and charts.....	264
Withdrawn—2,620 maps	
Newspapers (bound volumes).....	693
Pictures	405
Museum objects	60

TOTAL ACCESSIONS, SEPTEMBER 30, 1948

Books, pamphlets, bound newspapers and magazines.....	434,243
Separate manuscripts (archives).....	1,632,610
Manuscript volumes (archives).....	48,374
Manuscript maps (archives).....	583
Printed maps, atlases and charts.....	10,797
Pictures	23,718
Museum objects	33,351

THE QUARTERLY

The Kansas Historical Quarterly, now in its seventeenth year, continues to be widely quoted in the Kansas press. The "Letters of Julia Louisa Lovejoy, 1856-1864," which were concluded in the May *Quarterly*, were popular as a colorful account of the lives of a pioneer minister and his wife on the prairies of Kansas.

An item of regional interest is "William Clark's Diary," edited by Louise Barry, which will be concluded in the November issue. The "Diary" has been in the Society's possession for years. It reports on the weather and much of the comings and goings of steamboats and Indians on the waterfront at St. Louis from 1826 to 1831.

A substantial increase in the printing budget will be necessary if the Society is to maintain its present standards in the face of increasing printing and binding costs.

OLD SHAWNEE MISSION

Attendance at the Mission continues to increase. Sight-seers include many club groups from the two Kansas Citys and classes of school children from nearby counties and from Missouri. Often the pupils are asked to write essays about the Mission and a number have been sent to the Society. Among the most interesting were those from a class of Catholic youngsters, describing their impressions of this early Methodist school.

In August the Mission was visited by Chaplain and Mrs. John W. Beard of Portland, Ore. They had just completed a 2,020-mile horseback journey along the Oregon trail. Mr. and Mrs. Beard are both past sixty, yet they spent nearly every night of their four-months' ride in a small tent which they carried on a pack horse. They were much impressed by the buildings and relics at the Mission, which was the Western outpost of civilization on the trail a hundred years ago.

The Society is indebted to the state departments of the Colonial Dames, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Daughters of American Colonists, the Daughters of 1812, and to the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society for their continued coöperation at the Mission.

FIRST CAPITOL

The number of visitors at the First Capitol building on the Fort Riley reservation is beginning to equal that of prewar years. For three years the highway was closed to through traffic and attendance was limited to soldiers.

Minor repairs were made on the buildings and grounds during the year. Budget requests include \$250 to bring electricity to the grounds, \$200 for painting the caretaker's cottage and \$100 for repairing sidewalks and replacing trees and shrubs.

THE STAFF OF THE SOCIETY

The various accomplishments noted in this report are due to the Society's splendid staff of employees. I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to them. Special mention, perhaps, should be made of the heads of departments: Helen M. McFarland, librarian; Edith Smelser, custodian of the museum; Mrs. Lela Barnes, treasurer; Nyle H. Miller, microfilm director and managing editor of the *Quarterly*; and Edgar Langsdorf, archivist and manager of the building. Attention should also be called to the work of Harry A. Hardy and his wife Kate, custodians of the Old Shawnee Mission, and to that of John Scott, custodian of the First Capitol.

Respectfully submitted,

KIRKE MECHEM, *Secretary.*

At the conclusion of the reading of the secretary's report, Robert Taft moved that it be accepted. Motion was seconded by Robert C. Rankin and the report was accepted.

President Aitchison then called for the report of the treasurer, Mrs. Lela Barnes:

TREASURER'S REPORT

Based on the audit of the state accountant for the period
September 1, 1947, to August 16, 1948.

MEMBERSHIP FEE FUND

Balance, September 1, 1947:

Cash	\$3,700.47
Postage	2.00
U. S. savings bonds, Series G.....	8,700.00
	\$12,402.47

Receipts:

Memberships	484.00
Reimbursement for postage.....	640.50
Bond interest	242.50
Sale of book.....	1.00
Gift	10.00
	1,378.00

\$13,780.47

THE ANNUAL MEETING

69

Disbursements		1,024.91
Balance, August 16, 1948:		
Cash	4,055.56	
U. S. savings bonds, Series G.....	8,700.00	
		<u>12,755.56</u>
		<u><u>\$13,780.47</u></u>

JONATHAN PECKER BEQUEST

Balance, September 1, 1947:		
Cash	\$170.34	
U. S. treasury bonds.....	950.00	
		<u>\$1,120.34</u>
Receipts:		
Bond interest	27.27	
Savings account interest.....	1.39	
		<u>28.66</u>
		<u><u>\$1,149.00</u></u>

Disbursements:		
Microfilm census records.....	27.72	
Books	7.20	
		<u>34.92</u>
Balance, August 16, 1948:		
Cash	164.08	
U. S. treasury bonds.....	950.00	
		<u>1,114.08</u>
		<u><u>\$1,149.00</u></u>

JOHN BOOTH BEQUEST

Balance, September 1, 1947:		
Cash	\$43.38	
U. S. treasury bonds.....	500.00	
		<u>\$543.38</u>
Receipts:		
Bond interest	14.39	
Savings account interest.....	.71	
		<u>15.10</u>
		<u><u>\$558.48</u></u>
Disbursements
Balance, August 16, 1948:		
Cash	58.48	
U. S. treasury bonds.....	500.00	
		<u>\$558.48</u>
		<u><u>\$558.48</u></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

Balance, September 1, 1947:

Cash in membership fee fund.....	\$311.19	
U. S. savings bonds (shown in total bonds, membership fee fund)	5,200.00	
		\$5,511.19

Receipts:

Interest		130.00
		<u>\$5,641.19</u>

Disbursements

Balance, August 16, 1948:

Cash	441.19	
U. S. savings bonds, Series G.....	5,200.00	
		<u>\$5,641.19</u>

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, 1948, these appropriations were: Kansas State Historical Society, \$92,811.00; Memorial building, \$14,157.60; Old Shawnee Mission, \$6,481.20; First Capitol of Kansas, \$1,150.00.

On motion by Robert C. Rankin, seconded by R. F. Brock, 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 15, 1948.

To the Board of Directors, Kansas State Historical Society:

The executive committee being directed under the bylaws to check the accounts of the treasurer, states that the state accountant has audited the funds of the State Historical Society, the First Capitol of Kansas and the Old Shawnee Mission from September 1, 1947, to August 16, 1948, and that they are hereby approved.

JOHN S. DAWSON, *Chairman.*

On motion by John S. Dawson, seconded by Robert Taft, 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 15, 1948.

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: R. F. Brock, Goodland, president; Frank Haucke, Council Grove, first vice-president; Charles M. Correll, Manhattan, second vice-president.

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

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN S. DAWSON, *Chairman.*

The report was referred to the afternoon meeting of the board. There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY

The annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society convened at 2:00 p. m. The members were called to order by the president, R. T. Aitchison.

The address by Mr. Aitchison follows:

Address of the President

RICHARD HAKLUYT

R. T. AITCHISON

RALEIGH, Cecil, Shakespeare, Elizabeth, Bacon, Drake: Names like these are apt to make one think of Tudor England as a nation of brilliant personages. It was, but supporting them were many able men and organizations of the middle class.

Groups of wealthy individuals backed the adventures of Raleigh and Drake; businessmen furnished the capital for English factors in the East and West; Shakespeare and Bacon had their enthusiastic "subscribers" as have today's authors their clientele. License fees from the trades financed Queen Elizabeth's projects. In the middle class were the publicity and public relations men who helped make the great names popular and assisted in promoting England's prestige.

One of these commoners is the subject of this talk, Richard Hakluyt—a man perhaps more responsible for the English settling North America than any other.

The Hakluyts were landowning farmers and cattlemen in Herefordshire. They were of Welsh descent and had been gentlemen for several generations. Richard Hakluyt's father had moved to London to become a skinner, which would be called today a tanner or one in the leather business.

England about 1550 was a rather isolated island of sheep raisers, and exported wool, leather and coarse woollens to the continent. These exports were carried mainly in Dutch vessels, for England had few ships; not more than eighty.

Hakluyt's father retained his land in Hereford and with his business and some property was in comfortable circumstances. Richard attended Westminster school, where he was a queen's scholar. At about the age of 18 he entered Oxford and held his studentship for at least seventeen years. At Oxford, he mastered Latin, Greek, Italian, Spanish, French and Portuguese. He received his master's and was ordained at Christ Church, Oxford. The King's endowment paid for his tuition. Richard took full advantage of the Tudor N. Y. A.

At Oxford, Hakluyt taught its first class in modern geography. Columbus and Vespucci traveled new paths with the second century Ptolemy as a guide. Hakluyt; Ortelius, the map maker of Amsterdam; Mercator, the scientific cartographer of Germany, and Ramusio, historian of Italy, charted known courses and furnished accurate data to the seafarer of the sixteenth century.

Hakluyt's cousin, of the same name, was a barrister in the Middle Temple. He was also a consultant in geography and seafaring. When Richard was sixteen, the cousin aroused young Hakluyt's interest in these subjects by showing him the modern globe and maps by contemporary cartographers. He was told how necessary were these charts and trade information to traders sailing under the English flag.

This interest in geography and travel became a mania with Richard. He searched the book shelves of England and interviewed all travelers he had the opportunity to meet. Drake, Gilbert, Frobisher, Cabot and Raleigh were his intimates. Government administrators such as Walsingham, Sidney, Howard and Cecil consulted him.

Hakluyt became the outstanding geographer and consultant on seafaring in England. He compiled material on sea lanes. He knew where spices, silks, carpets, dyes could be found in the East, and timber, tobacco, fish and furs in the West. He knew the English merchandise which could be bartered for these products.

Richard's friend, Steven Bellinger, had sold in France for 440 crowns what he had purchased in Norumbega, now Maine, for 40.

Hakluyt spent five years in France searching, interviewing and translating, while there as chaplain to the English ambassador, Sir Edward Stafford. He gathered data to prove to England the profits in foreign trade.

In an interview with Ortelius, publisher of the first atlas, while that map maker was in England, Hakluyt suggested he make from Espejo's and Coronado's travels as detailed a map of New Mexico as he had made of New Spain, farther south.

Hakluyt corresponded with Mercator about the northeast passage. He never overlooked an opportunity to procure information which could help bring wealth to England.

Drake's voyage had been profitable ten thousand fold. It interested the queen, who gambled extensively in piracy. Hakluyt realized that the time was opportune to have an audience with Elizabeth and gain her influence, if not financial assistance, to send Raleigh on a trip to the Americas.

His reputation as geographer and his family's prominence made the interview possible. His sales appeals were the immediate profit, and the formation of a policy of English expansion which would gain trade in the West to balance the dwindling trade in the East and block colonial acquisition by Spain.

Hakluyt presented a plan to the queen which recommended seeking raw materials from both East and West to convert into finished products in England for export to the continent, proposing an economic policy which still supports England. World trade and empire motivated Hakluyt's thinking and labor to the end of his life, and his voluminous printed texts gave impetus to their attainment.

At the time of the audience with the queen, Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages*, touching the discovery of American parts, was published. This was a small compilation of voyages and travels with a page list of American products England needed—timber, furs, tobacco, minerals, fish—and the information it contained checks accurately with today's knowledge.

The publicity Drake's financial success received made *Divers Voyages* a best seller. Its reception caused a flood of pamphlets and translations to hit the market. These editions, and especially the *Voyages*, gave strength to the colonial party working for Western plantings.

Public interest was turning from the excitement of piratic gambling to trade and pride of empire. Raleigh shifted from his raids on Spanish treasure to planting colonies. Cecil was Raleigh's friend and backer. Hakluyt had promoted Raleigh's adventures, with the crown and with prominent merchants and statesmen, including Cecil. When Raleigh asked assistance for his Guiana planting from Cecil, the queen's secretary turned to Hakluyt for verification of Raleigh's description of Guiana and its products.

Hakluyt was hired as consultant by the East India Company to check the reports of their representatives stationed in India and Burma. He supplied maps, listed the products available and the locations where they could be found, together with market data. He performed the same service to the Levant Company and other traders. Foreign merchant organizations purchased his services. A Dutch group procured his assistance in planning a northeast passage to China.

Richard's great interest was America. He saw the Russia Company trade dwindle until it was necessary for them to move to the Near East. He realized the competition of the Dutch, Spanish and Portuguese and their advantageous position in Eastern trade.

During his life Hakluyt was always a preacher—in the church and in his geographical work. He spent most of his time disseminating geographical knowledge, but his main income came from the church. The queen presented him with a prebend in the Bristol cathedral in 1586. It gave Richard a residence and fifteen or twenty pounds a year. He was made rector of Wetheringsett in Suffolk, adding another ten or fifteen pounds. At Cecil's request the queen granted Richard a prebend at Westminster Abbey. Cecil made him his chaplain, and in 1604, chaplain of Savoy. Walsingham while secretary of state used his influence to increase Hakluyt's income. On his death Cecil became secretary and carried on in the same manner, but more successfully.

By 1604 Hakluyt had a comfortable living, four residences and a house in London, his inheritance of the estate in Hereford, and a considerable income as consultant in geographical matters.

It was a natural step to go from consultant to director in colonial enterprises. Raleigh had a patent on Virginia, an undefined territory, and on Gilbert's death received the patent on New Foundland. Sir Thomas Smith managed the Virginia planting for Raleigh, and Hakluyt was made a director. Smith had been the governor of the East India Company when Hakluyt was consultant, and when

Smith sat as a member of the Royal Council for Virginia, Richard was one of its patentees. While Smith was treasurer of Virginia, Hakluyt was a shareholder. In 1612 Smith became chief of the Northwest Passage Company and Hakluyt one of its trustees.

Richard led in the development of the South Virginia Company. When Raleigh gave up active work in the Virginia Company he turned the bankrupt project over to eight of its charter members, retaining one-fifth right to any gold discovered. Of the eight charter members, four were soldiers of the Plymouth Company and three were soldiers of London. Hakluyt was the eighth member. This transaction developed the first successful planting of an English colony in what was to become the United States.

Hakluyt's determination, energy and geographic knowledge perhaps made him more than any other person responsible for the English settling of our country. If that is true, we can credit him for our conducting this meeting in the English language. Spain, Portugal, France and the Dutch planted the rest of the Western Hemisphere. Spain had moved into Florida and New Mexico, and France into Canada when England blocked their expansion with her New England plantings.

To accelerate this drive for empire, Hakluyt procured Drake's endorsement and a gift of twenty pounds to establish a foreign trade school where navigation and geopolitics were to be taught. The school started, though it was not adequately financed. Hakluyt solicited Walsingham, the queen, and others for aid but could not get the necessary funds, and the school ceased functioning.

Richard kept at his publishing, always striving toward publishing the compilation of the travels, translations and trade information he had collected. He published the first consistent body of colonial literature in England. His translations and notes covered travels in the Americas from Cabot's St. John's Island down the Atlantic coast, across the bay to Mexico, through the countries of Central and South America, including Coronado's and Espejo's conquests in New Mexico, to Drake's voyage up the coast of California. In these writings he covered locations, climate, native customs, hardships, products, flora and fauna—complete information on the then known parts of the Western Hemisphere. These compilations and writings were always done from original documents or interviews with participants in the expeditions.

DeBray called on Hakluyt to assist him in publishing Heriot's *Virginia* with White's drawings. It was printed in Latin, German, English and French. They also collaborated in producing a history

of Florida with de Morgue's drawings. Hakluyt introduced DeBray to the artists who had made their sketches while in Florida and Virginia.

Hakluyt's complete works, 27 publications, numerous manuscripts and translations, and copious notes, were compiled into three volumes in 1598 and 1600, titled *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffics and Discoveries of the English Nation*. It was a momentous work of one million seven hundred thousand words. It is today the source students use for research on travel and discovery up to 1600.

The small volume of *Voyages* published in 1589-1590 was designed to promote the establishment of colonies. Destruction of the Spanish Armada in 1588 and the growth of the English navy made it possible for the 1598-1600 edition of the English *Voyages* to contain additional material on England's naval exploits and gave impetus to the building of an empire.

Being rich from Elizabeth's long, peaceful reign, England planned for supremacy of the seas. Mary, Queen of Scots, lost her head in 1587, and the Holy Roman church lost its chance for reestablishment with it. All was serene on the British Isles and the time ripe for expansion. Richard Hakluyt shot his remaining arrow at the target of world dominance for queen and country. How near he came to a bull's-eye is for the student to evaluate.

Contemporary discoverers recognized his endeavors and honored Hakluyt as a place name on their travels. In the year of Richard Hakluyt's death, Baffin, skirting the west coast of Greenland at the northern neck of Baffin's Bay, took shelter on an island he named Hakluyt's Island. Henry Hudson in 1608 named the northern point of Spitsbergen, Hakluyt's headland. The exploring ship, *Amity*, trying to find a northeast passage beyond the White sea, harbored in an island river mouth and called it Hakluyt's river. Robert Fotherby, searching a northern passage for the Russia Company in 1615 between Spitsbergen and Greenland, used as a landmark a mountain "of a wonderful height and bigness." He named it Mount Hakluyt.

It is interesting to note that all the places named for Hakluyt were used for shelter or guidance.

Following the address of the president, Edgar Langsdorf, the Society's archivist, talked on his recent study of archives in Washington, D. C., and discussed application of approved archival methods to the archives of Kansas, administered by the Society. Mr. Langsdorf's talk follows:

THE PROBLEM OF ARCHIVES

People have varying and sometimes rather hazy ideas as to what is meant by archives, and perhaps this talk should begin with an explanation. Archives are the official records of an organization. It may be a public organization, as a state university or a public library. The archives of Kansas, for example, are the official public records of the state which are accumulated in the transaction of the state's business. Or it may be a private organization, as the Santa Fe railroad or the Congregational church. In any case, the archives are the official records of the organization, the by-product of its business transactions, and as the evidence of what has been done, and how and by whom it was done, archives have substantial legal and historical importance.

In these days of typewriters and mimeographs and various other machines for manufacturing records, the output of any large organization is tremendous. The Federal government, which is probably without rival as a producer of large quantities of records, accumulated about twelve million cubic feet during the war years alone, a documentary mass which would require a building a city block square and fifty feet taller than the Santa Fe building to house it. State governments and business organizations also produce large quantities of records, though fortunately not on so astronomical a scale. The existence of such immense quantities of materials constitutes a perpetual problem for the archivist.

Obviously a large percentage of the records created by any organization are of transitory value, but always there is a core of permanently valuable material. The archivist, in cooperation with the office which creates the records, must find this permanently valuable core, weed out the unnecessary bulk which accompanies it, and transfer the core to the archives depository for preservation. There it must be put in its proper place, and there—if its continued preservation is to be justified—it must be made readily available for use by the office which created it, by other interested agencies, and by historians and other scholars who wish to study it. It is hardly necessary to remark that records which are stored without order in attics or basements, in such confusion that it is impossible to find a needed document, might as well be nonexistent. The principle of accessibility is basic in modern archival practice.

Strange as it may seem, the idea of preserving valuable records and making them available for use is relatively new in this country. Our magnificent National Archives building in Washington was only completed in 1935, after many years of planning and propaganda by such organizations as the American Historical Association and the Carnegie Institution of Washington. Before that time, according to the first *Bulletin* of the National Archives (1936), the government's records were found in cellars and attics and corridors, or piled on the floors wherever space could be found, and when there was no more space in the office buildings they were farmed out and stored in abandoned carbarns, warehouses, deserted theaters, in fact in any place that could be borrowed or rented. In the course of time many valuable records were destroyed by fire, damaged by dampness and heat, eaten by insects, and mutilated by stamp collectors and autograph dealers. The fire marshal of the District of Columbia reported to congress in 1915 that 250 fires had occurred in government buildings in the district since 1873, an average of about six each

year for 42 years. On one occasion a member of the cabinet sold 400 tons of official records to a junk dealer because he needed space for his office force. No one knows what quantities of irreplaceable government records were lost before the establishment of the National Archives.

The school which I attended last summer was a practical training course given by the American University in coöperation with the National Archives. The lectures and practical work were given in the Archives building and members of the class were permitted the privileges of internes, which allowed us to become familiar with the physical structure and arrangement of the building as well as the work which goes on there.

It is a truly remarkable building, without question the finest and best-equipped structure of its kind in the world. It is a huge cube containing 21 levels, or floors, of stacks, divided by fire walls and concrete floors into numerous sections. The stack space totals more than five and a half million cubic feet, with air-conditioning and humidity controls which provide clean air of the proper temperature and moisture for records preservation. There are no windows in the stacks; all light is artificial. Burglar- and fire-alarm systems guarantee, as far as is humanly possible, the safety of the records. In addition to the stack area, which is completely separated from the rest of the building, there is a beautiful exhibition hall on the Constitution avenue side where documents of special public interest are displayed. The German and Japanese surrender documents were among those on exhibit when I was there. The administrative offices, the library and the public search rooms are on the opposite side of the building, facing Pennsylvania avenue.

When materials are brought into the National Archives they are first of all fumigated in a special gas chamber to kill any vegetable or animal life that may have taken up residence in them. This is necessary to prevent contamination by mold and damage by insects or rodents. All records that need it—about 66 percent, according to the latest report of the archivist—are also cleaned with compressed air blowers to remove loose dust. Further, if they are badly curled or folded they are put through a humidifying chamber and then pressed flat. Not until these processes are completed are the records sent up to the division which will preserve them. When they arrive in the division they are accessioned and shelved, and as soon as possible finding aids are made for them. These aids are of various types, but the first to be produced ordinarily, after the accession record, is a checklist which summarizes the contents of the file and gives a brief history of the creating office. This list serves as a guide for the staff members and also for researchers. When time permits, if the importance of the record justifies it, more elaborate guides are prepared.

Many records which come to the National Archives are in bad condition physically, either because of the poor quality of the paper or because of the adverse conditions under which they have been stored. In such cases they are repaired as soon as possible. The method of repair used at the National Archives is called lamination, and it has been adopted by a number of state archives and historical societies. It is a comparatively new process in which cellulose acetate foil, a thin, transparent material resembling cellophane, is applied to fragile and damaged papers by means of heat and pressure. The

foil melts into the paper, strengthens the fibers, and forms a completely air- and water-tight seal around the document. In addition to strengthening the document the acetate seal preserves it, something which the older method of backing paper with silk does not do. The only drawback to this method, so far as most institutions are concerned, is the high initial cost of the equipment.

Any archivist or curator of manuscripts can learn a great deal from a visit to the National Archives, though its operations and equipment are of course on a scale far out of proportion to the work of any other institution in the country. The state archives of Maryland, called the Hall of Records, which the class visited three times, more nearly approximates our situation in Kansas. The building is newer and better designed for its purpose than ours here, and consequently it is more efficient. Its stacks, for example, like those of the National Archives, are isolated from the rest of the building, with air-conditioning to maintain proper temperature, and no problems arise such as we have because of dust and dirt entering the open stack areas from the public rooms, or because of steam pipes which in some places run too close to our shelves and gradually cook the life from some of our papers. Maryland also has excellent equipment, which includes a laminator, two photostat machines, one of which photographs both sides of the paper for book work, and a microfilm camera similar to ours.

All archivists have one major problem which has little to do with the actual administration of records. That is the problem of public relations. Because archival work is still a little-known field, it is necessary to prove to people that our collections are not mere rows of musty documents, as many seem to think, but that they have real practical value. Many people, unfortunately, still cling to the idea that archives departments—and historical societies too, for that matter—are merely places in which old documents and books are stored away when no one wants them any more, and where a few gray-beards putter around among the dusty piles to no apparent purpose.

I do not refer here to the value of archives as a source of information for the scholar. In this respect an archives serves the same purpose as a historical society in preserving source materials for serious students of history and the other social sciences. Without such materials their work would be impossible. Our correspondence files of the governors of Kansas, dating from 1861, to cite only one example, are a mine of information for any student of Kansas history.

An archives, however, serves in addition as an extension of the active files of the other departments of government. The records which are transferred to the archives are in some cases still frequently used by the departments which created them, and of course many other agencies of government as well as private researchers have occasion to use them also. We receive many requests, for instance, for information from the charter books. This series, which was compiled in the office of the Secretary of State, contains the record of every corporation which has ever done business in Kansas. Such information is not only valuable historically but frequently has current legal importance, even though many years may have elapsed since the record was made. The same is true of our series of records of notary commissions. We had an inquiry not long ago from a lawyer who was interested in a case involving title to land. A legal question had come up concerning the validity of the commission of a

notary who had witnessed a transfer of title many years before. It was suspected that his commission had expired before the date of the transfer. If true, not only might this transaction be invalid, but all subsequent transfers of the property likewise would be subject to question, and long and costly litigation probably would result. In this case, by reference to our records of notary commissions, we were able to establish the fact that the notary had renewed his commission and that his authentication was legally correct. In similar instances we have also been called upon to authenticate official signatures by comparing them with known true signatures in our archives. Such archival services are more or less common, and are accepted by the public often without realization of the legal difficulties which might arise if our records were not available.

These are illustrations of one of the most important reasons for preserving records, that is, to document the rights and privileges of the people. An even more striking illustration here at the Society is the large number of requests for census information that we receive. This is a case of the daily use of official records, all 25 to 50 years old or more, which are needed to establish the most fundamental fact about any individual: the date and place of his birth. Because of the increasing demand for records which provide information about the individual citizen—his employment history, for example, so that he may take advantage of social security, railroad retirement, and other forms of retirement insurance—the archives will play an even larger part in the future.

The preservation of archives is valuable, of course, for other reasons than to serve the needs of individuals. Governmental machinery and procedures can be improved if we are willing to learn from experience. By studying the records of the past we can avoid making the same mistake twice. During the war years, when various emergency agencies were created in the government, records of similar agencies of the first World War were studied carefully for this very reason. These records had been preserved and were available in the National Archives. Agencies such as the War Production Board, the Office of Price Administration, the War Industries Board, the Council of National Defense, and many others, found much valuable information in records of the first World War which was used in developing policies and drawing up operational plans. Permanent agencies such as the Weather Bureau and the Bureau of Mines also made use of their own earlier records.

So far as the state of Kansas and the members of this Society are concerned, there is one illustration of the value of archives which drives home the point better than any other. If certain state records had not been preserved in this Society, we probably would not have this Memorial building today. The two appropriations made by congress in 1908 and 1909 to reimburse the state for expenses incurred in equipping its soldiers in the Civil War, and for repelling invasions and suppressing Indian hostilities, were secured because proof of the Kansas claims was available in our files. The state agent in Washington who pushed the appropriations through congress is quoted as saying that "without the records kept by the Historical Society, and nowhere else to be found, the state never could have collected a dollar." The Memorial building was constructed with the money thus received from the Federal government.

There are many things which should be done to make our archives more serviceable to the people of the state. First, however, we must convince the legislature that we have a job to do which cannot be done satisfactorily without essential equipment. Kansas got off to a flying start in archives, as you know. Although the United States as a whole did not become archives-conscious until the beginning of this century, when there was little knowledge of archival functions and few precedents to follow, our legislature made this Society the official archival agency of the state in 1905. The word archives was not used in the act, but it was provided that state, county or other officials might "turn over to the Kansas state historical society, for permanent preservation therein, any books, records, documents, original papers, or manuscripts, newspaper files and printed books not required by law to be kept in such office as a part of the public records three years after the current use of the same, or sooner in the discretion of the head of the department." Here we had at least the legal beginnings of a state archives, and a year earlier at that than Iowa, which is generally credited with being the pioneer state in the Middle West.

Unhappily, and we may as well admit it, our progress since 1905 has not fulfilled the promise of our early beginning. It was natural that our library and our newspaper division, which were already well-known and widely used, should tend to overwhelm the infant archives division, particularly since few people knew what an archives was or should be, and even fewer cared. These two divisions, of which the Society is so proud, have in the course of time been well-equipped, their holdings have grown, and today they are well-organized, their materials are easily available to researchers, and consequently they attract visitors from all over the state and from other states as well. The archives, on the other hand, is an orphan child, provided with a roof overhead but with little else. In the 43 years of its existence the archives division has been given not a single foot of permanent stack equipment. We now have about two million documents—manuscripts and bound volumes—with no place to put them except a few temporary wooden shelves which overflowed many years ago. Now we have valuable official records piled all over the building, and it is a real problem to find a record in response to a request.

Our plans for the future, then, include first of all a request to the legislature for money to build stacks. If the 1949 legislature will grant an appropriation for this purpose, one of our most immediate difficulties will be largely overcome. I say *one* of our difficulties will be *largely* overcome, because we need more than stacks. When it is realized that our largest accession of the past year, the 1,470 volumes received from the Insurance department, amounts to about 600 cubic feet—enough to occupy nearly one-fourth of our present shelf space—and that many other state departments still have records equally bulky which we must prepare to handle, it is obvious that more is needed than shelves in one room. At the rate at which we may reasonably expect to receive accessions to the archives in the next ten or fifteen years we will overflow this building, even if we were able to build stacks in every room. There are two possible means of solving this situation. Either we must have more room, which means the construction or leasing of another building, or we must reduce the bulk of our records. The latter seems at this time to be the most advisable course. We can reduce the bulk of our archives by a large-scale program of

microfilming, which, despite a number of disadvantages, is the best method now known for keeping large groups of records in a small space. An expanded microfilming program will require a substantial increase in funds, too, for more people will be needed to prepare material for the camera and more money will be needed for film and processing. These funds also will be requested from the 1949 legislature.

Our situation as regards room to work in and equipment to work with grows more difficult each year. Our state government has outgrown the state house and is planning a new office building. The state's clerical force is expanding, more and more records are being produced. Those of permanent value must be kept. We hope that Kansas will not overlook the importance of preserving her valuable public records, and that plans will be made soon for placing her archives in the front rank of the states.

Following Mr. Langsdorf's talk, the report of the committee on nominations was called for:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS FOR DIRECTORS

October 15, 1948.

To the Kansas State Historical Society:

Your committee on nominations submits the following report and recommendations for directors of the Society for the term of three years ending October, 1951:

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

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN S. DAWSON, *Chairman.*

Upon motion by John S. Dawson, seconded by Frank A. Hobble, the report of the committee was accepted unanimously and the members of the board were declared elected for the term ending in October, 1951.

Robert C. Rankin, representing the executive committee, presented the following resolution to the meeting:

WHEREAS, the management of the Kansas State Historical Society has been for the past eighteen years under the supervision of Kirke Mechem, secretary, so efficient as to earn for our Society very high rank as one of the best state historical societies in the United States.

Some of the most outstanding accomplishments of the Society under Mr. Mechem are:

(a) Rapid progress towards microfilming of the files of old newspapers—a process necessary for the preservation of our remarkably complete and extremely valuable collection of newspapers;

(b) Restoration and attractive furnishing and upkeep of Shawnee Mission, one of the state's most valuable and interesting shrines of Kansas territorial days;

(c) Organization and staffing of our various departments upon such an efficient basis that the Society is in continuous use by nationally-known experts, as a source of historical data in the preparation of many valuable books and other literary productions which require accurate research work, and

WHEREAS, The annual salary now fixed by law for secretary of the State Historical Society at \$4,000 is substantially lower than salaries paid to officers of similar societies in other states—the usual range being from \$5,000 to \$6,500—and is too low to constitute reasonable compensation for the services rendered, particularly under present financial conditions,

THEREFORE, be it resolved by the members of the State Historical Society in annual meeting at Topeka, Kan., on October 19, 1948, that we hereby petition the legislature of Kansas, at its 1949 session to raise the annual salary of the secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society from \$4,000 to \$5,000.

On motion by Mr. Rankin, seconded by John S. Dawson, the resolution was adopted.

An oil portrait of Peter McVicar, painted by the Topeka artist, George Stone, was presented to the Society as a gift from Dr. McVicar's nephew, A. J. Sutherland, of Eau Clair, Wis.

Reports of county and local societies were called for and were given as follows: Gus Norton for the Finney County Historical Society; Clyde K. Rodkey for the Riley County Historical Society; Mrs. Franklin Gilson for the Lyon County Historical Society; the Rev. Angelus Lingenfelter for the Kansas Catholic Historical Society, and Robert Stone for the Shawnee County Historical Society.

There being no further business, the annual meeting of the Society adjourned.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The afternoon meeting of the board of directors was called to order by Mr. Aitchison. He 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 Wilford Riegle and the following were unanimously elected:

For a one-year term: R. F. Brock, Goodland, president; Frank Haucke, Council Grove, first vice-president; Charles M. Correll, Manhattan, second vice-president.

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

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

DIRECTORS OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
AS OF OCTOBER, 1948

DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1949

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

Lindsley, H. K., Wichita.
Means, Hugh, Lawrence.
Owen, Dr. Arthur K., Topeka.
Owen, Mrs. E. M., Lawrence.
Patrick, Mrs. Mae C., Satanta.
Payne, Mrs. L. F., Manhattan.
Reed, Clyde M., Parsons.
Riegle, Wilford, Emporia
Rupp, Mrs. Jane C., Lincolnville.
Schultz, Floyd B., Clay Center.
Sloan, E. R., Topeka.
Smelser, Maud, Lawrence.
Stewart, Mrs. James G., Topeka.
Van De Mark, M. V. B., Concordia.
Wark, George H., Caney.
Wheeler, Mrs. Bennett R., Topeka.
Wooster, Lorraine E., Salina.

DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1950

Aitchison, R. T., Wichita.
Anthony, D. R., Leavenworth.
Baugher, Charles A., Ellis.
Beck, Will T., Holton.
Capper, Arthur, Topeka.
Carson, F. L., Wichita.
Chambers, Lloyd, Wichita.
Cotton, Corlett J., Lawrence.
Dawson, John S., Hill City.
Euwer, Elmer E., Goodland.
Hobbie, Frank A., Dodge City.
Hogin, John C., Belleville.
Howes, Cecil C., Topeka.
Hunt, Charles L., Concordia.
Knapp, Dallas W., Coffeyville.
Lilleston, W. F., Wichita.
McLean, Milton R., Topeka.

Malin, James C., Lawrence.
Mayhew, Mrs. Patricia Solander,
Topeka.
Miller, Karl, Dodge City.
Moore, Russell, Wichita.
Price, Ralph R., Manhattan.
Raynesford, H. C., Ellis.
Redmond, John, Burlington.
Rodkey, Clyde K., Manhattan.
Russell, W. J., Topeka.
Shaw, Joseph C., Topeka.
Somers, John G., Newton.
Stewart, Donald, Independence.
Thomas, E. A., Topeka.
Thompson, W. F., Topeka.
Van Tuyl, Mrs. Effie H., Leavenworth.
Walker, Mrs. Ida M., Norton.

DIRECTORS FOR THE YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1951

Bailey, Roy F., Salina.	McFarland, Helen M., Topeka.
Beezley, George F., Girard.	Malone, James, Topeka.
Bowlus, Thomas H., Iola.	Mechem, Kirke, Topeka.
Brinkerhoff, Fred W., Pittsburg.	Mueller, Harrie S., Wichita.
Browne, Charles H., Horton.	Philip, Mrs. W. D., Hays.
Campbell, Mrs. Spurgeon B., Kansas City.	Rankin, Robert C., Lawrence.
Cron, F. H., El Dorado.	Ruppenthal, J. C., Russell.
Ebright, Homer K., Baldwin.	Sayers, Wm. L., Hill City.
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Gray, John M., Kirwin.	Skinner, Alton H., Kansas City.
Hamilton, R. L., Beloit.	Stanley, W. E., Wichita.
Harger, Charles M., Abilene.	Stone, John R., Topeka.
Harvey, Mrs. A. M., Topeka.	Stone, Robert, Topeka.
Haucke, Frank, Council Grove.	Taft, Robert, Lawrence.
Lingenfelter, Angelus, Atchison.	Templar, George, Arkansas City.
Long, Richard M., Wichita.	Trembly, W. B., Kansas City.
	Woodring, Harry H., Topeka.

Bypaths of Kansas History

GIRL VS. BOY BEFORE THE ERA OF THE SHMOOS

The Kansas Daily Commonwealth, Topeka, August 23, 1872.

Ottawa boys wear shirts made from flour sacks. When a girl longs to know what brand her lover is bagged in, she pursues him to the river bank, and when he dives, she draws near, looks only at the mark of "XX" or "XXX" and hurries away before John rises. She gets away, of course she does, and never looks behind her.

APRIL FOOL IN EARLY-DAY DODGE

From the *Ford County Globe*, Dodge City, April 2, 1878.

At three o'clock yesterday morning, several parties rushed frantically through our streets yelling "fire!" Immediately the different alarm bells of the City began to "clang out" on the midnight air that weird terrible sound which sends the cold blood rushing through the veins of the bravest. Pistol shots joined in the general tumult. Howls! yells! shrieks! also took part. Everybody ran to the engine house, grabbing the hook and ladder wagon the crowd pushed madly towards the Lady Gay, round the corner, and down Bridge St. for about a block, when the astonished firemen discovered that the fire they were rushing so frantically to, consisted of a few barrels and boxes, which had been placed upon a sand bar in the middle of the river, and purposely ignited. The boys recognized the fact that they were all first-class April fools, and yesterday, although we knew that everybody was out to see the fire, you couldn't find a man, woman or child, over two years and a half old who would acknowledge that he had heard the alarm or was waked at all.

EARLY DAYS ON THE A. T. & S. F.

From *The Globe Live Stock Journal*, Dodge City, July 7, 1885.

The Santa Fe railroad was built from Newton to the state line in 1872; it had to be completed that far that year to secure their land grant. There was no money in operating the road at that time, west of Newton, and for several years afterwards. During the winter of 1874, one man had charge of the track from Larned to the state line; he used to go west on the five o'clock train in the morning, and return on the eight o'clock train in the evening. He rode on the platform of the rear car and watched the track, if anything wrong was noticed, the train was stopped for him to make repairs. During the summer of 1875, Lieut. Spencer, of the 17th Infantry, stationed at Fort Larned with a detail of five or six soldiers, went west every morning and returned in the evening as a guard for the train. At that time from Larned west, there was but one train a day each way, and that was freight and passenger combined. Larned was the end of the freight division. Mills and Newhall were the pas-

senger conductors from Newton to this city. Mr. Newhall generally layed over Sunday here and was the superintendent of a small Sunday school, we think the first to be organized in Dodge City. No Pullman cars were run west of Newton until the winter of 75-76, and then for some time the conductor of the train was also conductor of the Pullman. The summer and winter of seventy-four, Larned was an eating station for breakfast and supper. In seventy-five the trains stopped for meals at Kinsley. The company's eating houses were at Lakin, Emporia and Topeka. In seventy-eight and nine, Larned and Florence were eating stations, now they are Coolidge, Kinsley, Newton and Topeka, in this state. In '74-'75, the cattle shipped over this road were loaded at Great Bend, and that was the cattle town of the valley, and a lively place, with all the good and bad that Dodge City has ever had the name of having. There were no settlements south of the river, except an occasional cattle ranch, and the great herds came over the trail straight to Great Bend for shipment, or passed on north to the Kansas Pacific. The most of the herds going north crossed the river this side of Great Bend, but it made but little difference in those days as there was nothing to intrude on but the Indians and buffalo.

There have been so many changes in the past ten years in the Arkansas valley, that it is hard to recognize in the cities along the valley, the little stations of those times. There was not a house at Nickerson. Sterling was called Peace, and had but a small showing for a town; Great Bend was the biggest town in the upper valley; Larned was not a third as large as Speareville is now; Garfield, then called Camp Criley, had perhaps ten houses, and Kinsley not as many as Garfield. Speareville was known as the Dry Ridge with a water tank. Dodge City was about all on Front street; but in those days was really and truly a loud place. From here to the state line was next to nothing in the way of stations. Pierceville made a start, but the Indians filed a contest and ruined the town in the summer of seventy-four. Syracuse was first started by a colony from New York, who were mostly railroad conductors and others who knew nothing about skinning buffalo or hauling bones, and that was the only show for making a living, so the first settlers mostly returned to their old homes in the east, and Syracuse is now just taking the first boom they have had in ten years. In the fall of eighty-one, the railroad hotel was moved from Lakin to Coolidge, as was the end of the divisions, which ruined Lakin until this year, when the town began to build and is now going ahead as only a Kansas town can. There is a good deal of history connected with the stations in the valley, commencing with and including Newton to Granada, the first station in Colorado, about twelve miles from our line. The town of Coolidge is less than a mile from the Colorado line, which will give another town in that county a chance to make a good sized place, which as a matter of course must be the county seat.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Indian burial sites in Geary and Clay counties were discussed by Floyd Schultz and Albert C. Spaulding in an illustrated article, "A Hopewellian Burial Site in the Lower Republican Valley, Kansas," printed in the April, 1948, number of *American Antiquity*, official publication of the Society for American Archaeology.

The first part of a series entitled, "The Geography of Kansas," by Walter H. Schoewe, of the University of Kansas, was published in the September, 1948, number of the *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*, Lawrence. This installment deals with the political geography of the state; subsequent installments will consider other phases of Kansas geography.

The September, 1948, number of the *Bulletin of the Shawnee County Historical Society*, Topeka, included the following articles: "History of the Topeka Free Public Library," by William A. Biby, president of the board of directors; "Topeka Founded on Wyandott Float," by Russell K. Hickman; the fifth installment of William W. Cone's "Shawnee County Townships," and a continuation of George Root's "Chronology of Shawnee County." A review of the life of Cyrus Kurtz Holliday, by Milton Tabor, was the feature of the December issue of the *Bulletin*. Other articles were: "The First Few Days," as gleaned from F. W. Giles' account of the founding of Topeka in his book, *Thirty Years in Topeka*, and other installments of Cone's "Shawnee County Townships," and Root's "Chronology."

A biographical sketch of the late Bert P. Walker appeared in the *Osborne Farmer-Journal*, September 16, 1948. Mr. Walker was born in Wisconsin in 1872 and came to Kansas with his parents when still a boy, settling at Peabody. When a young man he began work on the *Osborne County Farmer* which he bought in 1904 and owned for 38 years. Early in his journalistic career he began the use of the title, "The Village Deacon," which was associated with his writing as long as he wrote for publication. In 1921 Walker was appointed state printer to fill a vacancy. He served in that capacity for 12 years, being reelected five times. Mr. Walker died September 11, 1948.

Sedan's newspaper history was sketched in the *Sedan Times-Star*, September 23, 1948. Also featured were a story of the Boston-Elk Falls county-seat fight and an article headed: "Do You Remember

When This And That Happened Thru the Years?" In the issue of September 30 the history of Cedar Vale, established in 1870, was reviewed.

The Burrton *Graphic*, September 23, 1948, in celebration of the 75th anniversary of the founding of Burrton, published a 52-page, magazine-type, diamond anniversary edition. Settlers first came to the Burrton area in 1871, and the town was incorporated in September, 1878. The edition contains a brief history of Burrton by D. T. Davis, Burrton's oldest resident. Other articles included: "History of Harvey County," from the records of the Harvey County Historical Society; "Burrton's Newspapers," by Mrs. C. C. Houchin; "Burrton's Early Businesses," by Mr. and Mrs. E. F. Grover as told to Mrs. Bill Meschke; "Presbyterian Church," by Edith Jones; "Methodist Church," by Mrs. W. E. Boyle; "Christian Church," by Mrs. F. E. Baughman; "Mennonite Church," by Mrs. Harold Martens; "Early Social Life," by Mrs. W. W. Jerome; "Burrton Schools," from the school records; "Early Day Memories," by Mrs. O. J. Fryar; "The Welsh," as told by Dan Rowlands; "Burrton Library," by Ethel Brown; "Burrton's Oil and Wheat," as told by Clarence Hoskinson, and "Early Day Burrton," as told by Mrs. Myrtle B. Stanton.

A Meade county historical essay contest, sponsored by the County Council of Women's Clubs, was won by Mrs. Rosetta Singley of Plains. Mrs. Singley's essay, "My Pioneer Experience," was printed in the *Plains Journal*, September 23, 30 and October 7, 1948; the *Meade County Press*, of Meade, September 23 and 30, and the *Meade Globe-News*, September 23. The announcement of the winners was made at the Meade county old settlers' picnic at Meade, September 19, where Mrs. Singley spoke briefly about her early experiences. Second-place winner was Pauline Winkler Grey with her essay, "The Black Sunday [April 14, 1935]," published in the *Meade Globe-News*, September 26, and third place went to Lura Smith for an essay on "The Old Sugar Mill," published in the *Meade Globe-News*, September 30. The essay submitted by Mrs. E. May Novinger of Plains, the subject of which was old pioneer trails, was printed in the *Plains Journal*, October 7, and the *Meade Globe-News*, October 3. The history of the Meade County State Park was told by Frank Sullivan in the *Meade Globe-News*, October 10, and the story of the settlement known as Irish Flats, by Mrs. O. E. Davidson of Meade, was printed in the *Globe-News*, October 17.

The story of Washington Irving's trip through present Crawford county in 1832, as worked out in detail by Mrs. John Fink, was reviewed by Harold O. Taylor in the *Pittsburg Sun*, September 25, 1948. Mrs. Fink gave a report on her research at a meeting of the Crawford County Historical Society in Pittsburg, September 20.

Among Kansas historical articles in recent issues of the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star* were: "All Thrills of the Chase as Dogs Catch Coyotes in Kansas," the Southwestern Fox and Wolf Hunters' Association holds its annual hunt near Yates Center, by Howard Turtle, and "K. U. Builds a 'Gun' to Fire Hydrogen Atoms," an article on research projects at the University of Kansas, by Alvin S. McCoy, October 3, 1948; "U. S. Armies in Germany Commanded by a Kansan [Lt. Gen. Clarence Ralph Huebner]," by Philip W. Whitcomb, October 10; "Love Is Key to Healing in Work of the Menningers," by Charles W. Graham, October 17; "Ghosts of Indian Forays in Ruins of Ft. Wallace," and "Some Kansas Towns Have Names of Strange Origin," October 31; "No Doctor Will Live in Your Town? Hear the Story of McLouth, Kas.," how a small Kansas town got a doctor, by Charles W. Graham, November 7; "Larger Revenues and More Efficient Administration Urged for the Schools," problems facing the public schools in Kansas and the nation analyzed by Prof. John Jacobs, Emporia State Teachers College, November 12; "Santa Fe Trail Markers To Be Dedicated This Week," by E. P. H. Gempel, and "Print Shop Sage [Claude M. "Judge" Older] of Kansas Wins Laughs in Far Places," the story of a linotype operator at Hays, by Helen D. Francis, November 14; "Cyrus Crane Was Editor When W. A. White Was a Cub at K. U.," November 21; "Bagging Big Game for K. U. Is a Job for Entire Family," J. R. Alcorn, field biologist, takes his family along on a hunting trip to Alaska, by Charles W. Graham, November 28; "Schoeppel Going to the Senate Will Keep the Kansas Viewpoint," by Dwight Pennington, December 5, and "Pay of Kansas Prison Guards Higher Than That in State Mental Asylums," by Charles W. Graham, December 8. Articles in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times* were: "Frontier Doctor [S. J. Crumbine] in Kansas Made Himself a Pioneer in the Field of Public Health," by Cecil Howes, September 23; "Kansas Never Has Paid All of Its Debt To Men Summoned to Repel Price's Army," scrip issued to soldiers is still being offered in futile hope of redemption, by Cecil Howes, October 4; "Strange Characters on a Stone May Tell Story of Ancient Times on Kansas

Plain," experts unable to decipher markings on tablet unearthed 35 years ago near Beverly, by Paul Jones, October 8; "Kay Summersby Has Graphic Memories of General Ike in Informal Moods," a review of the book written by Eisenhower's British woman driver, secretary and WAC aide, by Edward R. Schauffler, October 16, and by the same writer, "Old Trails Carried a Burden of Cattle, Commerce and Adventurers Through West," some comments on a new brochure entitled *Some Southwestern Trails*, October 26; "Redemption of Walt Mason Was Final Result of Three Great Friendships," talent of "prose poet" recognized and aided by Ed Howe, Carrie Emily Young and William Allen White, by Charles Arthur Hawley, October 27; "Strange Regrets Mingle With Memories of Good Deals for a Kansas Merchant [William H. Sikes]," the story and philosophy of a Leonardville man at the age of 90, by Howard W. Turtle, October 29; "Early Notoriety of 'Wild Bill' Hickok Was Earned in Southwestern Missouri," by Louis O. Honig, November 9; "Kansas Has a New Plan to Train Doctors and Establish Them in Small Communities," by Glen R. Shepherd, M. D., November 10; "At 87, K. U. Professor Emeritus [William Chase Stevens] Gives Kansas a New Look at its Wild Flowers," the story behind his new book, *Kansas Wild Flowers*, by Theodore M. O'Leary, November 13; "Some Kansas Thanksgivings," by Margaret Whittemore, November 25, and "Adventure and a Career in the Arts Found by a German [Heinrich Balduin Möllhausen] in the Early West," by Robert Taft, November 27.

A Clara Barton postal stamp was recently issued and the Great Bend *Tribune*, October 11, 1948, took advantage of the occasion to recall that Barton county was named after Clara Barton. The county was organized in 1872 and, after expanding considerably, reverted to its present size in 1879.

Two articles of especial interest to Kansans published in the December, 1948, number of *The American Magazine* were: "Eisenhower's Mission in America," an answer to why the general refused the presidency of the United States and a picture of him in his new position as president of Columbia University, by Boyden Sparkes, and "Girl [Kyle MacDonnell] in a Hurry," the daughter of a Kansas wheat farmer, after being confined to her bed for three years, gains fame as a top model, singer and television star, by Roy Barclay Hodges.

Kansas Historical Notes

The Beecher Bible and Rifle Church of Wabaunsee held its annual homecoming on August 29, 1948. The church, built in 1861-1862, has been restored and is now in regular use. Attending the homecoming were about 150 persons, many of whom were descendants of members of the original Beecher Bible and Rifle colony. An address by Evan Griffith, Manhattan, and the history of the church given by F. I. Burt, were features of the program.

A total of 344 persons, who were born in Johnson county or moved there before 1910, registered at the fiftieth annual old settlers' reunion at Olathe, September 10 and 11, 1948. One of the high lights of the celebration was a talk by E. N. Hill, for many years superintendent of schools at Olathe. J. Fred Marvin was elected president of the Johnson County Old Settlers' Association for the coming year. Other officers are Hal K. Robinson, vice-president; H. E. Julien, treasurer, and Annie Sutton, secretary. Howard McKee was the retiring president.

Mrs. Frank D. Belinder was elected president of the Shawnee-Mission Indian Historical Society at the annual meeting held September 27, 1948. Other officers elected were: Mrs. John Barkley, first vice-president; Mrs. Bessie Cheatum, second vice-president; Mrs. James Glenn Bell, recording secretary; Mrs. J. S. Caldwell, treasurer; Mrs. Paul Green, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Homer Bair, historian, and Mrs. Harry Meyers, curator. The new officers were installed at a luncheon meeting October 25. Mrs. C. F. Terry was the retiring president.

Seventy pioneers and sons and daughters of pioneers were registered at Pawnee county's annual pioneer reunion held in Larned, September 28, 1948. Mrs. W. K. Yeager of Larned and Mrs. John Wagner of Ash Valley were crowned pioneer queens of the 1870's and 1880's, respectively. The principal address was given by Dr. O. E. Webb, of Johnstown, Colo., a pioneer of 1873.

An old settlers' reunion was sponsored by the Finney County Historical Society at the Finney County Free Fair, September 30, 1948. More than 80 old settlers signed the guest book and many of them joined the historical society. Gus Norton, the society's president, was chief host. The Finney County Historical Society was or-

ganized in January, 1948, and recently published its constitution and bylaws in an attractive pocket-sized booklet.

Kirwin's homecoming for old settlers of Phillips county was held October 5, 1948.

At a meeting on October 5, 1948, the mayor and commissioners of Osawatomie agreed to transfer the old church building on Sixth street to the Osawatomie Historical Society for restoration and maintenance as a historical shrine. The church building was one of the first erected in Kansas. The Rev. Samuel L. Adair, in whose home John Brown lived for a time, was one of its early pastors.

The Kiowa County Historical Society had a record crowd of 281 at its Gold Ribbon party and old settlers' gathering in Greensburg, October 7, 1948. Fifteen couples sat at the golden wedding table, and 82 persons wore gold buttons, signifying that they had come to Kiowa county 60 years or more ago. At the business session Mrs. Bruno Meyer, Haviland, was reëlected president. Other officers are Will Sluder, Mullinville, first vice-president; Henry Schwarm, Greensburg, second vice-president; Mrs. Lou Keller, Greensburg, treasurer, and Mrs. Benj. O. Weaver, Mullinville, secretary.

Sam Charlson, Manhattan, was elected president of the Riley County Historical Association at the annual business meeting at the Congregational church in Manhattan, October 12, 1948. Other officers elected were: Walter E. McKeen, vice-president; Clyde K. Rodkey, secretary; Mrs. C. B. Knox, treasurer, and F. I. Burt, curator and historian. Mrs. C. B. Knox, Mrs. F. F. Harrop, and George Filinger were elected directors of the association. Clyde Rodkey was the retiring president.

Mrs. Harry Vincent was elected president of the Protection Historical Society at the annual meeting November 6, 1948. Other officers chosen were: W. T. Maris, Claude Rowland, Pirl Baker and Essie Keltner, vice-presidents; Mrs. Howard Shrauner, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Robert Deck, recording secretary; Harry Large, treasurer, and Ida Bare, historian. A committee for assisting the historian consists of Claude Rowland, W. T. Maris and Mrs. T. W. Riner.

On November 16, 1948, school children in about 240 schools in Missouri, Kansas, Colorado and New Mexico dedicated Santa Fe trail markers on school grounds nearest the old trail. This was a project of the Greater Kansas City council of the American Pioneer

Trails Association. The markers, a gift of Blevins Davis of Independence, Mo., are approximately two feet long and show a covered wagon being drawn by six mules, with a man riding one of the mules. Distribution of the markers to the schools was made by Col. E. P. H. Gempel, United States army, retired, and Clyde H. Porter, Kansas City, Mo.

Flying Farmers from nine Great Plains states flew the route of the old cattle trail from Texas to Dodge City on November 17, 1948, honoring one of its members, Starr Nelson, of Delta, Colo., who drove cattle from Gainesville, Tex., to Dodge City in 1884. The 83-year-old Nelson, piloting his own plane, led the 100-plane contingent in high wind and dust to El Reno, Okla., for luncheon, and on to Dodge City for a chuck-wagon dinner and program. On the ground in 1884, Nelson spent four months on the route which was covered by air in 1948 in four hours. Officers of the Kansas Flying Farmers, including Ailiff Neel, Windom, president; William Janssen, McPherson, national delegate, and Charles Howes, of the *Kansas Farmer*, Topeka, publicity director for the club, coöperated with U. G. Balderson of the Dodge City Chamber of Commerce and city officials in the planning and entertainment. Judge Karl Miller, of Dodge City, a director of the Kansas State Historical Society, was master of ceremonies at the dinner. Lt. Gov. Frank L. Hagaman officially welcomed the visitors for Kansas, and Nyle Miller for the State Historical Society.

Sixty members were present at the annual meeting of the Lawrence Historical Society, December 3, 1948. Principal feature of the program was an illustrated lecture by Dr. Robert Taft of the University of Kansas on the development of Lawrence. Officers for the coming year were elected as follows: Walter Varnum, president; Dolph Simons, vice-president; Mrs. L. H. Menger, secretary, and Tom Sweeney, treasurer. The directors are George L. Anderson, J. L. Constant, Corlett J. Cotton, Agnes Emery, Mrs. Robert Haggart, Justin D. Hill, Prof. H. H. Lane, Ida Lyons, Mrs. E. M. Owen, M. N. Penny, O. K. Petefish, Robert Rankin, Irma Spangler, R. B. Stevens and A. B. Weaver. R. B. Stevens, the retiring president, presided at the meeting.

Dr. H. M. Grandle, Pittsburg, was elected president of the Crawford County Historical Society at a meeting in Pittsburg December 6, 1948. Other officers are Ralph Shideler, Girard, vice-president; Mrs. C. M. Cooper, secretary, and Dr. Elizabeth Cochran, treasurer.

Newly-elected directors are George F. Beezley of Girard, Mrs. L. H. Dunton of Arcadia, and Mrs. T. T. Gillihan of Cherokee. The meeting was a "Christmas party," and the program consisted principally of reminiscences of past Christmases. Dr. O. P. Dellinger of Pittsburg was the retiring president.

The Cyrus K. Holliday Memorial Association of Topeka was chartered on December 7, 1948, as a nonprofit corporation to sponsor a memorial honoring this outstanding pioneer citizen of Kansas. The organization resulted after several meetings of representatives of the Shawnee County Historical Society, the Junior Chamber of Commerce of Topeka, and others.

Cyrus Kurtz Holliday (1826-1900) was one of the organizers and the first president of the Topeka town association. He was instrumental in securing the state capitol for Topeka and was the chief organizer of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad whose general offices are located in Topeka. During 1864-1865 he was adjutant general of Kansas, and was several times a member of the Kansas legislature.

Officers of the memorial association are Paul B. Sweet, president; Milt Tabor, vice-president; Harry Snyder, Jr., secretary, and Herb Binger, treasurer. Members of the association, besides the officers, are Gov. Frank Carlson, Mayor Frank J. Warren, W. Laird Dean, Howard R. Hunter, E. P. Murphy, William J. Manspeaker, Sherrell Watson, Kenneth L. Murrow, J. Glenn Logan, Carl C. Nordstrom, Mrs. Inez Stouder, Nyle H. Miller, Charles L. Davis, Jr., Ray Morgan, J. R. Hubbard, Robert Stone, Arthur J. Carruth, Jr., Max Baucum, Judge Walter A. Huxman, David Neiswanger, Sr., Kenneth McFarland, Paul Adams, Robert M. Othwaite, Henry A. Bubb, Irwin Vincent, O. L. Gray, Mrs. C. H. Martin, Dr. Karl A. Menninger, Mrs. William W. Barrett, Mrs. Erwin Keller and Cecil Howes.

Funds for the memorial are being solicited under the supervision of the Topeka Junior Chamber of Commerce with the support of state, county, city and railroad officials.

Santa Fe officials are making plans to dedicate their new railroad station at Topeka on April 3, Holliday's birthday. The year 1949 also marks the eightieth anniversary of the operation of the first regular trains over the Santa Fe system which in 1869 "stretched" from Topeka to Carbondale!

An attractive 11-page illustrated booklet featuring the history of the Iowa, Sac and Fox mission, located near present Highland in 1837, was recently issued by the Northeast Kansas Historical So-

ciety, custodians of the mission for the state of Kansas. The mission building, constructed in 1846, was partially restored early in the 1940's. It has been furnished and is now maintained as a state museum, with visiting days on Wednesdays, Saturdays and Sundays, 2 to 6:30 p. m. Officers of the Northeast Kansas Historical Society are Mrs. C. C. Webb, president; Fenn Ward, vice-president; Mrs. Fenn Ward, secretary-treasurer; C. C. Webb, chairman of the building committee, and Harry Connell, caretaker.

Frank Hodges of Olathe remembers the annual migration of prairie chickens which began "each morning just after daylight on November 11," during the 1870's and early 1880's. He writes:

The migration of the prairie chicken was a very important event in the lives of Kansas people, for they furnished food, and hunters would kill them and sell them to dealers who shipped them to New York City. Mother would come to the door at the foot of the stairway and call up to my brother, George, and me, "Get up boys, the sky is full of prairie chickens. If you want to go out and gather some of them up you will have to hurry so that you will be back in time for school." We would scramble downstairs hastily and run out to where the old L. L. and G. railroad crossed the Spring Hill highway a half mile south of Olathe. Along this railroad line ran one and finally two telegraph wires. The flocks of prairie chickens would come whizzing through the sharp, frosty air in bunches ranging from 15 to 30, fly into the wires and cut their heads off or maim themselves. We have frequently gathered up 12 along the railroad in the mile extending from the Spring Hill road westward to what is now Highway 50.

If any of our readers have additional information on these migrations which would help Mr. Hodges with a paper he plans to write, please send it to the Kansas State Historical Society. The Society will gladly forward the information to Mr. Hodges.

A biography of Damon Runyon, native Kansan who gained fame in New York as a reporter, poet, short-story writer and columnist, was published in September, 1948, by Longmans, Green and Co., New York. The 258-page book, by Ed Weiner, was entitled *The Damon Runyon Story*, and traced the family through Kansas where Damon was born (in Manhattan in 1880) to Colorado. From there Damon struck out on his own. Other information on the Kansas background of the Runyons is contained in an article, "A. L. Runyon's Letters From the Nineteenth Kansas Regiment," in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. IX (1940), pp. 58-75, and in the Manhattan *Mercury-Chronicle*, September 12, 1948. The house in Manhattan in which Damon Runyon was born, at Fourth and Osage streets, is still standing.



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THE COVER

This sketch of Nebraska City, Neb., and landing as seen from the Iowa side of the Missouri river was done by A. E. Mathews in 1865. Copies of this picture and one of his Nebraska City street scenes (*between pp. 104, 105*) are reproduced through the courtesy of the Nebraska State Historical Society of Lincoln.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XVII

May, 1949

Number 2

The Pictorial Record of the Old West

VII. ALFRED E. MATHEWS

ROBERT TAFT

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FOLLOWING the close of the Civil War the tempo of westward migration was greatly accelerated. During the war the Far West had increased rapidly in population, and even the immediate Trans-Mississippi West had felt increasing growing pains. But border troubles, the threat of Indians and the lack of rapid methods of transportation retarded large population shifts to the Great Plains West. Cessation of hostilities, the impetus given by the homestead act of 1862, accompanied by renewed interest and effort in building Western railroads beyond the Missouri river,¹ brought a flood of immigrants to the plains. "The most astonishing migratory movement which has characterized any age or nation," reported the *Kansas Weekly Tribune* of Lawrence, at the threshold of the Great Plains.² The *Tribune* account went on to state:

The disbandment of our immense armies is throwing back upon society hundreds of thousands of young and middle aged men, whose business ties have been broken and fortunes shattered by the war, who are now returning to earnest, effective labor for the repair of the waste of the past four years.

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* (New York, 1938), and *Across the Years on Mount Oread* (Lawrence, 1941).

Previous articles in this pictorial series appeared in the issues of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* for February, May, August and November, 1946, and May and August, 1948. The general introduction was in the February, 1946, number.

1. By May, 1865, the Union Pacific railroad had made no progress save that of organization and planning, the first spike being driven at Omaha on July 10, 1865. The 100th meridian, 247 miles west of Omaha, was not reached until October 5, 1866, and the celebrated junction with the Central Pacific railroad at Promontory Point, Utah, was not effected until May 10, 1869. See Paul Rigdon, *The Union Pacific Railroad* (Omaha, 1936), pp. 71-73. The less well-known Union Pacific railroad, Eastern division, began westward construction at Wyandotte, Kan., on April 14, 1864, and by December, 1865, had reached a point between Lawrence and Topeka. Service to Denver, however, did not begin until August, 1870. See John D. Cruise, "Early Days on the Union Pacific," *Kansas Historical Collections*, Topeka, v. 11 (1909-1910), pp. 536, 540 (Footnote 28). For the growth of the Far West during the 1860's see Dan E. Clark, "The Movement to the Far West During the Decade of the Sixties," *The Washington Historical Quarterly*, Seattle, v. 17 (April, 1926), pp. 105-113.

2. *Kansas Weekly Tribune*, October 12, 1865.

They find, as a general thing, their places occupied, themselves, though personally held in grateful remembrance, pressed out of the commercial circles in which they once moved, and compelled, often with nothing but their undaunted will, to begin anew the battle of life, which before the war had been so well commenced. It is but natural that these men should cast about them and seek new fields for their energy, new scenes and better auspices for the recuperation of their crippled estates, or that the glowing West, the fame of whose riches pervades and eclipses the far East, should become the goal of their ambitions and hopes. . . .

These are the men to build up rich and prosperous communities upon the great plains and in the pleasant valleys of the West. Let them come. No other country can give them so good a home or so grand a welcome. Though often poor in all else, they bring with them the inestimable riches of strong arms to labor, clear heads and honest hearts, and above all, that unquenchable love of liberty and national integrity which made them invincible as soldiers in action, and will make them uncompromising as citizens in all that pertains to the good of the State.

To be sure this eulogy was partly promotional, partly prophetic, and partly descriptive of contemporary affairs. But there is abundant evidence that a rising tide of immigration was moving west at the close of the war. The population of Kansas, for example, increased from 107,000 in 1860 to a figure nearly three and one-half times as great ten years later and much of this gain came in the last half of the decade.³

The tide of immigration carried along with it interested and observant spectators, as well as future settlers, among whom were reporters and illustrators of the expanding Western scene. One has only to recall, among others, the well-known travel accounts of Bayard Taylor, Henry M. Stanley, Samuel Bowles, and A. D. Rich-

3. A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 306. The population increase in Nebraska during the same decade was from about 30,000 to a figure something better than four times this number.—A. T. Andreas, *History of the State of Nebraska* (Chicago, 1882), p. 328. The contemporary newspapers of the period also record the immigration at the close of the Civil War. See, particularly, accounts in the Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, March 25, 1865 ("The tide of immigration into our State this Spring is immense; . . ."); *Kansas Weekly Tribune*, Lawrence, March 15, 1866 ("The ingress of immigrants is becoming large, and increasing from day to day."); *Weekly Leader*, Topeka, May 31, 1866 ("Immigration continues unabated. Hundreds of strange faces show themselves daily in our streets. . . ."). Similar comment will be found in Nebraska papers. For example, the *Omaha Weekly Republican*, July 6, 1866, reports: "Large numbers of pilgrim wagons have been crossing the river and passing up our streets today. Their white covers dot the river banks and green prairies in all directions. They move along into the interior. There is yet no let up to the stream of emigration."

Even during the winter of 1865-1866, the flow of emigrants across the plains continued in large numbers as was reported in a letter dated February 25, 1866, and written by Gen. John Pope (39 Cong., 1 Sess., *House Ex. Doc. No. 76* [Washington, 1866], p. 3): "People, in incredible numbers, continue to throng across the great plains to these rich mining territories, undeterred by the seasons, by hardships and privation, or by the constant and relentless hostility of the Indian tribes. . . . For several hundred miles along the routes to New Mexico, Colorado, and Montana, the hospitals of the military posts are filled with frost-bitten teamsters and emigrants, whose animals have been frozen to death, and whose trains, loaded with supplies, stand buried in the snow on the great plains. Notwithstanding these bitter and discouraging experiences, and the imminent danger of like if not worse results, trains of wagons still continue to move out from the Missouri river, and to pursue the overland routes to the mining regions."

ardson, stories based on personal observation in the years 1865-1867, to emphasize the point.⁴

The Western artists and illustrators, who recorded this period (1865-1867) in pictures, are not so well known. Included among the group, however, we can list the names of T. R. Davis, Alfred E. Mathews, H. C. Ford, J. F. Gookins, H. A. Elkins, A. R. Waud, W. H. Beard and Worthington Whittredge, all of whom, with one exception, crossed the plains to the Rocky Mountains in 1865 or 1866. Probably there were others, but this group is sufficiently representative to consider in this series. Davis, Mathews, Ford, Gookins and Waud were Civil War veterans and had recorded in picture many scenes of that struggle. Davis and Waud we shall consider in more detail later in this series. For the present it can be said that Davis was the first of these artists to cross the plains at the close of hostilities, and Waud undertook an extensive sketching trip for *Harper's Weekly* to the South and Southwest early in 1866.⁵

Gookins, Ford and Elkins, all residents of Chicago in 1866, formed a party early in the summer of that year and started out from the Missouri river (probably from Omaha) where they joined an emigrant train on an overland trip by wagon to Denver and Colorado. Gookins had eight sketches resulting from his trip published in *Harper's Weekly* in the fall of 1866. They were titled:

"Storm on the Plains."

"Preparing Supper [on the plains]."

"Fort Wicked."

"Denver."

"Emigrants Attacked by Indians."

"Indian Massacre."

"Assay Room, U. S. Mint at Denver."

"Pike's Peak."⁶

4. Bayard Taylor, *Colorado: A Summer Trip* (New York, 1867), based on a series of letters to the *New York Tribune*, June-December, 1866; Henry M. Stanley, letters to the *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, re-published in *My Early Travels and Adventures* . . . (London, 1895), v. 1; Samuel Bowles, *Our New West* (Hartford, 1869), based on Western travels in 1865 and 1868; Albert D. Richardson, *Our New States and Territories* (New York, 1866), based on a series of letters to the *New York Tribune*, 1865-1866. The last letter in the series, No. 36, appears in the *Tribune*, May 16, 1866. This book of Richardson's is not to be confused with his better-known *Beyond the Mississippi* (New York, 1867). Richardson was an old hand at Western travel. Descriptive letters in the *New York Tribune* from Colorado territory appeared in 1860; see, for example, *Tribune*, September 8, November 9 and 13, 1860.

5. The arrival of Theodore R. Davis (1840-1894) in Denver is reported in *The Rocky Mountain News*, Denver, December 1, 1865. Alfred R. Waud (1828-1891) was one of the best-known illustrators of the Civil War. Many of his original war sketches are now in the Library of Congress. The beginning of his Southwestern trip is described in *Harper's Weekly*, New York, v. 10 (1866), pp. 225, 228, 257, 286. He was in Cincinnati on his way west and south on March 23, 1866.

6. Eight woodcut illustrations on one page.—*Ibid.*, p. 644.

The Daily Rocky Mountain News, October 19, 1866, not impressed with Gookins' view

Some of the experiences of the party in crossing the plains and an explanation of his sketches are given in an accompanying letter by Gookins, who wrote:

Our party of eight (including three artists) had quite an adventurous trip over the Plains. One of our mishaps I have sketched; it is entitled "Storm on the Plains." A hurricane took down our tents and blew over heavy loaded wagons, on the night of the 9th June, near Cottonwood, Nebraska. Fortunately no serious damage resulted to any one, though many in the train were badly frightened. Ford says that just as he was crawling out of the tent his ears were saluted by a piercing wail and the pathetic cry of "Oh, have you seen my baby!" He looked back and saw the tent down with his wife under it, turned his head, and lo! over went our wagon with the horses down under it; and here was a woman before him wringing her hands and screaming for her baby. "Les joyeuses" are our ladies who, doffing fashionable attire, have enlivened the camp by their cheerful presence, and have made us, hungry, tired souls, much happiness with appetizing cookery. Though you have published one or two street scenes in Denver I send the one herewith, which gives a good view of the mountains beyond. It is a different view from any hitherto published, and I think from a better point.

"Fort Wicked," Colorado, is noted as the ranche where a brave man and wife named Godfrey held over two hundred Indians at bay for two days during the troubles last year—killing many and wounding others, and finally driving them off.

The tide of emigration and enterprise is setting hitherward at an astonishing rate, yet it is not to be wondered at when one sees the immense wealth of this region. Denver, a city of seven thousand inhabitants, is well built, and is the commercial centre of a mining region where already over twenty millions of capital are invested in quartz mills and the like. It hardly needs the eye of a prophet to discern that as the prospective terminus of the Eastern Branch of the grandest national highway of the world—the railroad to the Pacific—and as the great outfitting place for trains for Montana, Idaho, and Utah, its growth must be rapid and its destiny that of a great city.

Messrs. Bayard Taylor, Wm. H. Beard, Whittridge, and Major-General Pope, are traversing this region. I have only met Beard; but expect to meet him and Mr. Taylor in the South Park, whither I am now journeying.

By courtesy of Fred Eckfeldt, Esq., Melter and Refiner, United States Branch Mint, at Denver, I was shown through all the departments of that establishment, and send a sketch of the Assay Room.⁷

of Denver, commented: "Gookins, the artist, recently here from Chicago, has furnished *Harper's Weekly* with some sketches of this country. Some of the smaller views are correct enough, but his picture of Denver is a most miserable caricature, and were it not for the name of the city printed at the bottom of the engraving, there is no one here who would ever suppose the picture referred to this city. Either the artist or the engraver were sadly at fault in their work." One always must take such criticism with a grain of salt. If city views did not present a most pleasing aspect, the booster spirit was sure to find fault.

7. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 10 (October 13, 1866), p. 654. Bayard Taylor, *Colorado: A Summer Trip*, p. 146, reports that he met "Mr. Ford, the artist of Chicago and his wife, and Messrs. Gookins and Elkins also Chicago artists. They had made the entire trip from the Missouri in their wagon and were on their way to the Parks for the summer." Mention of the Ford, Gookins and Elkins party is also made in *The Daily Rocky Mountain News*, September 3, 8, 22 and 27, 1866.

Little record of other Western pictures by Gookins is available. Several paintings were listed as on exhibit in the spring of 1867.⁸

Of the Western work of Ford still less is known. He is best remembered today for a series of 24 etchings on the missions of California which he published in 1883 with descriptive letter press.⁹

Elkins became widely known in the Middle West for his paintings of Colorado and California scenery. As his work was primarily landscape, he is not of immediate concern in the plan of work laid out at the beginning of this series.¹⁰

Worthington Whittredge, the best-known artist of the group listed on p. 99, was, like Elkins, primarily a landscape artist. Several of his paintings which resulted from his Western trip of 1866 and subsequent trips, for Whittredge visited the West several times, were "South Platte River Looking Toward Long's Peak," "On the Plains, 1866," "Cache la Poudre River," "Indian Encampment," "The Emi-

8. *Ibid.*, April 8, 1867. This item also lists paintings by Ford and Elkins. James F. Gookins was born in Terre Haute, Ind., in 1840 and died while on a visit to New York City on May 23, 1904. He was a member of Gen. Lew Wallace's staff and is said to have studied art in Italy and France. Most of his adult life was lived in Chicago.—See *Chicago Tribune*, May 24, 1904, and *Chicago Daily News*, May 24, 1904. I am indebted to the Chicago Historical Society for these two obituaries. Three of his Civil War illustrations appeared in *Harper's Weekly*—v. 5 (1861), pp. 388, 423, and v. 6 (May 31, 1862), p. 348. A two-page spread of Indiana scenes by Gookins will be found in *ibid.*, v. 11 (November 2, 1867), pp. 696, 697.

9. Henry Chapman Ford, *Etchings of the Franciscan Missions of California* (New York, 1883). *The Daily Rocky Mountain News*, April 8, 1867, mentions a Western painting by Ford, "The Garden of the Gods."

Ford was born at Livonia, N. Y., in 1828 and died at Santa Barbara, Cal., on February 27, 1894. He went abroad in 1857 to study and spent nearly three years in Paris and Florence. At the outbreak of the Civil War he enlisted and served for a year, receiving a discharge for physical disability. He is said to have furnished war sketches for the illustrated press. After his discharge from the army, he opened a studio in Chicago and was the first professional landscape painter in that city. He took an active part in the inauguration of the Chicago Academy of Design and was its president in 1873. He made several trips to Colorado, the one recorded above in 1866 and another in 1869 (*Daily Rocky Mountain News*, September 20, 1869), and possibly others. He moved to Santa Barbara in 1875 where he spent the rest of his life.—See Mrs. Yda (Addis) Storke, *A Memorial and Biographical History of the Counties of Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo and Ventura* (Chicago, 1891), pp. 485, 486; *San Francisco Call*, February 28, 1894, and *Santa Barbara Weekly Independent*, March 3, 1894. Thanks for aid in securing the above biographical information concerning Ford is due the California State Library, The Southwest Museum (Los Angeles), the Chicago Historical Society and The Newberry Library (Chicago).

10. Henry Arthur Elkins was a widely known artist of Chicago, Bloomington, Ill., and Kansas City. He was born in Vermont on May 30, 1847, and died in Georgetown, Colo., in July, 1884. He lived in Chicago from 1856 until 1873 when he moved to Bloomington and later to Kansas City. Among his better-known paintings were "Elk Park, Colorado," "The Thirty-Eighth Star," "The New Eldorado," "The Crown of the Continent," "Mount Shasta," and "The Storm on Mount Shasta." Obituaries of Elkins, provided through the courtesy of the Chicago Historical Society, will be found in the *Chicago Tribune* for July 25, 26 and August 1, 1884. Mention of his work in Kansas City will be found in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times*, April 14, June 2 and July 1, 1884.

For some years the Denver papers remarked on Elkins' work, many times reprinting accounts from Chicago papers. Among the more important of these comments are those found in the *Rocky Mountain News*, September 4, 1869; May 18, 1870 (reprinted from the *Chicago Post*); June 18, 1870 (also from the *Chicago Post*); December 29, 1872; September 2 and 28, 1873; December 19, 1874; March 16, 1875 (extended account of Elkins); January 4, 1877 (extended account of Elkins' painting, "The Thirty-Eighth Star," reprinted from the *Chicago Evening Journal*); September 23 and October 2, 1883. These extensive bibliographies on Elkins and on several other artists listed in notes in this article are given because there is nowhere else available biographical data concerning them, for they are not listed in the usual biographical directories and in encyclopedias of American artists.

grant Train," "Santa Fe" and "The Rocky Mountains." Probably his best-known work of this period is the first of those listed above and now owned by The Century Association of New York. The title now is, "Crossing the Ford, Platte River, Colorado."¹¹

William Holbrook Beard was the traveling companion of Bayard Taylor and is mentioned a number of times in *Colorado: A Summer Trip*. I have seen no sketches or paintings resulting from Beard's trip across the plains to the Rockies in 1866, but *The Rocky Mountain News*, Denver, December 11, 1866, refers to W. H. Beard who "last summer . . . painted so vividly most of our exquisite mountain scenery. . . ." ¹²

All eight artists listed on p. 99 have now been considered except A. E. Mathews. From the standpoint of the criteria developed in the original article of this series (February, 1946), Mathews has made a more notable and authentic contribution to the pictorial record of the development of the West than have any of the others and we shall therefore consider his work in some detail.

ALFRED EDWARD MATHEWS

Alfred E. Mathews was a native of England, born at Bristol on June 24, 1831. His father, Joseph Mathews, a book publisher,

11. A biographical sketch of Whittredge (1820-1910) will be found in the *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1936), v. 20, p. 177. Also there is an autobiographical account of Whittredge's life in the *Brooklyn Museum Journal*, v. 1 (1942), pp. 1-86, edited by John I. H. Baur. In this autobiographical account Whittredge states "We left Fort Leavenworth on the first of June, 1865." As the Pope expedition which Whittredge accompanied was on the plains in 1866 and not 1865 (see report of Gen. John Pope cited below) a query was sent Mr. Baur, editor of the Whittredge autobiography. Mr. Baur wrote me on April 6, 1949, that an examination of the original Whittredge manuscript showed that an error of transcription had occurred in preparing the material for publication and the date should read "June, 1866" and not "June, 1865."

Gookins, as we have already pointed out, mentions Whittredge in his 1866 account (see p. 100) and Bayard Taylor, *Colorado: A Summer Trip*, p. 146, states: "Mr. Whittredge, who crossed the Plains with General Pope, was at the time [June, 1866] in the neighborhood of Pike's Peak." Henry T. Tuckerman, *Book of the Artists* (New York, 1867), p. 517, also reports that Whittredge accompanied General Pope on his journey of inspection. Gen. John Pope, in his official report for 1866 (*House Ex. Doc. No. 1*, 39 Cong., 2 Sess. [1866]), v. 3, pp. 23-30) makes no mention of Whittredge. *The American Art Journal*, New York, v. 5 (1866), p. 244, states, however, "Whittredge we hear is at Denver City," and later in the year (*ibid.*, v. 6 [1866], p. 37), "Whittredge having spent the summer amid the Rocky Mountains brings back many fine sketches." Somewhat later the same journal (v. 6 [1867], p. 326) reports that Whittredge was at work on a "view of the Prairie near Denver," probably the Platte river painting mentioned in the text. This painting was reproduced in *Leslie's Weekly*, January 9, 1869, p. 268, under the title "Plains at the Base of Rocky Mountains." The *Dictionary of American Biography* states that Whittredge was accompanied on his Western tour of 1866 by John F. Kensett and Sanford R. Gifford. This statement is in error as the trip by these three artists was made in 1870 and not in 1866, see his autobiography mentioned above and the list by John F. Weir, *Catalogue of Paintings of Sanford R. Gifford* (New York, 1881), p. 8. Several of the Western sketches of Gifford in this list are also dated "1870"; see, also, *New York Tribune*, August 30, 1880, p. 5. Kensett had had Western experiences before he made the 1870 trip for he was on the headwaters of the upper Missouri river in 1856.—See, *The Crayon*, New York, v. 3 (1856), p. 30; v. 4 (1857), pp. 252, 377.

12. Beard (1824-1900) appears in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. 2 (1929), pp. 95, 96, but no mention of his Western experiences is made. Beard's later representation of animals acting like human beings so overshadowed all his other work that the rest has been lost sight of. Beard is mentioned several times in the local press during his stay in Denver: *Rocky Mountain News*, June 6 and 20, 1866.

brought his family to America when Alfred was two years old.¹³ The family settled at Rochester, Ohio, upon their arrival from England, and Alfred Mathews spent his boyhood in the Buckeye state.

A family letter, dated December 11, 1845, written to William Mathews, one of the seven children and who was working in Cincinnati, indicates that the Mathews family was musically and artistically inclined. Most of the members of the family added their own notes to the letter, revealing that several of the children made oil paintings and that most of them played musical instruments. At the time the letter was written Alfred was a youngster of fourteen, but he was already an individualist as is revealed by the note he wrote as his contribution in the family letter to William:

Dear William

I was glad to hear that you are so comfortably situated with a prospect of doing well. I should like if you could get me in a store in Cincinnati next year. I am going to learn Dutch this winter. I am learning my books at home because I can't agree with my schoolmaster he sent me out to get a switch to whip me with because I did not get my grammar good, and I fot pa said I should stay at home and studdy my books. I remain yours affectionately,

ALFRED E. MATHEWS

Apparently he made considerable progress by "studdy" at home for his grammar improved and in a few years he was learning the trade of typesetting in the office of the New Philadelphia *Ohio Democrat*, owned by his brother, Charles. Whether he received any instruction in art during this early period of his life is uncertain, but by the time he was 25 he was engaged in the combined profession of itinerant book seller and artist as is shown by the following letter written to an aunt:

RAVENNA, OHIO, MAY 6, 1856

Dear Aunt:—

Some weeks ago I had the pleasure of receiving a letter from you, sent to my brother Wm. T. Mathews, artist. I should have written before, but thought best to defer it until my brother, the Doctor, went to England. I

13. In 1905, Charles H. Mathews, a brother of Alfred E. Mathews, prepared a manuscript biography, including letters, etc., of the latter for the Denver Public Library. In addition, Miss Ina T. Aulls of the Denver Public Library secured some biographical data, letters, etc., from a niece of Mathews, Mrs. Priscilla Gibbs of Denver. All biographical data concerning A. E. Mathews not otherwise credited in this article is to be attributed to this collection now in the possession of the Denver Public Library. For example, in this material is included a transcript from a family record giving the exact hour, place and date of birth of each of the seven Mathews children.

Miss Isadora E. Mathews of New Philadelphia, Ohio, a grandniece of Alfred E. Mathews, has also kindly furnished me biographical data concerning the Mathews family.

William T. Mathews, a brother of Alfred, also achieved considerable reputation, at least locally, as an artist and became known as "the painter of presidents," for he portrayed Lincoln, Hayes, Garfield, Harrison and McKinley. William T. Mathews was born in Bristol, England, May 7, 1821, and died in Washington, D. C., January 11, 1905. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 8 (December 24, 1864), p. 829, has two illustrations credited to W. D. Mathews, who may have been this W. T. Mathews.

am still at the same business, as when I last wrote you, traveling with books and am at present in northern Ohio, among the Yankees.

Last year I was in the state of Maine. The scenery in that state is beautiful; there is such a beautiful combination of lakes and mountain scenes. Before being in Maine, I was in Vermont and New Hampshire, and visited the celebrated White Mountains. By the Doctor I sent you a daguerreotype of what is called "The Old Man of the Mountain." It is from a sketch I took myself and is considered an exact representation of it. It is certainly one of the greatest curiosities in this country. Some part of the day is more favorable than others for viewing it, according to the position of the sun. I took this in the most favorable time, when it looked most like the human face. I also send Miss Gillett two (2) pictures, a winter scene and a blue linnnet (my own work) which you will please give her, with my love. I hope to visit you before many years. Indeed, I shall be traveling all the time for 2 or 3 years yet; for my health will not admit of confinement.

I go to Kentucky on the first of July next, and in the fall further south. It is much better in the south for my business than in the north, and the climate will agree with me, as I have weak lungs. In selling books I make from \$1.50 to \$3.00 and even \$5 per day; but expenses are high and I have been subject to many delays, so I shall not think of settling in business yet. I stay among the Yankees altogether, as they are a reading community, and I have been with them so much that they consider me the very embodiment of a Connecticut Yankee. I look forward with considerable pleasure to my contemplated trip south and shall probably stay there some time. I leave here the fore part of summer, because my business will not pay here in haying and harvest time. So I shall go where they are through with such work. I send you a drawing of the head of a Moose, which I took while in Maine. I had the head of one of those animals hanging in the barn to look at. I spent a week or 10 days very pleasantly at Moose Head Lake. They had plenty of moose-beef, (the very best of meat) and lake trout.

Mt. Kinneo, situated in the centre of it, is 753 feet high, perpendicular. The hotel there is quite a resort for travelers in summer. I took a drawing of the Mountain which I sold to the landlord for \$5.00. I fill up odd times with such work and find it profitable. The other day I sold one the size of a sheet of note paper for \$3.00, a group of 3 birds, which took me four (4) hours to make.

I will write you when I go south, and give you a full account of the workings of slavery.

Yours Affectionate Nephew,
ALFRED E. MATHEWS

The letter is intensely interesting from several points of view but primarily because it gives an insight into the life and character of A. E. Mathews. Obviously he was an artist in feeling; he liked to travel; he was not very robust (he died at the age of 43), and he was observant and shrewd.

The projected Southern trip mentioned above was made, for he was teaching a country school in Tuscaloosa county, Alabama, when



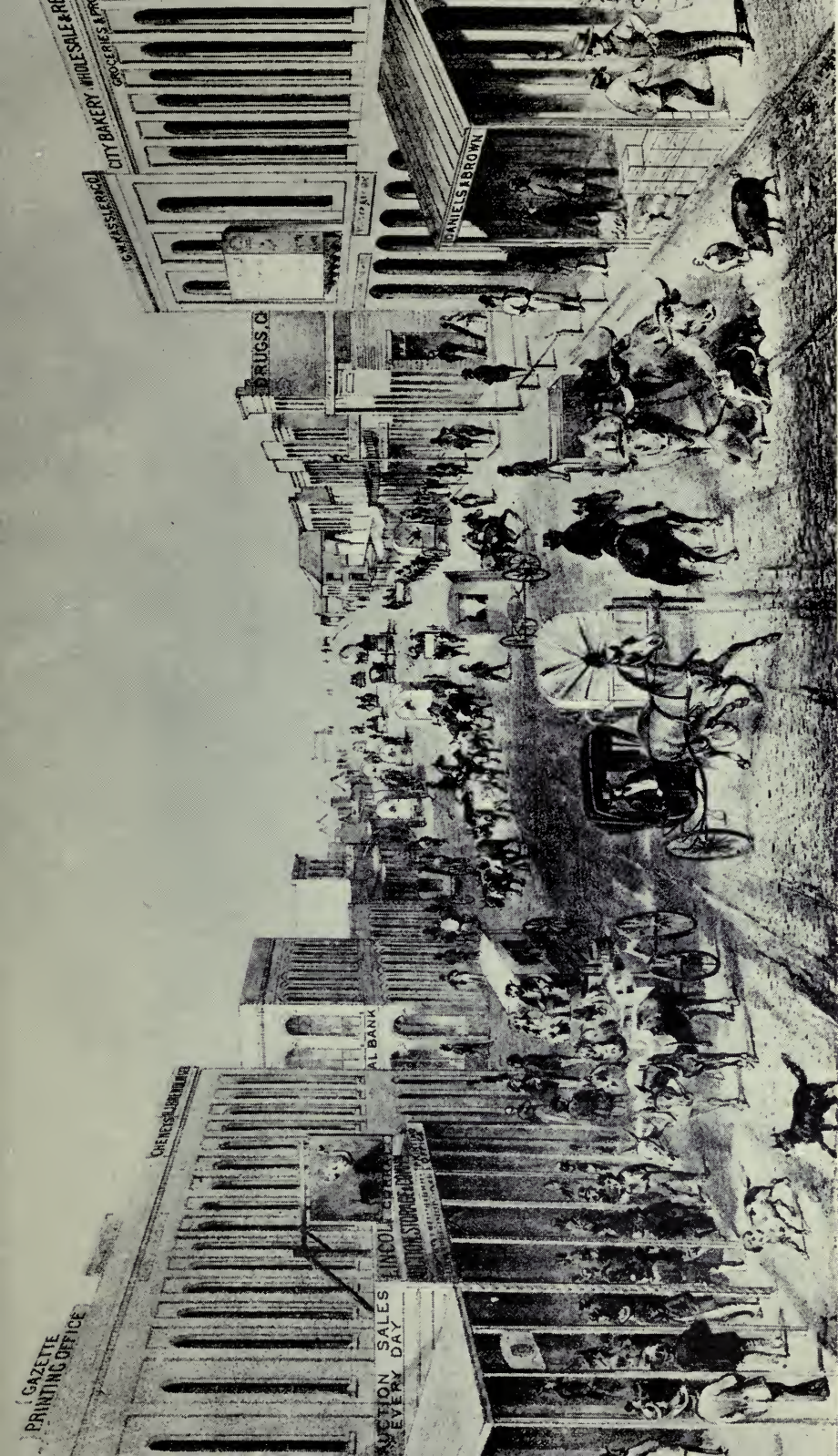
A. E. MATHEWS

(1831-1874)

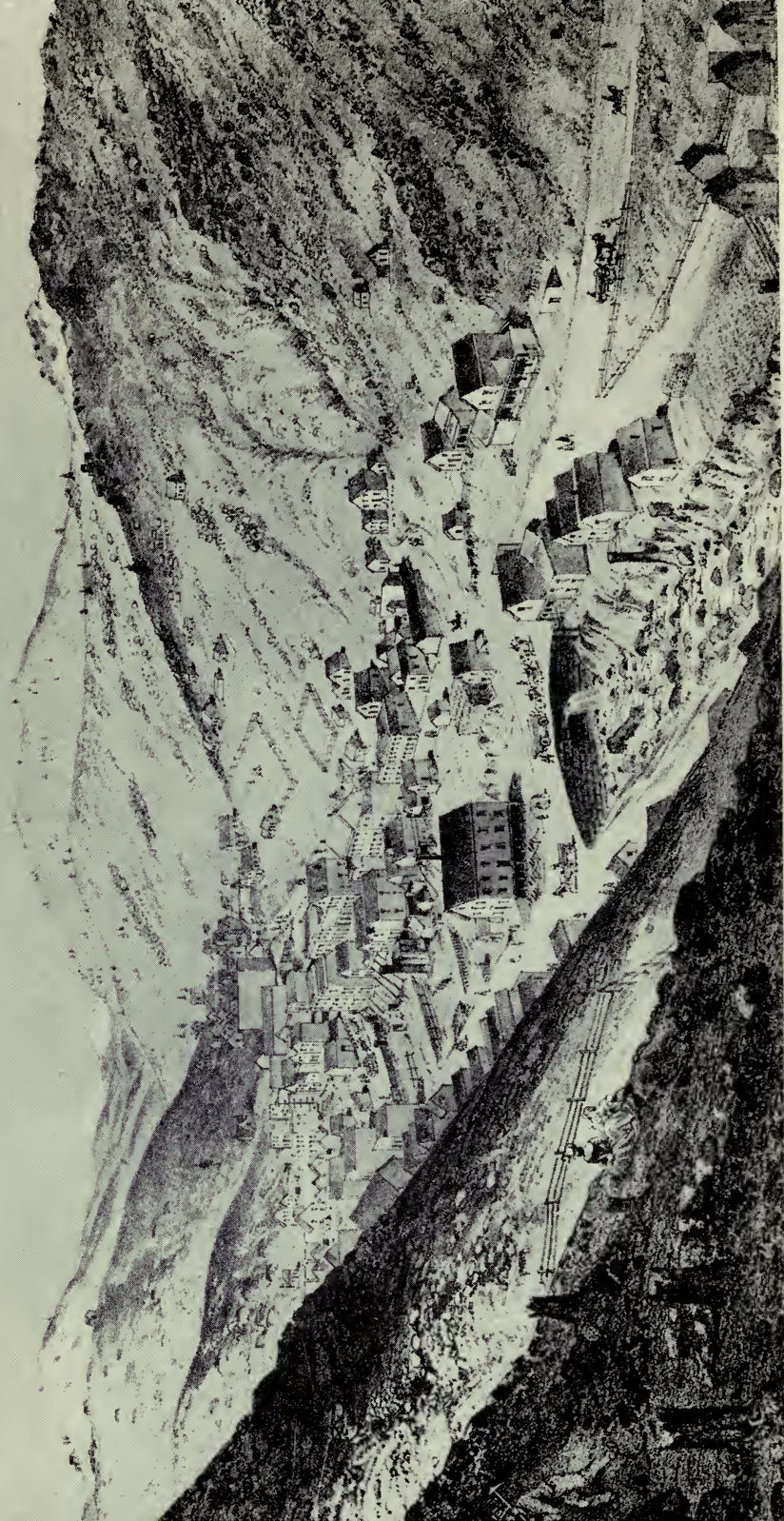
This print and all others reproduced with this article except the two views of Nebraska City are from the Denver Public Library Western Collection.



NEBRASKA CITY [NEBRASKA]—VIEW ON MAIN STREET, LOOKING WEST



BLAKE STREET, DENVER
(From *Pencil Sketches of Colorado*, 1866)



CENTRAL CITY, FROM THE SIDE OF MAMMOTH HILL LOOKING UP GREGORY AND EUREKA GULCHES
(From *Pencil Sketches of Colorado*, 1866)

the Civil War broke out. With considerable difficulty he worked his way north to his father's home in Ohio where, in August, 1861, he enlisted in "Capt. Cotter's battery."¹⁴ Later he was transferred to the 31st regiment of the Ohio Volunteer infantry with which he served for three years. Mathews participated in the siege of Corinth, the battles of Stone River, Lookout Mountain and Mission Ridge.

His skill with the pencil was recognized, for his talents were used in preparing topographic maps and drawings for army use. More important at the present day, however, are a number of Civil War scenes, drawn from direct observation by Mathews and later lithographed. The Library of Congress has some 35 different lithographs and the Denver Public Library 30. A comparison of the titles in these two libraries shows that there are 38 different titles now known.¹⁵ The scenes reproduced by Mathews in these lithographs are of events occurring in the period 1861-1864.

14. Capt. Charles S. Cotter, Battery A, 1st Ohio artillery.—Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, . . . (Washington, 1903), v. 2, p. 166.

Mathews published an account of his arduous and difficult "escape" from the South, a journey fraught with considerable danger in the days when all sections of the country were aflame. In a pamphlet of 28 pages of text, *Interesting Narrative; Being a Journal of the Flight of Alfred E. Mathews of Stark County, Ohio* (July, 1861), Mathews describes his circuitous route from northern Alabama to Chicago. He went from Alabama to Texas as he thought Texas would not secede, but when it did, he began his northern trek through Louisiana, Arkansas and Missouri. In the opening sentence, Mathews states that he had been residing "for more than one year previous to the close of the year 1860" in northern Alabama.

15. Lithography was by Middleton, Strobridge and Company; by Ehrgott, Forbriger & Company, and by Donaldson and Elmes, all of Cincinnati, Ohio. The lithographs are of various sizes ranging from 11 by 7 inches to 24 by 16 inches.

The combined list of titles of the Mathews lithographs held by the Library of Congress and by the Denver Public Library include:

Lithographs by Middleton, Strobridge & Company, Sketched by A. E. Mathews—

"Battle of Jackson, Mississippi."

"The Battle of Logan's Cross Roads, Fought on the 19th of January, 1862."

"Battle of Perryville, the Extreme Left, Starkweather's Brigade."

"Battle of Shiloh, the Gunboats, Tylor and Lexington Supporting the National Troops."

"The Battle of Stone River or Murfreesboro."

"The Battle of Stone River or Murfreesboro [another view]."

"The Battle of Stone River or Murfreesboro [another view]."

"The Battle of Stone River or Murfreesboro, Charge of Gen. Negley's Division Across Stone River."

"The Battle of Wild Cat, Oct. 21, 1861."

"The Battle of Wild Cat, Oct. 21, 1861 [smaller view with text]," dated 1861.

"Camp Ready, Hamburg, Tennessee, Composed of Companies C, I and E of the 80th Reg't O. V. I."

"Charge of the First Brigade, Commanded by Col. M. B. Walker, on the Friday Evening of the Battle of Stone River."

"Encampment of Gen. Pope's Army Before Corinth, May, 1862. View From the Camp of the 43rd Ohio Reg't."

"Farmington, Mississippi, May, 1862."

"Female Seminary, Nashville, Tenn. Barracks of the 51st Reg't O. V."

"The First Union Dress Parade in Nashville."

"Fort Anderson, Paducah, Kentucky, and the Camp of the 6th Illinois Cavalry, April, 1862."

"Fort Mitchell."

"On the March From Hamburg to Camp Before Corinth."

"The 103rd Reg't O. V. in Line of Battle at Fort Mitchell."

"Pittsburg Landing."

"The 121st Reg't Ohio Volunteers, Crossing the Pontoon Bridge at Cincinnati, Friday, Sept. 19, 1862," dated 1862.

"Rev. L. F. Drake, Chaplain 31st Ohio Volunteers, Preaching at Camp Dick Robinson, Ky., November 10, 1861."

"Siege of Vicksburg."

"Siege of Vicksburg [another view]."

That some of these lithographic views, at least, were highly regarded is borne out by the following brief letter from no less a person than Gen. U. S. Grant (included in the Charles H. Mathews material):

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE TENNESSEE
VICKSBURG, MISS., AUG. 9, 1863

Private A. E. Mathews, 31st Ohio Vols.

Sir—I have examined the Lithographs of views taken by you of the "Siege of Vicksburg," and do not hesitate to pronounce them among the most accurate and true to life I have ever seen.

They reflect great credit upon you as a delineator of landscape views.

U. S. GRANT,
Major Gen. Com'd'g Dept.

After his term of service expired, Mathews used his talents in preparing for exhibition a panorama of the campaign in "the Southwest." That is, he depicted on canvas the capture of Vicksburg, the battles of Stone River, Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge and concluded by showing Sherman's march to the sea. How extensively this panorama was exhibited we do not now know, but an undated clipping from a Steubenville, Ohio, newspaper states that "the audience, particularly the soldiers, who were in many of the battles represented, were delighted and gave repeated evidence of satisfaction" when the panorama was exhibited in that city.

The panorama was probably on exhibit in 1864 and early in 1865 but it is doubtful if it brought Mathews any great return. In any event by the time the war was over in the spring of 1865, Mathews' wanderlust had returned and he again commenced his travels. Evi-

"Siege of Vicksburg [another view]."

"The Siege of Vicksburg, the Fight in the Crater of Fort Hill After the Explosion, June 25, 1863."

"The 10th Reg't Iowa Volunteers on the March From Hamburg to Camp Before Corinth, Apr. 28th, 1862."

"The 31st Reg't Ohio Vol., (Col. M. B. Walker) Building Breastworks and Embrasures Before Corinth, Miss., May, 1862."

"The 21st Reg't Wisconsin Vol., Crossing the Pontoon Bridge, at Cincinnati, Sept. 13, 1862."

"Union Forces Crossing Fishing Creek."

Lithographs by Ehrigott, Forbriger & Company, Sketched by A. E. Mathews—

"The Battle of Shiloh."

"Hospital Varian, Hamburg, Tenn."

"Shiloh Church."

"Shiloh Spring."

Lithographs by Donaldson and Elmes—

"Lookout Mountain, Near Chattanooga, Tenn." (This shows Field Hospital, Encampment Pioneer Brigade, Nashville & Chattanooga Rail Road. Dated 1864.)

"The Army of the Cumberland in Front of Chattanooga. Maj. Gen. W. S. Rosecrans, Commanding. Representing the Position of Gen. Brannan's Division, Gen. Negley's Division and Gen. Rousseau's Division, of Maj. Gen. Geo. H. Thomas' Army Corps."

"Chattanooga And the Battle Ground. Scene of the Brilliant Operations of Major General Geo. H. Thomas' Army of Major General U. S. Grant's Military Command. (The Eagle's Nest.)"

Mathews also had two illustrations of this period published in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 5 (November 23, 1861), p. 743, illustrating "The War in Kentucky."

dently the westward migration caught his fancy, for the next definite record of his movements places him in Nebraska City, Nebraska territory, in the summer of 1865. Here Mathews made a number of sketches, at least four of which were subsequently lithographed. The Nebraska State Historical Society possesses Mathews lithographs of Nebraska City, with the following imprints:

1. "Nebraska City. The Landing and City as Seen From the Iowa Side of the Missouri River, in 1865. Sketched by A. E. Mathews." [Reproduced on the cover of this magazine.]
2. "Nebraska City. View on Main Street—Looking West." Sketched by A. E. Mathews. [Reproduced *between* pp. 104, 105.]
3. "Nebraska City. View of Main Street—North Side. Sketched by A. E. Mathews."
4. "Nebraska City. As Seen From Kearney Heights in 1865. Sketched by A. E. Mathews."¹⁶

Nebraska City in 1865 was one of the important eastern terminals of the overland freighting business. Located on the Missouri river, enormous quantities of supplies were carried by water from St. Louis to this river port, where the slow westward trek by ox train began. Here it was that the celebrated firm of Russell, Majors and Waddell established one of their bases for the transportation of supplies across the plains to Colorado, New Mexico and Utah. The highway terminating at Nebraska City was one of the most important in the period 1860-1869 between the Missouri and Mississippi rivers and the Rocky Mountains. Known as the Oregon Trail Short Line and the Steam Wagon Road, it was one of the shortest and best roads from the Missouri to the Rockies.¹⁷ Mathews in 1865 must have seen Nebraska City at its height as a freighting center—his views of Main street show that it was indeed a busy place. In one of the views (No. 3 above) some dozen prairie schooners hauled by the usual six-yoke ox teams are represented, as well as a wealth of homely detail that makes his views of importance to the social historian. How faithfully the sketches were copied

16. I am indebted to James C. Olson, superintendent of the Nebraska State Historical Society, for photographic prints of each of the above lithographs and also for additional information concerning them. No. 3 above was reproduced in *Nebraska History*, Lincoln, for September, 1948, facing p. 212. The lithography of the first print above is not credited, although the original lithograph bears the initials "J. G."; the remaining three were lithographed by Donaldson and Elmes, Cincinnati.

It is a curious fact that the imprint of Mathews' name on these Nebraska views shows the spelling "Mathews." In all his subsequent work, but one *t* appears. Further confirmation of the date of the Nebraska City sketches is furnished by the item from *The Rocky Mountain News* for November 13, 1865, reprinted on p. 108.

The print size of the four Nebraska City lithographs is 16 by 10 inches; they were apparently printed in two colors, brown and black.

17. *Nebraska History Magazine*, Lincoln, v. 13 (1932), pp. 137-159.

by the lithographer it is hard to tell, as no original sketches of Mathews are known to exist.¹⁸

It is obvious from the lithographs that Mathews' sense of perspective and proportion was none too good, that his buildings and human figures are all too frequently stiff and formal, but the mass of detail introduced and the portrayal of small incidents lend genuine interest to his work. For example, in one view a dog fight is portrayed, in another a flock of sheep and several cows can be seen following an emigrant's covered wagon, from under the rear canvas of which peers the small face of a traveler [reproduced *between* pp. 104, 105]. Mathews seems to have been particularly successful in portraying the mood and habits of dogs, for there is scarcely a view in which some lifelike attitude of the friend of man cannot be distinguished.¹⁹

In the fall of 1865, Mathews left Nebraska City for Denver, either joining one of the freight trains or going by overland stage across the plains. Doubtless sketches were made en route, but no lithographic record of the trip is known as yet to the writer. Mathews arrived in Denver on November 12, for *The Rocky Mountain News* of the next day reports:

We received a call this morning from Mr. A. E. Mathews, an artist, typographer and soldier, who arrived here yesterday with the purpose of making sketches of the scenery in town and country, to be lithographed and furnished to subscribers. He showed us several of his pictures of scenes of interest in and around Nebraska City and other places, which are as true to nature as it is possible to make them, and bear the marks of an Artist's hand. He is spoken of in the highest terms by the river papers, and has recommendations from Gen. Grant and other eminent officers with whom he served as a soldier, and also as an Artist for the New York illustrated papers. We bespeak for him a liberal patronage from our business men, and the lovers of the beautiful, upon whom he may call. He commences his labors in this city this morning.²⁰

18. A number of the leading libraries of the country have been queried in the hope that some original Mathews sketches could be located, but without success. Miss Isadora E. Mathews of New Philadelphia, Ohio, grandniece of A. E. Mathews, reports that none of the original Mathews sketches are in the possession of the family.

19. It is interesting to compare Mathews' views of Main street, Nebraska City, with the reproduction of a photograph of Main street which must have been made at about the same time as the sketches. It will be found in J. Sterling Morton's *Illustrated History of Nebraska* (Lincoln, 1905), v. 1, facing p. 107. The photograph, too, shows that Main street was a busy place in freighting days.

Of importance in the first of the Mathews lithographs listed above (the river view—see cover), is the fact that three large river boats can be seen: *Post Boy*, *Sioux* and one whose name is not distinct. *Post Boy* was a real river craft, for it is included in Phil E. Chappell's list of "Missouri River Steamboats," *Kansas Historical Collections*, Topeka, v. 9 (1905-1906), p. 309. Chappell does not list a *Sioux* although he does list a *Sioux City* (No. 1) and *Sioux City* (No. 2), p. 310, and still another *Sioux City* (No. 2) on p. 316. There evidently is some confusion of names in Chappell's list and Mathews' *Sioux* may be the key to the solution of this confusion.

20. *The Daily Rocky Mountain News*, November 13, 1865.

Mathews not only went to work in Denver but within a month he was out in the mines and mills of the nearby mountains securing sketches of this important Colorado industry.²¹ By early March of 1866, lithographic reproductions of four of his sketches were available. They included a bird's eye view of Denver and three street views in the same city: one of Laramie street, one of Blake street [reproduced *between* pp. 104, 105] and one of F street. The local press reported on them very favorably and stated that all views "are natural to the life. Among the familiar objects represented are Estabrook's splendid black-horse team, and the ubiquitous old sorrel nag and chaise of the lamented Dr. McLain."²²

Several weeks later, Mathews had received from his lithographer, Julius Bien of New York, another set of lithographs. These were from his sketches of Blackhawk, Nevada, Central City [reproduced *facing* p. 105] and the Snowy Range.²³ Both this set and the previous group of Denver lithographs were undoubtedly separates from the views which were later collected and published as the celebrated *Pencil Sketches of Colorado*. Although this work was not available in Denver until October, 1866,²⁴ the book itself is dated "May, 1866." It is of generous dimensions, 19 by 13½ inches, and the sixteen full-page lithographs themselves are approximately 16 by 8 or 9 inches. Eight of the lithographs were printed two on a page and twelve of them four to a page. The titles include (titles bracketed together indicate that lithographs appear together on a single page):

1. "Snowy Range of the Rocky Mountains; From Bald Mountain, Near Nevada" (full page, frontispiece).
2. "Denver, City of the Plains" (full page).
3. "F Street, Denver" (full page).
4. "Blake Street, Denver, Colorado" (full page). [Reproduced *between* pp. 104, 105.]
5. "Laramie Street, Denver" (full page).
6. "Golden City" (full page).
7. "Black Hawk, Looking Up Gregory and Chase's Gulches" (full page).
8. "Central City; From the Side of Mammoth Hill Looking Up Gregory and Eureka Gulches" (full page). [Reproduced *facing* p. 105.]
9. "Central City; Looking Up Spring Gulch" (full page).
10. "Nevada, Colorado" (full page).

21. *Daily Miners' Register*, Central City, Colo., December 1, 2, 1865.

22. *Rocky Mountain News*, March 5, 1866. These well-known views of Denver were originally sketched, as can be inferred from the above comment, some time between the date of Mathews' arrival in Denver in November, 1865, and early February, 1866, for mention of "the lamented Dr. McLain" apparently limits the later date. Dr. L. B. McLain died February 2, 1866.—*Ibid.*, February 2, 1866.

23. *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, March 19, 1866.

24. *Rocky Mountain News*, October 19, 1866.

- { 11. "Russell Gulch, Gilpin County" (half page).
- { 12. "The Chief, Squaw and Papoose, as Seen From Idaho" (half page).
- { 13. "Idaho, Clear Creek County" (half page).
- { 14. "Fall River, Clear Creek County" (half page).
- { 15. "The Old Mountaineer, Fall River" (half page).
- { 16. "Profile Rock, Fall River" (half page).
- { 17. "Empire City, Clear Creek County. From Near the Foot of Silver Mountain, Looking Towards Elizabethtown" (half page).
- { 18. "Elizabethtown, Clear Creek County. From the Griffith Tunnel" (half page).
- 19. "South Park" (full page).
- 20. "Mount Lincoln. The Town Montgomery Is Seen at Its Base" (full page).
- 21. "Twin Lakes" (full page).
- 22. "Pike's Peak and Colorado City" (full page). [Reproduced *facing* p. 112.]
- 23. "Garden of the Gods" (full page).
- 24. "Monuments, Near Monument Creek" (full page).
- { 25. "Gulch Mining.—Colorado Gulch" (fourth page).
- { 26. "Spanish Arastra—On Clear Creek" (fourth page).
- { 27. "The Stamp Process.—Mr. Senseserfer's Mill" (fourth page).
- { 28. "Shaft or Lode Mining.—Interior of No. 1, On the Gregory, the Black Hawk Co.'s Mine" (fourth page).
- { 29. "The Ore Breaking Room.—Blake's Ore Breaker" (fourth page).
- { 30. "The Furnace" (fourth page).
- { 31. "The Ore Pit, or Drying Room" (fourth page).
- { 32. "Amalgamating Room" (fourth page).

The four lithographs above appear above the general page title, "The Keith Process. Hope Gold Company's Works."

- { 33. "Ore Dressing Room—The Buddle and Jiggs" (fourth page).
- { 34. "Reverberatory Furnace" (fourth page).
- { 35. "Cupel Furnace" (fourth page).
- { 36. "Scotch Hearths" (fourth page).

The four lithographs above appear above the general page title, "The Smelting Process. James E. Lyon & Co.'s Smelting Works."

The lithographs are followed by twelve pages of text which describe briefly the subject of each of the 36 lithographs with some additional background material.²⁵

This pictorial record of Colorado is an important historical document. Although here again Mathews' sense of perspective is faulty and the stiffness of his buildings is all too apparent (many look as if they had been drawn with a ruler), the wealth of detail in his city

25. *Pencil Sketches of Colorado* will be found in various bibliographic lists under place and date: sometimes as "(Denver, 1866)" and sometimes as "New York, 1866." These differences arise from the fact that following the title page is the entry, "Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1866, by A. E. Mathews, In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York," whereas at the conclusion of the single page "Preface" there is the entry, "Denver, May, 1866."

and street views is invaluable to the social historian. Dress, transportation (in one of the lithographs, there can be counted seven or eight types of wheeled vehicles), the miscellany of everyday street life, and the methods, equipment and detail of Colorado mining, are all faithfully recorded, or as faithfully as Mathews could for he made a fetish of validity in his pictures. As far as the writer is aware, there has never been any criticism (contemporary or recent) on this score. Comparison of the Denver street scenes with photographs of the same period is interesting, for the photographs, as do the lithographs, show that vehicular traffic was something of a problem even in 1866. To maneuver a six-yoke ox team through such congestion must have been more of a problem than edging forward in a car against the traffic lights of present-day Denver streets. Probably the greatest difference to be noted in comparing Denver photographs of 1865 with the Mathews lithographs is the fact that in the lithographs all the buildings are in good repair and the general appearance is far tidier.

It will be noted in Mathews' street views, however, both of Nebraska City and of Denver, that although some stores are very distinctly marked with the name of the proprietor, other buildings are conspicuous by the blank space where the owner's name should appear. Undoubtedly this omission was intentional on Mathews' part. Some of his income must have come from the contribution of store owners who were willing to pay for the privilege of having their names show boldly in the completed lithographs—a conclusion supported by the comment of *The Daily Rocky Mountain News* (see p. 108): "We bespeak for him [Mathews] a liberal patronage from our business men, . . ."

Pencil Sketches of Colorado sold originally for \$30 a copy, but it has become one of the scarcest items of Western Americana and a good copy today will bring \$350 to \$400.²⁶

During the summer and fall of 1866, Mathews continued his labors in Colorado. He spent over a month in the neighborhood of Colorado Springs, sketching the well-known Pike's Peak region, the Garden of the Gods and surrounding country, as well as making visits to the mines of southern Colorado.²⁷ This trip was followed

26. The original price is given in *Rocky Mountain News*, October 19, 1866. The current retail price was kindly furnished by Norman L. Dodge of Goodspeed's Book Shop, Boston. Edward Eberstadt's *Catalogue No. 106* (1937), p. 23, lists a copy of *Pencil Sketches of Colorado* at \$275.

27. *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, March 19, 1866, reports that Mathews left "today" for the Pike's Peak region; the same newspaper, May 7, 1866, states that he returned "Saturday" from the south. Probably the views of Pike's Peak and Colorado City (facing p. 112) and of the Garden of the Gods included in *Pencil Sketches of Colorado* were obtained on this trip.

by sketching tours to the headwaters of Clear creek, to Long's Peak and to South and Middle Parks.²⁸ Some of these sketches were reproduced lithographically and do not appear in any of his better-known bound works (i. e., in *Pencil Sketches of Colorado* and the three books remaining to be described). Apparently Mathews was none too well satisfied with the lithographic reproduction of his sketches. Contemporary newspaper reports made such statements and they are further supported by the fact that Mathews did much of the actual lithographing of his later work.²⁹

The winter of 1866-1867, Mathews spent in the East, presumably in visiting relatives in Ohio, and in a business trip to New York City for the purpose of supervising the lithography of additional sketches.³⁰ He was back in Denver late in May, 1867, to start another season's work.³¹ The earlier part of the season saw him sketching in Colorado but in the fall he spent a month or so in Montana securing the material upon which his second well-known book of lithographs was based, *Pencil Sketches of Montana*.³² The editor of *The Montana Post* saw the sketches resulting from Mathews' tour of Montana and was favorably impressed, for he wrote: "Having looked over many familiar scenes we can say that his pen has truthfully portrayed them and the work [that is, Mathews' proposed book of lithographs] will be one eagerly sought for."

28. *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, May 7, August 10, 1866.

29. *The Rocky Mountain News*, October 30, 1866, advertises "Mathews Colorado views bound and unbound for sale at the Denver Art Emporium." The Denver Public Library possesses some of the unbound lithographs; one, in color, is of Long's Peak and measures about 16½ by 27 centimeters. It was lithographed by Major & Knapp Eng. Mfg. and Lith. Co.

The Daily Miners' Register, Central City, July 20, 1867, reports that Mathews called on the editor of the *Register* "yesterday" and then went on to say that the earlier Colorado lithographs (presumably those in the *Pencil Sketches of Colorado*) "were sent on to a lithographing house in New York, which so botched the work as to leave little trace of the original design. The work was coarse, badly colored and altogether 'dutchy.' Notwithstanding these serious defects, they were sold. Subsequently Mr. Mathews made pictures of the most prominent points and went on himself to supervise their execution. We now have as pretty a series as could be wished. There are two of Long's and Pike's Peak [possibly one of these was the one referred to above in this note], one of each colored in 'chromo' style, the others plain, but very skillfully engraved. The third is an elegant view of a point of rock at Fall River, known as the 'Old Mountaineer,' which is the most picturesque and interesting of all. Specimens may be seen at the bookstores and various other places in town. . . ." "The Old Mountaineer," located in Clear Creek county "near the mouth of Fall River," and mentioned above, was a discovery of Mathews, according to *The Rocky Mountain News*, December 24, 1866. Doubtless Mathews' early experience with the Eastern "great Stone Face" (see p. 104) may have sharpened his eye for such natural curiosities. Mention of the new style Mathews' "chromos" was also made by the weekly *News*, May 29, July 5, 1867.

30. See Footnote 29; in addition, *The Rocky Mountain News*, December 24, 1866, stated that Mathews was leaving "in a few days" for Europe to supervise the lithography of sketches. There is no other evidence that he made the European trip and the fact that I have found no lithographs of European origin would also tend to support the New York trip rather than the European one.

31. *Weekly Rocky Mountain News*, May 29, 1867.

32. *Daily Miners' Register*, Central City, July 20, 1867, states that Mathews was sketching in Colorado and would soon start for the Great Salt Lake valley. *The Daily Rocky Mountain News*, July 20, 1867, states that Mathews had just returned from a trip to the Snake river country (possibly in Wyoming). *The Montana Post*, Virginia City, October 19, 1867, reports his presence in Virginia City after a tour of several weeks through Montana. *The Daily Rocky Mountain News*, November 21, 1867, reports his return to Denver from Montana by way of Salt Lake City.



PIKE'S PEAK AND COLORADO CITY
(From *Pencil Sketches of Colorado*, 1866)



VIRGINIA CITY

(From *Pencil Sketches of Montana*, 1868)

Among the sketches seen by the editor were views of "Beaver-Head Rock," Stinking Water valley and ranges, "Virginia City [*facing* p. 113]," "Union City," "Bald Mountain," Madison valley and range, "Exit of the Yellowstone From the Mountains," the Yellowstone valley, "Three Forks," "Head Waters of the Missouri," "Helena," "The Hangman's Tree," "Prickley Pear Canyon," "Gate of the Mountains," "Bear Tooth Mountain," "Great Falls of the Missouri," "Fort Benton," "The Palisades," "Citadel Rock," "The Church, Castle and Fortress," the ruined castle, "Fort Cook," "Deer Lodge Valley" and Gold Hill mountains.³³

Many of these titles appear in *Pencil Sketches of Montana*, which Mathews, evidently not satisfied by his experiences in the publication of the companion Colorado volume, lithographed himself. The lithography was done in New York City, where Mathews spent the winter of 1867-1868, and where he maintained a studio at 470 Broadway.³⁴

During the winter, however, Mathews not only made the lithographic plates for *Pencil Sketches of Montana* but he was also actively engaged in designing and preparing a panorama of Rocky Mountain scenery for exhibition. It is quite probable that Mathews himself did not make the giant paintings for the panorama but had them made by professionals in the trade from his own drawings and under his personal direction.³⁵

About June, 1868, both *Pencil Sketches of Montana* and the panorama were ready for public view and Mathews started again for the West. The first exhibition of the panorama—of which I have note—was held in Omaha.³⁶ Two weeks later it was on exhibit in Denver, and for much of the summer and fall of 1868 Mathews was engaged in exhibiting the panorama in Colorado and Montana.³⁷

33. *The Montana Post*, Virginia City, October 19, 1867. I am indebted to Mrs. Anne McDonnell of the Montana Historical Society for this item and others listed in Footnotes 40 and 43 (relating to Toft).

34. *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, November 21, 1867; *The Montana Post*, October 19, 1867.

35. In fact, the Central City *Daily Miners' Register*, July 25, 1868, states: "The sketches [for the panorama] were all made by Mr. Mathews, but the painting is by artists in New York."

36. *The Weekly Republican*, Omaha, Neb., June 24, 1868. According to the *Republican*, the panorama was to be exhibited June 27 and 29, 1868, with Mathews giving an explanatory lecture. The notice states that the panorama was endorsed by Gen. G. M. Dodge, "who says they [the scenes depicted] are very accurate."

37. Notices of its appearance are given in *The Rocky Mountain News*, July 10, 14, 1868; *Daily Miners' Register*, Central City, July 21, 22, 24-26, 1868; *The Montana Post*, Helena, November 13, 1868. It had been exhibited "along the Missouri river" prior to its arrival in Colorado according to *The Daily Miners' Register*, July 21, 1868; possibly this statement means that other exhibitions than the one in Omaha had been made.

The panorama was well received wherever exhibited. Its exhibition, according to *The Rocky Mountain News*, gave the very greatest satisfaction. The scenes are well chosen, embracing many of the finest in Colorado, Utah and Montana, they are true to life, we thought we recognized the brands of our old camp fire by the big rock, left front, Chicago lakes, they are well sketched and painted, and the arrangement for exhibiting, showing one complete scene at once and no more, is perfect. Mr. M. accompanied the succeeding scenes with a running descriptive lecture, much of it couched in eloquent and beautiful language.³⁸

The Daily Miners' Register thought that "The best piece, perhaps, is that sketched from Gold Lake, in Ward district, twenty-eight miles north of here. Grey's peak and other scenes were good. As a whole, the panorama is far superior to most such exhibitions. It might be better said that few equal it. It gives an excellent insight to Rocky mountain scenery. . . ." ³⁹ *The Montana Post* recommended the Mathews panorama "as one of the finest works of art ever exhibited to the people of the Territory. The scenery in the panorama is purely western, much of it is in Montana, and all the beauty and grandeur of this American Switzerland is transferred to the canvass with a master's touch."⁴⁰

To be sure, many of these descriptions and comments are eulogy of a home product, but it must also be remembered that the panorama was then a form of art and amusement popular and well-known even in the "uncultivated West"—the forerunner of the modern motion picture. One, too, must consider the fact that if the paintings departed appreciably from the observer's belief in reality—one of the criteria of art in that day—the home audiences would have been one of the first to detect and criticize the work.

To stimulate attendance at his exhibitions, Mathews made it a practice to distribute individual lithographs and occasionally complete volumes of his bound lithographs to patrons of his lecture and panorama.⁴¹ It is therefore surprising to find that his lithographs are so rare today.

That the exhibitions were successful is shown by the following letter written by Mathews to his sister while the panorama was on exhibit during the summer of 1868. It is interesting not only from the light it sheds on the exhibition of the panorama but also on other contemporary affairs.

38. *Rocky Mountain News*, July 14, 1868.

39. *Daily Miners' Register*, July 22, 1868.

40. *The Montana Post*, Helena, November 13, 1868.

41. Many of the reports cited in Footnotes 37 and 42 state this fact.

IN CAMP ON THE NORTH FORK OF THE PLATTE
DACOTAH, AUG. 15, 1868.

Dear sister, Eliza:—

Since arriving in the Territory I have been so busy as to neglect my correspondents. I am now on my way to Montana. The panorama proved a great success in Colorado; but I was sick most of the time, which prevented my giving it the necessary attention; and that eat up the profits, by long delays. Receipts were from \$58. to \$117. per night, and sometimes we had to close the doors and refuse to admit more in consequence of the crowd. There is no good chance to invest on the railroad this year; it has all been anticipated. The only good chance I have yet seen was in Georgetown, Colorado, in the silver-mining district. But there is as yet no title to be had to the lots and will not be for some time, until sold by the government. This town is bound to grow very rapidly, as the mountains are very rich in silver, and it will be the terminus of a railroad. The best chance I can see here is raising cattle or sheep, as it costs comparatively nothing to keep them—they feed on grass all winter. I shall likely go into it myself soon. The next best investment would be in farm land near Omaha. Land can be had within 7 miles of Omaha for \$8.00 to \$10.00 per acre, that will in a few years be very valuable. The trouble is that within the last few months the increase in lots in promising towns has been anticipated; in some places the titles are insecure, without living on the land. I learn that within the past year they have anticipated a rise in San Francisco and property is very high. I will write again soon and describe the country through which I have passed. Write soon and direct to Virginia City, Montana.

In haste, your affectionate brother,

A. E. MATHEWS.

It seems probable that the panorama was an exhibit in the East during the winter of 1868-1869 (in fact this purpose of Mathews is stated in some of the references given in Footnote 37), but I have seen no direct statement of such exhibit. At any rate, Mathews exhibited it in Colorado again in the summer of 1869, but he finally sold it late in the fall to Dr. J. E. Wharton of Denver.⁴²

42. *Rocky Mountain News*, July 15, October 20, 1869; *Colorado Miner*, Georgetown, August 12, 13, 18, 1869; *Colorado Transcript*, Golden, November 10, 1869. *The Rocky Mountain News*, August 24, 1869, states that Mathews was starting on a tour with his panorama which would include exhibitions at Breckinridge, Fairplay, Canon City, Pueblo and Colorado City.

The sale of the panorama to Dr. J. E. Wharton was announced in the *News*, November 20, 1869. Wharton in turn exhibited it, for there is notice that he was in Junction City, Kan., with it in January, 1870; see *Junction City Weekly Union*, January 15, 1870. Apparently Wharton re-sold the panorama by the start of 1871 to a Mr. Smart of Denver who exhibited it with additions by Stobie, another Western artist; see *Daily Rocky Mountain News*, January 4, 1871.

Charles S. Stobie, "Mountain Charlie," possibly should have been included in the list of artists who crossed the plains to the Rocky Mountains at the close of the Civil War. In J. W. Leonard's *Book of Chicagoans* (Chicago, 1905), p. 551, the statement is made that Stobie "crossed the Plains to Denver in 1865." Stobie's earliest Western experiences seem to have been that of a plainsman rather than as an artist. Many years later he described his experiences on his first trip to Colorado but made no mention of artistic labors; see his reminiscences, "Crossing the Plains To Colorado in 1865," *The Colorado Magazine*, Denver, v. 10 (1933), pp. 201-212. He subsequently achieved considerable reputation locally as an artist of the Western scene. Born in 1845, he died in 1931; see obituary in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 19, 1931, p. 8.

We must now return to *Pencil Sketches of Montana*, the other production of Mathews during his winter's stay in New York in 1867-1868. This 95-page book includes 31 lithographs, four of which are folding views (26½ x 47 centimeters) and 27 are full-page ones (13½ x 22 centimeters). Most of the lithographs are black and white although some have a green tint added. Mathews was his own lithographer, so that in this work we have direct examples of his draftsmanship. One of the sketches (*see* p. 83 of *Pencil Sketches of Montana*) is attributed to P. Tufts.⁴³

The book bears the date 1868 and was known in Denver by July of that year.⁴⁴ It sold for \$17 a copy.⁴⁵ As is the case with *Pencil Sketches of Colorado*, *Pencil Sketches of Montana* has now become very scarce and is one of the most sought after items of Western Americana. One copy was sold for a record price of \$770 and good copies will bring at present (at retail) \$350 to \$400 each.⁴⁶

The list of plates found in *Pencil Sketches of Montana* is:

Plate	XXIV	"Great Falls of the Missouri [frontis., large folding]."
Plate	I	"Beaver-Head Rock."
	II	"In the Stinking Water Valley."
	III	"Virginia City [large folding]." [Reproduced facing p. 113.]
	IV	"Union City."
	V	"Bald Mountain."
	VI	"In the Madison Valley."
	VII	"Exit of the Yellowstone From the Mountains."
	VIII	"In the Yellowstone Valley."
	IX	"Spring Canyon."
	X	"In the Gallatin Valley."
	XI	"The Three Forks. Head Waters of the Missouri [large folding]."
	XII	"Head Waters of the Missouri."
	XIII	"Helena [large folding]."
	XIV	"The Hangmans Tree."
	XV	"Unionville."
	XVI	"New York Gulch."
	XVII	"The Gate of the Mountains."
	XVIII	"Gate of the Mountains."

43. Peter Toft (also spelled Toft, Tofts, as well as Tufts) was born in 1825 and died in 1901 according to C. F. Bricka, *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon* . . . , v. 17 (1903?), p. 428. Toft was a native of Denmark but traveled extensively. He became well known in the 1860's and 1870's in the Far West, especially the Northwest. He is probably best known for the illustrations accompanying the article by Col. Cornelius O'Keefe (Thomas Francis Meagher), "Rides Through Montana," which appeared in *Harper's Magazine*, v. 35 (1867), pp. 568-585. The incidents depicted by Toft were made on a journey accompanying O'Keefe in 1866. O'Keefe (Meagher) was drowned at Fort Benton on July 1, 1867.

44. *Rocky Mountain News*, July 10, 1868.

45. *Daily Miners' Register*, Central City, July 21, 1868.

46. Edward Eberstadt's *Catalogue No. 106* (1937) reports the record price and lists a copy at \$225. For the current price I am again indebted to Norman L. Dodge of Goodspeed's Book Shop.

- XIX "Bear Tooth Mountain."
 XX "Prickley Pear Canyon."
 XXI "Prickley Pear Canyon."
 "Bird-Tail Mountain [plate number not printed]."
 XXIII "Falls of the Missouri."
 XXV "Fort Benton."
 XXVI "The Palisades."
 XXVII "Citadel Rock."
 XXVIII "The Church, Castle, and Fortress."
 XXIX "Fort Pegan."
 XXX "Fort Cook."
 XXXI "Deer Lodge Valley."⁴⁷

The last of the pictorial books for which Mathews is best known is *Gems of Rocky Mountain Scenery*. He did, however, publish toward the close of his life a fourth volume, *Canyon City, Colorado, and Its Surroundings*. It is not well known and contains but five views.

Gems of Rocky Mountain Scenery was again solely the work of Mathews. He was the artist, lithographer and publisher. Its publication date was almost coincident with the celebration of the joining of the rails of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railroads. It may be that Mathews had this fact in mind when he published the book, for its title page states that it contained "views along and near the Union Pacific Railroad." It is, however, the least interesting of the Mathews books. Mathews was neither a skillful draftsman nor lithographer and his defects became all too apparent in his purely landscape work. It was the only one of his works to receive severe contemporary criticism. *Putnam's Magazine* reviewed the work as follows:

It [*Gems of Rocky Mountain Scenery*] is a large but thin quarto, containing twenty full page illustrations selected by Mr. Mathews from a series of drawings made by him in Colorado, Idaho, Montana, and Utah, from the fall of 1865 to the winter of 1868, and executed by himself on stone. Having however imperfect an idea of the scenery of the Rocky Mountains, derived from the glowing accounts of travellers, and the paintings of Bierstadt and Whittredge, we had no idea that it could be so belittled as it is here. Either Mr. Mathews is no artist, or he is no lithographer; or, being both, it is not within the power of lithography to reproduce the larger forms of nature. As a rule there is no distance in the back-grounds of Mr. Mathews, no minuteness in his foregrounds, and nowhere the slightest sign of magnitude. Even in the mere matter of light and shade, his drawings are below mediocrity. Mr. Mathews courageously publishes his own work.⁴⁸

47. The plate numbers and titles are those appearing in the Denver Public Library copy.

48. *Putnam's Magazine*, N. S., v. 4 (August, 1869), pp. 257, 258. *The Rocky Mountain News*, June 29, 1869, in noting *Gems of Rocky Mountain Scenery*, states that it was published by Mathews from 1227 Broadway, New York City, which must have been Mathews' studio address for the winter of 1868-1869.

Although *The Rocky Mountain News* defended Mathews against this criticism on the ground that his views were faithful to nature and that New Yorkers regarded all outsiders with no favor,⁴⁹ the criticism of *Putnam's*, despite the mention of Bierstadt's mammoth canvases as a possible criteria of other work, is well taken. Lack of perspective, of proportion and of proper use of light and shade were Mathews' defects. He is best in his street views with their wealth of detail and it is unfortunate that he did not make more of this type of sketch—pictorial history of the West would have been greatly enriched if he had.

Lack of such detail has reflected itself in the current price of *Gems of Rocky Mountain Scenery* as compared to his other two well-known works. A good copy will bring, at present retail prices, \$75 to \$100. It was listed when published in 1869 at \$15 a copy but sold in Denver the same year at \$10 "owing to the present hard times."⁵⁰

If the sketches in *Gems of Rocky Mountain Scenery* are not as good pictorial history as are some of the other records of Mathews, the book does furnish in its introduction an excellent description of Mathews' method of work and of the loving labor which he expended in collecting and making his sketches. Mathews wrote:

The lithographs embodied in this work are selections from a series of sketches made by the artist while sojourning in Colorado, Idaho, Montana and Utah, from the fall of 1865 to the winter of 1868. During this time he made many excursions of more or less duration, from Denver in Colorado, Helena and Virginia City in Montana, and Salt Lake City in Utah; the entire distance accomplished being about 6,000 miles; remaining, however, but one winter in the mountains. These expeditions were performed, excepting during one summer, entirely alone, and principally with ponies; but on two or three occasions on snow-shoes and in a small boat. One pony was used for riding—the other carried a small, light tent, bedding and provisions. Equipped in this way the artist was prepared to camp wherever and whenever so inclined—the tent being a perfect security against wild animals at night.

The pictures represent actual localities; and as they have been drawn on stone from the sketches by the artist himself, have lost none of their original truthfulness.

It will be observed that quite a large number of the scenes represented are located in Colorado; this is because a larger proportion of the sublime and beautiful mountain scenery of the great Rocky Mountain belt cluster to-

49. *Rocky Mountain News*, July 26, 1869.

50. The current price was furnished by Norman L. Dodge, Goodspeed's Book Shop. The *Eberstadt Catalogue No. 106* of 1937, lists a copy at \$85. The contemporary prices (\$15 and \$10) are given in *Putnam's Magazine*, N. S., v. 4 (September, 1869), p. 391, and *Rocky Mountain News*, July 5, 1869.

gether in this incomparable State. The Territories represented are arranged in alphabetical order.

It would require many, very many, volumes to represent the half of the numerous, grand and awe-inspiring views that are scattered so profusely throughout the entire length of this vast belt of mountains; so that an apology for leaving out some justly celebrated and comparatively well known localities is, perhaps, scarcely necessary.⁵¹

In the fall of 1869, Mathews acquired an extensive tract of land near Canon City, Colo., where he planned to go into stock raising on a large scale, a project which, as his letter of 1868 (previously quoted,) shows, had been under consideration for some time.⁵² So enthusiastic did he become over prospects around Canon City that he traveled extensively in the East during the summer of 1870 attempting to enlist an extensive colonization here. To this end *Canon City, Colorado, and Its Surroundings* was published in 1870. Its five lithographs, panorama of Pike's Peak (said to be one of his finest lithographs), a view of Canon City and three scenes in Fremont county, are supplemented with 24 pages of text that extoll the virtues of Colorado, so that the volume is essentially an emigrant brochure. "He has issued but a small edition for private distribution, and none for sale."⁵³ Doubtless Mathews took copies with him on his travels, for not only was he in the East in the summer of 1870 in the interests of his colonization project, but the following year saw him in England for the same purpose.⁵⁴

Despite Mathews' labors, his colonization scheme was not a success.⁵⁵ However, he continued to make Canon City his headquarters until the fall of 1872. He spent the winter of 1872-1873 in southern

51. The "Introductory" page of *Gems of Rocky Mountain Scenery*. The plates in the order of their appearance in the book were: Colorado—"The Eastern Slope, Near Denver," "Bear Canyon," "The Sierra Madre Range," "Clear Creek Canyon," "The Chief, Squaw and Papoose" mountains, "Chicago Lakes," "The Old Mountaineer" cliff, "Gray's Peak," "Buffalo Mountain," "Turkey Creek Canyon," "Exit of the South Platte From the Mountains," "Natural Monuments"; Idaho—"A Mirage on the Plains," "The Three Tetons"; Montana—"Exit of the Yellowstone From the Mountains," "Citadel Rock"; Utah—"Church Buttes [shows Wells, Fargo & Co. coach]," "Echo Canyon," "Weber Canyon [looking down]," "Weber Canyon [looking up]."

52. *Rocky Mountain News*, October 14, December 23, 1869; May 23, 1870.

53. *Ibid.*, May 23, 1870. Eberstadt's *Catalogue No. 106* (1937), p. 23, lists a copy of this work at \$275 with the comment, "We have never seen nor heard of another copy of this work, nor are we able to trace the existence of another in the records." Goodspeed's Book Shop lists a current retail price of \$250 with a question mark. The only copy I have seen is in the Denver Public Library. The book bears the imprint, "New York: Published by authority of the Citizens of Fremont County, Colorado, 1870."

54. *Rocky Mountain News*, August 16, 1870; March 14, December 9, 1871. The biographical material prepared by Charles H. Mathews for A. E. Mathews and described in Footnote 13, includes copies of two letters, one of which was addressed to A. E. Mathews at Bristol, England, and dated July 18, 1871. It was from R. K. Scott, governor of South Carolina, and commended Mathews' zeal in furthering the colonization project. The second letter dated "Cummenglen, Massachusetts, Aug. 4, 1871," was from William Cullen Bryant and addressed to Wm. T. Mathews. It also commends A. E. Mathews' zeal in "making arrangements for settling some part of the territory of Colorado with emigrants from the Old World."

55. One William Gibbs recalled Mathews' trip to England in 1871 and some of the subsequent history of the colonization scheme and its lack of success in "Reminiscences of the Early Days." According to the State Historical Society of Colorado this account was published in a Canon City paper dated February 17, 1927.

California "in the neighborhood of San Diego, Los Angeles, San Bernardino, and other prominent points, and brings back some admirable sketches of scenery and cities. They will be published soon."⁵⁶ Just how many of these California views were reproduced lithographically is problematical. Harry T. Peters in his volume, *California on Stone* (Garden City, N. Y., 1935), p. 162, lists two: "California Golden City [looking east]" and "Oceanic Steamship Company Steamers Mariposa and Alameda."

An inquiry about these Mathews views was sent to an even dozen California institutions possessing picture collections of Californiana. It brought replies that no copies of original Mathews lithographs of California were owned. The Mariners Museum of Newport News, Va., however, possesses a copy of the second lithograph listed in the Peters' book. Other institutions, including the Library of Congress, New York Public Library and the American Antiquarian Society reported that none of these lithographs were among their holdings. They are therefore to be regarded as extremely scarce.⁵⁷

The last pictorial work published by Mathews was a geological map of the world, representing various geological epochs with suitable views depicting the animals and plants of each age. This work, some three feet wide by four and a half feet long, was reproduced lithographically in Cincinnati and was widely publicized in the press as an easy way to learn geology.⁵⁸ Mathews had long been interested in geology and had spent a number of years on the preparation of the map. After its publication he even began lecturing on geology, using, in addition to his map, large paintings of the reptilian mammoths of the past.⁵⁹

Mathews' Canon City venture had been given up by this time, for he is referred to as a resident of Denver in the spring of 1874, but he shortly became restless and looked for other activities. By May of 1874, he had acquired a mountain home near Longmont and with his usual enthusiasm in a new project, he was hard at work in the beginnings of a trout industry. In midsummer he wrote his sister:

56. *Rocky Mountain News*, May 7, 1873.

57. In a letter written to one of his brothers on May 28, 1874, Mathews makes the comment: "I have been getting up pictures in charcoal, and having them photographed, but they do not print them well; but I think it can be done, and a few pictures of some points in California will sell well there." Probably these views were never made, for Mathews died a few months after the above letter was written.

I am indebted to Carey S. Bliss of the Huntington Library, San Marino, Cal., for calling my attention to the two Mathews lithographs listed in the Peters' book.

58. *Rocky Mountain News*, October 15, 1872; September 7, 1873; January 24, 25, 1874. The last item gives an extensive description of the map.

59. *Ibid.*, March 5, 1874.

ON THE BIG THOMPSON,
AUGUST 14TH, 1874.

Dear Sister Eliza:—

The only place I can stay, without ill health, is in the mountains; and I have here the most beautiful place I have ever seen; and shall no doubt stay here. Wild fruit is very abundant and of superior kinds, and the river is full of trout. The water is cool and wholesome. My quarters are more comfortable than I have had, most of the time, for some years. I hope you have recovered your health, which Charley informed me was poor when he left. Remember me to his wife. If she could stay a short distance in the mountains, it would be far better. There is a beautiful place just above this, which could be bought for \$50 or \$150, where about 10 cows could be kept, and if Mr. Clark thinks of going to the mountains, it would be a good location. We go or send to the post office once in two weeks; and I write in a hurry, as I have an opportunity to send.

Your affectionate Brother,

A. E. MATHEWS

Although he may have found a close approach to an earthly paradise, Mathews was not destined long to enjoy it. In the fall of this year (1874) he was taken violently ill—probably it was an acute case of appendicitis—and far removed from any source of medical care, he died before a doctor, sent for by friends and neighbors, could arrive. His death occurred on October 30, 1874.⁶⁰

“The death of Mr. A. E. Mathews,” reports a Denver paper, “removes from active life a well-known Coloradan, and a gentleman who was most widely respected. He was an artist of no ordinary merit, and had sketched more of our Rocky Mountain scenery than any of his contemporaries. Industrious and economical, he had by fortunate investments amassed considerable property. He was a man of liberal culture and ideas; kind and genial in manner; a warm friend and a man who had no enemies and many friends. His name should be enrolled among the pioneers whom Colorado should remember with honor.”⁶¹

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I am again deeply indebted to Miss Ina T. Aulls of the Denver Public Library. Through her wisdom there has been accumulated in the Western History department of that library, by extensive examination of early Colorado newspapers, an invaluable store of information for the use of the social historian in general and for the student of early Western artists in particular. Not only has Miss Aulls made this material available to me on several visits to Denver but she has answered my many letters most cheerfully and provided many transcripts of items which my notes did not fully cover. I acknowledge her aid with my most sincere thanks.

60. Details of his death are reported in a letter of W. M. Large, an associate of Mathews, to the family. The letter is dated, “Longmont, Col. Nov. 22d, 1874” and was addressed to Wm. T. Mathews, a brother of A. E. Mathews. *The Boulder County News*, Boulder, November 6, 1874, reports the death with a record of the date and also states that Mathews' ranch was 22 miles northwest of Longmont on Big Thompson creek. According to Large, Mathews was buried on his ranch, and Charles H. Mathews reports that his grave was marked by the “authorities at Washington” about 20 years after his death, with a marble slab “such as is placed over the grave of all soldiers.”

61. *Rocky Mountain News*, November 4, 1874.

The Diary of James R. Stewart, Pioneer of Osage County

APRIL, 1855-APRIL, 1857; MAY, 1858-NOVEMBER, 1860

PART TWO: NOVEMBER, 1855-APRIL, 1857

COUNCIL CITY

NOVEMBER [1855]

THUR 1. November A little windy, not unpleasant. Unwell all day, but able to be out of bed. shelled some corn, had a call from Nick Schuyler, & Joe Drew,⁴¹ had a present sent by Mrs Dalton of some good puding & cakes.

FRI 2.

Cloudy, misty, disagreeable. Felt some better, walked over to Dr Toothmans, spent two or three hours with him, came home, shelled some corn, read some, was very sick in evening.

SAT 3.

Cloudy, dismal, Cheerless. Went over to Daltons, took diner there, returned, had a hard shake, lay up very sick ballance of the day.

SUN 4.

Rainy, windy, stormy all day. Set by the fire, read, mended clothes, had Hill here most the day.

MON 5.

Windy all day. Went over to Daltons, took them some milk, had glass of hot toddy. Came home, had a shake, Lay up sick ballance the day.

TUES 6.

Clear & pleasant. Read Philosophy most the day, went over to Dr Toothmans in the evening. Modonald returned from Kansas city this evening & brought me a pair of boots.

WED 7.

Pleasant all day. Went up to the boarding house with the view of attending trustee meeting, passed Dr Toothman & rode up with him on a drag sled, found there was no meeting, went thence to Freels, stopped a few minutes, thence to Hoovers, took a Shake, could not get home, stayed all night.

41. The Drews were among the early settlers of Council City, now Burlingame. John Drew, with his sons William Y. and Josiah R., emigrated from New York in the spring of 1855 and took a claim adjoining the town. George, the oldest son, followed that autumn with the rest of the family: Mrs. Drew, Elizabeth, Naomi, Charles and Joseph.—"The John Drew Family" in *Early Days in Kansas*, C. R. Green's Historical Series (Olathe, 1913), v. 2, p. [67].

THUR 8

Pleasant all day. Left Hovers, went to the Post-office. received two letters and a number of papers, came home past Dr Toothmans stopped short time there, went over to Daltons, had some hot-toddy, came back, killed a rattlesnake on the way, read newspapers ballance the day. Had a call from Prentiss also from Bill & Joe Drew.

FRI 9

Clear, suny, a little windy. Took to shaking in the morning, went to bed & lay there most the day Had a call from Dr Toothman also from Mr Upsom.

SAT 10.

Clear & pleasant, rather calm. Took a walk over to Daltons in the morning, sat and talked a while, returned home read papers ballance the day, had shake after dark.

SUN 11.

Cloudy, windy, a little cool. Had a shake early in the morning, did nothing but set by the fire, and roast my shins, had hill over two or three times.

MON 12.

Rather windy. Took a walk over to Daltons in the morning, had some hot toddy. returned home, had shake, read some. Had visit from Dr Toothman, got some medicine from him, sold him some bed clothes, had call from sam Harvey. Mrs. Dalton sent me some good cake.

TEUS 13.

Moderate but windy. Read a while in the morning, had a shake. Lay in bed nearly all the remainder of the day. Had call from Mrs Prentiss & Mrs Denison, the latter wishing the privilege of coming to live in my cabin, granted, and Denison moved the family up about dark, intending to live here through the winter.

WED 14.

Cloudy all day, rained a little last night. Spent the day fixing up a bout the house, had a call from Dr Toothman, sold him some soap.

THUR 15.

Cloudy, rainy, windy. Went over to Daltons in the morning sold him some corn and number of other articles, came home, was very sick in the afternoon, Lay up ballance the day.

FRI 16.

Blustery & rainy and heavy sleet. Very sick all day.

SAT 17.

Clear, suny, thawing. Sick all day.

SUN 18.

Heavy frost in the morning. Clear and pleasant through the day. Commenced boarding at Mr Daltons this morning, Mrs. Prentiss and all her brood came to see Mrs Denison, "great times at our house" read some, slept some &C.

MON 19

Cold & windy. Read philosophy most all day.

TEUS 20.

Cold & windy. Read & did nothing alternately all day.

WED 21.

"Rather cool" Went up to the Boarding house to attend trustee meeting, remained there all day, got sick & had to stay all night.

THURS 22.

Cold, rain, sleet, & wind. remained at the Bo[a]rding house nearly all day, went over to Hoovers in the evening, stayed there all night.

FRI. 23

Clear & suny, Came home, found that Denisons child was dead, went over to Daltons stayed there nearly all day.

SAT 24.

Rainy, Sleet, cold, & disagreeable. Not well to-day, was in bed most the time.

SUN 25.

Rather cold. Read Philosophy.

MON 26.

More pleasant. Was sent for to appear before the squire⁴² and give affidavit concerning the election, went down to Brattons, remained there till after diner, thence down to the squires found that he had gone to Winchells saw mill, went there, gave one deposition returned & stayed at B[rattons?]

TEUS 27.

Pleasant. Went to Prints [Prentiss'] in the morning, stopped short time, thence to Alisons, took dinner there, had wild turkey, came home in the afternoon.

WED 28.

Pleasant. Went down in the morning with Dalton to Prentiss's to help him bring home some goods he had there, got the goods

42. "Squire" Marcus H. Rose was justice of the peace.

home & stayed at Daltons till after dinner, came home & worked some at making myself a Lounge, to assist my Laziness.

THUR 29.

Pleasant with south breeze. Finished making my Lounge. Lay up ballance the day.

FRI 30.

Beautiful all day. Lounged about all day, bathed & studied some in arrithmatic.

DECEMBER [1855]

SAT 1.

Clear, warm & pleasant, with south breeze. Went down town, bought some peaches & sugar, thence to Hoovers, took dinner there, thence home studied arrithmatic some.

SUN 2.

Clear, sunny & fine. Read some, wrote some, did nothing.

MON 3.

Quite Warm. Took some Leather down to Hoovers, sold it to him, thence to Alisons, thence up to Dr. Toothmans, sat there a while, home, read Sheakspear.

TEUS 4.

Warm & pleasant. Went over to Toothmans, sat & eat aples a while. Came back home, read Shakespear.

WED 5.

Beautiful all day. Went to the Boarding house to attend trustee meeting, remained there all day, stayed all night at Hoovers.

THUR 6.

Beautiful. Got a pint of whiskey, six letters, nine papers, & came home.

FRIDAY 7.

Cloudy but warm & pleasant, stayed at home and read papers.

SAT 8.

Very high wind, cold in the evening, a little snow. Went down to Hoovers in the morning, stopped till afternoon, went over to Alisons thence home.

SUN 9.

Clear & cold. Did nothing all day of any account.

MON 10

Fine pleasant day. Walked down to Hoovers in the morning, with the intention of husking corn for him, finding that things were not in readiness, did not commence, went over to Alissons,

sat by the stove & talked a while, thence home, got back abo[u]t 12 O'clock, commenced darning my stockings presently Denison came home who had been out hunting Daltons cow & calf, said he had found them but could not get them home, so I went over to Daltons & got his horse, & went out with Denison to help him drive them home, after looking for them some, (they having wandered off some where) we concluded they were not comatible this evening, so I made a strait coat tail for Daltons, got there a bout sundown, came home, & Lounged about the fire ballance the evening.

TEUS 11.

A little cloudy in the morning. Clear, warm, & beautiful in the afternoon. Started out to hunt Daltons cow & calf, strolled arround two or three hours, didnt find the quadrapeds, came home, commenced mending my rags, recieved a message from Dalton to go and help him tie up his calf, the cow & calf having made their appearance voluntarily, so I went over and after runing a long time, succeeded in geting the calf which, being given to me to lead to the hous[e] gave me a glorious sweat, after doing all these great affairs, came home, rested a while, then wrote some.

WED 12.

Cloudy, drizling rain in afternoon. Helped Dalton butcher his calf. Loafed ballance the day.

THURS 13.

Rainy all day. Had a shake of ague, Lay in bed half the day, sat by the fire the other half.

FRI 14.

Cold & frosty. Took an universal and protracted bathe, shaved dressed up with stand up collar by-ging, nothing more.

SAT 15.

Clear sunny & pleasant. Had a shake, Lay up dog pretty sick.

SUN 16.

Pleasant through the day, high wind and a little snow in the evening. Read some & shivered with ague.

MON 17.

Fine day. Went down town, stopped at Alissons, thence to Pren-tiss', got some candles, thence home, had ague & fever as usual.

TEUS 18.

Clear, Cold, high wind, a little snow. Wrote a letter and had a shake.

WED 19.

Rather pleasant but cool air. Went to the Boarding house, got some whisky, thence to the Allissons house, sat there two or three hours, came home, had ague.

THUR 20.

Pleasant & warm. Went down to Hoovers in the morning, stayed till after dinner, went to attend meeting of board of trustees, took a hard shake of ague while there, returned in the evening to Hoovers, stayed all night.

FRI 21.

Cold all day. Stayed at Hoovers all day, bought a carpet sack of him.

SAT 22.

Pleasant in the morning, cold & very windy in the evening with skift of snow. Came home in the morning, had ague, done nothing.

SUN 23.

Cold & windy, 2 degrees below zero. Sat by the fire, shook with ague.

MON 24.

Cold & snowy, the snow falling about four inches deep. Sat by Mr. Daltons fire all day had a shake, got drunk to cure it.

TEUS 25.

Still very cold & frosty, eighteen degrees below zero. Stayed at home through the day very sick, went over to Daltons in the evening & remained there all night.

WED 26.

Sunny but frosty all day. Went down the creek in the morning with Dalton to get his cattel, stopped at Allisons to get warm, thence to Hoovers to get him to help Dalton kill a beef, while Dalton went to hunt it. Dalton having found and drove it home, Hoover & I went up, the beef was killed. I sat by fire ballance the day very sick.

THUR 27.

Still frosty, signs of moderation in eve. Stayed at home, read some, shook.

[FRI.] 28.

Cold & windy. Remained by the fire sick with ague.

SAT 29.

Still very cold. Sick,—had call from Dr Toothman, got some medicine from him.

SUN 30

Sunny but cold & frosty. Sat by Daltons fire untill evening. Came home, read some.

MON 31.

Very Cold. Went down town in the morning. Got sick, could not get home, Stayed at Schuylers all day and all night.

JANUARY [1856]

TEUS 1.

Clear & sunny but cool. Went to [John] Drews in the morning, received sixteen dollars which he owed me. Went back to Nick Schuylers, took shake, remained there all day & all night.

WED 2.

Clear but cool. Stayed at Schuylers untill towards evening, went over to Titus', sat a short time and talked to the woman, thence over to Prentiss', stayed there all night.

THUR 3.

Clear & cool. Came home in the morning, wrote some, settled with Dalton.

FRI 4

Clear & sunny but frosty. Took a general wash, had a call from Nick Schuyler, traded him my fiddle for a watch, had a call from Dalton, traded him my watch for his rovolver, went over to Dr. Toothmans, found he was not at home, came back, nothing more.

SAT 5.

Clear, Cool. Went over to Dr Toothmans, settled with him, bought a case of Homopathic medicine.

SUN 6.

Cool & raw. Stayed by the fire all day. The goverment surveyors marked of[f] my claim to-day.

MON 7.

Cold in morning, moderate in evening. Sat by daltons fire all day.

TEUS 8.

Very Cold. Stayed at Daltons all day.

WED 9.

Sunny but Cold. Stayed at home, recieved a letter and number of papers, had shake.

THUR 10.

Still Cold. Sat by the fire and read.

FRI 11.

Pleasant in the morning, cold and windy at night. Was at Daltons all day, very sick.

SAT 12.

Pleasant, warm. Read some & did nothing good deal.

SUN 13.

Cold & windy. Shook with ague, sat by the fire, nothing else.

MON 14.

Rather moderate. Packed my carpet sack preparatory to going away and took it down to Schuylers. Stayed there all night.

TEUS 15

Pleasant all day. Started with Nick Schuyler for Missouri, reached 110 [creek] about dark, took supper at Magees,⁴³ camped in the waggon.

WED 16.

Sunny but cool. Took breakfast at Magees & started traveling all day, reached Willow Springs, camped there all night.⁴⁴

THUR 17

Pleasant cool. Traveled on all day, reached cedar creek⁴⁵ about Nine O'clock at night, camped there, in the snow, had shake to-day.

FRIDAY 18.

Sunny but cool. Traveled on, reached Westport before sun-down, put up at the Harris house, walked through town on hunt of Joe McIntyre, did not find him.

SAT 19.

Cold & threating snow. Took the hack for Independence, had shake on the way, reached there about noon, stopped at the Noland house, took a walk after noon on hunt of Mr Beatie, found him, called to see his wife, had invitation to board with them, returned to the Noland house, stayed there all night

43. Fry P. McGee, with his brothers Mobillon and Moran, was one of the first homesteaders in Osage county. Fry and Mobillon bought out claims on One Hundred and Ten creek on August 2, 1854, and on the same date Moran and C. N. Linkenauer took claims near the mouth of Switzer creek.—A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 1530. All were pro-slavery in sentiment, "intemperate, quarrelsome and abusive." Fry McGee was "the most drunken, profane and honest of the lot, having come boldly into Kansas to live, and liberally cursing and feeding all Yankees who were unfortunate enough to enter his presence. But, with the cursing, his abuse ended; while cursing you, and the whole race of Yankees, he would give you the best his house afforded, for a moderate price, and ask you to drink with him in the bargain. With all his abuse of language, which everybody seemed to expect and nobody to resent, he scorned a mean action, and was scrupulously honorable and honest in his dealings. . . ."—James M. Winchell, *Experiences in Kansas Territory, 1854-1855*, pp. 33, 34, in Ms. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

44. Willow Springs, Douglas county, about seven miles west and north of Baldwin, was a favorite resting place on the Santa Fe trail.

45. Cedar creek is in Johnson county.

INDEPENDENCE [Mo.]

SUN 20.

Walked down to Beaties to commence boarding there, had shake, stayed there all day, had oyster supper.

MON 21.

Cold but sunny. Remained in the house all day, had very hard shake in the forenoon, read newspapers in the afternoon.

TEUS 22.

Still Cold. Remained by the fire all day, read some, had a shake, very sick, Lay in bed, some.

WED 23.

Moderate in the forenoon cold in the evening. Stayed in the house all day.

THUR 24.

Cloudy, snow in the evening. Went up town, got some medicine, back home remained there ballance the day.

FRI 25.

Cold & raw. Wrote some, had chill, read some.

SAT 26.

Cold & Snowy. Remained in the house all day, had ague & fever.

SUN 27.

Still cold & snowy. Read some, shook with ague.

MON 28.

Sharp frost in the morning, more moderate in the evening. Sat by the fire, had chill.

TEUS 29.

Cold & raw. Went up town in the morning, walked round some time, got some medicine. came home, ver[y] sick ballance the day.

WED 30.

Rather cold. Stayed in the house, took medicine.

THUR 31.

Moderate,— thawing. Sick in bed all day.

FEBRUARY [1856]

FRI 1.

Cold in the morning, pleasant in the evening. Very sick all day,—in bed.

SAT. 2

Cold. Sick in bed.

SUN 3

Cold. In bed, read a little.

MON 4.

Still cold. Sick—salavated like fury.

TEUS 5.

Snowy all day. Mouth dreadful sore.

WED 6.

Snowy, sick and very sore mouth.

THUR 7.

Pleasant, sunny, thawing. Lay in bed all day.

FRI 8.

Thawing. A little better.

SAT 9.

Soft. Nothing new.

SUN 10.

Still moderating.

MON 11.

Snowed last night, thawing to-day. Lay in bed as usual, very sick.

TEUS 12.

Snowing & thawing alternately, Still sick but some better.

WED 13

Sunny & thawing. As usual, still better.

THUR 14

Pleasant & soft.

FRI 15.

Pleasant,—thawing. Felt much better this morning, took a walk up town, back, wrote some, & read some.

SAT 16.

Sunny in the morning, cold in the evening. Still getting better.

SUN 17.

Pleasant Read considerable.

MON 18.

Hazy in the morning, pleasant in the evening. Read all day.

TUES 19.

Thawing. Went up town, got my revolver fixed, bout some medicine, cam[e] back.

WED 20.

Damp & muddy. At the house all day.

THUR 21.

Sunny,— muddy. Went up town, walked round some, back home, read.

FRI 22.

Rainy. In the house all day, wrote some, read, & played polker with Mart. Cuttler.

SAT. 23.

Pleasant, but muddy. Went up town, walked round some, came home, read.

SUN. 24.

Beautiful over head, muddy. Dont feel well to day, read some.

MON 25

Fine day. Went up town, stayed short time, came home, read some, went to attend a debate at the court house in the evening on the question should the American platform be addopted.⁴⁶

TEUS 26.

Cloudy all day. In the house, read some.

WED 27.

Cloudy and snowy last night, thawing to-day, snowing this evening. Sat in the house, played Eucher some.

THUR 28.

Snowed last night, thaws to-day. In the house, played Eucher &C.

FRI 29.

Snowed all day. Lay by fire as usual, read some.

MARCH [1856]

SAT. 1.

Sunny. Sat by the fire.

SUN 2.

Pleasant, muddy. Did nothing.

MON 3.

Sunny, thawing, cold in the evening. Went up town in the morning & [bought?] some clothing, came home, had chill.

TEUS 4.

Sunny & muddy. Re[a]d all day.

WED 5.

thawing Read all day.

46. The American party was organized on a national basis in 1854. Its nucleus was the Supreme Order of the Star Spangled Banner, founded in 1849 in New York as a secret society with passwords, grips and rituals. Since the members refused to answer questions about the society they were commonly called the "Know Nothings." The organization was especially popular in the East, where aliens were most numerous and least welcome, because the members were sworn to oppose immigration and to support only American-born Protestants for public office. In the elections of 1854 the party had great success, casting over one-fourth the total vote in New York and over two-fifths in Pennsylvania, and in Massachusetts electing every state officer and nearly the entire legislature. They planned to elect the President in 1856, but by that time they had become officially committed to the doctrine of popular sovereignty, which was also the platform of the Democrats. As a result their candidate, Fillmore, carried only one state, Maryland, and the party disappeared.

THUR 6.

Sunny, rather cool. Played Eucher some. Lay up good deal.

FRI 7.

Clear,—strong wind. Had shake to-day.

SAT 8.

Clear & pleasant. Read some, shot at a mark & C.

SUN 9.

Clear & cool. Sat in the house & tolld yarns with Beatie and Cuttler.

MON 10.

Clear & pleasant during the greater part of the day, cloudy & threatning of snow or rain in the evening. Rode up town in the morning with Mart Cuttler, bought some little things, came back to the house, read remainder of the day.

TEUS 11.

Two inches of snow on the ground this morning, still snowing, stopped, before noon, moderated and thawed in the afternoon. Read Pellham, nothing else.

WED 12.

Sunny in the morning, cloudy in the evening. Went up town in the morning, bought some apples, Loafed round, came home, read.

THUR 13.

Clear part the day, cloudy some. Read some, took a ride with Cutter down to the mill, came back played some Eucher.

FRIDAY 14.

Cloudy, thawing. Went out into the country with Cutter after some apples & corn, got them & returned, read in the evening.

SAT 15

Snowy nearly all day. Left Independence for Westport with Cuttler, had miserable bad roads, took us nearly all day. Stopped at Smiths hotel.

SUN 16.

Clear sunny & pleasant. Left Westport about ten OClock for Council City, reached Cedar Creek,—camped there for the night.

MON 17.

Pleasant. Traveled on pleasantly, reached Bull creek about noon, Cuttler Left the Santa-fee road for Lawrence, and I stopped at Bull creek⁴⁷ over night.

47. Bull creek is a small stream in southwestern Johnson county. The crossing was near present Edgerton.

TEUS 18.

Pleasant. Left Bull Creek in company with Mr Barnes for Council City, reached mud springs, stopped at Gleasons.

KANSAS

WED 19

High breeze. Left mud springs, traveled all day, reached rock creek,⁴⁸ camped there.

THURS 20.

Sunny in the morning, a little rain in the evening. Left rock creek, reached 110 [creek] about two OClock, stopped at Magees all night.

FRI 21.

Cloudy. Moved on in the morning, reached Council City about 11 OClock, eat dinner at Mr Prentiss, stopped at McDonald & Bothe[1]s,⁴⁹ stayed over night.

SAT 22

High breeze. Did nothing but talk to old friends, stayed all night with Nick Schuyler.

COUNCIL CITY

SUN 23.

Beautiful day. Went up to my own old cabin, thence to Daltons, sat a while, took supper & returned home.

MON 24.

High breeze. Remained at home all day, writing reading & C.

TEUS 25.

Clear, sunny, & high breeze. Went over to Mr Rices's to get some of Daltons cattle that were over there, got one of them and drove him home, took dinner at Daltons, came home, read newspapers ballance of the day.

WED 26.

Cool high wind. Went down to Titus in the morning to help Dalton drive home some cattle, stopped a few minutes at McDonalds, drove home the cattle read ballance the day.

THUR 27.

Clear & pleasant. Had a call from Dalton in the morning who wanted me to go over to his house, did so after breakfast, had a long talk with him, drank considerable beer, eat dinner, came home, wrote and read ballance the day.

48. The trail crossed Rock creek in western Douglas county.

49. There were two Bothels, James (see Footnote 31) and his cousin A. Rowell Bothel, usually called Rowe in the diary.

FRI 28.

High breeze. Went over to Daltons, remained there till after dinner, went down to Titus's, got three letters, came home, read letters and papers through the evening.⁵⁰

SAT 29.

High wind & cool. Drank beer & told yarns with Dalton nearly all day.

SUN 30.

Snow, wind, & rain, snow falling about two inches. Did nothing in particular.

MON 31.

Cool in the morning, sunny through the day, Snow all gone. Took a walk with Dalton around our claim lines, stopped at my cabin untill noon, went over to Daltons, for dinner, commenced boarding there, three dollars per week.

APRIL [1856]

TEUS 1.

High wind all day. After breakfast went down to the Post-office, thence to Nick Schuylers, Stayed there all day & all night.

WED 2.

Windy Left Schuylers, stopped with Mr McDonald, took dinner with him, Came home in the evening.

THUR 3.

Warm & pleasant. Went over [to] Halls on soldier Creek with Dalton after some cattel, found them at Rices, put them in corral, tied them together & drove them home, felt sick, lay down, slept some, got up, washed & dressed my-self, read & wrote ballance the day.

FRI 4.

Windy. Did some chores for Dalton in the morning, went down to the Post-office, got two papers & a letter. Came home, read.

SAT 5.

High breeze. Went down town, got drunk, stayed there all day & all night.

⁵⁰ Mail service had improved over the original monthly deliveries. *The Kansas Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, February 16, 1856, said that mail was now carried once a week from Westport, Mo., to Council Grove, via Council City. J. M. Winchell was the postmaster at this time.

SUN 6.

High breeze but warm & sunny. Came home in the morning, read wrote &C through the day.

MON 7.

Warm, a high breeze. Went down town, got some apples cod fish & tea, stopped at Prentiss's a short time, came home, had long talk with Toothman, about our claim lines.

TEUS 8.

Warm with high breeze. Went over to Dragoon creek on hunt of oxen, stopped at Howerds, found the cattle, drove them home, wrote, read &C.

WED 9.

Warm, A little rain in the evening. Went over to Rices's took a chill while there. Stopped till about three OClock, came over to town, stopped at Nick Schuylers, all night.

THURS 10.

Warm, with high breeze, thund[er] and a little rain. Went over to Hoovers in the morning, got my hair cut, came to Mr Medonalds, stayed there pitching horse shoes all day, and slept with him at night.

FRI. 11.

Warm with very high wind. Pitched horse shoes in the morning a while, came home, Lay in bed sick ballance the day.

SAT 12.

Warm,—high breeze. Went down to Hoovers, borrowed his clamps, took them over to Medonalds, made myself a pistol belt, wrote & read, &C.

SUN 13.

Very windy. Loafed all day.

MON 14.

Windy,—warm. Wrote a letter in forenoon, went over to Prentiss' in afternoon, took supper there, came back to Medonalds.

TEUS 15.

Warm & windy. Took Hoovers clamps home, came back to Medonalds, pitched quoits.

WED 16.

Windy. Went up home in the morning, prepared my lines and hooks, & went fishing, caught nothing, came back wrote some, then down to Medonalds.

THURS 17.

Pleasant breeze. Loafed round all day, recieved two papers, read them.

FRI 18.

Pleasant—warm. Remained at Mcdonalds all day, did nothing except help Mc. unload his waggon.

SAT 19.

Warm & pleasant. Wrote a letter, read &C.

SUN 20

Pleasant breeze. Read & slept alternately.

MON 21.

Pleasant, with south breeze. Went home in the morning, bathed & dressed up, took dinner with [John] Denisons, came back to Mcdonalds in the evening.

TEUS 22.

Cloudy and clear alternately. Did nothing but loaf & play Eucher.

WED 23.

Sunny, warm high breeze. Fixed up my fishing tools, and went down to the junction of switzer & Dragoon Creeks, fished a short time, went up to Winchells mill, stopped short time, then home, recieved some papers, read ballance the day.

THUR 24.

Rain last night, Cloudy, thunder, lightning & rain to day. Read, eat, & slept,—talked nonsense &C.

FRI 25.

Rained last night, rain to-day. Read & played cards most the day.

SAT 26.

Rainy all day,—hard rain. Loafed round all day.

SUN 27.

Clear but windy. Got a summons in the morning to go to Lawrence to attend the suit between Reeder & Whitfield before the Congressional Committee,⁵¹ went up home, shaved & dressed, came back to Mcdonalds, read &C. ballance the day.

51. Both Whitfield and Reeder claimed the seat as congressional delegate for Kansas by virtue of the elections of October 1 and 9, 1855. On February 4, 1856, Whitfield was sworn in by the house of representatives. Reeder's memorial to contest Whitfield's seat was read in the house on February 14, and later a special committee, consisting of William A. Howard of Michigan, John Sherman of Ohio and Mordecai Oliver of Missouri, was appointed to inquire into the troubles in Kansas generally, and particularly into the possibility of any fraud or force used or attempted in any of the territorial elections. The first meeting of the committee was at Lecompton on April 18; later meetings were held at various other places. Ultimately, both candidates were disqualified.

MON 28.

Pleasant all day. Started early in the morning, for Lawrence in a two horse hack. had a fine ride. arrived there about six o'clock in the evening,⁵² took Lodging at Mr Johnsons, got supper, sauntered round town a while, went to bed & slept well.

TEUS 29.

Thunder, lightning & rain in the morning, pleasant through the day. Sat before the committee about three hours to-day. swore like a bugar[?], had a good time.

WED 30.

Pleasant in the forenoon, rain in the evening. Was called in the morning to swear more, started for home about 9 o'clock, had a good ride, reached 110 [creek] at dark, stopped there all night.

MAY [1856]

THUR 1.

Pleasant,—rainy at night. Left 110 early in the morning, reached home about 9 O'clock, read & slept ballance of the day.

FRI 2.

Pleasant through the day, rainy at night. Recieved some papers, went up to Mr Lords, sat & talked a while, came back, read some, had fever & ague.

SAT. 3.

Showery. Read most the day.

SUN 4.

Rainy in the morning. Read & slept all day.

MON. 5.

Heavy rain, thunder & lightning last night, cloudy & sunshine alternately through the day. Loafed round doing little or nothing all day.

TEUS 6.

Pleasant,—south breeze. Wrote a letter, came down to Mr Hoovers, took tea there, made a bargain with him for boarding, came over to Mcdonalds, stayed all night.

WED 7.

South breeze, a little cool. Commenced boarding at Hoovers, did nothing but read.

52. The route from Council City to Lawrence at this time was between 35 and 40 miles long, some 12 to 15 miles shorter than the earlier route which had led to Topeka and east through Big Springs. From Lawrence, the route now lay across the Wakarusa, through Bloomington, about eight miles southwest of Lawrence, and joined the Santa Fe road about six miles east of One Hundred and Ten creek, which was eight or 10 miles from Council City.—*Herald of Freedom*, April 26, 1856.

THURS 8.

Pleasant,—south breeze. Wrote a letter, made a bargain with Toothman to take charge of his team on a trip to Kansas City, read some.

KANSAS [CITY]

FRI 9.

Warm. Started with Toothmans team for Kansas City, got as far as rock creek, camped there all night.

SAT 10.

Fine & warm. Traveled on, reached Palmyra,⁵³ camped.

SUN 11.

Pleasant,—warm. Traveled on, reached cedar creek, camped there.

MON 12.

Showery all day. Reached Shawnee mission, camped there.

TEUS 13.

Cloudy,—mudy. Went on to Kansas city, did my bussiness, met some old friends, had good time, started for home, got as far as West port, camped there, in company with Lucian Fish⁵⁴ & Jim Bothel.

WED 14

Pleasant, but mudy. Traveled on with Fish & Bothel, all day. camped on the prarie, between Indian & cedar Creeks.

THURS 15.

Fine day. Traveled on, camped at Black Jack.⁵⁵

FRI 16.

Rainy more or less all day, mudy, moved on slowly, got fast in the mud number of times, had to unload once, swore like thunder camped at Bryants.

SAT 17.

Cloudy & sunny alternately. Traveled on, faithfully, stopped at Magees and took dinner. reached Lucian Fish's house about dark, stayed there all night.

53. Palmyra is now the northern part of Baldwin, Douglas county.

54. Lucian Fish was one of the two senators elected from the sixth senatorial district on January 15, 1856, under the Topeka constitution.—*Herald of Freedom*, March 1, 1856.

55. Black Jack, in southeastern Douglas county, was the scene of the Battle of Black Jack, June 2, 1856, which was called by John Brown "the first regular battle fought between Free-State and proslavery men in Kansas."—F. B. Sanborn, *The Life and Letters of John Brown* . . . (Boston, 1885), p. 241.

COUNCIL CITY

SUN 18.

Clear & warm. Got home about 9 O'clock, unloaded part of my load at Jones's drove on to the Post-office, recieved some papers, thence to Toothmans, thence over home, washed, shaved, & dressed up. Went over to Daltons,—no one at home, came back, sold Joe Ramsey some books Went over to Toothmans, read, eat supper back home again, slept well all night.

MON 19.

Warm. Stayed at home reading & sleeping.

TEUS 20.

Warm south breeze. Went over to Daltons, borrowed his bullet moulds, thence to Toothmans, thence to Schuylers, stayed all night. Settled with Toothman.

WED 21.

Clear,—south breeze. Resumed boarding at Hoovers, recieved some papers & letters.

THURS 22.

Warm with strong breeze. Went fishing with Hoover & Bothel with a seine, caught a few fish, came back to Hoovers, read ballance the day.

FRI 23.

Warm. Got the news that the damed Ruffians had destroyed Lawrence, got a hores, rode round and notified the people to meet at the Boarding [house] to consult as to what course to persue to assist Lawrence. the meeting took place and consultation was held, a saf[e]ty committee appointed and scouts sent out to give warning &C.⁵⁶

SAT 24.

Warm—hot sun—south breeze. Planted corn for Titus all day, attended meeting of safety committee in the evening.

SUN 25.

Warm & dry. Had fever & ague, very sick better in the evening.

MON 26.

Very warm, murcury up to 98. Went up home, wrote some, thence to Daltons, helped him plough a few rounds, took dinner there, back home, thence to Hoovers.

56. On May 21, 1856, an armed body of Proslavery men led by Samuel J. Jones, sheriff of Douglas county, entered Lawrence and destroyed the Free-State hotel and the offices of the *Herald of Freedom* and the *Kansas Free State*. The presses of the newspapers were broken up, the type thrown into the Kansas river, and the hotel was bombarded by cannon and burned. Jones supposedly was acting under orders of the first district court of the United States, issued upon an indictment by the grand jury sitting at Leocompton which had declared the hotel and the two newspapers nuisances.—Sara T. D. Robinson, *Kansas; Its Interior and Exterior Life* . . . (Boston, 1856), pp. 243-246.

TEUS 27.

High South breeze. Sick in the forenoon, went over to Medonalds in the afternoon, played Eucher some, back to Hoovers.

WED 28.

Pleasant. A little Cloudy. Felt well to-day, went over to Mr. Medonalds in the morning, played Eucher, a while, wrote some, Came back to Hoovers, eat dinner, went up home, got some lead, also some sheep-skins & hardware, took them over to Dr Toothmans to have them taken down to Kansas city, thence to the Post-office, recieved three letters & some papers, went thence to Hoovers, read & C.

THURS 29.

Fine day, good breeze. Went over to Medonalds, played cards a while, came back to Hoovers, read & wrote letters ballance the day.

FRI 30

Pleasant. Wrote a letter, went over to Medonalds, thence to Hullsets, got Lithograph of council City sent it to J W Johnson

SAT 31.

Fine day. Run bullets in the forenoon to shoot ruffians with, played Eucher in the afternoon.

JUNE [1856]

SUN 1.

Warm & sultry. Went up home in the morning with some strangers to show them my claim with the view of selling it, did not make a sale, came down to Medonalds, thence to Hoovers, wrote a letter.

MON 2.

Warm & Sultry. Went up home. took a good bathe, back to Hoovers.

TEUS 3.

Warm,—threatning rain. Wrote a letter & Loafed ballance the day.

WED 4.

Thunder lightning & rain. Went fishing,—caught a few, recieved some papers, read in the evening.

THUR 5.

Warm south breeze. Read newspapers, Loafed at Medonalds.

FRI 6.

Warm in the forenoon, cloudy thunder lightning and a few drops of rain in the afternoon. Hoed corn for Hoover all day.

SAT 7.

Pleasant. Hoed corn.

SUN 8.

High wind,—warm. Went up home,—took bathe, dressed, Lay down & took a nap, went over to Daltons, got tight,—took supper there, came back home,—stayed all night.

MON 9.

Warm south breeze. Started for Hoovers early, hoed corn.

TEUS 10.

Warm, high breeze. Wrote two letters, read some, Loafed at McDonalds, went up to Keefs in the evening, back to Hoovers, feel well to-day.

WED 11.

Warm with stiff south breeze. Attended meeting of Pioneer Institute, was appointed on committee to prepare for fourth of July celebration.

THUR 12.

Warm, murcury up to 86. Loafed round, played Eucher, wrote.

FRI 13.

Pleasant breeze. Played Eucher, read some.

SAT 14.

Cool in morning, pleasant in evening. Went after mulberries, got a few, Loafed ballance the day.

SUN 15.

A little Cool, thunder lightning and rain in abundance. Read Dr Nichols Esoteric Anthropology.⁵⁷

MON 16.

Tremendous rain thunder & lightning last night & this morning. Read, played Eucher & C all day.

[LEAVENWORTH]

TEUS 17.

Warm through the day cloudy in the evening. Started for Leavenworth with a party of 14 men & 6 wagons after provisions,⁵⁸ when we arrived at 110 found the creek so high we could not cross, turned and drove up to the head of the creek, crossed there with considerable trouble, took our course for

57. Thomas Low Nichols (1815-1901), author and editor, was a pioneer dietician and hydrotherapist. His *Esoteric Anthropology* was published in 1853.—*Dictionary of American Biography*, v. 13, p. 496.

58. Although this journey was made without incident, from June until December, 1856, raiding and pillaging by Border Ruffians made it impossible to bring provisions from the Missouri river towns unless an armed guard accompanied the wagons.—Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 1532.

Topeka through Brownville,⁵⁹ traveled till twelve OClock at night, camped near topeka, one of our men got shot accidentally by another of the party.

WED 18.

Warm,—fine breeze. Stopped at Topeka some time, Called to see Mrs. Brigden, crossed the Kansas river at smiths ferry,⁶⁰ took a good bathe in the river, traveled on, camped some where on the Military road.

THUR 19.

Warm fine day. Traveled on all day, camped near Leavenworth, passed through some splendid country to-day—the Delaware trust Lands.⁶¹

FRI 20.

Warm & fine. Took a walk in the morning with Dr Davis from our Camping ground up on top of the high bluffs that overlook all cr[ea]tion, from which we saw Leavenworth city & also the Fort. after sauntering round some time & feasting on the beautiful scenery as viewed from the high mound on which we stood we returned to camp, got breakfast & traveled on to Leavenworth city, arrived there about 8 OClock, after our party had attended to their buissness, we took a ride up to the Fort, after viewing things a short time, we returned to the city and prepared for returning home, started about five OClock in the evening, camped on the prarie about five miles out of town.

SAT 21.

Cloudy but pleasant. Woke up early & went back foure miles with Rambo⁶² after some cows, returned in time to start with the teams, stopped at big-stranger & took a bathe, camped for night at Kansas river.

SUN 22.

Warm. Crossed the river in ferry boat in the morning, drove through Lawrence, stopped on the suburbs, & lay up till monday

59. Brownville is present Auburn.

60. Sidney W. Smith's ferry, near Uniontown, was one of the oldest in the territory, antedating the Kansas-Nebraska act.—George A. Root, "Ferries in Kansas," in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 3, pp. 15-17.

61. Later in the year the Delaware trust lands were advertised for public sale. They were appraised at \$1.25 to \$12 per acre, and included about 2,500 city lots in Leavenworth at \$2 to \$10 each. The sale took place at Fort Leavenworth on November 17.—*Herald of Freedom*, November 8, 15, 1856.

62. Marmaduke Rambo was a recent arrival in the community. He had come to Kansas in May and pre-empted 160 acres in the Dragoon bottom, three miles south of Council City (Burlingame). In 1856 he was elected probate judge and was captain of a military company to protect the settlers and maintain communication with Lawrence. (See diary for August 26.)—Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 1539.

morning, forded the river back and fourth on horse-back in the evening, took a big swim in the River.

MON 23.

Warm,—good breeze. Traveled on all day, camped on prairie near santa fee road, got bit by a dog on camp creek—shot the damed rascal.

[COUNCIL CITY]

TEUS 24.

Clear,—good breeze. Traveled on, took breakfast at Magees on 110, reached home about nine OClock, Loafed round, played Euchur, & read ballance the day.

WED 25.

Warm, with south breeze. Got tight in forenoon, cradled wheat for Polly in afternoon.⁶³

THURS 26.

Very warm but good breeze. Cut wheat a while for Polly in the forenoon, hands got sore, quit work and went up home, shaved, washed, dressed up and went over to Daltons, took supper there & returned home, stayed all night.

FRI 27.

Pleasant. Came down to Hoovers early in the morning, wrote nearly all day.

SAT 28.

High breeze. Worked for Hoover, harvesting wheat all day. The first good days work I have did for a year.

SUN 29.

Warm. Loafed at Mcdonalds in forenoon, wrote a letter in the afternoon.

MON. 30.

Very warm. Harvested for Hoover.

JULY [1856].

TEUS 1.

Cloudy & a little rain in the morning, very warm in the afternoon. Worked for Hoover, harvesting wheat.

WED 2.

Mercury up to 100. Loafed in forenoon, worked at Schuylers⁶⁴ in afternoon, settled with Hoover in evening.

63. Abel Polley had taken a claim on Dragoon creek in 1855. For several years he served as justice of the peace. He was murdered in 1866 by a criminal whom he was guarding for his son John, the deputy sheriff.—*Ibid.*, pp. 1530, 1534.

64. Phillip C. Schuyler and Samuel R. Caniff had settled in Osage county in the spring of 1855 and had bought claims which included a large portion of the site of present Burlingame. In May, 1856, they brought in a large steam sawmill. Stewart helped to erect it during July and August. Its location was near the center of the town.—*Ibid.*, pp. 1530, 1531.

THURS 3.

Very warm, mercury 100. Worked at Schuylers all day.

FRI 4.

Warm. Loafed around gathering goose berries & C all day.
Fourth of July,—this. *bejabers*.

SAT 5.

Cloudy all day, but pleasant. Worked at Schuylers all day, went up home in the evening.

SUN 6.

Fine rain in morning, pleasant through the day. Slept late,—got up,—shaved,— washed and put on clean clothes, Lay down & slept till two O'clock, Came down to Hoovers, wrote some, went over to Canniffs, stopped short time, thence to McDonalds, thence back to Hoovers, read some, am about going to bed & suppose I won't sleep a damed bit.

MON 7.

Cloudy nearly all day. Worked for Schuyler & Canniff.

TEUS 8.

Calm & warm. Loafed round, wrote a letter & C.

WED 9.

Warm & Sultry. Wrote some in forenoon, went down to Todds in evening.

THUR. 10.

Warm in forenoon, pleasant shower in evening. Worked for Todd, cuting wheat.

FRI 11.

Clear,—good breeze. Cut Wheat for Todd.

SAT 12.

Warm with high breeze. Worked at Todds, came home in the evening, stopped at [Abraham] Leonards on the way & trained short time in military company,⁶⁵ came on, stopped short time at Canniffs, thence to Pollys thence to Hoovers.

SUN. 13.

Warm,—good breeze. Went up home in morning, shaved, washed & dressed up and came back to Hoovers, wrote a letter, thence to Post-office, thence down to Todds, took walk over to Lotan smiths, stayed all night.

65. Council City's first military company, known as Company J of the old Free-State Guards, had been organized in 1855 with Henry Todd as captain, William H. Toothman first lieutenant, and George J. Drew second lieutenant. Later Marmaduke Rambo replaced Todd as captain. In June, 1856, after troubles with the Border Ruffians became serious, a second company was formed with Ithiel Streit as captain.—*Ibid.*, p. 1531; George Drew's reminiscences, in *Early Days in Kansas* . . . , Green's Historical Series (Olathe, 1913), v. 2, p. [12].

MON 14

Tremendous thunder lightning & copious showers of rain last night. Clear Cool & Pleasant to-day. Went over to Todds in the morning, worked at his wheat in forenoon, went after Smiths oxen in afternoon, got them and waggon & hauled some wood, went over to [Joseph] Kerrs after a well bucket, got it, came back, worked at the wheat in evening.

TEUS 15.

Heavy thunder lightning wind & rain Last night and this morning, warm & high breez through the day. Went over to Smiths, got his oxen & waggon, & hauled some stone for Todds well. took them home in the evening, thence to Winchells mill, took supper at Howards, thence to Hoovers.

WED 16.

Clear & warm,—good breeze. Went to the woods with Hoover, sawed some shingle stuff, back to the house, thence over to Post-office, received some papers, came back, read, fiddled & C.

THURS 17.

Warm with good breeze. Wrote a letter in forenoon, worked at Schuylers mill which is now in process of erection in afternoon.

FRI 18.

Clear & fine south breeze. Worked at the Mill.

SAT 19.

Clear & warm, Worked at mill.

SUN 20.

Cloudy,—warm. Went up home, shaved, washed & dressed, went over to Daltons, took dinner, back to Hoovers, read & wrote ballance the day.

MON 21.

Clear & warm,—south breeze. Worked at Mill.

TEUS 22.

A little rain in the morning, Clear & warm through the day. Worked at mill. Lotan Smith died to-day.⁶⁶

WED 23.

Sultry, a little rain in afternoon. Worked at mill in forenoon, recieved some mail and read ballance the day.

66. "Nearly every one was sick this season, and the doctors were all quacks. Lotan Smith, and many others died from want of care and medical attendance. The people were compelled to live on pumpkins, squashes, melons and green corn or starve; and as soon as corn hardened sufficiently to be grated, holes were punched in the bottom of the pans, and meal was grated from corn on the cob. . . ."—James Rogers, "History of Osage County, Kansas," in *An Illustrated Historical Atlas of Osage County, Kansas* (Philadelphia, 1879), p. 7; Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 1581.

THUR 24.

Warm,—south breeze. At the mill all day.

FRI 25

Good breeze, warm. At the mill.

SAT 26.

Cloudy & sunny alternately. Helped Dave Hoover to clean out his well in forenoon, took dinner there, had green corn,—the first this year, Loafed in afternoon, went up home in evening, stayed all night.

SUN 27.

Fine rainy day. Dressed up in morning, went to Church with Mrs. Denison. Methodist quarterly meeting to-day, the first ever held in Council City. After Church,—went down to Canniffs talked on religion a while with Sheldon, thence to Hoovers.

MON 28.

High wind. Worked at the mill.

TEUS 29.

Warm,—a little rain. Worked at the mill.

WED 30.

Fine rain in the morning, warm & sultry in the afternoon. Loafed in forenoon, worked at the mill in the afternoon.

THUR 31.

Warm,—good breeze. Worked at mill in forenoon, had toothache in afternoon.

AUGUST [1856]

FRI 1.

Cloudy,—threatning rain. Worked for Hoover,—making hay.

SAT 2.

Rainy more or less all day.

SUN 3.

Beautiful. Went up home, in the morning, washed & dressed, came back to Hoovers wrote, eat watermelons & [words erased]

MON 4.

Pleasant,—a little rain in the evening. Worked at Schuyler & Canniffs.

TEUS 5.

Fine shower in the morning, pleasant through the day. Worked at Schuyler & Canniffs.

WED 6.

Fine day. Worked at mill in forenoon, attended meeting of citizens in afternoon to consult about the disposal of money sent to Council City from Albany.⁶⁷

THUR 7.

Cloudy—pleasant. Worked at mill.

FRI 8.

Clear & warm. Worked at mill.

SAT 9.

Warm. Loafed in forenoon, mowed for Mcdonald & Bothel in afternoon, went up home in the evening.

SUN 10

Fine rain in morning, pleasant through the day, Came down to Hoovers, wrote letters.

MON 11.

Fine rain in the morning, Clear through the day, rain in evening. Went over to Canniffs in the morning, Loafed short [time?] came back and helped Hoover thrash wheat in the afternoon, read in the evening.

TEUS 12.

Rainy last night, pleasant through the day. Loafed a while in morning, worked at Hoovers wheat, got tight at night, had big spree.

WED 13.

A little rain but pleasant most of the day. Went in the morning to raise the Chimney of the mill, worked at it some time, could not get it raised, went thence to Dave Hoovers & helped him at threshing his wheat, recieved some letters & papers.

THURS 14.

A little rain in the forenoon, Clear & pleasant in the afternoon. Helped Dave Hoover thrash in forenoon, wrote a letter in evening. Settled with Absalom Hoover after dark.⁶⁸

67. Fund-raising in the East was stimulated during the summer of 1856 by the reports of Proslavery brutalities which were sent to Eastern newspapers by Kansas correspondents, and many contributions to the Free-State cause were made at this time. In July, at a convention of Kansas aid committees in Buffalo, N. Y., a collection was taken up and Gerrit Smith of Boston pledged a personal donation of \$1,500 a month "during the war." Boston was reported to have raised \$10,000, Worcester more than \$7,000, Chicago \$15,000—which was more than doubled a few weeks later—and Detroit about \$25,000. New York City lagged behind with a mere \$4,000, and to encourage contributions the New York *Tribune* launched "The Tribune Fund for Kansas," pledging itself to give \$1,000 and asking its readers to give at least \$1 each. On August 6 this fund amounted to slightly more than \$2,500.—New York *Daily Tribune*, July 11, 17, August 6, 1856.

68. Dave and George Hoover, both frequently mentioned in the diary, were cousins of Absalom.

FRI 15.

Clear & pleasant. Loafed in forenoon, helped raise the Chimney for the mill in the afternoon.

SAT 16.

Rainy in forenoon, clear & beautiful in the afternoon. Left Hoovers and went up home intending to commence keeping bach once more, went thence over to Daltons, eat some wild plumbs and drank some whiskey. came back and went down to Post-office, went thence to Hoover, took dinner, up home again, to Daltons, whiskey, back home, wrote.

SUN 17.

Rainy in forenoon, Clear & fine breeze in afternoon. Stayed at home with Denisons, all day, reading writing sleeping & fiddling alternately all day.

MON 18.

Clear and warm, small shower. Worked at Schuyler & Canniffs. The Mill Started to-day.—(*Cheers*)

TEUS 19.

Clear. At the Mill in forenoon, Loafed in afternoon.

WED 20.

Very warm. Worked at the mill in forenoon. Case died to-day up at Lords, went down to Hubberts in afternoon to get a coffin made for him, thence up home, thence to Daltons, took supper there, back home.

THURS 21.

Clear in forenoon, showery in the afternoon. Helped thresh at Pollys wheat. Stayed there all night.

FRIDAY 22.

Very warm & sultry. Worked at Pollys threshing.

SAT 23.

Rainy in forenoon, clear in afternoon. Slept, read & fiddled in forenoon, went down town in afternoon, played cards, drank brandy & C came home in the evening.

SUN 24.

Showery in morning, warm through the day. Wrote a letter, read, fiddled, went down town, Loafed round a while, came home.

MON 25.

Very warm. Went down town, made an engagement with Canniff for a month in the Mill, worked in the mill all day.

TEUS 26.

Very warm & Sultry. Commenced work in the morning, got a message to go to Lawrence to join the Free-state army,⁶⁹ a meeting of the citezens was held at which it was determined that a party should go from our place. I volunteered, as one, got Leonards pony & rode up home, got my "traps" ready and thence down to Leona[r]ds, Started from there with a company of 15, Captain Rambo commanding. Traveled on unmolested, reached Duns some time in the night. Camped there.

LAWRENCE

WED 27.

Pleasant. Started early, arrived at Lawrence about 8 OClock, reported ourselves to the Commanding officers, got quarters furnished us, trained in company & Loafed round ballance the day.

THURS 28.

Very warm. Drilled a while in the morning, Loafed & read, worked two hours on fortifications. Drilled in Batallion in the evening, Stood on gaurd from ten to two oClock at night. hard way to serve the Lord.

FRI 29.

Warm & pleasant, a few drops of rain. Our company was attached to the first regiment this morning and called Company "D." The regiment recieved orders to march to Topeka, we made preparations accordingly but the order was countermanded on account that the government Troops were reported as coming to town and we were required to remain and be ready to defend our arms in case their object should be to disarm us, that being the supposition, about three oClock in the afternoon they arrived with the Bogus Marshall⁷⁰ at their head, who demanded some prisinors whom we were charged with detaining, he did not get them, and left town, flat as he came.

SAT 30.

Warm & beautiful. Was ordered out early in the morning to march to Topeka to escort a party from there down to Law-

69. This was the "army" of James H. Lane, John Brown and other Free-State military leaders which was now preparing to defend Lawrence against an expected attack by the Proslavery forces under David Atchison. On August 21 Governor Shannon had received notice of his removal and of the appointment of John W. Geary to succeed him. Many Free-State men were said to be leaving the territory because of the calling out of the Missouri militia. D. W. Wilder called this "the darkest hour" in Kansas history. On August 25 Acting Governor Woodson issued a proclamation declaring the territory in a state of open insurrection and rebellion.—Wilder, *Annals of Kansas*, pp. 132, 133.

70. Israel B. Donalson, a strong Proslavery man, had been appointed U. S. marshal for Kansas by President Pierce in 1854.

rence, was met about half way there by a company of United States troops who wanted to know our business &c. We did not halt but went on to big springs where we stopped and took dinner. After we had eaten and was about starting on, a company of Ruffians with Judge Elmore ⁷¹ at the head appeared on horseback, our fellows gave them an almighty hard chase but did not get them, we passed on marching through Tecumseh in battle line, reached Topeka after dark, took supper, some of us at Nichols house, slept on a saddle.

SUN 31.

Warm & fine. Left Topeka early in the morning to return to Lawrence having met our party of recruits and also having got a lot of aminition, our company at this [time?] amounts to about two hundred. We traveled on all day without any interruption and arrived at Lawrence about dark, tired and very hungry, having eaten nothing but a few wild plumbs since breakfast, pitched into supper, with fierce energy, slept sound on the floor without covering, or anything but a wagon box to lie on.

SEPTEMBER [1856]

MON 1.

Very warm. Was ordered out early in the morning to march to Bull creek to reinforce general Lane ⁷² who had with him two hundred & fifty men and had come on six hundred ruffians under Atchison, ⁷³ we started and advanced to the Wakarusa where we met scouts returning from Lane who tolled us that the Ruffians had retreated and that Lane was coming back, so we turned and went back to Lawrence, after dinner our regiment went up to Judge Wakefields ⁷⁴ after some oats and wheat, fifteen waggons were loaded & returned, and immediately after leaving the Judges the Ruffians came and burnt his house & also a number of other houses, we arrived in town about dark, went to sleep but was called out to march back to the Judges to give the damed ruffians hell, they however fell back to Le-

71. Rush Elmore of Alabama had been appointed associate justice of the supreme court of Kansas in 1854 and served about a year when he was removed at the same time as Governor Reeder. He was reappointed by President Buchanan in 1857 and held the office until the state government was established in 1861.

72. James H. Lane, leader of the radical, "fighting" element of the Free-State party, and later U. S. senator from Kansas.

73. David R. Atchison, U. S. senator from Missouri, a leader of the Border Ruffians in the fight to make Kansas a slave state.

74. John A. Wakefield settled in Douglas county in 1854 and was active in Free-State councils throughout the territorial period. He was the Free-State candidate for councilman at the election of March 30, 1855, and was president of the Free-State convention which was held at Lawrence on June 8, 1855.

compton, we returned and got into quarters about day light.
Tired to death & sick.

TEUS 2.

Pleasant. Sick all day, Lay up in quarters.

WED 3.

A few drops of rain. Lay up all day in quarters, our company was ordered out in the night, being sick I did not go.

THUR 4.

Cloudy & hazy. Lay up in quarters, goverment Troops with the damed old Marshall Donalson at their head were in town to day to arrest Lane and some others.

[LECOMPTON]

FRIDAY 5.

Tremendous shower about day light this morning, Cloudy but pleasant through the day, at times very hot. The order to march in full force against Lecompton was given early this morning, our regiment having gone out the night before with Col Harvey,⁷⁵ I volunteered to go up in the Third regiment, Captain Walker⁷⁶ commanding, our force amounted to about 800 men, about 300 of whom were mounted. After a tedious march we arrived on the hill over Lecompton about 1 OClock, planted our Cannon and drew up in line of battle. The ruffians hung out the white flag, and imediately sent for the goverment Troops to protect them from an unconditional surrender, upon which a parley was held which resulted in the delivery of all Free-state prisoners and a pledge on the part of the Ruffians to Disband forth with. The troops pledged that it should be done, so we took up our line of march for Lawrence, after a hard tramp we arrived about ten OClock at night, feet sore, nearly starved, mad as thunder, tired to death, what a hell of a thing is war.

LAWRENCE

SAT 6.

Very warm & sultry. Our company Left town about two OClock for home, traveled on till about midnight, Stopped at Camp Creek,⁷⁷ slept in a stable untill morning.

75. In addition to leading the march on Lecompton, James A. Harvey also participated in the Battle of Hickory Point on September 14. In October he was the first lieutenant of Captain Walker's Lawrence militia company.—*New York Daily Tribune*, November 8, 1856.

76. Samuel Walker had led the attack on Fort Titus, near Lecompton, on August 16, 1856. His Free-State infantry company was mustered into federal service at Lawrence on September 12 and served until December 1. In December, 1856, he was elected a brigadier general of the Kansas militia and later he was sheriff of Douglas county and a deputy United States marshal.

77. Camp creek, a small stream in the northeast corner of Osage county, tributary to Stowbridge (or Strobridge) creek.

SUN 7.

Very warm. Traveled on, reached home about noon, wrote & Loafed ballance of the day.

[COUNCIL CITY]

MON 8.

Wrote letters & read alternately.

TEUS 9.

High wind. Worked at Schuyler & Canniffs.

WED 10.

Good breeze. Cut lumber—cross cut.

THUR 11.

Very warm,—cool at night. Cut Lumber.

FRI 12.

Very warm. Worked in forenoon, sick in afternoon.

SAT 13.

Warm & sultry. Felt well,—cut logs.

SUN 14.

Pleasant. Wrote and read all day.

MON 15.

High breeze & warm. Hauled cord wood.

TEUS 16.

Stiff breeze & warm. Hauled some wood and went up with team to my cabin and moved Denisons family down to Canniffs in forenoon, attended saw mill in the afternoon.

WED 17.

Windy in forenoon, heavy thunder Lightning & rain in the afternoon. Lay up and read most the day.

THUR 18.

Clear & pleasant. Worked at the mill.

FRI 19.

Pleasant. Worked in the mill.

SAT 20.

Cloudy through the day, rainy at night. Worked in the mill,—recieved a number of letters and papers.

SUN 21.

Rainy in forenoon, clear in afternoon. Went up home, made a fire, roasted some potatoes, read some, took a walk over to Daltons, returned, had a call from Dalton, went back to his house took dinner, returned down to Canniffs.

MON 22.

White frost this morning, Clear and cool through the day. In the mill.

TEUS 23.

White frost,—pleasant through the day. Worked at hauling logs to mill.

WED 24.

Heavy white frost, Clear & warm through the day. Worked at getting out timber, recieved a letter & several papers, read in the evening.

THUR 25.

Clear & warm. Worked in the mill.

FRI 26.

Beautiful day,—this. In the mill.

SAT 27.

High wind, a little rain, thunder. Worked at sundri[e]s, the Lord knows what.

SUN 28.

Cloudy and sunny alternate, a little cool. Went up home in the morning, got some grapes on the way, wrote a letter to J S White, had a call from Dalton, got invitation to go over with him and take dinner, did so, came back, wrote some more, thence down to Canniffs.

MON 29.

Cool & windy all day. Hauled logs to the mill.

TEUS 30.

Clear & cool. Worked at Saw mill in the forenoon, wrote a letter in the afternoon.

OCTOBER [1856]

WED 1.

High wind but warm. In the mill in the forenoon, wrote a letter, Loafed, and played eucher in the afternoon.

THURS 2.

Clear and beautiful. In the mill.

FRI 3.

Windy but warm.

SAT 4.

Cloudy but rather warm. In the mill.

SUN 5.

Cloudy in the morning, beautiful in the evening, went up home, took dinner with Howards who have moved into my cabin, wrote thre[e] letters, came back to Canniffs, read in the evening.

MON 6.

Beautiful. In the mill.

TEUS 7.

Rather windy but warm. Worked at the mill, the frame was raised today over the mill.

WED 8.

High wind. Worked at various things.

THURS 9.

High wind. Employed variously.

FRI 10.

Rainy. Made mill belt for grist mill.

SAT 11.

Cloudy but pleasant. Variously employed.

SUN 12.

Clear & beautiful. attended church in morning, wrote &C.

MON 13.

Cold & rainy. In the mill in the forenoon, attend public meeting at the Boarding house in the afternoon.

TEUS 14.

Fine day. Hauled logs to the mill.

WED 15.

Heavy white frost this morning, beautiful through the day. Worked at sawing and hauling logs, recieved four letters & number of papers.

THUR 16.

Frost in the morning, Beautiful day. Cut cord wood.

FRI 17.

Heavy white frost, pleasant through the day. Cut cord wood in forenoon, wrote a letter in the afternoon.

SAT 18.

High wind. Cut wood in forenoon, wrote a letter in the afternoon, went up to Dr Toothmans in the evening, stayed all night.

SUN 19.

Windy and damp. Went over home, wrote a letter, fiddled some, went over to Daltons, sat a while, came back, thence down to Canniffs, got supper, went out after nuts in the evening, got some, returned, read in evening.

MON 20.

Clear with high breeze. Worked in the mill,—the grist mill started today for the first [time], played eucher in the evening.

TEUS 21.

Clear & windy. In the mill.

WED 22.

Beautiful. In the mill, recieved some mail.

THURS 23.

Rain last night, this morning, all day. Went up to Toothmans, thence to Daltons, eat dinner, had two or three horns of whiskey, went home stayed all night.

FRI 24.

Rainy this morning, windy through the day. Worked at mill in the forenoon. Hauld wood in the afternoon.

SAT 25.

A little cool in the morning, pleasant. In the mill.

SUN 26.

Beautiful. Went up with Rowe Bothel to establish the lines between our Claims, did so, looked out some shingle trees, stopped at house, back to Canniffs.

MON 27

A little Cool. In the mill.

TEUS 28.

Pleasant. In the mill.

WED 29.

A little Cool. Worked in the mill in the forenoon, wrote, Loafed, bought some provisions preparatory to keeping bachelors hall again, recieved some papers and letters.

THURS 30

Rather Cool. Cut shingle stuff in the forenoon, loafed in the afternoon.

FRI 31.

Pleasant. Loafed & Chored about the house.

NOVEMBER [1856].

SAT 1.

Most Beautiful. Went down town in the morning to make arrangements about going out on a buffalo excursion, thence down to Leonards where they intended to distribute a lot of Sharps rifles, stayed there untill evening, got a rifle thence home, arrived about 8 oClock, the praries burnt over my claim to night.

MON [SUN.] 2.

Windy & rainy. Had a visit from Mr Medonald, Jim & Rowe Bothel, & also Mr Dalton. we had a jug of whiskey and took

a spree on the occasion of Mr McDonald going to leave for Pennsylvania. I got gloriously drunk. We all went over to Daltons for supper, this morning I sent a Vallentine to Mary Newel.

MON 3.

Windy snowy & Cold. Quite a skift of snow fell, the first this fall. Lay by the fire and read life of Barnum all day.⁷⁸

TEUS 4.

Sunny but Cool. Cut shingle stuff in forenoon, bought Toothmans improvements on my claim, and went down town in the afternoon. This is Election day for President & Vice President in the states, wish I was there to vote.

WED 5.

Windy. Read & wrote in forenoon, went over to Toothmans, thence down to Canniffs got due bill for thirty dollars from him, thence down to Leonards, trained in military Company, back home.

THUR 6.

Very high wind. Went down town got my carpet sack and returned, went over to Daltons, cut them some fire wood, thence back, worked at daubing up my old cabin, read Life of Barnum in the evening.

FRI 7.

Fiercely cold & windy with sleet. Went over to Daltons, cut them some wood & did some other chores, for the wife,—(Dalton having gone to the state.) back home, read balance the day.

SAT 8.

Clear & thawing, but still cold. Had a call from Preston,⁷⁹ sold him some timber, went over to Daltons, did some chores, thence back, worked in the timber some, recieved some letter & papers, read in evening.

SUN 9.

Clear & pleasant, thawing. Loafed round, read & wrote &C.

MON 10.

Clear & beautiful. Worked in the timber getting stuff to make a log waggon of.

78. Phineas T. Barnum (1810-1891), the great American showman, published his *Life of P. T. Barnum Written by Himself* in 1855.

79. Stewart never mentions Preston's first name. Hiram D. Preston, who came to Kansas from New Hampshire, lived near Burlingame and was elected a delegate from Shawnee county to the Wyandotte constitutional convention in 1859. Burlingame was in Shawnee county at that time. Another Preston, Jeremiah, originally from Illinois, appears in the 1855 census and is shown on the list of voters of March 30, 1855.

TEUS 11.

Beautiful. Worked at log waggon in forenoon, went down town to get some tools in the afternoon.

WED 12.

Beautiful. Worked at waggon in forenoon, had a call from Preston who wanted me to go down town to wait on Bratton and demand some boards which he had taken from the mill that Preston claimed, did so and got the matter settled to satisfaction of both parties. went thence to help Preston pull corn in the afternoon. In the evening we got up a party to go to Jones's and demand money & lot of books which he owed the people of Council [City] and which he had refused to deliver, he refused to recognize the committee that waited on him or to do any thing in the matter. So we appointed a watch to gaurd the house lest he should leave in the night instead of in the morning, as he contemplated and sent messengers to gather up hands to meet in the morning and make him fork over.⁸⁰ I went up to Hoovers to notify them and stayed at Dave Hoovers all night.

THUR 13.

Splendid day this. Got up early, went down to Jones's, met a party of men already there to compel Jones to come to terms, we appointed Judge Schuyler captain & surrounded the house and demanded satisfaction Jones still refused, so we resolved to detain him from leaving the place untill he would, we took a box of books out of the house which were sent to the Pioneer Institute, I went over to Abe Hoovers and got dinner, and thence up home and worked at my waggon, went over to Dalton in the evening, did some chores for the Lady.

FRI 14.

Frosty morning, fine through the day. Worked at my log waggon.

SAT 15.

Fine day. Went down to the Post office, got some papers, thence to Canniffs, got some sugar & oil for Howard, back home, worked at wagon short time, thence over to Toothmans, made a trade with him for cooking stove and sundrie other

80. Horace L. Jones, described by Andreas-Cutler as one of the leading men of the settlement, had succeeded in getting \$300 of the New York *Tribune* fund which was raised for the benefit of the destitute of Kansas. He refused to give it up or spend it for the sick, but instead sent a man and team to Leavenworth to buy flour and groceries with the idea of opening a store. On the return trip the provisions were captured by the Border Ruffians.—Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, pp. 1531, 1532. The "Tribune Fund" (see Footnote 67) had increased steadily from its beginning in July, and on November 12 totaled \$16,061.—New York *Daily Tribune*, November 12, 1856.

articles, Toothman agreeing to move off my claim on condition that Preston and I should buy all his corn potatoes and cooking utensils and furniture, we did so, and formed a partnership arrangement for moving into the house I bought of Toothman, which was on my claim, and of living together this winter.

SUN 16.

Fair but windy. Wrote some, went down town, got some paper, thence up to Toothmans, stayed all night there.

MON 17.

Pleasant. Went down to the mill, ground an axe, thence up to Toothmans, thence home, worked at waggon some, went over to Daltons to wait on the Lady, back home.

TUES 18.

Heavy white frost, clear & pleasant in the afternoon. Worked at waggon a while in the morning, went over to Toothmans found Preston there, we closed up our bargain with Toothman, paid him, to the amount of \$137.00, went back home, worked at sundries.

WED 19.

Windy,—rainy in the evening & blustery. Went over to Toothmans and made arrangements for moving over my traps, Preston came up with his, so I took his oxen & waggon and went over to my *old home* after my things, got them on the waggon & returned to my *new home*, when I got back Toothman had got himself and wife and things of lesser value out of the house, so Preston and I installed ourselves in our new home and regaled ourselves on a hasty repast of corn cakes & pork. Preston went to attend meeting of military company in the afternoon. I stayed at home and nursed my face with toothache.

THUR 20.

Very windy. Went down to Hulberts⁸¹ in the morning to get some clothing, got a vest, came back, worked at various things, went over to Daltons, got some candles, returned, read and wrote through the evening.

FRI 21.

Rather Cool. Worked at log waggon in forenoon, got my foot hurt and lay up in the afternoon, recieved some letters & papers, News of Buchanans election reached us to-day.

81. Probably A. N. Hulburd, who had taken a claim on Dragoon creek southwest of present Burlingame in the spring of 1855. He later kept a furniture store in Superior and was elected register of deeds in November, 1859.—Reminiscences of Lucien R. Adams, in Green, *op. cit.*, p. [87]; Rogers, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

SAT 22.

Cloudy but warm. Did nothing in forenoon, and but little in afternoon.

SUN 23.

Cool & murky. Wrote letters read &C.

MON 24.

Rather cool. Went down town after a load of straw, got it, came home, worked some at making corral for oxen, had Dr Hall to stop with us all night.

TEUS 25

Cool. Went down to Hulberts in the morning, got some clothing, thence to Titus's, brought home a load of Corn, worked at sundries.

WED 26.

Cool. Worked at log waggon.

THUR 27.

Pleasant to-day. Finished log waggon, hauled a log down to the mill, thence over to Post office, recieved some papers, thence to Hoovers, got some potatoes for Howard, thence to Howards, thence home, read &C.

FRI 28.

Cloudy & cool. Took a log down to the mill, thence over to Hoovers, husked corn for him all day.

SAT 29.

Fine warm & beautiful. Husked corn for Hoover all day.

SUN 30.

Cool & windy. Stayed at home, read and wrote, had Howard and Jim Bothel with us for dinner.

DECEMBER [1856]

SUN 7.

Sunny & thawing a little. Wrote a letter, went down to the Post-office, back home and over to Howards in the evening.

MON 8.

Sunny & a little soft. Hauled four logs down to the mill, wrote read studied grammar & arithmetic in the evening. dont feel well to-day bad cold— head ache— and sore throat.

TEUS 9.

Soft,—the snow which has been visible for the last eight or nine days has nearly all disappeared. Worked at hauling logs to the mill, got four in, had a call from George Drew in the evening, bad cold head ache, and not well in a general way to day,

had thoughts of going back home, or speaking plain,—a little home-sick.

WED 10.

Rain and snow Last night Snow this morning, 2 or 3 inches deep, soft through the day.

THURS 11.

Snow on the ground, rather soft to-day. Had time breaking pair of steers, hauled a log to the mill, felt no unusual sensation, saw no unusual sights, heard no unusual sounds, smelt no unusual scents (except Pole-cat.) tasted no unusual taste, in fact nothing unusual occurred.

FRI 12.

Unpleasant, blustery. Sat by the fire most the day. got invitation to attend a party at James Aiken's to night. read letters papers &C, recieved to-day. Went to the party in the evening, danced et cetera all night.

SUN 14.

Clear & cold. Came home early in the morning, eat breakfast and went to bed, slept nearly all day, read wrote &C in the evening, had call from Howard.

MON 15

Sunny but cool. Went down to see Dinsmore⁸² in the morning to get him to come and live with me in place of Preston who is about going away, stopped at the store a few minutes on the way, thence to Edmund Fish's, found there that Dinsmore had passed that [place] on his way to [S. G.] Disbrows cabin, followed him by traks in the snow until I reached the cabin, lost all trace of him there, went thence to [Thomas] Russels supposing he had gone there, stopped a minute at Walters, thence home, calling at Todds, Leonards, the mill & Post-office on the way.

TEUS 16.

Sunny but cool. Hauled logs to the mill,—Preston concludes not to go away as he intended.

WED 17.

Sunny and a little soft. Worked in the timber short time, went in afternoon to attend meeting of military company, trained some then home again.

82. Nathan Densmore came to Kansas from Pennsylvania in 1855. He married Elizabeth Drew, daughter of John Drew, on April 15, 1860 (see diary for that date) and died in April, 1861.—C. R. Green, *op. cit.*, p. [74].

THUR 18.

Cloudy & misty,—soft. Went over to Howards in the morning after an auger, got it and returned, Preston and I put tounge in log waggon, and hauled logs ballance of the day.

FRI 19.

Cold & windy. Lay up, reading— writing sleeping & C.

SAT 20.

Sunny but cool. Hauled logs, the young mens mutual improvement class met at our house tonight, this is my birth day, twenty seven years of age,—*gosh*.

SUN 21.

A little soft, snow still on the ground. Wrote a letter, read, went over to Howards in the evening and took supper, then home.

MON 22.

Cold & freezing hard. Hauled logs, read, wrote & C in the evening.

TEUS 23.

Sunny with south breeze, no thawing. Hauled logs, got invitation to attend cotillion party at Mr [C. D.] Bushe's.

WED 24.

Beautiful,—thawing. Hauled logs to mill as usual.

THURS 25

Christmas Pleasant— soft. Chored about the house, went over to Howards and took dinner, thence home and prepared to go to Bushe's to attend party, started with Preston, started about dark, arrived there in course of time, had a good party, got home about day light next morning, went to bed.

FRI 26.

Rainy. Got up about nine oClock, read ballance of the day.

SAT 27.

Blustery and cold. Stayed in the house reading writing & C.

SUN 28.

Cool & frosty. Had Howard & wife & Mrs Dalton to visit and take dinner with us, they stayed untill evening, we entertained them as well as we could in our Bachelor condition, wrote a letter and read Tupper's Proverbial Philosophy⁸³ in the evening.

83. Martin Farquhar Tupper (1810-1889), English author and poet, published his *Proverbial Philosophy* in 1838. It became very popular, despite a cool reception from certain critics, and "vast numbers of fairly educated middle-class people perused these singular rhythmical effusions with genuine enthusiasm, and thought that Tupper had eclipsed Solomon."—S. A. Allibone, *A Critical Dictionary of English Literature* . . . (Philadelphia, 1871), v. 3, p. 2473; *Dictionary of National Biography* (New York, 1899), v. 57, p. 319.

MON 29.

Raw & unpleasant. Read and worked some in timber had a visit from Denison.

TEUS 30.

Rather pleasant. Cut saw logs, had a call from Dalton, also one from Howard.

WED 31.

Snowy this morning. Cloudy to-day. Preston caught wolf this morning. I went down to mill, and got cross cut saw, came back, cut saw logs.

JANUARY [1857]

THUR 1.

Rather cold for pleasure. Sat by the fire in the forenoon and read, went over to Daltons, stayed there all day, had first-rate dinner on turkey and good things of various kinds, Howard & wife & Preston were there also, had good visit, came home about eight o'clock at night, found two letters and some papers on my table for me, read them and went to bed.

FRI 2.

Very cold & windy,—snow blowing about furiously. Sat by the fire and read, wrote &C, made some candles.

SAT 3.

Sunny but cold. Hauled some wood, went over to Daltons after log sled, got it, returned Had call from [D.] Griswold, sold him some timber, attended lecture on the subject of astronomy in the evening.

SUN 4.

Cold & frosty. Read, wrote, and took things as easy as possible, had visit from Howard and his wife.

MON 5.

Very Cold. Went over to Howards, got some molasses and some tools, then home, went down town, stopped at store, at Canniffs, at mill, came home, read life of John Q Adams in the evening.

TEUS 6.

Cold & frosty. Hauled up a little wood, mended my boots and some other Chores, went down in the evening to Nick Schuylers to attend meeting of the excelsior Club, got home about nine o'clock.

WED 7.

Cold,—very cold. Wrote some in the morning, went down with Preston to attend military meeting, stopped at store on our way, so cold there was no meeting, returned home, read.

THURS 8.

Moderating a little. Wrote letters all day, took them down to the Post office in the evening, came home, read life of J Q Adams.

FRI 9.

Snowing nearly all day, snow four inches deep. Worked at sawing shingle stuff with Rowe Bothel.

SAT 10.

Cold & windy. Hauled up some wood, went down to the mill, in the evening, Came home, the excelsior Club meets at our house to-night.

SUN 11.

Pleasant. Read & wrote all day, had a visit from Howard & his wife.

MON 12.

Sunny but cold. Worked at sundries, went down to Titus's after load of corn, had Rogers and Howard for dinner to-day.

TEUS 13.

Bright but cold. Hauled a load of corn down to Jones's house for Preston, stopped a few minutes at Titus's, came back as far as Pollys, got some Straw, thence home, shelled corn in the evening.

WED 14.

Sunny but cut[t]ing cold wind. Cut some saw logs & hauled one down to the mill, had a touch of the blues to day, thoughts of going home to-day.

THUR 15.

Cold & raw. Hauled logs to the mill, feel more encouraged to-day. think I shall water myself and grow in Kansas for some time yet.

FRI 16

Moderate in the morning, very cold & blustery in the evening. Went down town, traded my Cat Jerry to Polly for his slut Jenny and a lot of pups to-boot. Came home, had a call from Dinsmore, made bargain with him & Preston about going in the lumber buissiness, settled with Schuyler & Canniff.

SAT 17.

Very cold & stormy,—the most severe day we have had this winter. Sat by the fire turning from side to side, warming each half alternately.

SUN 18.

Cold & frosty. Sat by the fire reading &C.

MON 19.

Still cold. Worked some in timber. Dinsmore came to live with us to-day.

TEUS 20

Fine in morning cold in evening. Chored about the house.

WED 21.

Rather cold,—a little snow this morning. Sick in forenoon, took a log down to the mill in the afternoon. Dinsmore and I had a big sing in the evening.

THUR 22.

Still very cold. Worked in timber, cutting wood, did good days work.

FRI 23.

Rather moderate,—a little snow last night. Worked in timber, cutting wood &C. recieved two letters from Newcastle—good.

SAT 24.

Moderate,—snowed a little last night. Worked in timber, took a log down to mill. Titus's in the evening.

SUN 25.

Moderate, sleet in the morning. Wrote and read faithfully all day.

MON 26.

Rather soft. Worked in the timber,—had many thoughts about going home, think I will do so some day.

TEUS 27.

Sunny & soft, cool in the evening. Worked some in the timber, went down to Titus's in the evening with our corn mill, thence to store, got some postage stamps, thence home, sang with Dinsmore at night.

WED 28.

Very beautiful in the morning, cool & cloudy in the evening. Went down town to help raise a bridge across switzer creek, worked at [it] untill afternoon, came home, shelled corn &C.

THUR 29.

Beautiful over head,—thawing. Went down in morning and worked all day for Schuyler & Canniff thrashing wheat, recieved some papers, came home, read &C in evening.

FRI 30.

Sunny in morning, cloudy in evening. threshing for Schuyler & Canniff. Came home in the evening.

SAT 31.

Weather variable, sometimes sunny and pleasant, at others cloudy & raw. Threshing, home in the evening.

FEBRUARY [1857].

SUN 1

Warm & beautiful. Wrote, read &C all day.

MON 2

Warm & beautiful, thawing all day. Worked at Thrashing, came home in the evening, settled with Preston and Dinsmore.

TEUS 3.

Cloudy in the morning, thawing very fast in the afternoon, windy at night, Switzer Creek is runing. Occupied the forenoon in settling and dissolving partnership with Preston, Chored about the house had call from Russell Howard & Disbrow.

WED 4.

Cloudy and rather cool. Worked at Schuylers & Canniffs thrashing, Preston & Dinsmore have left me to-day, I am now all alone,— wish I had a true and loving wife. This living alone and foregoing the comforts and natural endearments of life is a most serious misfortune and should be avoided. And for one I am going to try and find a wife,—I am *be-jabers*.

THU 5.

Pleasant—thawing. Went up to Rogers' in the morning, got a book out of the Pioneer Library, thence to help raise the bridge across Switzer Creek, worked at that untill noon, took dinner at Titus's, threshing in the afternoon, came home in the evening, read &C.

FRI 6.

Thunder lightning & heavy rain last night, Switzer Creek runing in torrents this morning,—Cloudy and rainy more or less all day. The creek is higher than I ever saw it, carried off the bridge we raised yesterday, thundering to-night. In

the house all day, home-sick, wish I was back among my old friends.

SAT 7.

Feeble sunshine but very cold north wind, freezing Went down to the store, played polker a while, thence over to Canniffs, made a bargain with him about some cord wood, came home, Streit came up with me and stayed all night.

SUN 8

Pleasant. Wrote and read faithfully all day. Streit remained with me untill towards evening. Dalton & Wife came over to see me but could not cross the creek and returned without stopping.

MON 9.

Pleasant,—sunny,—cold wind in evening, Cut cord wood. [Eli C.] Maxwell called to see me in the evening and stayed all night.

TEUS 10.

Pleasant. Went over to Howards in the morning,—thence to Daltons,—back home,—down to the store,—played cards short time, thence home, cut wood ballance of the day, read faithfully in the evening, feel good deal down spirited to-day.

WED 11.

Pleasant. Had Howard to see me in the morning, made bargain with him to work for me,— cut wood through the day, went over to Howards in the evening, stayed all night.

THUR 12.

Splendid day this. Cut cord wood,— had Howard helping me, recieved some papers.

FRI 13.

Beautiful,— the snow all gone, except where drifted. Cut wood, had blues,— thoughts of going back to Pennsylvania and geting a woman to live with. Wish I had a good [wife?]
—this living alone and foregoing the pleasures of good society is a thing that I cant grow reconciled to.

SAT 14.

Very fine day. Cut some wood, went down to the store, bought some postage stamps, thence over to the mill, home again. This is Valentines day. wish I was in Newcastle to-day..

SUN 15.

Beautiful & warm. Washed my outer man all over this morning and sat down to write some letters. Denison & [R. A.]

Wheat came in and I had to desist from my writing, after talking some time we all took a walk over to see Dennisons Claim, stopped at Howards and talked a while, and I stayed for diner, after diner went home, and wrote & read ballance of the day. Took diner to-day by the side of a Kaw Indian.

MON 16.

Cloudy but warm & pleasant. Cut wood, read Lady of the Lake in the evening.

TEUS 17.

Cloudy & a little cool. Cut wood,— had call from Preston, read Burns poems in the evening.

WED 18.

A little sprinkle of snow on the ground this morning, cold and windy all day. Sat by the fire and read Burns poems all day. Howard was with me good part of the day.

THURS 19.

Rather soft,— muddy. Cut wood,— went down to the Post office received paper, read & wrote, thought much about going home to old New Castle to-day,— think I shall do so some time this next summer.

FRIDAY 20.

Snow on the ground this morning about an inch deep, soft through the day,— muddy at night. Went down town,— talked a while to Mr Polly,— thence over to the mill, back home, read ballance of the day.

SAT 21.

Cloudy but not cold. Cut a little wood in the morning. Went over to Howards, while there Mary Aikens & Agnes Barcomb called, Went over to Daltons, returned to Howards and stopped till after dinner, came home and presently Howard & his wife and the two girls came over and stopped to see me at *home*, after some time of good laughing they left, the girls for Drews & Howards for home, read through the evening.

SUN 22.

Pleasant all day, dry wind. Washed some clothes in the morning, had call from Dalton and Maxwell who wanted me to go home with them,— did so. Bratton & his wife came in soon after,— we had a good dinner, returned home towards evening, Maxwell came with me, had call from Howard and wife Wrote & read in the evening.

MON 23.

Rather warm— rainy in the evening. Cut wood in morning, went up to Howards claim and helped him at his cabin in the afternoon, came home in the evening and put in the night as usual. Feel much encouraged to-day to press on and make myself comfortable and happy if possible.

TEUS 24.

Fine day this. Went up to Rogers in the morning after a book,—got it,— thence to the mill,— was called on to set on an arbitration between Disbro & Leonard Miller who were contending about a claim; Disbro gained it, when relieved I went to Canniffs corn crib and husked half bushel of corn shelled and took it to the mill, went thence and cut some meat off of Daltons dead ox for my dogs, came home, had call from Howard, read some.

WED 25.

Fine day. Howard called early in the morning to see if I would go and help him at his house, I did so and worked until noon and then went to the mill to attend an arbitration between him and Dave Hoover, the dispute being about a cow & calf I was a witness for Howard, the arbitration came off and Howard gained it, went thence to Post office recieved three letters and a paper, thence to Dave Hoovers with Howard to help drive home the cow & calf, about which they were disputing, possession having fallen to Howard, took them home, eat supper at Howards, thence home, had good time reading my letters in the evening,— this seems like nectar to the thirsty soul.

THUR 26.

One of the finest days this winter. Helped Howard at his house, went down to the mill in the evening after some meal, got it, thence home, feel kind of sentimental to-day. got the blues I guess.

FRI 27.

Cloudy with north wind. Helped Howard at his cabin, was down at store in morning, Polly took one of my pups to-day.

SAT 28.

Fine & warm. Went up to help Howard, waited long time for him to come, got out of patience and left, went down town and worked for Bratton at his new house, in afternoon, came home in evening, a party of emigrants passed along to-day on their

way down to cotton-wood, the first we have seen this spring, my hopes are very much awakened to day,— think that Kansas is the place for me, wish I had a good wife,— I do *be-jaber*.

MARCH [1857].

SUN 1.

Sunny but cold north wind. Wrot[e] two letters, went over to Howards, sat and read there a while, came home, read & C ballance the day.

MON 2.

Pleasant in forenoon, snow storm in afternoon, cold & windy at night. Went down to help Bratton, worked untill noon, got dinner, Loafed in afternoon.

TEUS 3.

Pleasant. Went down town, thence over to Whittens to see Preston, back to help Bratton, worked there untill afternoon, went over to the store, had game of Eucher, stayed there untill dark, went to Canniffs to attend citezens metting got home about 10 OClock at night.

WED 4.

Very fine warm day. Went down and worked for Bratton, untill noon, came up to my timber with him, sold him some trees and helped hew them with him untill evening, had Howard call to see me at night.

THURS 5.

Cold nort[h] wind. Went over to Howards and stopped there untill afternoon, thence down to the Post-office, thence home.

FRI 6.

Cuting north wind, sunny. Went over to Howards, thence to Daltons, took dinner there, back to Howards, thence home, had call from Howard in the evening.

SAT 7.

Cold snow storm, very windy to day. Went down town, worked a while for Bratton, thence to Brattons, got in company with number of strangers, some of them from Lecompton, had talk with them on politics, went over to Hoovers to help him move his shop⁸⁴ in the afternoon, home in the evening.

84. Possibly this is a reference to Absalom Hoover's mill, a hand-mill made of limestones for grinding corn, which he had built previous to the summer of 1856 and which was patronized by settlers for many miles around.—Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 1531.

SUN 8.

Cold & Stormy. Wrote and read, Had call from Howard & wife, they wished me to go over & take tea with them, did so, came home in the evening, read fiddled & C.

MON 9.

Sunny but rather cold. Went down and helped Bratton all day, commenced boarding there to-day, took my dog over to Whitens in the evening and gave her to him.

TEUS 10.

Pleasant. Worked for Bratton all day, slept with Nick Schuyler at night.

WED 11.

Sunny but cold north wind. Went down to Brattons, got breakfast, came up home with Rowe Bothel, cut shingle stuff all day, stayed at home all day & all night, the promises for Kansas are good, my spirits high, the future flatering.

THURS 12.

Cold north wind. Cut Shingle stuff all day, went down to Brattons in the evening.

FRI 13.

A little cool. Worked for Bratton,—framing all day.

SAT 14.

Tremendous snow storm. Came up with Bratton to my timber and cut shingle stuff untill after dinner, went down town and thence to help raise bridge across Switzer creek, worked in mud and water untill evening, went to Brattons wet dirty & cold, sat and roasted by the fire untill bed time.

SUN 15.

Pleasant & thawing,—the snow all gone. Went up home and washed some Clothes and did some other chores, came back, stopped short time at the store, thence to Brattons, got supper, attended preaching at Canniffs at night.

MON 16.

Rather pleasant. Worked for Bratton all day, the new Council City is being surveyed to-day.⁸⁵

85. The failure of Council City was accounted for by the refusal or inability of the American Settlement Company to spend the money received from sale of shares in improving the townsite. Charges of misrepresentation also were made, and it was said that many emigrants came and took claims only to leave in disappointment because of the company's inertia. Several new towns were projected. The "new Council City" here referred to is present Burlingame. Fremont was another town laid out in the spring of 1856 by J. M. Winchell about a mile south of present Burlingame. The name was changed in 1857 to Carbondale and in 1858 to Superior. Burlingame itself was largely the creation of P. C. Schuyler.—Green, *op. cit.*, p. [27]; Andreas-Cutler, *op. cit.*, p. 1531.

TEUS 17.

Fine day. Worked at Brattons in forenoon, helped raise bridge in afternoon, attended meeting of Hotel Co at night.

WED 18.

Sunny and fine with cool air. Worked at Brattons house, had much encouragement to look up— to press on— & go ahead to-day, got acquainted with Mr. Ditzler,⁸⁶ had good hearty laugh with Judge Schuyler in the evening over the verdancy of Mr Allinson.

THUR 19.

Pleasant south breeze. Worked for Bratton, We raised the new house to-day. Slept with Rowe Bothel to night.

FRI 20.

Windy. Went up home, thence to Howards, back home and back to Brattons, accomplished nothing to-day.

SAT 21.

Pleasant. Worked for Bratton.

SUN 22

Warm south breeze. Read newspapers good part the day, went up home and wrote some, back to Brattons.

MON 23

Cloudy and dull,— a little rain. Loafed all day, slept with Rowe Bothel at night.

[BURLINGAME]

TEUS 24.

Fine day. Helped Rowe Bothel fix up lumber, attended meeting at Canniffs in the evening at which the name of our new town was changed from Council City to Burlingame,⁸⁷ a resolution to dig a public well was passed and arrangements made to commence it on tomorrow.

WED 25

Fine day. Worked at public well in forenoon, went up to Howards & helped him at his house in the afternoon, came down town in the evening, recieved a letter & some papers, thence to Brattons.

86. Possibly George W. Deitzler of Lawrence, prominent Free-State leader.

87. Burlingame was named in honor of Anson Burlingame, member of congress from Massachusetts and an active advocate of Free-Soil policies. During a visit to Kansas he "gave us a rattling old Abolition speech" which greatly impressed the settlers.—W. Y. Drew's reminiscences, in Green, *op. cit.*, p. [68]. Subsequently Burlingame served as U. S. minister to China and in 1868 concluded the Burlingame treaty with the government of that country.

THUR 26.

Strong south wind. Went up home in the morning Wrote two letters and read some, thence back to Post-office, read there a while, thence to Brattons.

FRI 27.

Beautiful—the praries are spotted with flowers. Helped survey Burlingame in forenoon, helped Hoovers survey their Claims in after[noon].

SAT 28.

Pleasant—south breeze. Shaved shingles in forenoon for Braton. Loafed in afternoon, slept at Pollys.

SUN 29.

Strong south breeze. Went up home in the morning, wrote some, had call from Nick Schuyler Disbro & Allinson, went with them to look at some Claims, back to Brattons for diner, slept some,— took walk in the evening, stopped at store— had drink whiskey slept at Pollys.

MON 30.

Cloudy & rainy. Worked some in the mill, got suit of clothes from Judge Schuyler.

TEUS 31.

Cloudy Worked for Bratton in forenoon, went up with Alinson to sell him my claim, did not effect a sale, came back stopping a few minutes at Drews, attended meeting of citezens at Canniffs in the evening.

APRIL [1857].

WED 1.

Rather cool. Worked at public well in forenoon, attended meeting of military company in the afternoon, attended singing class at Lords in the evening, had a debate at the close of the singing exercises between Alinson & Nick Schuyler which aforded a glorious budget of fun for Apriles fools day.

THUR 2.

Cold & raw. Worked for Bratton, recieved some letters and papers in the evening.

FRI 3.

Pleasant. Went up home in the morning to help Rowe Bothel get his waggon out of the mire on my claim. After we got the waggon out and a load of shingle stuff hauled out to Rowes cabin we came down to store stopped there short time, went

down to Brattons got dinner, went in the afternoon to work on the road between town and Dragoon crossing at Rices, had good deal of sport training All[?] Bratton, went back to Brattons for supper, went up to the store, slept at Pollys, feel encouraged to-day.

SAT 4.

Cloudy & rainy, blew up cold in the evening, froze hard at night. Worked for Braton in forenoon, Loafed in the afternoon, went down after dark to Jim Aikens, James[?] is not expected to live, sat up part of the night as watcher.

SUN 5.

Cold north wind. Came up to Brattons, thence up home, wrote some, over to Howards, down to Brattons.

MON 6.

Rather pleasant. Worked at Jointing shingles, went up home in the evening with some fellows belonging to a train who bought my fiddle, came back, attended a lecture by Allison on temperance slavery &C, had some good fun.

TUES 7.

Cold north wind. Went over to Hoovers in the morning to see some men who were talking of bying my claim, found the men and went up with them to look at it, sold it to them, back to Hoovers, thence to the mill, had some fun with some Kaw Indians, went up to claim in after[noon], wrote a letter went thence to Howards, found Preston there. The two Miss Drews [Elizabeth and Naomi], Called in while there, Preston & I soon left and went over to my cabin. Howard came along, sold him sund[r]ie articles of household stuff. Came down town, stopped some time at Canniffs in the evening, slept at Pollys, had thoughts of returning to Old New Castle to-day, think I will build a house in town and then leave for East.

WED 8

Pleasant. Went up with Row Bothel to my Claim to haul shingle stuff off it, to his cabin, came back in the evening.

THUR 9.

Fine warm day. Made bargain with Schuyler & Canniff to haul some wood down from my old claim, got two yoke of oxen and waggon and went up after a load, got one on, and started back, got stalled and had to leave the waggon and bring back the oxen, went down to Brattons for dinner and while there, Joe

Guilford called to see me— was glad to meet him, after dinner Joe & I went up to my cabin & talked over old times— while there the men who bought my claim returned paid me for it and took possession, Joe & I then went down town, stopped at the mill, sold some lumber eat supper at Brattons, went down to Aiken's in the evening, stopped short time; returned, bought pair mocasins wrote some, went to bed to build air Castles,— got my pocket full of money,— feel unsettled as to what cou[r]se to pursue to prosper well in the future.

[END OF VOLUME 1]

[*Part Three, May, 1858-July, 1859, Will Appear in the August, 1949, Issue*]

George Allen Root

1867-1949

The Historical Society regrets to announce the death of George Allen Root on May 7, 1949, at his home in Topeka. Although Mr. Root had been ill with a cold for several days his death was unexpected, for he was up and around only a few hours before.

For fifty-five years Mr. Root was a faithful and valued member of the Society's staff. Even after his retirement in 1947 he continued his interest in Kansas history, and often worked in his old office, which was reserved for his use.

His widow, the former Minnie Jewett Van Cleave, and four children survive.

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, 1947, to September 30, 1948. Federal and state official publications and some books of a general nature are not included. The total number of books accessioned appears in the report of the secretary in the February issue of the *Quarterly*.

KANSAS

- ALLEN, FORREST CLAIRE, *Coach "Phog" Allen's Sports Stories for You and Youth*. Lawrence, Allen Press, 1947. 223p.
- ARMITAGE, MERLE, *Operations Santa Fé, Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railway System*. New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce [c1948]. 263p.
- BEALS, CARLETON, *Lands of the Dawning Morrow; the Awakening From Rio Grande to Cape Horn*. Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Company [c1948]. 336p.
- BEAZLEY, LILLIAN (STOLL), *Bobbed Hair, a Comedy in Two Acts*. Atchison, J. R. Hellener and Company, 1926. 29p.
- , *The College Stick, a Comedy in Two Acts*. Atchison, J. R. Hellener and Company [c1924]. 30p.
- , *Thin and Forty, a Comedy in Three Acts*. Atchison, J. R. Hellener and Company, 1925. 35p.
- , *Trying Them Out, a Comedy in One Act*. Philadelphia. The Penn Publishing Company [c1921]. 16p.
- BECKER, EDNA M., and REBECCA WELTY DUNN, *Sunny, a Children's Operetta in Three Acts*. Evanston, Ill., Row, Peterson and Company [c1945]. 68p.

- , *Vitamins and Villains, an Operetta for Children of All Ages*. Evanston, Ill., Row, Peterson and Company, 1947. 90p.
- BENKE, HERMANN CONRAD, *Life Sketches, 1869-1946*. [Chicago, 1946.] [26]p.
- BILL, EDWARD ELIJAH, *Poems of the Plains and the Prairies*. New York, The Exposition Press [c1948]. 91p.
- BONDURANT, JOAN VALERIE, *Sketches of India, With Forty-One Photographic Illustrations*. [Ann Arbor, Mich., The Craft Press, 1946.] 104p.
- BRUCE, DALE, and WILLARD C. HETZEL, *Kansas: Mental Health Laws in Brief*. Philadelphia, National Mental Health Foundation, 1946. Mimeographed. 48p.
- BUTLER, THOMAS AMBROSE, *The Irish on the Prairies, and Other Poems*. New York, D. and J. Sadlier and Company, 1874. 161p.
- CARLILE, BESS HOWELL, *Come Play With Us*. Chicago, Rand McNally and Company [c1947]. 62p.
- CHEEVER, LAWRENCE OAKLEY, *The House of Morrell*. Cedar Rapids, Iowa, The Torch Press, 1948. 303p.
- COLE, IRA ALBERT, *Ibe of Atlan*. Boulder, Colo., Johnson Publishing Company [c1947]. [360]p.
- COWGILL, CLINTON HARRIMAN, and BEN JOHN SMALL, *Architectural Practice*. New York, Reinhold Publishing Corporation [c1947]. 396p.
- CRUMBINE, SAMUEL JAY, *Frontier Doctor*. Philadelphia, Dorrance and Company [c1948]. 284p.
- DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, KANSAS SOCIETY, *Proceedings of the Fiftieth Annual State Conference, March 18, 19 and 20, 1948, Wichita, Kansas*. No impr. 174p.
- , *Proceedings of the Forty-Ninth Annual State Conference, March 25, 26 and 27, 1947, Dodge City, Kansas*. No impr. 155p.
- DAVIS, KENNETH SYDNEY, *The Years of the Pilgrimage*. Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1948. 372p.
- DICK, EVERETT NEWFON, *Life in the West Before the Sod-House Frontier*. Lincoln, Neb., Prairie Press, 1947. 216p.
- , *The Story of the Frontier, a Social History of the Northern Plains and Rocky Mountains From the Earliest White Contacts to the Coming of the Homemaker*. New York, Tudor Publishing Company [c1941]. 574p.
- Directory of Kansas Librarians, September, 1947*. [Manhattan, Graham and Graham, 1947.] 30p.
- DREYER, ROBERT M., *Magnetic Survey of Southeastern Crawford County, Kansas*. Lawrence, University of Kansas Publications, 1947. [10]p. (State Geological Survey of Kansas, *Bulletin*, No. 70, Pt. 5.)
- DUDGEON, ESTHER J., and JOHN T. BURTON, *Building Materials in Kansas. A Project of the Research Foundation at the University of Kansas, Sponsored by the Kansas Industrial Development Commission*. N. p., 1947. 125p.
- EISENHOWER, DWIGHT DAVID, *Address Before the National Board of Fire Underwriters, May 27, 1947, Hotel Commodore, New York*. [New York, 1947.] 14p.
- , *Eisenhower Speaks; Dwight D. Eisenhower in His Messages and Speeches*. Selected and Edited by Rudolph L. Treuenfels. New York, Farrar, Straus, 1948. 299p.

- [FORD, PIONEER STAFF COMMITTEE], [*Our Pioneer Days; Early Ford History, Celebrating the 50th Anniversary, 1937*]. Mimeographed. 33p.
- FRIEDMAN, IRVING I., ed., *Meet General "Ike"; a Pictorial Profile of General Dwight D. Eisenhower*. New York, The Virson Publishing Company, Inc. [c1948]. 96p.
- GARVIN, ROY, *Benjamin or "Pap" Singleton and His Followers*. (Reprinted from *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 33, No. 1, January, 1948.) [16]p.
- GIBSON, WILLIAM, *Winter Crook*. New York, Oxford University Press, 1948. 46p.
- GOEBEL, ANNE M., JOHN B. HEFFELFINGER, and DELORE GAMMON, *Kansas Geography*. Topeka, State Printer, 1948. 136p.
- GREGG, JOHN ANDREW, *Of Men and of Arms, Chronological Travel Record of Bishop John A. Gregg . . .* Nashville, Tenn., The A. M. E. Sunday School Union Press, 1945. 223p.
- HILDRETH, ARTHUR GRANT, *The Lengthening Shadow of Dr. Andrew Taylor Still*. Macon, Mo., Mrs. A. G. Hildreth, 1942. 457p.
- HINSHAW, DAVID, *Take Up Thy Bed and Walk*. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons [c1948]. 262p.
- HOUGH, EMERSON, *The Girl at Halfway House: a Story of the Plains*. New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1900. 371p.
- Illustrated Miners' Hand-Book and Guide to Pike's Peak, With a New and Reliable Map, Showing All the Routes, and the Gold Regions of Western Kansas and Nebraska*. St. Louis, Parker and Huyett, 1859. 75p. (Mumey Reprint, 1948.)
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Bypaths of Kansas History

MUSIC TO SOOTHE THE SAVAGE BREAST—

From the Fort Scott *Democrat*, March 15, 1860.

A number of Osage Indians have been camping near town for a week back. They have furs, buffalo robes, ponies, and one old red-skin had a squaw, he was desirous of "swapping" for "wabusca," (flour). They have sticky fingers, and are singularly oblivious to the rights of property—when the owner's back is turned. The other evening, while the String Band was playing on the portico of the Western Hotel, several of the dusky sons of the plain, gathered round them, and commenced a war dance, accompanying the same with a series of the most discordant yells, that a white man ever listened to.

A POLITICAL CASUALTY

The following letter, written on the stationery of the sheriff of Cowley county, is among Gov. L. U. Humphrey's papers in the Archives division of the Kansas State Historical Society.

WINFIELD, KAS., OCT. 21 1892.

DEAR SIR Mr. humphrey i apeal to you because you have the power to Do so i am a colord man and have Ben Doing all in my power to help thes Republicans at there meatings Singing i am the Colord man peck miller whom Mr Beakman intruced you to at Glad stone hotell now i will tell you all about it the Democrats ar made at me and said thay would put me wher i could not sing so thay Did it in this way on the 9 Day of September i was standing in a joint or saloon and the Boss step out and tolld me to watch it a momet so i did it for frendship while he was out a man cam in and Bought a botel of Beer of me and i was convicted and Centence to jail and i cant get out untill the 28 of november now i have got a good deal of influence over a good meny colord voters and i would like to be out on Elicton Day if its lyes in you power to Do So wich i think it Dos all so Mr Humphry i have a wife sickely and a small babie 18 months old and no one to look after them if you please sir do this one thing for a man that has sang through the camppain ever since Haze and Wheeler run in 76 that was my first year for singing and i have neve mised one yet and i would like to never miss one as long as i live i Have sang for goo men all my life through Illinoio Indina Kansas such menn as joe Cannon of Danville Dick abesly govnor canel sellar as senater and lots i dont no i would like ver much for you to pardon me if you please

A. Black Republican
of Arkansas City Leader of Quarttet
PECK MILLER

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Leslye Hardman Womer's column, "As It Was Told to Me," which was interrupted with the discontinuance of the *Agra Sentinel* in September, 1947, has been continued beginning with the first issue of the *Agra Star*, May 13, 1948. Family histories have been featured chiefly, with an occasional column on the history of Agra.

Articles on local history, by C. D. Smith, appear from time to time in the *Blue Rapids Times*. The discovery of gypsum near Blue Rapids and its use in the plaster industry was the subject of Mr. Smith's articles printed August 19 and 26, 1948. Gypsum was first discovered in the Blue Rapids area about 1857, and since that time six firms erected seven plaster mills in the vicinity, of which only one is still in operation. In his article appearing November 4, Mr. Smith gave brief biographical sketches of some of the founders of Blue Rapids, many of whom moved to other parts of the country when the town failed to grow as had been anticipated.

Names of Gove county men and women who served in World War II appeared in *The Gove County Advocate*, Quinter, August 19, 26 and September 2, 1948, and in the *Gove County Republican-Gazette*, Gove City, August 19. A plaque featuring these names is to be hung in the Gove county courthouse.

Several articles of historical interest have been published recently in the *Larned Chronoscope* and *The Tiller and Toiler*. A biographical sketch of John Lindas, founder of the Lindas Lumber Co. of Pawnee Rock, by F. T. Brown, was printed in the *Chronoscope*, September 16, 1948. The lumber company was 70 years old on October 3. The *Chronoscope*, September 30, and *The Tiller and Toiler* for the same date, published a history of the William P. Webb family, as told to Lois Victor by Dr. O. E. Webb. Appearing in the same issues was a "Tribute to Albert A. Doerr," by Harvey Eckert. Mr. Doerr was a Pawnee county pioneer and a benefactor to many during the "dust bowl" years. A brief history of Prairie Home school, District 39, in Pawnee county, by W. F. Bruce, appeared in *The Tiller and Toiler*, October 21. Names of former teachers and pupils, and friends who attended a reunion on September 30, were listed. The school building was erected under the direction of E. P. Condrey and is now 70 years old. Experiences of 70 years in

Pawnee county were reviewed by Mrs. John Wagner for Miss Victor and published in *The Tiller and Toiler* and *Chronoscope* of November 11. Mrs. Wagner and her husband arrived in Pawnee county in the spring of 1878. Mrs. Mary Kulow Frick, 92 years old, related to Miss Victor the early experiences of her family in Kansas which appeared in both papers on November 18. Mrs. Frick came to Pawnee county in 1876 with her father, mother and brother. Also by Dr. Webb are his reminiscences of the years when Larned was young, published in *The Tiller and Toiler*, December 16, and in the *Chronoscope*, December 16 and 23.

The Horton *Headlight*, September 20, 1948, briefly noted that the city of Horton had reached its 62nd birthday. It was incorporated September 20, 1886.

A series of illustrated historical articles on places around Manhattan, by R. A. Dalton, Jr., has been appearing in the *Manhattan Mercury-Chronicle* and the *Manhattan Republic*. Places discussed during October, November and December, 1948, included: Leonardville, Riley, Sunset park in Manhattan, Keats, Randolph, Mariadahl, Stockdale, Cleburne, Winkler, May Day, Zeandale and Ogden.

A pageant depicting the history of Bethel College of North Newton was presented October 12, 1948, in celebration of the 60th anniversary of the college. Also honoring the occasion, *The Bethel Collegian* issued a 60th anniversary edition on October 8, featuring sketches and pictures.

The Holton *Recorder*, October 11, 1948, explained the source of the city's name. In May, 1856, John B. Coffin and wife, with about 40 others, started from Milwaukee, Wis., for Kansas. They had been outfitted and greatly aided in their preparations for the journey by Edward D. Holton, wealthy merchant, lawyer and banker of Milwaukee. Holton was also chairman of a committee which was helping to send Free-State men to Kansas. Other articles of general interest in the *Recorder* of October 11 were: "Historical Sketches of the School Districts of County," by Corinne Richard, county superintendent, and "John Shields Tells of Introduction of the Peach and Crabapple Here."

The history of Galesburg was featured in W. W. Graves' column, "History of Neosho County," in the *St. Paul Journal*, October 28, November 4 and 25, 1948.

"Santa Fe: No. 1 Railroad" was published in the November, 1948, issue of *Fortune*. The article stated that although the Santa Fe does not claim the distinction nor has it been publicly bestowed, the road has climbed to an all-round eminence that can be challenged by no other. In all the attributes, taken together, that make a railroad great—size, location, finances, operations and history—the Santa Fe probably has no equal. Started in the late 1860's by Cyrus Holliday of Topeka, the Santa Fe now has about 13,000 miles of track situated in the path of the nation's present industrial expansion and in some of its most productive agricultural areas.

"Magic Circle Idea Is Growing," was the title of a brief article by A. Q. Miller in the Belleville *Telescope*, November 4, 1948. The article was based on a recent story in *Fortune* from which Mr. Miller quotes extensively concerning the history of Roger Babson's "Magic Circle" enterprise centering at Eureka, Kan.

Osage county history as compiled by the Kansas Historical Records Survey, W. P. A., has continued to appear regularly in *The Peoples Herald*, Lyndon. Information on various types of county records, including description and location, has been featured in recent articles.

Soil and water are two of our basic natural resources which must be utilized rather than wasted, Maj. Gen. Lewis Pick, co-author of the Pick-Sloan plan for the Missouri river basin and Missouri river basin engineer for the U. S. corps of engineers, told delegates to the annual meeting of the Kansas Reclamation Association in Belleville recently. General Pick's remarks were published in the Belleville *Telescope*, November 11, 18, 25 and December 2, 1948. The general described the Missouri basin's comparatively rapid development as the bread basket of the nation and emphasized that the agricultural peak reached in the basin in recent years must be maintained. A summary of what has been done in the way of constructing dams, electric power plants and irrigation projects, and a few words about what more can be expected from the reclamation program, concluded General Pick's talk.

A historical sketch of Neodesha by Mrs. C. O. Pingrey was printed in the *Neodesha Register*, November 25, 1948. The article was written for the *Consolidator*, published by the Consolidated Gas Utilities Corporation, where it appeared in the September issue. Neodesha began in 1867 as a trading post owned by Dr. Allen Mc-

Cartney and Alex Phelon. The most important event in the history of the town, according to Mrs. Pingrey, was the bringing in of the first commercial oil well in the mid-continent field in 1892. Mrs. Pingrey touched briefly on the industries, civic organizations and other institutions of Neodesha.

A list of 20 junior colleges and 22 senior colleges of Kansas, with enrollment figures for the fall terms of 1947 and 1948, was published in the December, 1948, number of the *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*, Lawrence. A total of 37,181 students were enrolled in 1948, a decrease of 149 from the 1947 enrollment. Among other articles of interest was, "The Petroleum Industry in Kansas," a 56-page review of the gas and oil industry and the vital part it has played in Kansas economy, by Earl K. Nixon. Articles in the March, 1949, number included: "Kansas Weather: 1948," by S. D. Flora; "The Growth and Development of Black Walnut on Coal Strip-Mined Land in Southeast Kansas," by Nelson F. Rogers; "Kansas Meteorite Discoveries 1873-1948," and "Significance of the Norton, Kansas, Meteorite," by H. H. Nininger.

John Redmond, editor and publisher of *The Daily Republican*, Burlington, commented on his "first" half-century as a publisher on December 1, 1948, the 50th anniversary of his purchase of the paper. He bought the newspaper, then called *The Jeffersonian*, from Dan Kellar Swearingen. The present *Republican* is said to have the largest circulation of any daily paper in the nation in proportion to the population of its town. The *Chanute Tribune*, December 6, noted the Burlington editor's anniversary and devoted an editorial to his hobby, flood control.

The *Altamont Journal*, December 2, 1948, mentioned briefly that it was beginning its 46th year of publication. Frank E. George founded the *Journal* in 1903 and published it until 1946. Victor L. George is the present editor and publisher.

Harry H. Seckler's articles on early Leavenworth have continued in recent issues of the *Leavenworth Times*. Among them were: "Many Facts of City's Early Life in Danger of Being Lost Forever," December 5, 1948; "Recalling a Few Facts About Leavenworth in the Old Days," December 12; "A Number of 'Firsts' in the Bygone History of Leavenworth," including a review of the life of David J. Brewer, prominent Kansas jurist, December 19; "The Old Morris School Was the Pride of Every Leavenworthian," December 26;

"Tom O'Leary a Patrolman in Leavenworth of 'Unholy City,'" January 2, 1949; "Old German-English School Is Last Survivor of Early Study Shrines," the history behind one of Leavenworth's oldest buildings, February 6, and "Who Was Entitled to the Name Buffalo Bill? 3 Candidates [William F. Cody, William Mathewson and William Comstock]," February 13. On February 20 George J. Remsburg's "Leavenworth 'Increasing With Fabulous Rapidity' in 1859," was published.

Southwest Kansas history articles have continued in the Meade county newspapers in recent months. An article, taken from a manuscript by Mrs. Eunice P. Turner, giving brief histories of early towns and newspapers of Meade county, was published in the Meade *Globe-News*, December 9, 1948. A series of articles by Mrs. E. May Novinger of Plains has been printed by the Plains *Journal* and the Meade *Globe-News*. Mrs. Novinger recalled her first Christmas (1884) in Meade county in the *Journal*, December 23, and in the *Globe-News*, December 26. The "free land" boom in Meade county in 1885 is the subject of Mrs. Novinger's article printed in the *Journal*, December 30, 1948, and February 10, 1949, and in the *Globe-News*, December 23, 1948, and February 6, 1949. Mrs. Novinger's story in the *Journal*, February 17, and in the *Globe-News*, February 13, was about the Crooked L ranch, the first big ranch in the Meade county area.

Historical articles of interest to Kansans in recent issues of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* included: "Factory in Lawrence, Kas., Makes Church Pipe Organs," by Pat James, December 12, 1948; "Part of Kansas Was Ceded to Spain by United States in Deal for Florida," a review of an article by Prof. Walter H. Schoewe of the departments of geology and geography at the University of Kansas, by Edward R. Schauffer, December 29; "Former Kansas Citian [John S. Stamm] Is Head of 24 Million Protestants," a native of Kansas chosen president of the Federal Council of Churches, January 8, 1949; "The Kansas 'Doctor of the Year' [Dr. Charles S. Huffman of Columbus] Still a Bedside Physician at 83," by Conwell Carlson, and "A Kansas City [Kan.] Girl [Jean Budinger] Scores in Film and Writing Fields," by Erma Young, January 9; "Frontier Editors of Old West Often Backed Printed Word With Weapons," reprinted from an article in the *American Mercury* by Wayne Gard, January 12; "His 38 Years on Court Bench Builds the Good Will of All," a biographical sketch of Judge J. H. Wendorff of Leaven-

worth, by Harry Hannon, and "Hers [Elizabeth Blackwell] a Medical Epic," a Topeka woman doctor, Margaret D. Craighill, one of several to be honored at a ceremony marking the 100th anniversary of the awarding of a medical degree to Elizabeth Blackwell, the first woman doctor, January 23; "Crumbling Headstones Near Ottawa, Kas., a Link With Cultural Pioneers," the historic cemetery is the final resting place of several early missionaries and many Indians, among whom are Jotham Meeker and John Tecumseh (Tauy) Jones, by Charles Arthur Hawley, January 27; "Visiting King Ranch, an Empire of Cattle, Horses and Oil," a brief history and description of the million-acre Texas ranch, by Roy A. Roberts, and "Through the Snow to Jetmore After Kansas Blizzard of 1912," Edward R. Schaffler recalls his own experiences in reaching the snowbound village, January 30, and "Kansas Song Up Fast," the story behind Mack David's new Kansas song, "Sunflower," March 6. Articles appearing in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* were: "Dream of Kansas Pioneer Bishop [Jesse Engle] Is Fulfilled in Central Africa," a mission in Rhodesia, founded by the "River Brethren" of Abilene, celebrates its 50th anniversary, by C. M. Harger, December 27, 1948; "Two Historic Brass Cannon Boomed When Kansas Reached Statehood 88 Years Ago," Leavenworth and Lawrence each found old cannon with which to celebrate the state's admission to the Union, by Cecil Howes, January 29, 1949; "Captain Kipp, Renowned Fort Builder and Trader, a Platte County [Mo.] Settler," a biographical sketch of a pioneer who established and maintained numerous outposts on the upper Missouri river, by John Edward Hicks, February 21, and "Two Priests [the Rev. Francis Jerasa and the Rev. August Heimann] Who Know Hardships of Different Kinds Join Hands in Kansas," one suffered at the hands of the Nazis and Communists and the other suffered the early-day hardships in Kansas, by Mary M. Hobbs, February 28. A series of articles on the mentally ill in Kansas and the state mental institutions by Charles W. Graham has been published in the *Star* and *Times* in recent months. Mr. Graham's articles in the *Star* included: "New Hope for Senile Aged Is Offered by Program Under Way at Great Bend," December 17, 1948; "Woman Who Knows the Inside of State Hospitals Keeps Up Fight for Reform," January 3, 1949; "Definite Limits on Mental Ability of Wards of the State at Winfield School," January 6; "Homicide Charge Implied in Deaths of Some Mental Hospital Patients," January 29; "Kansas Has 180,000 Persons Each Year Suffering Mental Ills, Survey Shows," February 4, and "Menninger

Foundation Offers a Great Opportunity for Psychiatric Training," February 9. Articles by Mr. Graham in the *Times* were: "Treat Them Like Human Beings' Is Guidepost of Larned State Hospital," December 13, 1948; "Old Buildings and Brutality Produce Scenes From Bedlam at Osawatomie," December 21; "Curative Medicine Is Not Attempted for the 800 Epileptics at Parsons Hospital," December 30; "On 82 Cents a Day Each, the 1,380 'Children' at Winfield Fare Well," January 8, 1949; "Death in a State Hospital [Topeka] Is Due to Critical Shortage of Attendants," January 12; "Mental Hospital Attendants Start Action on Broad Aide-Training Plan," January 19, and "New Day in Psychiatric Training Was Opened by the Menningers in Topeka," February 16.

In the Lawrence *Daily Journal-World*, December 14, 1948, W. C. Simons commented in an editorial on his 57 years of newspaper work in Lawrence. Mr. Simons and two associates began the operation of the Lawrence *Record* in December, 1891. In March, 1892, the Lawrence *World*, published by Mr. Simons and his associates, made its first appearance, and by July, 1921, the *World* had absorbed all its competitors. Editorial remarks on Mr. Simons' career as a newspaper man appeared in the Pittsburg *Headlight*, December 20, 1948.

"Over Early Shawnee Trails With Olathe's Charley Hoge," was the title of a brief article in *The Johnson County Democrat*, Olathe, December 16, 1948. Mr. Hoge, born in 1871, recalled some of the early history of the area around Shawnee. In the same issue was, "There's No Profit in Kansas Gold," a brief report of an interview with Dr. Walter H. Schoewe of the State Geological Survey at the University of Kansas.

Mayors of Blue Rapids from 1872 to 1947 were named in a historical sketch of the city published in the Blue Rapids *Times*, December 16, 1948.

"The Eisenhowers of Kansas," by Quentin Reynolds, was a feature article in the December 18, 1948, issue of *Collier's*. Accompanying the story were two pictures of the family, taken in 1902 and 1926, and a full-page picture of the five brothers as they visited together in Dwight's study just before he was made president of Columbia University. Parts of the brothers' conversation, as they talked of the days when they grew up in Abilene, were reported. The article also included a brief biographical sketch of each

member of the family, a glance at the family ancestry and facts about their home and neighbors in Abilene.

Historical articles in the 1949 issue of *The Kansas Magazine*, Manhattan, were: "The Inadvisability of Being Earnest," notes on Oscar Wilde's visit to Kansas in 1882, by Charles G. Pearson; "Petticoat Politician [Annie Diggs]," by Harry Levinson; "I Visited the City," the reactions of a Flint Hills farmer to city life, by John Fisher; "Odyssey of an Intellectual Bum [Frank Harris]," by Ernest Dewey; "Bluestem," the story of the Kansas bluestem pastures, by John McCormally; "Freedom Colony, a Kansas Brook Farm," a communistic experiment in Bourbon county, by Wayne Delavan; "Beefeater," an Englishman's visit to Manhattan, by F. D. Farrell; "Kansas City [Mo.] and William Rockhill Nelson in 1880," about the man who founded the *Kansas City Star*, by Charles E. Rogers; "Community Meeting," social life in a country schoolhouse, by Thad Norton Marsh, and "The Woman History Missed," Mrs. W. E. Meinke's story of the Quantrill raid on Lawrence as told to Eris Goff. The cover print, "Into the Hills," was by Charles M. Capps, Wichita.

Mrs. Anna Ward's recollections of the Quantrill raid on Lawrence in 1863 and other early events appeared in the *St. Joseph (Mo.) News-Press*, January 2, 1949, and in the *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, January 27. Mrs. Ward, now a resident of St. Joseph, Mo., was five years of age and living in Lawrence at the time of the raid, in which her own home was destroyed. The article was written by Ada Lyon.

With the issue of January 6, 1949, the *Chetopa Advance* began the 80th year of its publication. Founded by Col. John W. Horner and A. S. Corey, the *Advance* first made its appearance early in January, 1869.

A history of the Lucas schools from 1872 to 1894, by J. C. Ruppenthal, was printed in the *Lucas Independent*, January 19, 1949. Hiram Colby Hibbard, elected county superintendent of public instruction in 1872, began the organization of school districts in Russell county in 1873. The meager early school records indicate that Miss Elma Pratt taught one of the first schools near Lucas in a dugout about 1876-1877. Lucas school history was also briefly sketched in the *Russell Daily News*, January 17, 1949.

Kansas Historical Notes

The annual dinner meeting of the Shawnee County Historical Society was held in Topeka, December 15, 1948. The program, the theme of which was Col. Cyrus K. Holliday, included a review of incidents in Holliday's early life by Cecil Howes; a report by E. P. Murphy, president of the Topeka Junior Chamber of Commerce, that his organization was glad to participate in a movement to memorialize Holliday; a talk by Gov. Frank Carlson on the duty of present-day residents of Kansas to pay tribute to their forefathers with suitable memorials, and a playlet, "In the Beginning," by Paul Lovewell, staged by the Topeka Civic Theater. An amendment to the society's constitution was adopted which increased the board of directors from nine to 30 members. New directors are: George A. Root, Arthur J. Carruth, Jr., Mrs. Erwin Keller, J. Glenn Logan, T. M. Lillard, Hampton Shirer, Maude M. Bishop, Helen McFarland, Harry Colmery, Mrs. H. S. Blake, Dwight Ream, Marco Morrow, Holmes Meade, Mildred Quail, Frank Durein, Earl Ives, Robert Billard, Otis Allen, Margaret Whittemore, W. A. Biby, Frank Gibbs, Frank Ripley, J. C. Mohler and Mrs. Alf. M. Landon. A meeting of the board of directors was held January 6, 1949, when Homer B. Fink was elected president and Earl Ives vice-president. Other officers were reëlected as follows: George A. Root, secretary; Paul Adams, assistant secretary, and Paul Sweet, treasurer. Robert Stone was the retiring president.

Officers of the Ness County Historical Society for 1949 include: Lea Maranville, president; Mrs. Reina Mellis, vice-president; Ada L. Young, treasurer, and Audra M. Hays, secretary.

The thirty-first annual meeting of the Native Sons and Daughters of Kansas was held in Topeka on January 28, 1949. Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower, president of Kansas State College at Manhattan, the principal speaker, referred to Kansas as "the Atlas of the free world," in his address, "The Strength of Kansas." Miss Carol Bass, student of Kansas Wesleyan College, Salina, winner of the afternoon oratorical contest, repeated the winning oration at the dinner meeting. She was presented with the annual Capper award by Sen. Arthur Capper. Wayne David of Burden was the sweepstakes winner of the 1949 essay contest for high school students. Mrs. Kenneth W. McFarland, retiring president of the Native Daughters,

presided at the meeting. She was assisted by Sen. William T. Beck, president of the Native Sons. New officers of the associated organizations are: Native Sons—William Ljungdahl, Menlo and Topeka, president; Guy Josserand, Dodge City, vice-president; Edwin R. Jones, Topeka, secretary, and C. W. Porterfield, Holton, treasurer; Native Daughters—Mrs. Ella Ruehmann, Wamego, president; Mrs. P. A. Petitt, Paola, vice-president; Mrs. Thomas H. Norton, Topeka, secretary, and Mrs. Ray Pierson, Burlington, treasurer. Mrs. Frank W. Boyd, Mankato, continues as contest chairman.

One hundred and thirty residents of Finney county gathered at Garden City on February 8, 1949, for the first annual meeting of the Finney County Historical Society. Mayor A. M. Fleming was the principal speaker. Reëlected to the board of directors were: Gus Norton, Frederick Finnup, Mrs. Ella Condra, Mrs. R. E. Stotts, William Fant, Albert Drussel, J. E. Greathouse, William Easton Hutchison, Jean Norris Kampschroeder, Kate Hatcher Smith and Mabel Rowe Brown. Elected to fill unexpired terms were John Henselman and Clay Weldon. Gus Norton is president of the society. The organization's chief project is to write a complete history of Finney county.

Robert Stone, retiring president of the Shawnee County Historical Society, discussed the early history of Topeka at a meeting of the Riley County Historical Association in the Manhattan Congregational church, February 11, 1949. Another feature of the program was a group of Kansas folk songs, including the Kansas state song, presented by Prof. and Mrs. William E. Koch. Sam C. Charlson, president of the association, presided.

The Southwest section of the French "Merci" train arrived in Kansas City, Mo., February 12, 1949, where it was given a formal reception. The next day the train traveled on to Wichita via the Santa Fe lines for further ceremonies, stopping at Lawrence, Topeka, Emporia and Newton for brief programs. Columnist Drew Pearson, secretary of the U. S. reception committee; Madame Denise Davey, representing the French donors; Gov. Frank Carlson, representing Kansas and who formally accepted the Kansas car, and Richard M. Long of the Wichita *Eagle*, representing the Southwest, were among those participating in the ceremonies. The "Merci" train was made up of forty-nine "40 and 8" French box-cars full of gifts from the people of France to the people of each of the United States and the District of Columbia in gratitude for

the "Friendship" train which carried grain and other food to France in 1947.

Members of the Crawford County Historical Society were given a verbal picture of "Pittsburg Then and Now" at a meeting of the society, February 25, 1949. Mrs. J. T. Moore gave a report on the early history of Pittsburg, mentioning a number of "firsts." Modern Pittsburg, with its "new look," was described in a paper prepared by Dottie Lou Thomas and read by Mrs. Robert Crain. A quiz on Crawford county history was won by C. M. Cooper. Mrs. George Elliott was elected treasurer of the society. Other officers were elected in December, 1948, and were reported in this *Quarterly* in the February, 1949, issue.

Dr. G. G. Anderson was elected president of the Wichita Historical Museum Association at the annual dinner meeting, March 17, 1949. R. W. Sutton was named first vice-president; Bertha Gardner, second vice-president; Dr. H. C. Holmes, treasurer, and Carl Bitting, secretary. Re-elected to the board of trustees were: Dr. Jesse Clyde Fisher, Mrs. Wallace E. Haines, Brace A. Helfrich and Robert A. Israel, Sr. New trustees are: H. G. Overend, Emery H. Cox, Lee H. Cornell, W. B. Salome, Jr., and M. C. Naftzger. Dr. Mearle P. Culver, president of Southwestern College, of Winfield, was the principal speaker of the evening. Dr. Jesse Clyde Fisher, the retiring president, presided at the meeting. The museum, which is located in rooms in the Wichita Forum, is open from 1:30 to 4:30 p. m., each week day except Monday.

Fred G. Gurley, president of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co., paid tribute to the founder of the railroad, Cyrus K. Holliday, on the 123rd anniversary of Holliday's birth, in an address formally dedicating the new Santa Fe station in Topeka, April 3, 1949. Also appearing on the program were: Gov. Frank Carlson; Mayor Frank Warren, Topeka; E. P. Murphy, president of the Topeka Junior Chamber of Commerce, and W. Laird Dean, Topeka, master of ceremonies. One of the high points of the program was the unveiling of a Holliday memorial plaque by Kate Holliday and Elizabeth Holliday Burpee, great-granddaughters. The plaque, by Electra Waggoner, sculptress, showed a life-sized bust of Holliday, with railroad tracks running through a wheat field and an outline of the state capitol in the background. At the conclusion of the ceremonies, copies of a 35-page booklet containing Mr. Gurley's ad-

dress, and a biography of Holliday entitled "The Man With the White Hat," were distributed.

Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower's own story of World War II has been told in his new book, *Crusade in Europe*, 559 pages, recently issued from the press of Doubleday & Company, Garden City, N. Y. It is an extraordinary review of those momentous years which changed a lieutenant colonel from Kansas into the supreme commander of the allied forces in Europe. Eisenhower's discussion of the conduct and problems of global war and his estimate of the world leaders with whom he dealt make absorbing reading. The general was the subject of another 302-page book, *Eisenhower Was My Boss* (New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1948), by Kay Summersby, WAC captain, who was a secretary and part-time driver.

Two outstanding historians who have done extended research in the Kansas State Historical Society's collections preliminary to publication of their current historical works are: Roy Franklin Nichols, of the University of Pennsylvania, who wrote of the breakup of the Democratic party, 1856-1861, in a book *The Disruption of American Democracy* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1948), and Allan Nevins, of Columbia University, who is covering the nation's history from 1847 to 1861 in a series of books entitled *Ordeal of the Union* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons). Mr. Nevins' first two volumes, "Fruits of Manifest Destiny," 1847-1852, and "A House Dividing," 1852-1857, were published in 1947. The third volume is under way.

About 500 species of Kansas wild flowers were pictured and described in detail by William Chase Stevens in a 463-page book, *Kansas Wild Flowers*, recently published by the University of Kansas Press of Lawrence. Professor Stevens is professor emeritus of botany at the University and for years has been photographing and assembling information for this splendid work. Of the 774 illustrations, 761 were his own photographs.

The Bureau of Government Research at the University of Kansas has recently issued a 76-page pamphlet, *Kansas State Board of Agriculture*, by Edwin O. Stene. This is the bureau's fifth in a series on Kansas administrative history. The pamphlet is divided into five chapters as follows: "Evolution of the Board," "The Development of Functions," "Organization," "Management and Finance," and

"External Relations." J. C. (Jake) Mohler has been secretary of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture since 1914.

A 101-page booklet, *Old Oregon Trail—Roadway of American Home Builders*, by Walter E. Meacham, has recently been published under the sponsorship of the American Pioneer Trails Association, 1775 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y., with the coöperation of the Union Pacific railroad. After dealing briefly with the earlier passages over the Oregon trail, Mr. Meacham discussed the "Great Migration of 1843" in detail. Beginning at Independence, Mo., the story followed the Oregon-bound pioneers, relating their adventures and the histories of forts, towns and landmarks along the trail which ended in the Willamette valley, Oregon territory. An attractive 18" x 25" pictographic map in colors accompanied the booklet and both were commemorative of the admission of Oregon as a territory in 1848.

Wichita history and many of the early experiences of Rea Woodman are recorded in Miss Woodman's new book, *Wichitana 1877-1897*, published late in 1948. The sketches, which made up the book, were first printed in *The Democrat*, Wichita, December 22, 1928, to May 2, 1931, under the title, "Yesteryears."

The history of the founding of Stillwater, Okla., establishment of which was first, but unsuccessfully, attempted in 1884-1885 by William L. Couch, is reviewed by Dr. Berlin Basil Chapman in his new, 245-page book, *The Founding of Stillwater*, published in Oklahoma City by the Times Journal Publishing Co. Couch's attempt was stopped by U. S. troops, and it was not until 1889 that a town government was organized.

A 96-page book, featuring the life and work of Dr. Charles M. Sheldon, was recently published by the Sunshine Press, Litchfield, Ill. Compiled and edited by Henry F. Henrichs, the book is in three parts: "In His Steps Today," by Dr. Sheldon, a modern example of the principle expressed in his famous book, *In His Steps*; "St. Charles of Topeka," a brief sketch of the life and character of Dr. Sheldon, by Dr. Charles W. Helsley, present pastor of the Central Congregational Church of Topeka, and "Obsequies," by Dr. Helsley. Dr. Sheldon was pastor of the Central Congregational Church of Topeka for 31 years. Probably he is best known as the author of *In His Steps*, the all-time best seller in fiction.



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THE COVER

"The Old Bone Man of the Plains," by Rufus Fairchild Zogbaum, published in *Harper's Weekly*, New York, January 15, 1887. The gatherer of buffalo bones followed in the wake of vanishing herds which by 1887 had virtually disappeared from the plains. Although the picture was illustrative of Zogbaum's Montana experiences, the occupation was also carried on in Kansas. Col. Henry Inman estimated that the bones of 31 million buffalo were shipped from Kansas alone (*see p. 229*).

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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Number 3

The Pictorial Record of the Old West

VIII. CHARLES GRAHAM AND RUFUS F. ZOGBAUM

ROBERT TAFT

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WE have already pointed out that during the 1880's there was a rising tide of interest in the plains country and the Rocky Mountains.¹ This was reflected in the illustrated press of the decade. *Harper's Weekly*, New York, for example, at that time the best known of American illustrated papers, used an increasing number of Western illustrations, and it was in this decade that the first of the Western illustrations by Frederic Remington and by Charles M. Russell, the most celebrated of the artists of the West, appeared in the pages of this "journal of civilization."²

Remington's Western illustrations did not appear in any great number in this periodical until after 1885 and only one of Russell's appeared during the decade. But there were other Western illustrators who had achieved a considerable reputation in this field before Remington and Russell. Among these were W. A. Rogers, Charles Graham, Henry Farny and Rufus F. Zogbaum.

Rogers and Farny will be considered later in this series. Graham was the most prolific of Western illustrators during the 1880's and Zogbaum's work probably influenced later Western illustrators and we shall therefore consider their work here.³

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* (New York, 1938), and *Across the Years on Mount Oread* (Lawrence, 1941).

Previous articles in this pictorial series appeared in the issues of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* for February, May, August and November, 1946, May and August, 1948, and May, 1949. The general introduction was in the February, 1946, number.

1. See the introductory paragraphs of No. V in this series, "Remington in Kansas," *ibid.*, v. 16 (1948), May, pp. 113-120.

2. Remington's first illustration in *Harper's Weekly*, as already pointed out in this series, appeared in v. 26 (1882), February 25, p. 120. It was redrawn by W. A. Rogers. Russell's first illustration ("Caught in the Act") to appear in the *Weekly* will be found in v. 32 (1888), May 12, p. 340.

In 1880 four out of the some 900 illustrations in *Harper's Weekly* were Westerns. This number was undoubtedly low, for Western illustrations in considerable number had appeared in the 1870's. Even for 1881, however, the Western illustrations in the *Weekly* numbered only some eight out of nearly 1,300. By 1889, however, nearly 125 out of over 1,600 illustrations were Westerns.

3. In *Harper's Weekly* in the decade, 1880-1889, inclusive, Graham had some 120 Western illustrations; Remington had a few over 100, practically all in the four years 1886, 1887,

CHARLES GRAHAM

From 1880 until 1893 Graham was one of the most prolific of *Harper's Weekly* illustrators. Nearly every issue contained a full page or a double-page spread by him. Presidential inaugurations, political conventions and other events of national interest were covered by this pictorial recorder. His most favored subjects, however, were city views, and he made sketches of many of the cities of the United States. As most of the illustrations were signed or credited in print to "Charles Graham," his name was, in that period, one of the best known in the country. Yet today his name is virtually unknown. He is not listed in any of the biographical directories of artists nor in the usual sources of biographical information, and none of the leading libraries of the country to which I wrote was able to furnish the simplest and most fundamental facts concerning him. Only by a circuitous correspondence extending over several years was a daughter of Graham located, and even she could not add much to my store of information. I therefore had to start from zero and piece together the following facts of his life.

Graham was a Westerner himself, for he was born in Rock Island, Ill., in 1852. He had a natural aptitude for drawing but never received any formal art training. One of his most memorable experiences as a young man was obtained as a topographer with a surveying party for the Northern Pacific railroad in the early 1870's. The Northern Pacific had reached Bismarck early in 1873, and surveys for the westward extension of the road were pushed into Mon-

1888 and 1889; Zogbaum over 30; Farny nearly 30, and Rogers about a dozen. Rogers' contribution to Western illustration was made chiefly in the late 1870's and early 1880's. There were other Western illustrators working in this decade, also. Paul Frenzeny, whose work was described in the opening number of this series, continued to publish a few Westerns during the 1880's, and some very excellent Western mining illustrations by Alfred Mitchell appeared in the *Weekly*. Mitchell's illustrations, probably Colorado scenes, will be found in v. 31 (1887), April 30, p. 317; v. 32 (1888), September 29, p. 737, December 15, p. 976 (a note on p. 959 identifies the locality as "a certain Colorado town"); v. 33 (1889), July 13, p. 561, and August 3, p. 621. Although I have made considerable search, so far I have uncovered no information about Mitchell at all other than the record of the above illustrations. A. F. Harner had a number of sketches of the Indian war in the Southwest; John Durkin of lumbering operations; William Gilbert Gaul of California scenes and Thomas Moran of Rocky Mountain scenery. Western illustrations from photographs also appeared more frequently as the decade advanced. Of the illustrators listed above, A. F. Harner and Gilbert Gaul were probably the most important from the standpoint developed in this series of articles. A biographical sketch of Gaul (1855-1919) will be found in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. 7, p. 193, which states that Gaul achieved his reputation as a battle and military painter but spent much of his time in the Far West. "His illustrations of the life of the cowboy and the Indian were popular." I have seen relatively few of the latter. However, some of his Western illustrations will be found in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 32 (1888), October 27, pp. 812, 813; v. 33 (1889), March 23, p. 228 (illustration for Western fiction); in *The Century Magazine*, New York, vols. 20, 21 (1891, 1892), which are chiefly redrawn from earlier sketches; in *The Cosmopolitan*, v. 4 (1887-1888), pp. 86, 91, 92, 231, and most important of all, since they were drawn from life, two illustrations in color, "Sioux Camp" and "Sitting Bull," in *Report on Indians Taxed and Indians Not Taxed . . . Eleventh Census: 1890* (Washington, 1894), between pp. 522 and 523 and facing p. 574. (Gaul's work will also be considered later in this series.)

Harner is not well known as his name does not appear in any of the lists, indices or biographical sources of information on artists. Dr. Arthur Woodward of the Los Angeles County Museum is collecting material for a biography of Harner and has generously placed

tana and Idaho during the summer of that year. It seems probable that Graham was a member of that survey. Extensive army protection was provided for the surveying parties as Indian troubles—culminating in the Custer tragedy of 1876—were of common occurrence.⁴ Graham several times used his recollection of experiences on this trip in his subsequent drawings. Whether he made any sketches at the time is not now known.

Graham's professional career began as a scenic artist for Hooley's Theatre in Chicago, followed by several years' work in a similar capacity in the principal theaters of New York City. About 1877 he joined the art staff of Harper's Brothers and contributed for some 15 years solely to their publications, chiefly the *Weekly*.⁵

After 1892 Graham became a free lance illustrator, contributing

some of his notes at my disposal. I am indebted to him for most of the information which follows:

Alexander F. Harmer was born in Newark, N. J., on August 21, 1856, and died in Santa Barbara, Cal., January 8, 1925. He enlisted in the U. S. army in 1872 and again in 1881, and saw service in the West. Even as a youngster he was interested in sketching, an interest which led eventually to a life profession. He had several years' training in the late 1870's in the Philadelphia Academy of Fine Arts. In 1881 he decided to become a painter of Western scenes. Illustrations by Harmer of the Apache war appear in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 27 (1883), June 2, p. 340, July 7, p. 417, August 4, p. 484. Illustrations by Harmer also appear in John G. Bourke's *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona* . . . (New York, 1884), and *An Apache Campaign in the Sierra Madre* (New York, 1886), many of which were made "on the spot" as Harmer saw service in the army during these years. Sketches and notes of his experiences during this period were later transcribed into oils and water colors. After 1890 he turned sympathetic eyes on the fast vanishing life of the old California families and of the missions and Mission Indians of California and his later career was devoted almost entirely to the reproduction in picture of these themes.

4. My information concerning Graham's part in the survey came originally from his daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Graham Hurlbert of Hartsdale, N. Y. Mrs. Hurlbert stated that Graham was a member of the Northern Pacific railroad survey under Gen. T. L. Rosser in 1874, but correspondence with Mr. J. H. Poore, vice-president of the Northern Pacific, seems to establish conclusively that no surveys were made by the Northern Pacific in 1874 or 1875, as no reports of these years are on file in the company records. The failure of Jay Cooke & Co., the financial agents of the Northern Pacific, in 1873 resulted in the suspension of all construction work on the railroad after 1873 and until 1876. Rosser, according to company records, joined the Northern Pacific in 1871. (*The Dictionary of American Biography*, v. 16, p. 181, gives the date as 1872.) Reference to army protection in the N. P. survey of 1873 will be found in "Report of Lieut. Gen. Sheridan," in *Report of the Secretary of War* . . . , *House Ex. Doc. No. 1, Pt. 2, 43 Cong., 1 Sess.* (1873), pp. 40, 41. Some mention of the survey will be found in the *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution*, . . . for the Year 1873 (Washington, 1874), p. 41. For the part of Jay Cooke & Co. in the history of the Northern Pacific, see Eugene V. Smalley, *History of the Northern Pacific Railroad* (New York, 1883). Smalley's history is particularly inadequate, however, on the survey and construction of the road.

Some information and confirmation of Graham's part in the N. P. survey will be found in the Minneapolis (Minn.) *Journal*, January 11, 1906, "Builders of N. P. Meet After 30 Years." This account described a reunion of early workers on the N. P., but the date of Graham's experience cannot be established from this account. Graham is referred to by name and by the description, "A young man, very short of stature and inclined to corpulency, who waddled along with a surveying party in Montana and Idaho, making their topographical maps, . . ." The title of this account would place the original date as 1876; but the text states that the reunion was one of workers on the N. P. "prior to 1873." The survey in 1873, however, was made in Montana, from the accounts cited earlier in this note, and it therefore seems more probable that Graham was with it that year.

5. A brief biographical note in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 31 (1887), September 10, p. 643, states that Graham joined the Harper's Brothers staff "eleven years ago. . . ." Mrs. Hurlbert writes me that he joined Harper's staff in 1878. Graham's name first appeared in the *Weekly*, v. 21 (1877), June 2, pp. 428, 429.

W. A. Rogers was an intimate friend of Graham's in their early years on *Harper's Weekly* and in Rogers' book, *A World Worth While* (New York, 1922), he several times makes mention of "little Charley Graham" (pp. 15 and 247). Rogers confirmed the fact that Graham was a scenic artist before he joined Harper's staff. One of Graham's early illustrations (*Harper's Weekly*, v. 22 [1878], November 30, p. 953) depicted scene painters at work preparing stage backgrounds and drops.

drawings to *Harper's, Century, Collier's* and the *New York Herald*, and he did some work for the American Lithography Company. He took up oil painting late in life, his previous work being either from the pencil or by water colors. He died in New York City on August 9, 1911.⁶

Although Graham published literally hundreds of sketches, we are here interested primarily in those depicting the Western scene. At the outset it should be stated that Graham was an illustrator and not a historian. He made a number of Western tours in addition to his original trip of 1873 with the Northern Pacific survey, and on such journeys his pencil recorded many views which later became the bases for illustrations. In addition, photographs, the rough sketches of other artists and previously published illustrations were all, without doubt, used in the preparation of particular illustrations.

Without doubt, too, imagination provided detail in the preparation of many of the illustrations which finally found their way into print. All of which is to say that the event depicted in a given illustration was many times not an eye-witnessed event although from the title one could easily fall into the error of believing that such was the case. To be specific, one of Graham's full-page illustrations was published on the cover of *Harper's Weekly*, v. 31 (1887), September 3, "In Pursuit of Colorow." Colorow, the Ute chief, had left the reservation and was on the warpath and the event was big domestic news. Graham, it is almost certain, was not in Colorado at the time, but he had been there and his sketch book undoubtedly contained Rocky Mountain scenes. The illustration shows a band of horsemen riding up a steep and rocky mountain road. The picture simply called attention to the news event but was not factual pictorial reporting.

A few months later a second Graham illustration with a background not greatly different was entitled, "Packing Cord-Wood Over the Rocky Mountains." Although the backgrounds in the two illustrations are not identical, the chief differences in the two are in the figures depicted on the mountain road. Further, the *Weekly*

6. Most of this information comes from Mrs. Hurlbert who also writes me that Graham was an official artist for the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. It seems probable that Graham was a resident of California in the middle 1890's. According to John F. Connolly, secretary, Graham was a member of the Bohemian Club of San Francisco from 1893 to 1896. He was not listed in New York city directories from 1892 to 1897 although he was for all other years from 1883 to 1906. The New York Public Library has informed me that the illustrated catalogues of the American Water Color Society show that Graham was entered in their annual exhibition in 1879, 1881, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1890 and 1891. Of these water colors, two are apparently Westerns: "Indian Camp" and "Nomads of the Wild West." The New York Public Library also stated that Graham contributed illustrations to the *Chicago Tribune*, in addition to the publications stated above.

An obituary of Graham will be found in the *New York Herald*, August 10, 1911.

stated in the text in connection with the second illustration, "taken on the spot by one of our artists."⁷

It seems necessary to explain this point at some length, for the practices of the pictorial press in the days before high-speed photography and half-tone reproduction were far different from those of today, since now the public insists on factual reporting, both pictorial and written. Indeed, in the early history of the pictorial press one occasionally encountered the depiction of the event before the event itself had transpired.

It should also be realized that Graham was not the only illustrator who used these methods which are contrary to current practice. For example, a Remington illustration in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 30 (1886), September 25, p. 617, was titled, "The Apache Campaign—Burial of Hatfield's Men," and depicted an event in the Apache war of the Southwest. The *Weekly* further stated that it was a "sketch . . . made on the spot." Yet, an examination of Remington's own diary (in the Remington Art Memorial, Ogdensburg, N. Y.), kept on this trip to the Southwest, shows that Remington did not arrive on the scene until nearly a month after the event had transpired. Under date of June 15, 1886, Remington recorded in his diary the story of the Hatfield fight and the burial of several of Hatfield's men who were killed, as told to him by one "Private Kelly" of Fort Huachuca (in present southern Arizona) who had been one of the participants. As Remington did not reach Arizona until June 6 and the fight and burial depicted occurred on May 15 and 16, it is obvious that he was not an eyewitness of the event, even though the sketch may have been "made on the spot."

It is only by careful study that any conclusion can be reached about the authenticity of many scenes depicted in the illustrated press of the period we have under consideration and many times the information available is not sufficient to reach a decision. We have, however, already pointed out in the opening article of this series that illustrations made by artists who were familiar with the contemporary scene, but not eyewitnesses, possess value but must not be regarded as true records of the events themselves.

7. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 32 (1888), January 7, pp. 4, 11.

An incident related by the illustrator Howard Pyle emphasizes with still greater clarity both the point made above and the one which follows in the text. In a letter dated August 4, 1885, Pyle related (*Howard Pyle* [Charles D. Abbott, New York, 1925], p. 100) that he went to New York City to see Charles Parsons, the art editor of the Harper publications. Parsons showed Pyle the engravings of illustrations of a Broadway procession that *had not yet occurred*, drawn from important viewpoints. Pyle dryly commented that "It struck me that this was a trifle previous and I asked Mr. Parsons what they would do if it rained." Parsons pointed out that the sky in the engravings was not dead white so that the engravings could readily and rapidly be made to show either a clear day or a driving rain.

Possibly the greatest value of Graham's Western illustrations at the time they were made was the emphasis which his town and city views placed on the fact that the West was growing up; that not all Western life was cowboy and Indian melodrama. The value of these illustrations at present therefore is that they show the development of the West.

In order to justify the importance attached to his illustrations, let us consider what facts there are that show that Graham had firsthand acquaintance with the West.

One of Graham's early Western illustrations in the *Weekly* depicted "Ree Indians Crossing the Missouri in 'Bull Boats.'" A descriptive text accompanying the illustration reported that "our artist states that he once saw a band of these Indians defeat almost double their number of Sioux."⁸ As the only Western experience that Graham had undergone prior to this time was that with the Northern Pacific survey in 1873, it seems plausible that this illustration was based on his memory or possibly even a field sketch made at that time. In either case, Graham may have been aided by the illustrations of George Catlin and of Karl Bodmer, both of whom had drawn somewhat similar scenes, and they were doubtlessly known and available to Graham.

Between the appearance of the above illustration in 1878 and the fall of 1883, Graham had several additional Western illustrations printed.⁹ Whether these were based on direct observation, it is difficult to tell. In the fall of 1883, however, Graham had a number of illustrations depicting various places of the celebration attendant upon the completion of the Northern Pacific railroad. Here there is positive evidence that Graham was present and these pictorial records we can reasonably believe are authentic.¹⁰ Particularly notable, from a historical standpoint, is an illustration

8. *Ibid.*, v. 22 (1878), May 4, pp. 352, 355.

9. Among these illustrations in *Harper's Weekly* were: "Winter Railroad Travel in the Northwest [possibly Minnesota or Dakota]," v. 27 (1883), January 27, p. 57; "A Snow-Slide in the Rocky Mountains," February 17, p. 105, and sketches in and around Santa Fe, July 14, p. 445. Although not Western in the sense that we have defined the West, Graham had sketches of the northern shore of Lake Superior in *ibid.*, January 6, p. 8. The Wisconsin and Lake Superior region must have been visited on several occasions by Graham as he illustrated this country in both its summer and winter aspects a number of times; see *ibid.*, v. 29 (1885), January 17, pp. 41 and 45, March 28, p. 196, August 22, pp. 552, 553, September 5, p. 589; v. 30 (1886), February 6, p. 81, June 5, pp. 360, 361; v. 33 (1889), August 31, p. 700, and September 28, p. 780. Graham also had an illustration of an Indian village, which may have been based on his experiences of 1873, in *Harper's Magazine*, New York, v. 60 (1880), March, p. 496. Probably in the same class is the excellent illustration, "Indian Warfare—The Village," *Harper's Weekly*, v. 29 (1885), October 3, p. 652.

10. Helena (Mont.) *Daily Herald*, September 7, 1883; *Harper's Weekly*, v. 27 (1883), September 15, p. 589, September 22, pp. 596, 601, September 29, p. 617, November 17, p. 728, November 24, p. 749; v. 28 (1884), January 19, p. 40, February 9, p. 96, June 14, p. 384, and August 2, p. 496. The last two illustrations are dated on the print "'83." A note in the *Weekly* for November 17, 1883, p. 731, also specifically states that Graham was in the Pacific Northwest.

showing the driving of the golden spike on September 8, 1883, connecting the eastern and western links in the Northern Pacific system; an event of almost as great importance as was the joining of the Union Pacific rails with those of the Central Pacific fourteen years earlier.

Possibly the illustration " 'Banking Up' for Winter in Dakota" belongs to this same group of sketches.¹¹ In any case the scene depicted recalls an annual event of importance in the life of the early settlers on the northern plains.

It seems possible that Graham may have returned east by way of California and Colorado, over the Union Pacific, for there appear in the course of the next several years illustrations that confirm such a conjecture. "Felling the Red-Wood Trees of California"; "The Cliff House and Sutro Park, San Francisco, California"; "A Herd of Antelopes Delaying a Railway Train," the locality of which is identified as near Green River, Utah (reproduced in the picture supplement to this article, *between* pp. 224 and 225); "A Snow-Slide in the Rocky Mountains," which is identified as near Aspen, Colo.; "The Antlers, Colorado Springs," and "Irrigation in Colorado," form a series which, although not appearing in chronological order, might well have been the result of such a return trip.¹²

In January of 1887 Graham made a winter trip to Yellowstone Park in company with the well-known photographer of the park, Frank J. Haynes.¹³ The party made a tour of the park on snowshoes and had the memorable experience of being "holed up" in the wilderness one night by a severe blizzard.

Following the Yellowstone Park trip, or possibly preceding it, Graham again visited Colorado, for there appears a notable group of illustrations of the city of Denver which are not only pleasantly decorative but are also well engraved. The Denver views were followed by a number of most interesting Colorado and Utah sketches, including: "Manitou, Colorado"; "Sketches in Utah"; "Cimarron,

11. *Ibid.*, v. 30 (1886), January 16, p. 37.

12. In the order listed above the illustrations appeared in *Harper's Weekly* as follows: v. 30 (1886), October 30, pp. 700, 701; v. 31 (1887), April 30, p. 313; v. 28 (1884), February 2, p. 72; v. 30 (1886), February 13, pp. 104, 105, November 20, pp. 741 and 753. The return trip as suggested above is purely a conjecture. Graham may have made an independent trip to Colorado in the interval between the fall of 1883 and 1886, or the illustrations may have been drawn from photographs. Usually in the latter case, the *Weekly* specifically made the statement "after photographs." The fact that "A Snow-Slide in the Rocky Mountains" is identified as a real locality is fairly good evidence that Graham had at least visited Colorado; see *ibid.*, February 13, 1886, p. 110.

13. In *Harper's Weekly*, v. 31 (1887), April 9, p. 249 (cover page), is the illustration credited to Graham, "The Yellowstone in Winter—A Surprise." On pp. 256, 257, are reproductions of a number of the Haynes' photographs in Yellowstone, one of which is entitled, "Our Artist." It shows an individual heavily dressed, on snowshoes, with a sketch book in hand. On p. 259 is a description of this trip which in a number of places mentioned "our artist."

Colorado"; "A Burro Party, Pike's Peak"; "An Avalanche in the Rocky Mountains," and "The Great Loop on the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad."¹⁴

Here we have a group of illustrations that certainly revealed a new aspect of the West to interested residents of the East. The *Weekly* remarked in connection with the Denver illustrations, "There is nothing Western about Denver . . . [a] pushing city of 60,000 . . .," and expressed amazement at a well-known citizen of Philadelphia who had been heard to say, "Indians must be pretty bad around Denver now." Then with the enthusiasm of a modern press-agent, the editorial writer concluded:

The Denver man is content with this fine city, fresh and bright from his own hands— . . . away from her he is never quite at ease, for . . . there comes to him the inevitable longing to again walk down her wide shaded streets, to hear the soft gurgle of running water, and to rest his eyes upon the massive beauty of the mountains hanging like huge purple clouds athwart the western sky. . . .¹⁵

After these illustrations of 1887 and 1888, no Western illustrations of Graham's appeared until 1890 when another group of South Dakota, New Mexico, Colorado and Pacific Coast sketches was published.¹⁶ A number of these are particularly striking and some were dated and the locality given by Graham—an unusual practice, but one which would make the work of the biographer far easier if it had been universally followed by all illustrators and artists. "The Opening of the Sioux Reservation—Newly Arrived Settlers in the Territory [reproduced in the picture section, *between* pp. 224, 225]," depicts the arrival of settlers on the eleven million acres of the Sioux reservation in South Dakota opened to settlement February 10, 1890; "A Hunter's 'Shack' in the Rocky Mountains"; sketches in and around Santa Fe and Las Vegas, "Harvey's Ranch—The Highest in America," and to my way of thinking one of the best of

14. In the order as listed above the illustrations appeared in *Harper's Weekly* as follows: v. 31 (1887), April 23, pp. 296, 297 (the Denver views), July 23, p. 524, July 30, p. 540; v. 32 (1888), April 14, p. 272, October 27, p. 816, September 1, pp. 652, 653, and February 4, p. 85. The Denver Public Library has an original wash drawing of Graham's dated 1887 which is called "Eastern Slope Marshall Pass—The Great Loop on the D. & R. G. RR." Miss Ina T. Aulls of the Western History department informs me that it is the same view as shown in the last of the illustrations listed above and it is therefore probably the original from which the wood engraving was made.

In the late fall of 1886 Graham and a party of Harper's correspondents made an extensive tour of the South, and between December, 1886, and August, 1887, Graham had a large number of illustrations of Southern cities. For comment on the tour see *Harper's Weekly*, v. 30 (1886), November 20, p. 743. J. Henry Harper (*The House of Harper* [New York and London, 1912], pp. 550-552) described this trip of Harper correspondents in some detail. In addition to Graham, Horace Bradley and John Durkin accompanied the Harper party as artists. In the early fall of 1887 the *Weekly* announced that Graham was leaving on an extended tour of "the great West and Northwest."—*Ibid.*, September 10, 1887, p. 643.

15. *Ibid.*, April 23, 1887, p. 299.

16. Graham was abroad in 1889. There is a group of English scenes, one of which is signed and dated by Graham, "Liverpool '89."—*Ibid.*, v. 33 (1889), December 28, p. 1041. Mrs. Hurlbert wrote me that her father was abroad several times.

all of Graham's illustrations, the "Interior of the Church at Acoma, New Mexico, During the Harvest Feast [reproduced in the picture section, *facing* p. 225]," all record various and different aspects of life in the West of many decades ago.¹⁷

Graham was back in New York City by early 1891, when a fire virtually destroyed "the Gilsey block on upper Broadway . . .," a building in which his studio was housed. Only by a miracle did Graham's belongings escape unscathed. The *Weekly* in commenting on Graham's narrow escape remarked:

The destruction of Mr. Graham's studio, with its fittings, would have been a great and irreparable loss, containing as it does his large collection of quaintly curious relics and models. Here he keeps the scraps and portfolios of twenty years of artistic work in a wide and varied field, many of the drawings depicting scenes of Western frontier life in an epoch now passed. With these is a large amount of fresh material gathered in Western journeyings through the past summer and autumn for *Harper's Weekly*.¹⁸

One can only express regret that these portfolios and sketches are now no longer available. Valuable pictorial records that would add to our understanding of past life and to the enjoyment of our present one are now as hopelessly lost as if they had been consumed by fire 60 years ago.

With these illustrations, Graham's career as a Western illustrator comes virtually to an end. During the next few years, 1891, 1892 and 1893, Graham's time was devoted almost exclusively to depiction of the Columbian World's Fair in Chicago. During 1891 many illustrations by Graham of proposed plans for the fair were published in *Harper's Weekly*; in 1892 Graham's pen recorded voluminously the progress in the construction of fair grounds and buildings, and in the year of the fair itself, as we have already pointed out, he served as an official artist of the exposition.¹⁹

17. The illustrations in the order given above appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 34 (1890), March 8, p. 173, April 19, p. 293, July 19, p. 561 (Santa Fe), June 28, p. 496 (Las Vegas Hot Springs), July 5, p. 520 (Harvey's ranch), and August 2, p. 592. Some of the others included: "Sketches in New Mexico, Near Las Vegas," v. 34 (1890), July 12, p. 544; "Sketches at Santa Barbara, Southern California," August 23, p. 652; sketches at Spokane Falls and the Northwestern Exposition, September 6, pp. 690, 691; "Salmon-Fishing on the Frazer River, British Columbia," September 20, p. 729; "Golden Gate Park, San Francisco," September 20, p. 732; "Pueblo Farmers Watching Their Crops," October 4, p. 765; "The City of Los Angeles, California," October 18, pp. 808, 809, and probably belonging to the same group, "Sketches in Albuquerque, New Mexico, and Vicinity," v. 35 (1891), August 1, p. 576. This last group is of additional value in that the sketches were reproduced in half-tone and not by woodcut and therefore give a record of Graham's very real skill as a draftsman.

The illustrations dated included one of the Harvey ranch group, "N. M., June 1st, 1890"; one in the group near Las Vegas, "N. M., May 13, 90"; one in the Santa Fe group, "Santa Fe, May 16, 90"; one of the Santa Barbara group, "Santa Barbara, June 4, 90," and one of the Los Angeles group, "Los Angeles, June 1st." Evidently Graham had a slip of memory in the first sketch which should probably be "May 1st." One of the San Francisco sketches also bears the letters "S. F." with his signature.

18. *Ibid.*, v. 35 (1891), January 17, p. 39.

19. Some of Graham's drawings and paintings of the fair were published by the Winters Art Lithographing Company of Chicago; see *Harper's Weekly*, September 19, 1891, pp. 707, 708.

A number of California sketches appeared in the years he lived in California, probably 1893-1896, including the very celebrated "Midsummer Jinks of the Bohemian Club of San Francisco in the Redwoods."²⁰

The few scattered Western illustrations of Graham's that appeared between 1891 and 1900 which are worthy of note in our record include:

"Behind Time," probably an imaginary scene of a train delayed by snow or rain or other difficulties in the Rockies or Sierras.

"Over the Rockies in an Observation Car."

"The Great Glacier of the Selkirks, Manitoba."

"Busk Tunnel, Colorado," on the Colorado Midland railroad about twenty miles from Leadville.

"A Sand Storm of the American Desert," one of Graham's best, the reproduction of a water color.²¹

After 1900 Graham appears to have devoted most of his time to the study of oil painting and his artistic labors resulted in the production of many Dutch and English scenes which are outside the scope of the present study. Appraisal of Graham's work as artist and illustrator is extremely meager. Pennell lists him as one of the American illustrators whose work could be technically studied with advantage, and his book, *Pen Drawing and Pen Draughtsmen*, included one of Graham's drawings. W. A. Rogers, who knew Graham well, stated that Graham had the finest sense of perspective of any man he ever knew. Rogers, who was himself well acquainted with the West, had the following interesting comment on Graham's Western illustrations:

Graham never quite broke loose from the scenic foreground; but if one will pass over the inevitable tree and rock in the foreground of his pictures of the

20. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 38 (1894), September 22, p. 897. Other California illustrations of this period by Graham in the *Weekly* included: "Santa Cruz, California," July 28, 1894, p. 708; "A Model Lemon Ranch in California," August 4, p. 728; "The Great Soda Lake, in Inyo County, California," September 8, p. 849, and "The Sutro Baths, San Francisco, California," p. 856; "Around San Francisco Bay," September 15, p. 872; "Asphalt Industry in Southern California," October 6, p. 945; "The Water-Supply of San Francisco," October 20, p. 992; "A Steam-Wagon Hauling Lumber in the Sierras," October 27, p. 1028; "Mining for Gold in California," v. 39 (1895), January 19, p. 56; "Scenes In and About San Jose," February 16, p. 153, and "Crater Lake and Cove, Cascade Mountains," v. 40 (1896), September 19, p. 932.

21. The illustrations in the order listed above appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 34 (1890), August 30, pp. 680, 681; v. 35 (1891), July 18, p. 540, September 19, a double-page supplement; v. 37 (1893), November 25, p. 1125, and v. 40 (1896), October 10, p. 996. The last picture is almost the final illustration of Graham's to appear in *Harper's Weekly*, the last ones being several Cuban illustrations which were published in the *Weekly* of 1898. Although most of Graham's Western illustrations have been listed in text or notes, there have been some omissions. Note, too, that there are probably Western illustrations of Graham's in other periodicals or newspapers than the *Weekly* that have not been caught. A more complete list of Graham's illustrations of all types than is given here for the decade 1890-1899 will be found in *19th Century Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature 1890-99* (New York, 1944), v. 1, pp. 1108, 1109.

Sierras and the Rockies one must admit that no truer pictures were ever made of the mountains in all their naked ruggedness.²²

RUFUS FAIRCHILD ZOGBAUM

Zogbaum was primarily a military and naval artist, but as a result of his Western trips, made for the purpose of recording life in the United States army, there resulted a number of important Western pictures in addition to his military ones.

Zogbaum was born in Charleston, S. C., in 1849. An aptitude for drawing, which became apparent early in life, created a desire for an artistic career. His family was opposed to art as a profession, but he persevered in his ambition and the years 1878 and 1879 found him enrolled in the Art Students' League in New York City. He went to Paris in 1880 and entered the studio of Léon J. F. Bonnat, a celebrated French figure painter, best known for his small pictures of Italian life. Zogbaum said some years later:

. . . That was rather a queer apprenticeship for a young man who was to paint soldiers and sailors; but I was lonely in Paris and had friends at Bonnat's, so I went there.

During my two years in Paris I saw the work of De Neuville and Détaillé, and that decided me to paint military scenes. . . . In 1883 I went West and brought back a number of magazine articles, for various publishers. . . . I furnished both text and pictures. The illustrated newspapers also took up a great deal of my time. . . . life in a New York studio seems rather tame after years of outdoor existence upon the plains.²³

The Western experiences to which Zogbaum refers included a trip—possibly several trips—to present Montana in the middle 1880's and a trip to present Oklahoma in 1888. As Zogbaum stated, he not only made many sketches on these trips, but he wrote frequently of his experiences so that we have a fuller record of his life in the West than we do of many of the artists and illustrators with whom we are concerned. Exasperatingly enough, Zogbaum

22. The information on Graham's work after 1900 comes from his daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Graham Hurlbert. For the reference to Pennell, see Joseph Pennell, *Pen Drawing and Pen Draughtsmen*, 3d ed. (London and New York, 1897), pp. 223, 270, 271. Pennell also makes brief mention of Graham in his *Modern Illustration* (London and New York, 1895), p. 127.

The source of the Rogers' quotation is cited in Footnote 5.

23. These biographical facts concerning Zogbaum came from Appletons' *Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1889), v. 6, p. 662, and an interview (the quoted material above) by P. G. H., Jr., in an article "Rufus S. [sic] Zogbaum," *The Book Buyer*, New York, v. 12 (1895), April, pp. 132-135. P. G. H., Jr., was probably Philip G. Hubert, Jr., a frequent contributor to *The Book Buyer*. It should be noted that Zogbaum had already contributed a military illustration to the pictorial press before his Paris trip. "Artillery School for Militiamen at Fort Hamilton" by Zogbaum had appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 23 (1879), November 15, p. 904. The small item of information on Bonnat comes from Champin's *Cyclopedia of Painters and Paintings*, v. 1, p. 179.

could, with very little additional effort, have been more definite about time and place, but it was the style of writing in those days to refer coyly to a person by description rather than by name and to adopt fictitious names for localities.

From the first of his Western trips to Montana, there resulted the articles: "A Day's 'Drive' With Montana Cow-Boys," "A Night on a Montana Stage-Coach," "Across Country With a Cavalry Column," and "With the Blue Coats on the Border."²⁴

Despite the statement made by Zogbaum in the interview previously given that he first went to Montana in 1883, it seems more probable, after a study of those articles and the illustrations which accompany them, that he first visited Montana in the summer of 1884 and probably repeated these visits to the territory in several subsequent years.²⁵

The first of the articles is, in effect, an idealized story of an incident told from the standpoint of an artist; color, poses of cow-boys and animals, scenes and views, impressions and odors are written into the account. The incident upon which the account was based was the transfer of a herd of cattle from one feeding ground to another through a narrow mountain canyon. The locality—other than Montana—is not given and Zogbaum makes no direct statement that he was there, although it is obvious that he was an observer. The illustrations, like the description, are idealized, although it is obvious again that Zogbaum noted detail most carefully. In fact, in all his Western illustrations, Zogbaum tended to idealize characters and scenery. His horses are sleek, well-fed and well-groomed animals, his foreground scenery conventional.

But Zogbaum, unlike Graham, was willing to get off the beaten track and undergo the rigors of life on the trail, in camp and on stagecoach and, as a result, secured material that is of more than ordinary interest. He took the stage, possibly from Helena, for example, for some unknown destination and chose to sit with the stage driver. Their way led up a steep mountain road. It was night and a violent rainstorm broke upon them before they crossed the range. But Zogbaum stuck to his seat and even held the reins

24. In the order stated above these will be found in *Harper's Magazine*, v. 71 (1885), July, pp. 188-193; *Harper's Weekly*, v. 29 (1885), August 29, p. 571; *Harper's Magazine*, v. 71 (1885), September, pp. 605-610; *ibid.*, v. 72 (1886), May, pp. 849-860. The last two articles, with additional illustrations and text, were later reprinted in Zogbaum's book, *Horse, Foot, and Dragoons* (New York, 1888).

25. The first article appeared in July, 1885, and the illustrations are dated '84 (Zogbaum, fortunately for the historian, dated nearly all his illustrations) and none of his Western sketches bear any earlier date. An incident to which Zogbaum refers in the fourth article listed above can definitely be dated as occurring in 1884; see Footnote 31.

as the driver got out to make adjustments to harness and coach. His conduct was approved by the driver who informed Zogbaum that he had no tenderfoot ways about him "like some o' them Eastern fellers that have been raised with lots of servants about them, and think God Almighty's sun only shines for them. Dignity will do very well in the East . . . but ther' ain't no room for it here. A man's got to rustle here, youbetcherlife."²⁶

Having thus placed his stamp of approval on his passenger, the driver needed no urging to spin yarn after yarn for Zogbaum, the storm having abated, and wound up by telling a hair-raising story of having been held up once in "Arizony." This yarn made so much of an impression on Zogbaum that, taken with his ride in an actual stagecoach, one of his most famous illustrations, "Hands Up," resulted. It appeared as a bold double-page illustration in *Harper's Weekly* for August 29, 1885, pp. 568, 569, and depicts the robbery of a stagecoach. It was not Zogbaum's first Western illustration in the *Weekly*, however, for two earlier ones had appeared: "General Grant's Death—The News in the Far West," and "Sheridan on the Plains." Both were imaginary scenes, but the background, no doubt, was supplied by Zogbaum's observations in Montana.²⁷

The two articles, "Across Country With a Cavalry Column" and "With the Blue Coats on the Border," show how much farther Zogbaum left the beaten trail in Montana. The first related his experiences "winding over the trackless prairie through the gray sagebrush," after traversing tracts of cactus desert, fording streams, climbing over mound-shaped buttes, crossing stretches of alkali dust and sticky mud, and plodding by the shadow of giant mountains.

Days pass in this way [wrote Zogbaum]. We cross the great plains, almost imperceptibly reaching a higher altitude day by day; we march over the divides and move up through the foot-hills, higher and higher into the mountains. Once, under the shadow of a huge mountain peak, we camp near a small military post, the officers of which bring their families to visit us, and it is a novel sight to our eyes to see delicate and refined ladies and pretty little children seated around our camp-fire, and listening to the lively music of a really excellent string-band, made up from among the enlisted men. Sometimes the line of our march takes us through great cañons, by the sides of and through roaring streams, over steep and dangerous mountain trails, where the wagons often experience delay and difficulty in passing.

26. "A Night on a Montana Stage-Coach," *Harper's Weekly*, v. 29 (1885), August 29, p. 571.

27. *Ibid.*, August 8, 1885, pp. 520 and 528. The Sheridan picture was supposed to show the general in Oklahoma but Zogbaum supplied him with a Montana background, for it is almost the same as Zogbaum used in the illustration, "The Herd," for his article, "Across Country With a Cavalry Column" (see Footnote 24).

It has been possible to identify this expedition with considerable certainty, for a study of the Secretary of War's report for 1884 shows that an extensive movement of troops was under way in Montana in the summer of that year. The one accompanied by Zogbaum was the cross-country journey of the Second cavalry under Col. J. P. Hatch. These troops left Fort Custer in southeastern Montana on May 24 and traveled overland by way of Fort Ellis (possibly the post referred to by Zogbaum in the quotation given above) and Helena to Missoula, near the Montana and Idaho border, which they reached on June 18. At Missoula they entrained for duty in the Pacific Northwest.²⁸

Zogbaum used some fifteen sketches to illustrate his account of this trip and some are very effective. "Taps," "A Moment's Halt," and "The Ford," are all striking illustrations, although as usual his horses are all beautiful animals and his men all well attired, although in a variety of costumes. Zogbaum, however, called atten-

28. "Report of Brigadier-General Terry," in *Report of the Secretary of War, House Ex. Doc. No. 1, 48 Cong., 2 Sess.* (1884-1885), p. 112. The report of the Secretary of War for 1883 has also been examined and the above troop movement fits the facts as described by Zogbaum the most closely of any for the two years. As Zogbaum's account indicated, the expedition was of considerable size. The official report stated that Hatch's troops consisted of headquarters, field, staff, band, and Troops F, G, H, I, and L (joined by Troop E at Billings and B at Helena). The description of the route as given by Zogbaum would coincide with Hatch's movements. Further, since the second in command is referred to by Zogbaum as "the senior major" would require an officer of still higher grade as the leader. Zogbaum refers to "our chief" as an officer of great service, "the snows of forty years of active service in field and garrison crowning his head. . . ." Hatch, according to the *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. 8, pp. 392, 393, retired in 1886 as the commanding officer of the Second cavalry. He was graduated from the military academy at West Point in 1845 and had seen service in the Mexican war, the Civil War and had had 20 years of the life of a professional soldier on the plains after the Civil War. Further, Zogbaum quoted the cook of the officers' mess as addressing his commanding officer as "Sheneral." Hatch had been breveted both as a brigadier general and major general for service in the Civil War.

The second in command of the Second cavalry would, of course, be the lieutenant colonel, who in 1884 was Andrew J. Alexander. In fact the *Official Army Register for January, 1884* (p. 53) gives the ranking officers of the Second cavalry as John P. Hatch, colonel; Andrew J. Alexander, lieutenant colonel; James S. Brisbin, Eugene M. Baker and David S. Gordon, majors ranked in the order given. An examination, however, of the *Army & Navy Journal*, New York, for 1883 and 1884 shows that Colonel Alexander was almost continually on sick leave and on December 31, 1883, was granted a six-months' sick leave (*ibid.*, January 5, 1884, p. 454) which in July, 1884, was extended for another six months (*ibid.*, July 19, 1884, p. 1037). This absence of Colonel Alexander in 1884 would leave Major Brisbin as "the second in command." Brisbin, however, was on detached duty at the time of the overland trip in 1884, for he left Fort Ellis, Montana, for Pocatello, Idaho, with Troop D of the Second cavalry on May 26, 1884 ("Report of Brigadier-General Terry," *loc. cit.*), which would leave Major Baker as the second in command on the overland trip from Fort Custer to Missoula.

Further, and this point is the clincher, Zogbaum described the second in command as "a brave and unassuming soldier, whose bloody encounters with the savage foe of the pioneer form part of the history of the great Northwest. . . . He will be long and kindly remembered by his comrades. He has made his report to the Great Captain since then, and has joined the grand army of the dead." As Zogbaum's article was published in September, 1885, the second in command had died between the summer of 1884 and September, 1885. According to the *Army & Navy Journal* (December 27, 1884, p. 421), Maj. E. M. Baker, Second cavalry, died at Fort Walla Walla on December 19, 1884. This account further stated that Baker was breveted colonel on December 1, 1868, "for zeal and energy while in command of troops operating against hostile Indians in 1866, 1867, and 1868. . . . since the [Civil] War his record was one of arduous service on the frontier." I consider that the review of the facts given here establishes the identity and date of the expedition that Zogbaum accompanied with certainty.

In Zogbaum's book, *op. cit.* (p. 133), there is an added paragraph not present in the original *Harper's Magazine* version which stated that Zogbaum took leave of the Second cavalry "on the edge of a forest in northern Idaho" and inferred that the locality was on the line of the newly-finished Northern Pacific. Evidently Zogbaum entrained with the troops at Missoula (some 40 miles from the Montana-Idaho border) and rode with them some distance westward.

tion in his writing to both of these features for he commented on the excellent mounts provided by the army. When abroad Zogbaum had visited a number of European troops and as a result was greatly concerned over the informality of dress affected by the frontier troops. He noted slouch felt hats, forage caps, white sun helmets, a cowboy hat and even a civilian straw hat among the headgear worn by the cavalrymen with an almost equal latitude in many of the other accessories of dress.

We cannot help smiling [he wrote] as we think of what the astonishment of some of our European friends—the natty English artilleryman, the dashing French chasseur, or closely buttoned, precise German dragoon—would be, could they be dropped down here in front of this command, and how they would inwardly comment in no very favorable terms on the appearance of Uncle Sam's troopers in the field. And we cannot help but ask, and we do so in all good feeling, would it not, without carrying the "pomp and circumstance" of military life to the extreme that our more warlike neighbors do, be of equal practical benefit to the comfort and health of the soldier, and more productive of a feeling of soldierly self-respect, if a little more uniformity, a little more attention to details, and greater regard for appearance, even in the field, and on such rough service as our little army, unlike the European services, is so constantly engaged in, were insisted on.²⁹

It is doubtful if Zogbaum's advice had any effect in producing a nattier appearance of the U. S. troops as they plodded across the dry and dusty Western sagebrush plains, but at least the artist had done his best to make neater and more attractive soldiers.

In "With the Blue Coats on the Border," Zogbaum continued the account of his travels through Montana. He may have wanted a more idyllic world but he was a glutton for punishment in seeing what there was of the Montana world of 1884, for this account described a horseback ride from an army post—possibly Fort Maginnis—northward to the Missouri river, a 40-mile ride made in a driving rain. Here, when the Missouri was reached, he caught a river boat and descended the river to another army post. Here again Zogbaum did not identify the locality but it seems certain that the army post was Camp Poplar River, near the Fort Peck reservation and agency for Sioux and Assiniboines.³⁰

29. Zogbaum, *op. cit.*, p. 116. That Zogbaum's comment on "our little army" was certainly true is shown by the fact that on November 1, 1884, the U. S. army totaled 2,147 officers and 24,236 enlisted men.—"Report of the Lieutenant-General of the Army," in *Report of the Secretary of War, House Ex. Doc. No. 1, Pt. 2, 48 Cong., 2 Sess. (1884-1885)*, p. 45.

30. Many years later Zogbaum stated that he had visited Poplar River (*Scribner's Magazine*, New York, v. 57 [1915], January, p. 16) but contemporary evidence is furnished by a Zogbaum sketch belonging to his daughter, Mrs. Linzboth (see Footnote 33), which bears the inscription, "The Captured Cayuse—Camp Poplar River M. T. 1884." Mrs. Linzboth writes, "The cayuse is anything but sleek or well groomed."

In the summer of 1884 some companies of the 15th U. S. infantry were stationed at Camp Poplar River.—*Report of the Secretary of War, loc. cit.*, pp. 62, 113. The identification of Fort Maginnis above is largely a guess; Zogbaum mentioned Fort Maginnis in one of his articles and it appears to be the only army post "forty miles back of us [from the Missouri] over the prairie."

On the down-river trip, too, Zogbaum heard of the work of the vigilantes, those roused ranchmen of Montana, who, infuriated by the constant loss of cattle and horses, took the law into their own hands and destroyed a number of the thieves. Zogbaum even saw one of the bodies of the desperados as it hung from a tree beside the river.³¹

With these sights, Zogbaum's Western sketchbook must have been bulging at the seams, but after several days spent at the army post he resumed his down-river journey, past more Indian villages and trading posts, until a railroad to the East was reached.

The most notable of the illustrations published with the article included: "The Vigilantes" (showing a group of cattlemen with a burning ranch house in the distance); "A Race With the Boat" (an Indian camp and two Indian boys mounted on a horse), and "The Captives" (rustlers captured by a squad of soldiers; an event which Zogbaum witnessed).³²

It seems probable that Zogbaum visited Montana again in several subsequent years, as a steady stream of his Montana illustrations appeared in the years 1885, 1886 and 1887, and on a number of occasions he wrote of other Western experiences. He had, however, covered so much Montana territory in 1884 that his accumulated notes and field sketches would have been sufficient to supply the background material for all this published work. But he had, as we have already pointed out, in his published interview of 1895, spoken of "years of outdoor existence upon the plains," which, if he was correctly quoted, makes it certain that he spent more than the one summer in Montana. His additional experiences, as he described them, also lend support to this belief.³³

31. Zogbaum's comment on the vigilantes is additional evidence on the date of the trip for, according to Granville Stuart in *Forty Years on the Frontier* (Cleveland, 1925), the vigilantes were at work in July, 1884. Zogbaum mentioned the night before the river boat on which he was a passenger reached a small camp, one "Billy D—" had been taken by the vigilantes and hanged. Stuart, v. 2, p. 206, stated that Billy Downs was hanged by the vigilantes on the night of July 4, 1884. Zogbaum mentioned the still burning ruins of "the Jones boys' ranch." Stuart (pp. 207-209) described the destruction of the James family (father and two sons) and their allies. Zogbaum further mentioned the fact that the vigilantes hailed the river boat which stopped for them and their leader, "a tall, handsome, blond-bearded man, flannel-shirted, high-booted, with crimson silk kerchief tied loosely, sailor fashion, around his sunburnt neck . . .," who asked for upriver news. "Many on board recognize him," wrote Zogbaum, "for a man of wealth and education well known in the Territory. . . ."

32. The second illustration does not appear in the original article in *Harper's Magazine* but does in *Horse, Foot, and Dragoons*, p. 157.

33. I have been in correspondence with Mr. Harry St. Clair Zogbaum and Mrs. Kate Zogbaum Linzboth, children of R. F. Zogbaum, who supplied me with personal recollections of their father and of his Western experiences. Both have examples of their father's water-color sketches of the period under discussion and I am indebted to both for their kindness and courtesy in supplying such information as they possess. Neither Mr. Zogbaum or Mrs. Linzboth, however, could supply me with information concerning the number of Montana trips made by their father.

Mrs. Anne McDonnell of the Historical Society of Montana has spent considerable time searching Montana newspapers of this period to see if contemporary mention of Zogbaum



RUFUS FAIRCHILD ZOGBAUM

(1849-1925)

A photograph made in the early 1880's. *Courtesy* of Mrs. Kate Zogbaum Linzboth, of New York City.



CHARLES GRAHAM

(1852-1911)

A photograph taken in 1888. *Courtesy* of Mrs. Elizabeth Graham Hurlbert of Hartsdale, N. Y.



ZOGBAUM'S "THE MODERN SHIP OF THE PLAINS" (1886)

(Note: Unless otherwise stated all pictures accompanying this article are reproduced from *Harper's Weekly*.)



ZOGBAUM'S "PAINTING THE TOWN RED" (1886)



ZOGBAUM'S "AFTER THE BLIZZARD" (1887)



ZOGBAUM'S CONCEPTION (1901) OF "THE DEFEAT OF ROMAN NOSE BY COLONEL FORSYTH ON THE ARICKAREE FORK OF THE REPUBLICAN RIVER, SEPTEMBER, 1868"

A battle near the northwest corner of Kansas in which Kansas volunteers took part. Reproduced from the original drawing by *courtesy* of the Library of Congress.



GRAHAM'S "A HERD OF ANTELOPE DELAYING A RAILWAY TRAIN" (1884)



GRAHAM'S "THE OPENING OF THE SIOUX RESERVATION—NEWLY ARRIVED SETTLERS IN THE TERRITORY [SOUTH DAKOTA]" (1890)



GRAHAM'S "INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH AT ACOMA, NEW MEXICO, DURING THE HARVEST FEAST" (1890)

Among these experiences related by Zogbaum are tales of trout fishing, prairie chicken shooting, overland travel on the Northern Pacific and campfire stories, all, of course, with appropriate illustrations.³⁴

Montana illustrations and others of the "Northwest" appearing in the illustrated press of the period, some of which were not accompanied by articles written by Zogbaum, included:

1. "Indian Warfare—Discovery of the Village."
2. "Shooting Prairie-Chickens in Montana."
3. "Trout-Fishing in Montana."
4. "Painting the Town Red." [Reproduced in the picture section.]
5. "The Modern Ship of the Plains." [Reproduced in the picture section.]
6. "The Old Bone Man of the Plains." [Reproduced on the cover of this issue.]
7. "After the Blizzard." [Reproduced in the picture section.]
8. "The Prairie Letter-Box."
9. "Wheat-Harvesting in Dakota."
10. "A Horse Auction on the Frontier."
11. "Cavalry Caught in a Blizzard."
12. "The Scout."
13. "A Present to the Company Commander."³⁵

All these illustrations appeared in *Harper's Weekly* between 1885 and 1889. Three of them were huge double-page pictures ("Painting the Town Red," "After the Blizzard," and "Cavalry Caught in a Blizzard"); all the rest were large full-page ones, several occupying the cover page, with the exception of the small "Shooting Prairie-Chickens in Montana." Outside the intrinsic interest of the illustrations themselves, the ones listed above and those previously discussed are important because they set a pattern for Western illustrations for a good many years to come. They called attention by their sheer number to the activities of the army in the West and to other aspects of Western life. Sporadic illustrations of Western army activities had, of course, appeared before the Zogbaum sketches, but his plan to combine both writing and illustration placed a greater

would throw more light on the number of his Montana trips, but so far she has met with little success. Mrs. McDonnell has, however, contributed greatly to my knowledge of the history and geography of Montana territory, a contribution which has been a very real aid in my study of Zogbaum and other Montana artists. I acknowledge her aid with sincere thanks.

34. To complete the bibliography of Zogbaum's Western writings up to 1890, we should cite: "An Evening Among the 'Chickens' in Montana," *Harper's Weekly*, v. 29 (1885), October 10, p. 670; "A Day's Trout-Fishing in Montana" (the locality is identified as Fort Missoula), *ibid.*, v. 30 (1886), July 10, p. 443; "On the Modern 'Ship of the Plains,'" *ibid.*, November 13, p. 731; "How the Sergeant Shot the Bear," *ibid.*, v. 33 (1889), January 5, p. 7.

35. In the order listed above these appeared in *Harper's Weekly* as follows: v. 29 (1885), September 19, p. 613, October 10, p. 668; v. 30 (1886), July 10, p. 445, October 16, pp. 668, 669, November 13, p. 728; v. 31 (1887), January 15, p. 36, March 12, pp. 184, 185, April 23, p. 289, July 30, p. 541, December 24, p. 944; v. 32 (1888), January 28, pp. 64, 65, August 11, p. 585; v. 33 (1889), January 5, p. 1.

emphasis than ever before on this phase of American life. Then, too, his cowboy sketches added to a mounting and intense interest that was to develop into a grand American obsession. True again, there had been earlier illustrators of the cowboy. We have already called attention in this series to the illustrations of Frenzeny and Tavernier and of Henry Worrall in the early 1870's who had depicted activities of cowboys. W. A. Rogers, who will be discussed later, also had published cowboy illustrations as early as 1879 and 1880, but the great flood of cowboy illustrations did not come until Zogbaum had set the pattern.

Probably the most important of the Zogbaum illustrations in this respect was his large and vigorous, "Painting the Town Red." If there had been earlier portrayals of the activities of cowboys than Zogbaum, this illustration was one of the earliest, if not the earliest, to show the cowboy at *play*. Four cowboys are depicted at full gallop through the main street of a small frontier town. One cowboy is shown reaching for the flying queue of a hastily retreating Chinaman, another is quiring his horse to still greater speed, a third is yelling, and the fourth is blazing away into the air with his six-shooter. Soldiers, Indians, prospectors and less picturesque citizens line the street.

Such a view crystallized and confirmed the popular conception of the cowboy. The appearance of this large and bold illustration in the most widely read pictorial magazine of its day set the mold for future writers and illustrators. Frederic Remington, for example, the best known of the Western illustrators, "borrowed" Zogbaum's theme a few years later for his "Cow-boys Coming to Town for Christmas," which is almost a duplicate of Zogbaum's picture.³⁶

Remington, of course, early made the cowboy a subject of his illustrations. His professional career really dates from 1886 and in that year his first cowboy illustration appeared.³⁷ It was his well-known "In From the Night Herd," and it was not long before other of his illustrations in the same field followed.³⁸

Other artists and illustrators, too, could follow the path laid out

36. The Remington illustration, also a double-page feature, will be found in *ibid.*, v. 33 (1889), December 21, pp. 1016, 1017. The original sketch, "Painting the Town Red," is now in the possession of Mrs. Linzboth. It measures 15¼ x 13¼ inches.

37. His first, if we except the sporadic illustration published in 1882 in *Harper's Weekly* (and previously mentioned) which was redrawn by W. A. Rogers. It is in style and manner a Rogers illustration and not a typical Remington.

38. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 30 (1886), October 9, p. 645. Probably Remington's first illustration of cowboys at "play" was his "A Quarrel Over Cards—A Sketch From a New Mexican Ranch," *ibid.*, v. 31 (1887), April 23, p. 301.

It should, of course, be pointed out that the earlier cowboy illustrations mentioned above in the text were the cowboys of Texas, Kansas and Colorado. Cowboys of Montana were unknown in 1880, according to Granville Stuart (*Forty Years on the Frontier*, v. 2, p. 188),

by Zogbaum and then by Remington without the necessity of personal inspection, for art magazines were advertising: "Cowboy, Round-up and Cattle Photographs—Sixty Subjects. Splendid Studies for Painting. Send for Circular. Harve and Breckans, Box 410, Cheyenne City, Wyoming."³⁹ Even one of the greatest of American painters of the nineteenth century, Thomas Eakins, became interested in painting the cowboy after some months spent in the Bad Lands of Dakota territory in 1887.⁴⁰

In addition to "Painting the Town Red," several other Zogbaum illustrations in the group listed on p. 225 deserve more than mere listing. "The Modern Ship of the Plains" and "The Old Bone Man of the Plains," for example, again record a different and, at that time, a changing aspect of life in the West (*see* picture section and cover of this magazine).

The first of these two illustrations shows the interior of a west-bound emigrant car. The emigrants—Germans, Scandinavians, Scotch, English, Irish—were housed in a car of a Northern Pacific train that had left St. Paul for the "Wild West" (Zogbaum's words) at "four p. m. . . . on a bright afternoon in May."⁴¹ If we can accept the date of the illustration, the year was 1885.

Zogbaum, feeling at peace with the world, left his comfortable Pullman and pushed his way through the cluttered vestibule of the emigrant car. He noted that no attempt had been made at ornamentation or upholstering in the car, "but everything seems strong and well made." He commented on the fact that overland emigrants not many years earlier had been forced to undergo the trials and rigors of ox-train travel across the plains and that by contrast the "new" method was luxury. Well, probably it was. But only a very

who also gives a good word picture of cowboy life in Montana as he witnessed it in the 1880's (*ibid.*, pp. 175-188).

The article that accompanied "Painting the Town Red," written by G. O. Shields, did nothing to change the conception of the cowboy prevalent in the middle 1880's and which, of course, is still prevalent in the movies and "slick" fiction. The cowboy, according to these sources, was a rough and ready customer, the possessor of a crude wit and an individual who was always ready to draw and shoot on the slightest provocation. Shields attempted to defend and change the popular opinion and started out his defense by stating that cowboys "as a class are brimful and running over with wit, merriment, good-humor," but he goes on to recount that cowboys once boarded a train and forced Theodore Thomas and his orchestra, who were passengers, to give an impromptu concert on the plains. With similar yarns Shields actually built up the contemporary conception and even an account of a "gentlemanly" cowboy, the celebrated Howard Eaton, did little to change this conception. There were serious contemporary accounts of the changing character of the cowboy, however, as witness the article by Joseph Nimmo, Jr., in *Harper's Magazine*, v. 73 (1886), November, pp. 880-884.

39. *Art Interchange*, New York, v. 16 (1886), p. 212. Of similar significance, possibly, was the publication of six of Hoffman's photographs of a Montana roundup in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 30 (1886), May 15, p. 316.

40. Lloyd Goodrich, *Thomas Eakins* (New York, 1933), p. 102.

41. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 30 (1886), November 13, p. 731. The illustration was on p. 728 as already noted. It may be recalled that Frenzeny and Tavernier, some dozen years earlier, had attempted the same theme. Their illustration, "In the Emigrant Train," *ibid.*, v. 18 (1874), January 24, p. 76, is small and not as successful in treatment as is Zogbaum's.

few years before Zogbaum had made his observations, a Scotch emigrant had written his experiences of actual travel in an overland emigrant train. If Zogbaum stressed the relative luxury of the emigrant or if we think too highly of the importance and the glamour of the Old West, let's listen to the counter statement of the dour Scotchman:

All Sunday and Monday we travelled through these sad mountains, or over the main ridge of the Rockies, which is a fair match to them for misery of aspect. Hour after hour it was the same unhomely and unkindly world about our onward path; tumbled boulders, cliffs that drearily imitate the shape of monuments and fortifications—how drearily, how tamely, none can tell who has not seen them; not a tree, not a patch of sward, not one shapely or commanding mountain form; sage-brush, eternal sage-brush; over all, the same weariful and gloomy colouring, greys warming into brown, greys darkening towards black; and for sole sign of life, here and there a few fleeing antelopes; here and there, but at incredible intervals, a creek running in a cañon. The plains have a grandeur of their own; but here there is nothing but a contorted smallness. Except for the air which was light and stimulating, there was not one good circumstance in that God-forsaken land.

When night advanced, the weary travelers sought rest:

The lamps did not go out; each made a faint shining in its own neighborhood, and the shadows were confounded together in the long, hollow box of the car. The sleepers lay in uneasy attitudes; here two chums alongside, flat upon their backs like dead folk; there a man sprawling on the floor, with his face upon his arm; there another half seated with his head and shoulders on the bench. The most passive were continually and roughly shaken by the movement of the train; others stirred, turned, or stretched out their arms like children; it was surprising how many groaned and murmured in their sleep; and as I passed to and fro, stepping across the prostrate, and caught now a snore, now a gasp, now a half-formed word, it gave me a measure of the worthlessness of rest in that unresting vehicle. Although it was chill, I was obliged to open my window, for the degradation of the air soon became intolerable to one who was awake and using the full supply of life. . . .⁴²

In "The Old Bone Man of the Plains," Zogbaum added another invaluable aspect of changing conditions. The bone picker—a gatherer of buffalo bones—was following in the wake of the vanished herds which by 1887 (the year the illustration was published) had virtually disappeared from the face of the plains. The uncounted millions which once roamed the Western world lay as whitening bones among the sagebrush and the buffalo grass.⁴³

42. This was Robert Louis Stevenson, whose overland trip was made in the summer of 1879 on the Union Pacific rather than the Northern Pacific. See his essay, "Across the Plains," in *The Travels and Essays of Robert Louis Stevenson* (New York, 1918), v. 15, pp. 99-148 (the essay first appeared in *Longman's Magazine*, London, July and August, 1883) and v. 23, pp. 169, 170. It should, of course, be pointed out that Stevenson's account was influenced by the fact that he was ill and desperately fatigued by the overland journey.

43. In the note accompanying this Zogbaum illustration (*Harper's Weekly*, v. 31 [1887], January 15, p. 39) the statement is made that in the season 1883-1884 the Northern Pacific

Zogbaum's next Western experiences carried him to the Indian territory and the Oklahoma country. The efforts of the Boomers to open this section of the West to white settlement had been continued almost without letup during the 1880's, and the federal government had at last announced that on April 22, 1889, the country would be thrown open to land-hungry emigrants. The great Oklahoma rush followed.⁴⁴

Zogbaum visited this region late in 1888 and there appeared in *Harper's Weekly* a group of Oklahoma illustrations which have the appearance of field sketches—including the titles:

1. "A Chase After Boomers."
2. "A Crossing on the Canadian."
3. "Relay House on the Mail Route Between Fort Reno & Oklahoma."
4. "An Oklahoma Well."
5. "Camp of the 5th U. S. Cavalry at Taylor's Springs Near Guthrie."
6. "Near the Cimarron."⁴⁵

These were soon followed by a number of other illustrations depicting incidents in the same region, including:

1. "Cheyenne Scouts at Drill."
2. "Arrest of an Illicit Trader in the Indian Territory."
3. "A Picket Post in the Indian Country."
4. "A Beef Issue in the Indian Territory."
5. "On the Road to the Agency."
6. "Indian Freighters."
7. "A Policeman."
8. "A Farm-House."
9. "Running the Wild Turkey in the Indian Territory."⁴⁶

shipped nearly 8,000 tons or 800 cars of buffalo bones. The bones were converted to bone black, used in sugar refineries and other industries. Col. Henry Inman in *The Old Santa Fe Trail* (Topeka, 1899), p. 203, stated on the basis of freight reports of Kansas railroads, that some 300,000 tons of buffalo bones, which he estimated represented 31,000,000 animals, were shipped from Kansas alone in the decades when bone gathering formed a means of livelihood or a welcome supplement to a livelihood on the plains.

44. For a review of these affairs, see R. N. Richardson and C. C. Rister, *The Greater Southwest* (Glendale, Cal., 1934), ch. 23, "Oklahoma Boomers and Eighty-niners." A more extended account of the "Boomer" movement is given in C. C. Rister's *Land Hunger: David L. Payne and the Oklahoma Boomers* (Norman, Okla., 1942).

45. Six illustrations on one page, *Harper's Weekly*, v. 33 (1889), April 13, p. 280. These sketches are not dated, as was the usual practice of Zogbaum. All the remaining Zogbaum illustrations of the period described in the text are dated "89".

The date of Zogbaum's Indian territory trip is had from a letter in Mrs. Linzboth's possession which Zogbaum addressed to his wife. It is headed, "In camp, 5th Cav. Ind. Terr. Oct. 10, 1888."

46. In the order listed these appeared in *Harper's Weekly* as follows: v. 33 (1889), May 25, p. 405, July 6, p. 544, August 3, p. 613; v. 34 (1890), January 4, pp. 8-11 (Nos. 4-8); v. 40 (1896), December 5, p. 1185. The last illustration listed above is dated "96" and may represent the result of another trip to the Indian country but as there are no companion pieces for 1896 I scarcely think there was an 1896 trip. Moreover, Zogbaum had an illustration in *ibid.*, v. 33 (1889), April 6, p. 257, "Hunting Wild Turkey by Moonlight," which was probably based on his trip to the Indian territory in 1888; his experiences on this trip doubtlessly gave rise to the latter illustration (that of 1896).

It is interesting to note that Remington had an illustration, "Cheyenne Scouts Patrolling the Big Timber of the North Canadian, Oklahoma," in *ibid.*, April 6, pp. 264, 265, over a month before Zogbaum's illustration, "Cheyenne Scouts at Drill," listed above. There is no similarity, however, in the two illustrations. Remington also had an illustration somewhat similar to Zogbaum's "A Beef Issue in the Indian Territory," in *ibid.*, v. 36 (1892), May 14, p. 461, "The Beef Issue at Anadarko." The locality of the two were not the same, however, as Zogbaum's was made near Fort Reno. The beef issue at an Indian agency, however, was depicted by other artists in addition to these two.

The first of these illustrations, according to *Harper's Weekly*, was made by Zogbaum "with his customary fidelity to facts derived from personal observation." Other similar comments on Zogbaum's work can be found. Even if he tended to idealize his subjects, his details are in general correct.⁴⁷

Zogbaum described some of his experiences on this trip to Oklahoma in an article, "Life at an Indian Agency," and five of the illustrations listed above (Nos. 4 to 8, inclusive) accompany the article.⁴⁸ The agency was located at Darlington, near Fort Reno, Oklahoma. The Indians, Southern Cheyennes and Arapahoes, received a beef distribution every Monday at Darlington at "an isolated spot on the prairie, some distance from the agency," and his written description continued:

Wagons—sometimes of the newest and most approved patterns, at others the veriest rattletraps to be found on four wheels, filled with squaws and drawn by all kinds of teams, from the piebald, wall-eyed, pink-nosed ponies, to the patient and more or less broken-down mules, occasionally both horses and mules hitched to the same outfit—are crowded around the rough "corral" or fenced-in space on the prairie where the cattle are herded together, and over which, far up in the clear air, ragged-winged buzzards are circling. Mounted Indians gallop up, some armed with revolvers, others with carbines, and perched high up on the backs of their horses, ready for the exciting sport of pursuing and slaughtering the wild-eyed, long-horned Texas steers, that move restlessly about the narrow limits of the corral, bellowing nervously as if in dread anticipation of their doom. . . .

Rapidly following one another, the brutes are released one by one through the gate opened at intervals by a nimble policeman, who frequently has to exert all his agility to escape the angry sideward thrust of their horns as the cattle rush through the narrow opening. Some of them dash frantically out over the plain, bellowing furiously and throwing up the dirt and dust with the sharp points of their cloven hoofs; others stop for a moment bewildered, foaming at the mouth and snorting with fear and rage, and then gallop away. Indians mount rapidly and start after, revolver or carbine in hand, and a regular hunt in all directions over the rolling prairie in front of us begins, as the maddened brutes vainly endeavor to escape from their ruthless pursuers. . . .

Zogbaum, who had been driven out from Fort Reno in an army ambulance to witness the "Wild West" hunt, was well satisfied with his transportation. It provided excellent accommodations for making notes and sketches even though the Indians were none too expert marksmen and the Texas steers no respectors of "government ambulances or 'special artists'."

47. The phrase quoted above is from *ibid.*, v. 33 (1889), May 25, p. 411.

48. *Ibid.*, v. 34 (1890), January 4, pp. 8-11.

The four illustrations included directly with this article (Nos. 5 through 8 in the list above) are particularly interesting as they have the appearance of field sketches made on the spot and are therefore, from our point of view, of primary historical importance.

In the late 1880's and early 1890's there appeared a considerable number of Zogbaum "Westerns." Most of these are of so general a character that, although of interest, no definite locality other than *West* can be given them. A few of the more striking ones, several double-page, included:

1. "Cavalry on the March—Danger Ahead."
2. "A Bad Crossing."
3. "Clearing the Way."
4. "Meeting With the Old Regiment."
5. "The Corporal's Christmas Dinner."⁴⁹

Beginning about 1895, Zogbaum began illustrating Western fiction, short stories for the most part, written by various authors. Some of these illustrations are most interesting as Zogbaum was utilizing his knowledge of Western travel, adventure and study as the background for these imaginary situations.⁵⁰

In a somewhat similar group were illustrations made by Zogbaum for factual articles written on the West, particularly the military West. One of these is reproduced in this article (*between* pp. 224, 225, "The Defeat of Roman Nose by Colonel Forsyth on the Arickaree Fork of the Republican River, September, 1868," which was drawn to illustrate an article by Gen. F. V. Greene on "The United States Army."⁵¹ It is reproduced because it is one of the few *original* Western drawings or paintings of Zogbaum's that I have been able to locate, although it is known that Zogbaum held at least one exhibition of his original work, several of the pictures being Western scenes in water color.⁵² The original of the Colonel Forsyth battle picture is a wash drawing, measuring 15 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches and is now in the prints division of the Library of Congress.

49. In the order listed these appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 33 (1889), September 28, pp. 776, 777, November 16, pp. 916, 917; v. 34 (1890), March 29, pp. 240, 241, June 7, p. 449; v. 36 (1892), December 17, p. 1216.

50. An extensive bibliography of Zogbaum's illustrations and his own writings in the decade 1890-1899 will be found in the *19th Century Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature 1890-99*, v. 2, pp. 1553, 1554.

51. The illustration and accompanying article will be found in *Scribner's Magazine*, v. 80 (1901), November, pp. 593-613.

52. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 36 (1892), April 23, p. 387. The New York Public Library has also a *Catalogue of Original Drawings and Water Colors by Rufus Fairchild Zogbaum*, being a list of his pictures on sale at the American Art Galleries, New York City, January 22, 1897. The *Catalogue* included some Westerns, three of which were scenes connected with the Wounded Knee Indian "Campaign" of 1890. Whether these were drawn from direct observation I have not been able to determine.

As the 1890's advanced, Zogbaum devoted more and more of his talent to purely military and naval scenes. With the coming of the Spanish-American war his Western illustrations practically disappeared. As a military artist he won wide renown. In fact, so celebrated did he become that Kipling wrote a poem concerning his work, after both he and Zogbaum visited Capt. Robley Evans, the celebrated naval hero. The poem begins:

Zogbaum draws with a pencil,
And I do things with a pen,
But you sit up in a conning tower,
Bossing eight hundred men.⁵³

Despite the fact that Zogbaum was a well-known figure of his day, there has appeared no adequate biography since his death in New York City on October 22, 1925.⁵⁴

53. *The Outlook*, New York, v. 61 (1899), February 4, p. 284.

54. A biographical sketch of Zogbaum appears in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. 20, pp. 658, 659. The sketch makes no mention of Zogbaum's contribution to Western illustration.

An Attempt to Capture Buffalo Alive in Present Oklahoma in the Late 1880's

LEE HOWARD

I. INTRODUCTION

THE following account of an attempt to capture adult buffalo alive in the Panhandle country was written by Lee Howard who operated a ranch in the 1880's in the southwestern part of what is now Texas county, Oklahoma.

The experiences related in Howard's narrative probably occurred while he was a member of one of C. J. "Buffalo" Jones' expeditions to capture some of the few remaining buffalo in the plains area. "Buffalo" Jones, who lived near Garden City, became widely known for helping to save the buffalo from extinction and for his experiments in crossbreeding cattle with buffalo, whose offspring he called "catalo."

Col. Henry Inman, in his *Buffalo Jones' Forty Years of Adventure*, recalled that Howard and Jones met in the Panhandle country on May 6, 1888, when both were out to capture buffalo calves. Jones, who had noticed the scarcity of buffalo, thought there wouldn't be enough for both and promptly engaged Howard, an old acquaintance, to work for him for the following two months for \$500.¹ In 1889 Howard again was a member of a Jones expedition, and the events related here possibly occurred while on this 1889 expedition, instead of 1888 as stated by Howard.² E. Hough wrote that Howard was "half-hunter, half-freighter, and half-ranchman, . . ." ³ Colonel Inman referred to him as "the typical cowboy of the Great West."⁴ According to Henry C. Hitch of Guymon, Okla., Howard quit ranching in Texas county about the turn of the century and spent some time on a hunting and prospecting trip in Alaska. Mr. Hitch believes that when Howard returned to the states he continued to prospect for gold until his death several years ago in Arizona.

Howard's story, written in a clear Spencerian hand, was found

1. Col. Henry Inman, *Buffalo Jones' Forty Years of Adventure* (Topeka, 1899), pp. 183, 184.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 220-223. Howard stated in his letter which follows that he was writing of his last buffalo hunt. Inasmuch as he accompanied Jones' 1889 expedition, and Inman's description of the 1889 hunt is similar in many respects to this story of Howard's, it seems likely that Howard was mistaken about the year.

3. E. Hough, "A Buffalo Hunt Indeed," in Inman, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-166.

4. Inman, p. 193.

by Dr. E. Raymond Hall, director of the Museum of Natural History of the University of Kansas, in going over manuscript material saved by his colleague, the late Charles Dean Bunker.⁵ Through Dr. Hall's courtesy it is here reproduced. The capitalization, punctuation and spelling of the original longhand copy have been followed in the printing.

II. LEE HOWARD'S STORY

OPTIMA OKLAHOMA TY

February 18th, 1892

MR L. L. DYCHE,⁶ Friend Your letter received about two weeks ago And I have been so very busy that I could not answer before this time. In this letter you will find an outline of my last Hunt after the Buffalo or the Hunt in which we tried to capture some of the grown buffaloes alive. In this rambling Narrative I hope that you will find some information that will be of some benefit to you in writing you[r] Book. If there are any way[s] that I can assist you in the way of information let me Know

I think that I could furnish an interesting chapter on hunting Buffalo and Antelope especially Horse back hunting which you know is the most Exciting hunting there is. I tell you I have had some big hunts, and lots of Fun and no one to see it but ourselves. If you think that a chapter in the back part of your Book would be of any Benefit to you I will try to get it up in readable style, if not say so frankly No harm done and no offense

Yours truly LEE HOWARD

Well to begin with I suppose it would be the proper thing for me to inform you what we Started with. In the first place we had three mule teams, a 6 Spring platform wagon, to carry water and provision for ourselves and horses also some blankets for bed, 9 head of good Saddle horses. We left Ranch 20th in may 1888⁷ with Spring wagon one Span of mules and driver Mr. Kennedy 2 Saddle horses and 2 riders (Decordova and Howard) With enough provision and horse feed to last 6 days also Enough water to last 2 days. Leaving our Extra teams and horses at the ranch with Granville Thomas, to take care of until such time that we should

5. Charles Dean Bunker (1870-1948) joined the staff of the Museum of Natural History, University of Kansas, in 1895 and was curator emeritus of modern vertebrates at the time of his death.

6. L. L. Dyche (1857-1915) was professor of systematic zoology and taxidermy at the University of Kansas from 1900 until his death. In addition to his duties as a teacher, Professor Dyche made numerous scientific expeditions, and as a result the university acquired one of the largest and finest collections of mammals in the world.

7. Probably this should read "1889." See Footnote 2.

need them We went west about 45 miles to a place called Aqua Frieo (cold water) the wagon went the road and the 2 riders went one on each side of the wagon, and about 6 miles from it so we could see considerable country. all went in the same direction and came together at night at the place spoken of, there is splendid water at that place.

We saw Buffalo on a creek called cold water, (Now to better understand things, I will explain about the water on cold water creek and Beaver creek for a distance of about 45 mi west from my place there is a dry strip on both creeks. I state this for in our hunt we had to cross both creeks Several times. on this dry strip there are water both above and below this dry strip) But had to go on to camp to let the Boys Know and get the wagon. Camped at aqua Frieo that night and the next morning bright and Early we started for the place where we saw the Buffalo the day before. arrived at that place about 10 o'clock The Buffalo were gone But their tracks were there, so we began trailing. We trailed them about 20 miles northeast camped on trail. Next morning took trail again in a northerly direction, crossed Beaver (dry place) followed trail north of Beaver about 10 miles where the trail began to turn in a north westerly direction, and here a big rain came upon us and washed the tracks out, and as it was nearly night we camped.

Awoke next morning Early. after the rain we did not know which way to turn I told the Boys that from the indications the night before I thought the trail turned to the south. I told them that I did not think that the rain had extended more than 5 mi south from where we was. I told them to Spread out about 5 miles wide and to gradually come together on a level flat about 8 miles south and to look well for tracks and be sure and not cross them. We did this and sure enough as I predicted it hadnt rained there and we found the trail all right going south.

We followed the trail all that day and about Sundown we came up with them 19 in number and fine ones 18 cows and one Bull one of the Bulls that you got was one of the number as was also the cows.⁸ As it was late we thought it best not to start them until morning, and we had come 50 miles that day. We camped on north fork of the palladuro. We arose the next morning with the expectation of finding the Buffalo in sight But in this we were mistaken. They had turned north again so we had to trail them again, in

8. Refers to eleven specimens of buffalo which are preserved in the Museum of Natural History at the University of Kansas. Two are mounted and are on display.

about 10 miles we came up with them they were running when we saw them they evidently got wind of us. It was a great relief to us to get a look at them for it saved us trailing them As I said they were running when we saw them, so I tied my horse up beside the mules, as I was all the rider along and got in the wagon at that time the other one had gone back to camp directly after the rain I did not think it of any use of but one at that time and wanted to save men and horse flesh as much as possible)

We started in pursuit as fast as our mules could go and they went pretty fast for the country was level as a floor for miles, But the Buffalo Steadily gained on us finally they went over a small elevation about 3 mi away We went as fast as we could I got on my horse and rode ahead of the team but when I got to where we last saw them, I could see nothing of them. So I got on the trail again for fear that they might turn to oneside I could trail as fast as the horse could lope, the Buffalo crossed (cold water creek dry place) going back allmost the same way they had gone over. We followed the trail 5 or 6 miles and came in sight of them again they were on a level plain 5 miles away and by the aid of a field glass we could see that they were walking so we thought it best to feed the team and eat a little ourselves while we were Eating dinner the Buffalo went out of sight. So when we got to the place where the Buffalo went out of sight, we began trailing and in about 5 miles we came in sight of them again they were walking. as night was approaching we thought it best not to Excite them for fear that we would have a days trailing on the morrow.

As our mules and saddle horse was getting weary and with the expectation of having some hard riding in the near future, W[e] thought it best to go to camp 25 miles distant and get a change of Horses. So leaving the Buffalo on the Breaks of Beaver we went down Beaver Creek to Ranch arrived there about 9 o'clock at night. This is the end of the 4 day or 3½ days actual trailing the distance covered was about 150 mi. and we had only been in sight of them but one day we got an early start in the morning and got back to where we left them, the night before about 9 o'clock, they were gone so began trailing. In going back to where we left the Buffalo, I sent the wagon upon the north side of Beaver and gave directions where to meet me. I knew from the direction the Buffalo were going the night before that they were going to cross Beaver, But to make everything sure I went back and took trail followed

trail until about one oclock and came up with Buffalo in sand hills north side of beaver.

Aus Decordova on his way with the wagon saw two Buffalo cows and one calf He caught the calf and put it in the wagon When the wagon came up, we ate dinner And I went back to camp with the calf which was about 30 miles distant. I went to Ranch as fast as I could, arrived there about 5 oclock got supper changed team and went back to where I left the other two boys. I told them to watch the Buffalo but not to disturb them. there was a small hole of water near where they slept about one hundred yards distant. after the Boys made down there bed about 8 oclock at night, the Buffalo came down and drank out of the hole they stayed aroun[d] for some time finally they grazed off without getting frightened. I got to where the Boys were about midnight.

Started the Buffalo Early next morning. We did not have to trail much they run all day in the sand hills south of Beaver creek, they having crossed beaver. Towards evening they were going in the direction of a place called Company M⁹ it is about 45 miles from my Ranch on Beaver it is a place where the Beaver has living water on it again. But when we got within about 5 mi of it the Buffalo turned south east in the direction of Coldwater creek We went to Company M, and camped for the night Took trail next morning followed the trail all day (We went off of trail about 2 miles for water) Buffalo did not get any until Evening, that I know of for we followed trail all day and followed it fast, and when we found the place where they drank it was 60 miles from where we took trail in the morning. it was allmost night when we came to the water we went a few miles farther and camped for the night on the south side of Cold water Creek, (this was two days and two nights without water and the day that we were after them in the sand hills they never went less than 50 miles and [on] a very warm day if that is not Endurance I do not know what you would call it, This was the only day that we did not get to see them in the 60 days.

I told the boys that I did not think that we were far from the Buf-

9. According to Inman (p. 145) "Company M" was a "water-hole situated in a valley, where, years ago, a Company M of U. S. troops were snowed in and spent the winter." The place had natural caves and may have been located in the southeast part of present Cimarron county, Oklahoma, or just over the line in Texas, for later there was a "Company M Ranch" in that area. The ranch improvements are "a few miles South of the Beaver River. But the Ranch land includes quite a little of the Beaver River valley."—Letter of Henry C. Hitch, Guymon, Okla., to F. R. Blackburn, Kansas State Historical Society, May 24, 1949.

falo from the sign we were expecting to run into them every moment we trailed very late this Evening in the hopes of seeing Before we camped The night looked stormy and we were afraid that it would rain and wash the trail out. Luckily we arose and found the sky clear and the Buffalo in sight. We saw them on the north side of cold water they Evidently crossed during the night. they began to run north as soon as they saw us they went north about 8 miles and then made a quick turn to the south we were now about 12 miles from my ranch and as the Buffalo had turned south we were afraid that it would be several days before we would get a change of horses. we thought it best to send in and change so sent 2 of the Boy[s] into the Ranch with spring wagon and Decordova (the Buffalo generally went as far south as the Breaks of the Canadian River about 60 miles from Ranch) and myself Kept on after the Buffalo I told the Boys that I thought from the direction the Buffalo started they would go by a lake of water about 20 mi away And that we would follow the Buffalo and for them to meet us at the lake.

We arrived at lake about 3 o'clock the Buffalo passed within a mile of the Lake, we kept so far behind them, that they were not going very fast So we went to Lake and got water and ate, our Lunch after our horses were rested a little I saddled my horse and went upon a high hill about a mile from the Lake to see if the Buffalo were in sight to my delight they were grazing about two miles from the hill I went back to lake and awaited the r[e]turn of the wagon, about sundown they came in sight with a fresh team and saddle horses the horses we were riding we sent back to the Ranch with one of the men and continued our chase with 2 saddle Horses team and 2 riders and one driver.

I think this is Enough of this. I Believe that I could give you Every days travel, But as the rest is a repetition of what I have written, I will skip to when we (We had been after the Buffalo about a month up to this time) Put the gentle Buffalo with them We had to send back to Garden City Kansas for the gentle ones a distance of 140 miles¹⁰ two of the boys went after them and myself and Kennedy kept after the Buffalo in 7 days after they started they were back here with 22 head of gentle Buffalo. Kennedy and I came into camp the next night after the Boys got Back and as luck would have it the Buff[alo] crossed the Beaver creek

10. From "Buffalo" Jones' herd of domesticated buffalo.—See Inman, *op. cit.*, pp. 221-223.

just below my Ranch that night And next morning We took the gentle Buffalo and started in pursuit we had not gone more than 2 miles until we saw the wild ones.

We drove the gentle Buffalo up a draw out of sight of the wild ones until we were within a half a mile of them then we kept back out of sight and let the gentle ones go up to the wild ones themselves the wild ones seemed frightened at first and began to run. they did not run far, then stopped and took a good look at them in a short time they got together, the wild ones did not seem to like the gentle ones they began to smell around one another finally the wild ones began to go a way the gentle ones began to graze then we began to drive them slowly. But the wild ones kept about a mile ahead of the Gentle ones until allmost noon they then went into a Lake of water and drank as did the Gentle ones, as it was noon we stopped for dinner while Eating, the wild Buffalo began to Graze and the Gentle ones Traveled up to where they were grazing. pretty soon the wild ones began to lay down, as did the gentle ones a few yards from the wild ones, So near that you might say that they laid down together.

We trailed the wild ones and the gentle ones together for over a week, but did not seem to do any good they would leave the gentle ones Every night—sometimes 8 and 10 miles then we had to trail them up and drive the gentle ones; the gentle ones got so foot sore, that they were a hinderance to us and did not seem to do the wild ones any good, they went just as far in a day and left us just as far in the night so we abandoned the idea of gentling them with the Gentle B. we would be just about 200 yards behind them all day and would drive the Gentle ones right in to them and keep them there for hours. We would begin to think that we could drive them, but as soon as we would ride out to one side of them or in the lead they would turn right in the opposite direction from where you wanted them to go. We sometimes made [a] turn on them in this way when we wanted them to go to the right we would go to the right—as if we were going around them and the[y] would be sure to turn in that direction, so you see they were turned but did not know it. the most obstinate animal that lives.

So we concluded to take the Gentle Buffalo back to the ranch and try it a while longer the way we began at first. We run them for several days, until they began to leave the Bunch. they would sometimes leave the Bunch in the day time or attempt to in crossing draws and creeks [when] they would try to leave by running

up or down the draws we would be watching for this and head them off and turn them back before they would get a great way from the herd. in this we were always successful We soon saw that they would all split up some go one way and some another so we concluded to rope the first one that would leave the herd. our opportunity came soon Enough We thought that we had some pretty fast horses but we soon found out that Buffalo could run some too There was a 3 year old cow in the bunch that had been trying to leave the others for several days So we started the Buffalo one morning Hadn't gone more than five miles until she started to leave the Bunch We started in pursuit

I run the Buffalo first She was about 500 yards from us and when she saw that I was after her She Began to run She had such a long start of me that I had to run pretty fast and a long ways before I could get near her when she saw that I was about to come up with her she made back for the herd. I got almost near Enough to her to rope her But my horse was almost winded the other two Boys were Behind but had been cutting across so that their horses were pretty fresh so I hollowed to them to head her off from the herd and rope her Aus Decordova took after her and had not run her but a short distance until he threw his rope on her It caught over one horn and one foot and threw her down But in falling she got out of the rope, and turned over so her head was in the opposite direction from what she was going when roped I was right behind Decordova and had my rope ready to throw her head was toward me and she was just in the act of getting up. I was coming pretty fast and as I passed her I threw my rope on her and never slacked my speed and when my horse came to the End of the rope he pulled her as much as 15 ft, (I suppose you know how much a horse can drag by the horn of the saddle.) Before she had time to get up Aus had a rope on her hind feet and we stretched her out Put a large pair of hobbles on her and let her up. She was strictly on the fight we left her as soon as we could for we did not want to worry her any more than we had to, for fear she would die

We Handled this one so Easy that we thought we could handle any of them with Ease but in this we were mistaken for the 3d one we roped took the conceit out of us This one was an old cow and a large one We got pretty close to her before she started and by riding fast we came up with her in about a mile I came up with her first threw my rope over her head and having a long rope, I

car[e]lessly let to[o] much of my rope out at once and my horse run over the rope There I was with one End of the rope on the Buffalo and the other around the horn of my saddle. fortunately for me the Buffalo run straight a head consequently the rope pulled straight between his fore legs, and instead of throwing my horse it threw the Buffalo. in an instant she was up again and came right back again for fight as she came for me I spurred my horse forward she hooked at me as I passed her and run straight back while I run straight ahead she came to the End of the rope and broke the rope she began to run away but Decordova was right behind me, and she had not gone more than 100 yards before she had another rope on her.

She got a side run on him and pulled his saddle over on the side of the horse and he had to jump down on the ground. he ran out of reach of the Buffalo pulling his Colts as he ran the rope was just looped over the horn I ran up and took the rope off of his saddle and put it on mine, (But before I had time to take his rope off the cow made a pass at the horse she came at him at full speed as soon as she got close Enough, the horse which was a strong one Blazed away at her with both feet and gave her such a Kick that she passed him without doing him any injury) And she run for me, and I run to one side. She run across the rope and when she came to the End of the rope She fell with her head under and we soon put a pair of Hobbles on her and let her up She was on the war path, She would start for us the same way she did before she was hobbled and would fall down.

We roped 7 in all But do not think it nessary to tell the adventures we had with Each one for I think perhapse that you can get the desired information you want by what I have written after we had Hobbled them we got the Gentle ones and drove them to where the Hobbled ones were but they were so stubborn that they would not drive. they would fight the Gentle ones and fight us to[o] if we attempted to drive them And as we had used all of the means that Lay in our power to get the Buffalo and failed, We thought Best to abandon the idea of trying to drive them in¹¹ we felt pretty sore about having to leave them after having done so

11. "Buffalo" Jones' hopes to capture and domesticate grown buffalo had never met with success. On one occasion he said: "They would not live in captivity. If they could not find an embankment over which to break their necks, they would crush their skulls on stones. Failing any means like that, they would lie down, will themselves to die, and die. . . . Finally I found I could keep only calves under three months of age. . . ."—Zane Grey. *The Last of the Plainsmen* (New York, 1908), p. 52.

much hard work Had put in about 18 hours a day, had run the Buffalo almost 3000 miles and it had seemed to us at times that we were sure to get them We would be with in a 100 yards of them for hours. they would turn around and look at us and then start on again Sometimes they would start to run around us when we would get to[o] close we would have to stop and let them quiet down, for fear that they would turn and run Back. They would generally take about 175 mile circuit . . . [line illegible from wear]

In traveling Back and forth across the country they invariably kept the same course allmost in the same tracks unless something frightened them. Some of the Buffaloes feet were wore out the bottom part was all gone and still they would go, and when they got frightened they did not Know that their feet were sore. They went north allmost to the Kansas line and possibly over the line. Buffalo generally runs to the wind when any one frightens them suddenly. They allways turn their head to the storm in winter, when grazing generally graze to the wind, and keep Bunched up close together. The calves are red when they first come and continue so until the latter part of the summer Then they begin to grow darker. Buffalo shed their coat the same as cattle and about the same time in (the spring) They are the homeliest looking you eve[r] saw look ragged, pieces of wool or hair hanging down, some places shed off and some not, But when they are entirely shed off they have a handsome coat of hair, would be called a darke blue appearantly.

Buffalo look clumsy they are the quickest Animals I ever had anything to do with, Especially the calves I used to Haul calves in the wagon to different places when I would go into the towns everyone wanted to put their hands on them I told them not to put their hands on them But some of them wanted to say that they had had their hands on a Buffalo calf. But before they got their hand out of the wagon they was sure to get it kicked. Buffalo when they go to water in the summer when it is hot they jump in all over and roll around like a hog in the mud, get as muddy as can be Buffalo in this count[r]y allways graze upon the level and on Buffalo Grass.



FREDERIC REMINGTON'S SKETCH OF C. J. "BUFFALO" JONES ROPING A BUFFALO CALF

Lee Howard, author of the accompanying article, was associated with Jones in the latter 1880's in attempts to capture some of the few remaining buffalo in the Panhandle country. The above sketch was published in *Harper's Weekly*, July 12, 1890.



JOHN JAMES INGALLS

(1833-1900)

United States senator from Kansas, 1873-1891, and president *pro tempore* of the senate. This sketch, by Paul Renouard, was a full-page feature in *Harper's Weekly*, July 7, 1888, several weeks after the Ingalls-Voorhees debate.

The Ingalls-Voorhees Debate of 1888

RAY H. SANDEFUR

ONE of the bitterest personal debates in congressional history occurred in the U. S. senate on April 25 and May 1, 1888, between Senators John J. Ingalls of Kansas and Daniel W. Voorhees of Indiana.¹ The conflict had been brewing since March 6, at which time Ingalls had spoken in favor of a bill to increase pensions for Union soldiers. The Kansan was a friend of the G. A. R., and he perhaps saw an opportunity to revive war memories in order to strengthen the Republicans in a presidential election year. Whatever his reasons, he leveled his attack at the opponents of the bill—Democrats for the most part—and charged that members of the Democratic party still retained traces of the Confederacy.

Although he did not name Voorhees at that time as having been friendly to the Confederacy, he aroused the anger of the "Tall Sycamore of the Wabash" by describing Union Generals W. S. Hancock and George B. McClellan as sympathetic to the South.

VOORHEES' FIRST ATTACK

Voorhees waited until April 25 to attack the Kansan. As the Indiana senator opened his speech, Ingalls was in the chair as president *pro tempore*. At first Voorhees confined his remarks to comments on the Republican party, high tariffs, and the pension bill. In the course of the speech, Ingalls was called from the room on business, and he turned the chair over to Sen. Isham Harris of Tennessee. Ingalls, then, was not present when Voorhees made his charges against him, nor did he learn of them until he read the newspapers the following morning.

Voorhees was indignant at the Kansas senator for his slur at Hancock and McClellan. He said, referring to Ingalls:

He stood in his place in the Senate, a recognized leader of his party, and denounced two great Union generals as traitors to their country, allies of the Confederacy, and no word of dissent or rebuke has been uttered by a single one of his party associates here or in the other branch of Congress. We have waited, and some have wondered, but the silent acquiescence in the horrible charge remains unbroken.

Having implied that Ingalls had been neither truthful nor just, Voorhees launched into a eulogy of the two generals and defended

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1. *Congressional Record* (v. 19, Pt. 4), April 25, 26, May 1, 1888, pp. 3321-3327, 3383, 3556-3575.

the Democratic party as actually having helped to preserve the Union.

INGALLS' FIRST REPLY

Ingalls was furious when he read the speech the next morning. He arose in the senate that day and announced that he would answer Voorhees. The Kansan pointed out that he had been absent during most of the speech and that he had assumed that the Indiana senator was going to confine himself to a discussion of the tariff and finance. "I was, therefore, somewhat surprised this morning to be advised by an item in the newspapers that I had been the object of the Senator's animadversion. . . . I therefore desire to give notice that on Tuesday next, at 2 o'clock, if the Senate will indulge me, I shall . . . submit some remarks. . . ."

Interest in the promised clash ran high, both in Kansas and in Washington. The day before the reply, the Kansas Republicans, in convention at Iola, prepared a resolution complimenting in advance Mr. Ingalls' "scathing rejoinder" and passed it with "three rousing cheers."² In Washington, visitors flocked to the senate chamber on May 1, the day of the speech. Said the Washington correspondent for the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*:

At a comparatively early hour, notwithstanding the rainy and sultry weather, the street cars were packed with people . . . moving toward the capitol, drawn irresistibly by the announcement that Mr. Ingalls would irradiate the circumambient air of the senate chamber with his wild western oratory. . . .³

The New York *Tribune* reported: "The galleries contained at least 3,000 people, and the floor of the Senate was jammed with Representatives and others entitled to the floor. More people sought to gain admission probably than on the day when Cleveland was inaugurated President."⁴

Attention focused on Ingalls. Shortly before two o'clock he entered the senate chamber, said the Kansas City *Times* correspondent, "very much after the fashion of a minister about to preach a sermon." He walked over to his desk, which was decorated with flowers for the occasion. The *Times* reporter said that when Ingalls took his seat "a profound silence ensued, broken only by the rustling of a thousand fans, blending their variegated colors, and when the Kansas statesman arose to . . . take up . . . his speech the silence became absolutely painful."

2. "A Specimen From Kansas," Kansas City *Times*, May 1, 1888.

3. "Decidedly Hot," *ibid.*, May 2, 1888.

4. "Mr. Ingalls Frees His Mind," New York *Tribune*, May 2, 1888.

At first the reply was a disappointment. Ingalls spoke for two hours. He offered a mild, refined, almost restrained series of arguments to prove that the civil and military leaders of the Democratic party had been Southern sympathizers during and after the Civil War. He began by saying that Voorhees had admitted in his speech of April 25 that "there is such a crime as treason, and that to be an ally of the Confederacy was to be a traitor." His implication was clear as he applied Voorhees' statement to a classification of Hancock and McClellan. He capped his arguments by saying that the Southern Confederacy still existed, that it was embodied in the Democratic party in the South, and that the Democratic party in that section was animated by all the ambitions, the purposes, and the hopes of the Southern Confederacy itself. He said,

Now, Mr. President, we are upon the threshold of another election. We have had McClellan and Seymour, Greeley and Tilden, Hancock and Cleveland for Democratic candidates, and Cleveland is practically renominated for another term. It will be the most important contest of the century, a political battle whose result will determine the destiny of the United States for the next twenty-five years. . . . And again we are confronted with the 153 votes of the "solid South," as we have been at every election since 1876; a "solid South" that is the essence and substance of the Southern Confederacy; and the success of the Democratic party means the triumph of the Confederacy, which is to-day as much an organized, active, aggressive force in our politics as it was in 1860 or at any previous time. Slavery is dead and secession is dead, but the ideas, the impulses, the purposes, the intentions engendered by slavery and secession remain. Ideas are immortal. They never die. Force can not annihilate them. No man was ever convinced by being conquered, and no Confederate has ever confessed that the cause for which he fought was wrong.

Although he admitted that not "all Democrats were disloyal," he was clear in his belief that all Southern sympathizers were Democrats. Said Ingalls, referring guardedly to Voorhees,

There were no Republicans enrolled in the "Sons of Liberty" or as "Knights of the Golden Circle." These were Democrats. Every member of Congress who declared that he would not vote a man or a dollar or a gun to carry on the war for the Union was a Democrat. Every man who described Union soldiers as "Lincoln dogs and hirelings, who deserved to have collars welded about their necks," was a Democrat.

He even went so far as to picture the Democratic party as containing a gang of traitors, cutthroats, and outlaws. He declared,

All guerrillas and bushwhackers, the men from Union States who entered the Confederate service for plunder—in war cutthroats, in peace horse-thieves—were Democrats. . . . Quantrell, Bill Anderson, Dave Livingstone, Hildebrand, and the James boys belonged then, as they would were they living now, to the Democratic organization.

At this point Ingalls sat down, apparently having concluded his case.

VOORHEES' SECOND ATTACK

The "Tall Sycamore" thought that Ingalls had expended his ammunition, for he began to taunt the Kansan. He recalled the fable of the mountain which labored and brought forth a mouse. He said, referring to Ingalls' widely publicized announcement of his intention to speak that day, "The spectators had expected to see volcanic action, power displayed, but when the end came they saw nothing of the kind, and I have never been more reminded of that fable than on this occasion."

He had, however, caught Ingalls' implication that he, Voorhees, had belonged to the Knights of the Golden Circle, that he had voted against support of the war effort, and that he had made reference to the "Lincoln dogs." The Indiana senator flatly denied that he had been guilty of any of those things.

Then Voorhees loosed a blistering attack at Ingalls, an attack full of vicious personal abuse. He said that his opponent was politically dead, but was "walking around to save funeral expenses." He said that the Kansan represented the "old, decayed, hackneyed political campaign liars of the last twenty-five years." He added sarcastically, "I have admired his brilliancy, his scholastic habit, but he was born with inaccuracy marked upon him. If he was my long-lost brother, and I was looking for the stripling, I should look for 'Inaccuracy' marked on him somewhere."

The Indiana senator derided the Kansan's military service. Ingalls had served briefly on the side of the North during the Civil War. In 1864 he was a member of the staff of Maj. Gen. George W. Deitzler, Kansas state militia, with the rank of major, and later lieutenant colonel, and served through the two weeks' campaign to drive General Price out of Missouri and Kansas. He was assigned the duties of judge-advocate during his brief period of active duty. Voorhees, in his attack, ridiculed Ingalls unmercifully about his military "career," facetiously naming every Ingalls who had served in the Union army, but finding no John J. Ingalls listed.

INGALLS' SECOND REPLY

When Voorhees paused, Ingalls, smarting from the personal attack, arose, cool and deliberate, to deliver one of the most dramatic speeches the senate had heard for many years. He had planned his strategy well. Although he had implied in his first reply that

Voorhees was friendly to the Knights of the Golden Circle and had been sympathetic to the Southern cause, the Kansan had not revealed that he held documentary evidence to support his claim. He had withheld the damaging proof, waiting to trap Voorhees in an unguarded moment.

His technique in his second reply was to employ cold logic through personal and documentary testimony. At the same time, as he recalled war memories and stirred sectional hatred, he gained much emotional effect. He used an ethical approach by allying himself with Lincoln, defending the latter against the remarks of Voorhees. The Kansas speaker continually referred directly to truth and to duty, and he appealed to his audience's sense of justice as he drove home the point that he represented those who had defended the Union, and that Voorhees represented those who had fought against it.

He sounded a note of self-depreciation as he referred to his humble military service and his strong sense of patriotic duty:

I regret exceedingly that the Senator from Indiana has thought best to refer to personal matters in connection with my history, to which I do not propose now to advert. My military service was inconspicuous and obscure, and no one is more conscious than I am of the debt that I owe my country, and of the unpaid obligation of gratitude which I am under to those who did what I might under other circumstances have done.

Ingalls neatly turned the tables on Voorhees, for here was precisely the opening for which he had been looking. Saying that since the Indiana senator had commented on the Ingalls record, he then felt called upon to show the Voorhees record in the war. "I feel it to be my duty," he said, "in the defense of the truth of history, to put on record the information in my possession, and I have it in a shape I think that he will not deny." He displayed righteous indignation at being attacked on April 25 by one he had considered a friend:

My relations with the Senator from Indiana for many years have been those of cordiality and friendship, and never was I more surprised than when my attention was called to the vindictive, unfounded, malevolent, and unjustifiable aspersion with which he assailed me in manuscript. I could have borne it if an enemy had done it, but it was, as the Psalmist said, "my own familiar friend."

Ingalls made the statement that Voorhees had favored the Confederacy. Voorhees was on his feet instantly to deny it. Ingalls replied,

MR. INGALLS. The Senator from Indiana has just said that he was in favor of the destruction of slavery and that he was opposed to secession, and yet in

the published volume of his own speeches there is a reprint of an address delivered by him in Virginia shortly before the war in which he advocates both. . . . I will say further than that, that the Senator from Indiana at the time when he delivered that speech had two editions of it prepared, one of them for circulation in the North and one in the South.

MR. VOORHEES. That is not true.

MR. INGALLS. Not true! Why, they are accessible to-day, just as much so—

MR. VOORHEES. Get them and show them.

MR. INGALLS. They are just as accessible as the Statutes of the United States.

MR. VOORHEES. Get them and show them. I say it is not true. I have met that on the stump. I have heard campaign falsifiers before.

MR. INGALLS. The Senator pleases to call these campaign rumors because he has heard them for the last fifteen years, and therefore they are not true.

In 1860, after the Senators from South Carolina had withdrawn from this Chamber, and when preparations for war were rife all over the South, and everybody knew that secession was to be, so far as the South could make it, an accomplished fact, the Senator from Indiana wrote a letter, which I shall read. Perhaps he will deny that. It is a letter to Mr. Francis A. Shoup, that he took South with him and filed in the Confederate war department in support of his own application for appointment as a brigadier-general in the Confederate army. The man who received it was appointed a brigadier-general in the Confederate army, and he is now an ecclesiastic in Alabama or somewhere in one of the Southern States. I will read what the Senator from Indiana wrote. Anybody can see it, and anybody who knows his handwriting can identify it. This is the letter:

"INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *December 12, 1860.*

"My friend, Capt. Francis A. Shoup, is about visiting the South with his sister, on account of her health.

"I have known Captain Shoup since our boyhood; we were schoolmates. He is a graduate of West Point, and was in the Army as a lieutenant four years. No more honorable or upright gentleman exists. On the disturbing questions of the day his sentiments are entirely with the South, and one of his objects is a probable home in that section.

"I take this occasion to say that his sentiments and my own are in close harmony.

"D. W. VOORHEES."

I suppose the Senator will say that that is a campaign slander, the vile calumny of the opposition press.

MR. VOORHEES. Mr. President, that is not a campaign slander, but it is—

MR. INGALLS. He has trodden it under foot and spat on it.

MR. VOORHEES. Will the Senator pardon me for a moment?

MR. INGALLS. Certainly.

MR. VOORHEES. I say it is not a campaign slander, but it is one of those things the people of Indiana have passed upon for now nearly thirty years.

MR. INGALLS. The Democratic party of Indiana have passed upon it, I dare say. [Laughter.]

MR. VOORHEES. They have passed upon it by a very large majority and no—

MR. INGALLS. Oh, I know the Knights of the Golden Circle have passed upon it.

MR. VOORHEES. No colporteur or missionary from Kansas can give it any more respectability than the fellows in Indiana have heretofore. I have disposed of them. There was no war when the letter was written; there was not for nearly a year afterwards.

MR. INGALLS. Sumter fell ninety days afterwards.

MR. VOORHEES. No, it did not.

MR. INGALLS. Let me look at the date.

MR. VOORHEES. In December.

MR. INGALLS. December 12, 1860. When did Sumter fall?

MR. VOORHEES. In April.

MR. INGALLS. In April, 1861?

MR. VOORHEES. Yes.

MR. INGALLS. December, January, February, March—four months afterwards.

MR. VOORHEES. Yes; inaccuracy is written on your face.

MR. INGALLS. Within four months from the time the letter was written Sumter had fallen, and yet the Senator from Indiana says: "I take this occasion to say that his sentiments and my own are in close harmony."

The Kansan brought up the "Lincoln dog" remark again and charged Voorhees with having made the statement, adding that he had a witness to the fact:

MR. INGALLS. I will say to the Senator from Indiana that the averment that he made that statement can be substantiated by as credible a witness as there is in this city at this time.

MR. VOORHEES. It is false, and even if the Senator said it it would be utterly false—just as false coming from the Senator as from the greatest liar ever in the country.

MR. INGALLS. If this were a police court the Senator from Indiana would be sent to the rock-pile for being drunk and disorderly.

The senator from Kansas made a telling point when he produced a document, signed by eighteen citizens of the state of Indiana, who testified that they were present at a meeting in Sullivan, Ind., on August 5, 1862, at which time the Hon. D. W. Voorhees said, speaking in reference to the Union soldiers, that "they should go to the nearest blacksmith shop and have an iron collar made and placed around their necks, inscribed thereon in large letters, 'My dog. A. Lincoln,' and at the same time he referred to the Union soldiers as Lincoln's dogs and hirelings."

Ingalls hammered home the point about the competence of the witnesses: "I suppose those are reputable citizens of Indiana. They are not ashamed of their names or their residence. They give their home and their designation. The Senator from Indiana can settle the question of the truth or falsehood with them and not with me."

From this point Ingalls pressed his advantage. He struck again and again, giving quotation after quotation from witnesses and authorities to support his claim that Voorhees' sympathies had been with the Confederacy. He verified the authenticity of his documents by stating that they had been discovered in a Washington office which had once been occupied by Voorhees, but which documents Voorhees had neglected to take with him or to destroy when he moved to new quarters. He referred to 112 copies of the ritual and rules of organization of the proslavery Knights of the Golden Circle, which had been found in Voorhees' office. He produced highly incriminating letters from Senator Wall of New Jersey, endorsing a proposition to furnish Voorhees with 20,000 stand of Garibaldi rifles. He produced letters from several Southern sympathizers. Every letter was quoted in part, and every part drove home the point that Senator Voorhees had favored the Confederacy.

The Kansan quoted a speech in which Voorhees had displayed his sympathies. Said Ingalls,

With regard to the question as to the side on which the sympathies of the Senator from Indiana were—I suppose the Senator from Indiana will deny this also and say it was mere campaign calumny cast out and trodden under the feet of men—on the 5th day of March, 1864, he spoke of Vallandigham as “that representative American patriot, who, with Hendricks and Seymour and Richardson, had done so much to uphold the hands of the American public and had preserved so far the guaranties of constitutional liberty,” a man who was tried and banished from the country for being a traitor. . . .

His opinion of Mr. Lincoln was contained in the same speech—

“Genghis Khan and Tamerlane, preserved by the pen of the historian for universal execration, found no pursuit so pleasant as calling for more men for the harvest of death, and, like our present Executive, snuffing with jests and ribaldry the warm taint of blood on every gale. . . .”

Ingalls turned to the congressional speeches of Voorhees, recalling his address of April, 1861, in which he declared that he would “never vote a single dollar or a single man for the prosecution of the war, and he never did so long as he was in Congress.” Continued the Kansan,

He consistently and persistently voted against every measure for upholding the Union cause and re-enforcing its armies, voted against all the constitutional amendments, and finally declared by a nay vote that he would not hold that the amendments were constitutional or binding upon the conscience of the American people. And yet the Senator from Indiana, who I think deserves charity more than any man that I know upon this floor, and who has received it at the hands of his associates, and who can less afford than any man of my acquaintance to invite a scrutiny of his war record with any-

body, with playfulness and hilariousness refers to the fact that I served during the war as a judge-advocate with the rank of major and subsequently of lieutenant-colonel.

Here Ingalls closed his speech on the same ethical tone of self-depreciation with which he had begun: "I have this to say: That however obscure or inefficient my services may have been, they were always on the side of my country, and not as his has been, always against it."

Voorhees at this juncture attempted to reply to the charges which Ingalls had so effectively made. His arguments were rambling and inconsistent as he resorted to denial, then made an about-face to appeal to his audience to forget the "stale, putrid, cast-off" past. At last Ingalls interrupted Voorhees with the question that put the senate chamber into an uproar:

MR. INGALLS. Will the Senator from Indiana allow me to ask him whether the soldiers of Indiana did not threaten to hang him with a bell-rope on a train between New Castle and Terre Haute after he made that "Lincoln dog" speech? [Laughter.]

MR. VOORHEES. Mr. President, the Senator is a great liar when he intimates such a thing—a great liar and a dirty dog. ["Order!" "Order!"] Such a thing never occurred in the world. That is all the answer I have to make.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is hardly in order. Personal discussion is not proper. The Chair hopes Senators will be in order.

MR. VOORHEES. I pass it back to the scoundrel behind him who is instigating these lies.⁵

MR. INGALLS. Mr. President, there is a very reputable gentleman in the Chamber, a citizen of Indiana, who informs me that the signers of the "certificate about the "Lincoln dog" speech are entirely reputable inhabitants, male and female, of Sullivan County, and that he knows fifty people there who heard the speech made and can swear to it.

MR. VOORHEES. I say he is an infamous liar and scoundrel who says I did. I say so.

White and shaken, Voorhees was led from the senate chamber muttering to himself, "The dirty dog, the dirty dog."

REACTIONS TO THE DEBATE

The reactions to Ingalls' speech were instantaneous. The *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, a Republican newspaper, said with obvious bias that the shrewdness of Mr. Ingalls' plan of attack was universally complimented. According to the report:

The opportunity which Ingalls had anticipated came, and he interrupted Mr. Voorhees with a question which disturbed his equanimity, then annoyed him, then angered him, then enraged him. He plunged about in his madness

5. A reference to Rep. James T. Johnston of Indiana, who was sitting immediately behind Ingalls and who may have supplied Ingalls with much of his proof.

until he clumsily fell into the pit Ingalls had warily prepared for him, and from that moment he was at the mercy of the Kansan. Mr. Voorhees lost his temper, and Mr. Ingalls' remarkable coolness and smiling serenity only exasperated him the more.⁶

The immediate reaction of Voorhees may be judged by this comment by William Connelley, an admirer of Ingalls:

At this point the friends of Senator Voorhees led him from the Senate Chamber. He was pale and trembling. He tried to hold up his head and look defiant—an effort that was a miserable failure. Outside the door he burst into tears and cursed his fate, saying that his career was run and his reputation for patriotism blasted. He was in despair. And he was desperate. His friends kept him concealed for several days.⁷

Messages of congratulations poured in upon Ingalls. Many of the telegrams were from Indiana. Kansans were highly enthusiastic. The *Globe-Democrat* said of the messages:

The Governors of no less than a dozen Republican states sent their congratulations, and complimentary telegrams came even from Indiana. Kansas was evidently overjoyed by the victory of her senior Senator, for there were telegrams patriotic, enthusiastic, and full of all the eloquence the wires could transmit from every portion of the Sunflower State.⁸

Some of the press, too, was delighted. Kansas newspapers gave columns of front-page space to reports of the debate. Typical of the Republican papers in Kansas was this comment by the Washington correspondent for the *Topeka Capital*:

The galleries were often in an uproar, and several times the president threatened to clear them all out. No such hot debate has occurred in the senate since the war period. This is the testimony of all the old employes of the senate. Throughout this fiery discussion Ingalls gained ground all the time. Voorhees floundered and finally lost his grip entirely. . . . It was evident to everybody that Ingalls had taken Voorhees' scalp.⁹

The New York *Tribune*, also strongly Republican, eagerly reported:

If "The Congressional Record" of to-morrow is a true and not a "revised" transcript of the debate to which the Senate has listened to-day [apparently it was a true version], that publication will for once contain some "mighty interesting reading." Not within the recollections of its oldest members has the Senate witnessed a contest in which so many personalities have been bandied about, the lie has been passed so frequently, so much ill-temper has been shown or the traditional dignity of the body been so set at defiance by

6. Quoted in the *Atchison Daily Champion*, May 4, 1888.

7. William Elsey Connelley, *Ingalls of Kansas* (Topeka, 1909), pp. 163, 191, 192.

8. Also in the *Atchison Daily Champion*, May 4, 1888.

9. "Voorhees Vanquished," *Topeka Daily Capital*, May 2, 1888.

the audience. . . . It was a scene not easily forgotten by those who were so fortunate as to be present.¹⁰

Even the London *Times* had a comment, calling it the "bitterest debate which has been heard in the Assembly for years."

Newspapers which opposed Ingalls politically were, of course, sharp in their criticism. On May 2 the Kansas City *Times*, strongly opposed to Ingalls, called the speech a "disappointment." A day later, editor W. B. Hotchkiss of the Wichita *Beacon* was highly critical of the Kansas orator, calling his replies a waste of time. The South was incensed at the Kansan. In fact, a few days after the delivery of the speech, Ingalls was burned in effigy in Nashville, Tenn.

Republicans, however, hailed the speech as strong political ammunition, and the next day in the house, up to 10 o'clock there were over 70,000 copies of the speech taken by members at their own individual expense.

Years later the Topeka *State Journal* declared of Ingalls, "one of the traditions of the capital at Washington is his reply to Senator Daniel Voorhees of Indiana." In 1900 the Kansas City (Mo.) *Journal* summed up the senator's speech: His reply to Senator Voorhees will be cited as an example of scathing and combative oratory as long as there lives a man who heard it.

10. New York *Tribune*, May 2, 1888.

The Diary of James R. Stewart, Pioneer of Osage County

APRIL, 1855-APRIL, 1857; MAY, 1858-NOVEMBER, 1860

PART THREE: MAY, 1858-JULY, 1859

BURLINGAME

[May, 1858]

S
AT 22

Windy but warm & clear. Went in the morning with Judge [Phillip C.] Schuyler & [George] Bratton to run the line between the town site & [Isaac B.] Titus' claim. In the afternoon went up with Mr. [Joseph] McDonald to his claim and planted some melons—cucumbers & radishes back to town — wrote a letter to A L Hazen, called at [Abel] Pollys in the evening with Judge Schuyler & examined the Squatters register,— had pleasant sing at Brattons in the evening.

SUN 23

Cloudy but pleasant—stiff south breeze. Dressed up this morning—and started with several others to Lecompton As witness on trial between town Co & I B Titus.⁸⁸ Traveled all day and stopped at Big spring and stayed there all night.

LECOMPTON

MON 24

Clouds & Sun alternate.—sultry. Left big spring and reached Lecompton about 9 o'clock.— Loafed round till noon. Stopped at the Nelson house,⁸⁹—our trial commenced afternoon, two witnesses were examined— played Eucher in the evening.

TEUS 25.

Rain with some hail in the morning, beautiful through the day. Was examined this morning as witness on behalf of town Co. occupied the stand 3 hours,— Loafed round in the afternoon.— Spalding & Rogers circus was in Lecompton to day— the first I saw in Kansas.⁹⁰

88. P. C. Schuyler later informed the *Herald of Freedom*, probably with reference to this case, that the Burlingame townsite had been preempted and that eighty acres was contested. The land office ultimately decided the controversy in favor of the town company. —*The Kansas Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, December 11, 1858.

89. The Nelson House, operated by R. B. Nelson, was located at the corner of Isaack and Woodson avenues, south of the U. S. land office.—Advertisement in the *Kansas National Democrat*, Lecompton, May 20, 1858.

90. Spalding and Rogers' New Orleans Circus, advertised as "the largest traveling show in the world," with 109 persons and 113 horses, three sets of performers, clowns and ring horses, was a combination of the North American Circus, the Floating Palace Circus, and the Railroad Circus. It had played in Lawrence on May 22, Topeka on the 24th, and moved on to Oskaloosa on the 26th and Leavenworth on the 27th.—*Ibid.*

WED 26

Very hot & Sultry. Attended the trial all day.

THURS 27

Very warm through the day,— rain, thunder & lightning at night. Atended the trial all day,— was witness for town Co. again— Left Lecompton in the evening for home— traveled all night, had Keg Lager beer with us & good time over it.

[BURLINGAME]

FRI 28.

Very fine all day. Reached home this morning about 6 oClock, eat breakfast— went to bed & slept nearly all day,— had invitation to party at Mr. [William] Lords in the evening,— attended and had Good time,— got to bed about 1 oClock.

SAT 29.

Warm & pleasant. good breeze. Loafed round— read wrote a letter to Coz Will [Stewart]. Called at Mrs. Boyce's in the evening with Martha Philips— went thence with her to Titus'.

SUNDAY 30.

Warm in forenoon— cool in afternoon. Attended Church in forenoon— went Straw berring in afternoon, got lots of them, read and Loafed & talked in the evening.

MON 31.

Beautiful all day— cool at night. Read Medicine all day. Played few games chess & made bargain with Dr [E. P.] Sheldon to undertake an enterprise which the future *may* develope and may not. at present we are resolved to make the attempt, win or Lose. more anon.

JUNE [1858]

TEUS 1

Stiff breeze but warm. Read Medicine all day.

WED 3 [2]

Stiff breeze all day— but very warm. Read in forepart the day— attended celebration of sunday school in afternoon — good time— played ball in the evening and Eucher after dark.

THURS 4 [3].

Warm & windy in forenoon—heavy rain in the afternoon. Read all day— played few games chess.

FRI 5 [4].

Cool—moderately so all day. Read— wrote letters— went straw berring— recieved a long letter from Mrs Glendinen.

SAT 6 [5].

Warm & windy— cool evening. Read principally all day.

SUN 7 [6].

Fine and warm,— good breeze. Read and Loafed round all day.

MON 8 [7].

Very fine— most too warm—good breeze. Read nearly all day,— had a trial in the evening of Brewster for trying to kill Young Curtis.—⁹¹

TEUS 9 [8]

Warm—strong breeze. Brewsters trial continued all day— sentenc[e]d to 39 Lashes & fine of \$50,00 & to Leave the Territory. Attended the trial and witnessed the punishment. Read some— played some Eucher— fiddled.

WED 9.

Tremendous rain—mudy. Re[a]d & Lay round all day.

THURS 10.

Cool—little rain—fire comfortable. Read— played chess & Eucher. Intended to start for Kansas [City] but did not.

SANTAFEE ROAD

FRI 11

Cool & disagreeable all day—some rain. Started this morning for Kansas City with Jim Bothel— traveled all day— reached willow springs and camped there— slept in waggon.

SAT 12.

Clouds—rain & sun alternate. Traveled on all day,— camped at night on prarie two miles east of Olathe.⁹²

[KANSAS CITY]

91. In a letter of June 8 to Geo. W. Brown, editor of the *Herald of Freedom*, P. C. Schuyler wrote that there was great excitement at Burlingame. One of the citizens had been attacked on the Santa Fe road east of town, the object of his assailant being murder and robbery, and a "People's Court" was examining the case. The prisoner, who had proved to be one of a gang which had been committing depredations for some time, had confessed, and a vigilance committee had been appointed to carry out the sentence of the court.—*Herald of Freedom*, June 12, 1858.

92. While Stewart was traveling on private business other citizens of Burlingame were concerned with public affairs. On the evening of June 12, "suspecting that a whisky shop had been opened in our midst . . ." they held a public meeting which adopted a resolution serving notice that intoxicating liquors were not to be sold there without written order from a physician. P. C. Schuyler was chairman of the meeting and Ithiel Streit was secretary. The committee to draw up the resolution consisted of S. A. Fairchild, Daniel Griswold and Hiram D. Preston.—*Ibid.*, July 10, 1858. Preston was a delegate to the Wyandotte constitutional convention in 1859, where he introduced a resolution to include prohibition of liquor in the constitution.

SUN 13

Pleasant most the day—some rain. Reached Kansas City in the evening— camped on shore of Missouri river.

[SANTA FE ROAD]

MON 14.

Very warm & fine. Run round over the town buying pill boxes — violes— drugs & C. through the forenoon. Loaded up and left for the Territory about three o'clock in afternoon— stopped short time in Westport. Camped about 2 miles West of Westport, on farm of Mrs Mcgee.

TEUS 15

Good breeze in the morning—warm in the evening. Got good early start this morning—traveled on—made good days travel. Camped near the Mathers[?] house.

WED 16.

Very warm & sultry in forenoon— Good south breeze in the afternoon. Traveled on steadily— camped on prairie 7 mile West of Willow Springs.

[BURLINGAME]

THURS 17.

Warm— but good breeze. Started early— got home about three O'clock in the afternoon.

FRI 18

Heavy rain— muddy. Read all day, recieved Magazine from W D Clark.

SAT 19

Rainy & Mudy. Wrote letters one to O G Hazen—D G Uhl[?], Mary Jack & W D Clark.

SUN 20

Very warm with good south breeze. Took a walk with Mr Mcdonald to his farm— thence to John Denisons— and saw the old cabin in which William died, and where I shook nearly all to peices with the Ague.— thence went over to Wrights— and saw the house & claim I used to own— thence down town — got diner— read— slept— & loafed in the afternoon.

MON 21

Very warm—but good south breeze. Read most the day— went up to Howards with Row Bothel— thence to Mcdonalds claim—got load of wood and home— got some Mulberries on the way,— attended young mens critic association in the

evening at the School house— debated some on the question, resolved that all men are created free and equal— spoke on negative— got to bed about 11 o'clock.

TEUS 22.

Very warm & sultry. Read—wrote a letter to Sam Devlin.

WED 23.

Warm in forenoon—heavy rain in afternoon. Read— wrote a letter to John Wood.

THEUS 24

Warm through the day, heavy rain after night. Read,—wrote a letter to Bob Gibson. went to the woods with Dr. Sheldon and got good mess mulberries.

FRI 25

Rainy in forenoon, cloudy but pleasant in afternoon, very muddy. Read— wrote a letter to J. N Emery, played chess some.— also some Eucher.

SAT 26

Rainy some— very warm. Read— went over to Hoovers in the evening— back.

SUN 27

Small shower— pleasant generally. Read some— attended Church.

MON 28

Good South breeze. Read all day— attended Critic association in the evening.

TEUS 29.

Very warm. Read all day, had singing Club at my house in the evening.

WED 30

Very warm but good breeze. Read in forenoon— hoed potatoes on Mcdonalds farm in the afternoon, played Eucher in the evening.

JULY [1858]

THURS 1

Warm— few drops of rain in the forenoon— very warm in afternoon. Read in the forenoon— hoed few potatoes in the afternoon, took firstrate bathe in Mcdonalds run, played Eucher in the evening, played fiddle some. my thoughts have been wandering back to Newcastle very much today. wish I could only make it convenient to live there instead of this—(to me)

unattractive place. I hope time will make me feel more comfortable.

FRI 2

Read— Very warm— some breeze.

SAT 3

Very warm. Dressed up and took a ride down to Dr Kerrs where there was to be a picnic heard on the way that Naomi Drew had been drowned in Dragoon Creek. Mr Canniff & I were together— so we hastened on down to the place and found the party in much distress at the sad occurrence,— Naomi was indeed drowned. The party— after vainly trying to restore her— organized in procession and returned with the corps to town— left it at her fathers— and dispersed — much vexed and disapointed.— The remainder of the day I read some,— and thought much on the uncertainty of life —the transition of all things. Naomi you no longer need our sympathies— but we feel that we have sustained a very great loss in your misfortune. Torn from our midts— in the bloom of youth, when hopes are high— affections developing— and every virtue that adorns your sex presented in its most attractive form we feel your loss, and mourn your fate,— we pause and reflect in contemplating your unhappy end. farewell Dear friend.⁹³

SUN 4

Very warm & Sultry. Went to Church in the forenoon— heard Rev Beach from Cincinnatti preach. Attended the funeral of Naomi Drew in the afternoon— heard some good remarks from Rev [G. W. or John?] Paddock on the occasion— was one of the Pall-bearers. The scene today has awakened many strong sympathetic feelings in me— unpleasant reminiscences have crossed my mind, and a renewed sense of my lonely and unhappy circumstances has been forced upon me. After the funeral, we returned to our home to ponder over the unpleasant scenes of the day.

93. The death of Naomi Drew, aged 16, was reported as follows: “. . . The citizens of Burlingame and Superior were assembling in a grove on the south side of Dragoon Creek, to hold a celebration. An ox team, containing most of the family of Mr. John Drew, was crossing the creek at the usual ford, when the oxen, without any apparent cause, suddenly turned and ran into deep water. The wagon-body immediately floated off and overturned, precipitating all in it into the water. Every possible assistance was promptly rendered by the numerous bystanders, and with some difficulty all were rescued, except Miss Drew. She sank immediately, and all efforts to find and rescue her seemed baffled as if by fatality. Her body was recovered at the end of perhaps fifteen minutes, but the most patient and persevering efforts failed to recall any signs of life. All further thought of a celebration was at an end, and the multitude assembled sadly followed the remains to the home of the bereaved family.”—*Herald of Freedom*, July 24, 1858.

MONDAY 5

Very warm— South breeze. Read Anatomy all day attended critic association in the evening.

TEUS 6

Warm and dry. Read, fiddled & C.

WED 7

Warm— good breeze. Recieved 4 letters this morning— one from Coz Molly Thorn— and from Olive, was much pleased. read my letters, and several newspapers,— wrote two letters.

THURS 8

Shower of rain this morning. Read— played Chess— check-eras, & C.

[LAWRENCE]

FRI 9

Cloudy in forenoon— sunny & very hot in the afternoon. Got up very early.— washed— dressed— eat breakfast and started, on horseback, for Lawrence,— rode on at good speed as far as Bloomington— took dinner— then on to Lawrence, arrived there between three & four OClock. Went to the Republican office— made Contract for the printing of a lot of Circulars— Lables— bills— & blanks, for receipts. then to some of the stores, made some purchases— then started for home. Got out six miles, stopped at [William] Yates' on the banks of the Wakarusa. stayed all night.

SAT 10.

Cloudy but pleasant. Terrible storm Last night of wind & rain. Started on for home this morning, made good progress, reached one hundred & ten about one oClock,— met Dr Kerr & Hays there— stopped and waited an hour on them,— after which we all started for home— reached home about four OClock. rested & played seven-up ballance of the evening. feel very tired and sore this evening, but have some good prospects ahead think that my trip to Lawrence will result in profit to me after while.

BURLINGAME

SUN 11

Scattered Clouds— warm. Read Anatomy for some time in the morning took a walk up to McDonalds farm— got some black berries— thence to Howards— found them away from home, then down to town, wrote a letter to Eb Sankey— read & C.

MON 12

Very heavy shower this morning early, also one about 10 O'clock.— muddy. Made pills all day. attended critic association in the evening— was chose President, for the next term.

TEUS 13.

Fine day, with good breeze. Made Pills all day.

WED 14.

High breeze from the south. Worked at preparing Ague medicine all day, played Eucher some, read Anatomy some.

THUR 15

Fine day,— good breeze. Read— wrote a letter— No 5 to O G Hazen. recieved bundle of public documents by santafee mail.

FRI 16

Fine— heavy rain at night. Read— & made three dozen bottles Ague medicine. recieved, by the Lawrence mail the printing I had bought a week ago.

SAT 17.

Heavy rain last night,— muddy to-day. The water tremendous high. Made medicine & put on Labels all day.

SUNDAY 18.

Beautiful— good breeze. Finished reading Anatomy & commenced Physiology,— Drapers.⁹⁴ wrote some.

MON 19.

Fine breeze but warm. Mixed Ague medicine & read.

TEUS 20.

Thermometer 102 no air, horrible. Read some— worked some at my Ague medicine— and Lay round in pain with sore mouth & jaw.

WED 21

Good breeze— heavy shower of rain in eve. Read all day.

THURS 22.

Streams very high— muddy. little rain in forenoon. Read some— attended political meeting in afternoon— heard two Mr. Thachers speak.⁹⁵ received four letters— one from

94. John William Draper, M.D. (1811-1882), published many treatises on chemistry, physiology and mathematics. Stewart probably read his *Human Physiology, Statical and Dynamical; or The Conditions and Course of the Life of Man* (New York, 1856).

95. The two Thachers, both prominent Free-State men and residents of Lawrence, were distantly related. Timothy Dwight Thacher (1831-1894) came to Kansas in 1857 and became one of the editors and proprietors of the Lawrence *Republican*. He was a delegate to the Leavenworth constitutional convention in 1857-1858, a member of the state legislature and served three terms as state printer. Solon O. Thacher (1830-1895) came to Kansas in 1858, joined Timothy Dwight in editing the *Republican* and was a member of the Wyandotte constitutional convention in 1859. He was a successful lawyer and for several years a member of the state senate.

O G Hazen— A L Hazen— J H Bushnell & Mary E Jack, also bundle of papers, spent the evening reading my letters & papers.

FRI 23.

Fine day.—good breeze. Read some— wrote 5 letters.

SAT 24

Warm. rained hard Last night. Read faithfully all day.

SUN 25.

Good Cool breeze, rain in evening. Read all day.

MON 26

Warm— Read— made some Ague medicine. got pretty well boozed on Lager, the saloon opened to-day.

TEUS 27

Pleasant— rain in the evening. Read— played chess— & Eucher.

WED 28

Rain this morning— also in the eve. Read some— wrote a letter to O G Hazen, recieved one from W D Clark. had sulky ride to day.

THURS 29

Very warm & sultry. Fixed up and started in a sulky with Lot of Ague medicine to retail & sell, got along very well untill noon— reached Wachers— took diner— Left some medicine there & left for Kansas Center,⁹⁶ passed through some fine Country,— stopped at several houses talked few minutes, passed on to Waterloo, stopped at Mickles & Slept in hay mow.⁹⁷

FRI 30

Beautiful all day, but very warm. Got up bright & early & started towards Emporia— drove two miles & stopped at Duck Creek & took breakfast at Mr Phillips,⁹⁸ then on — reached the Neosho settlement and commenced offering my medicine for sale traveled round from house to house all day.— found a great many sick. got upset & sulky broke crossing Dow Creek, followed Dow Creek up to near its head—

96. Kansas Center, in present northern Lyon county, was located at the junction of the Santa Fe road and 142 creek, probably at or near the site of present Allen.

97. Waterloo, present Lyon county, sometimes called Quincy, was situated in sec. 7, T. 17 S., R. 13 E., southeast of Kansas Center and about halfway between Burlingame and Emporia. William H. Mickel, a trader, is listed in the 1860 census as a resident of Waterloo township, Lyon county.

98. Oliver Phillips took a claim on 142 creek in 1855 and in 1857 moved to the location on Duck creek.—Jacob Stotler, "History of Lyon County, Kansas," in *An Illustrated Historical Atlas of Lyon County, Kansas*, by Edwards Brothers (Philadelphia, 1878), p. 5.

then turned down and came on north side of creek two miles. stayed all night.

NEOSHO

SAT 31

Warm with good breeze. Got up early & started on— made two or three calls, stoped at side of house & eat breakfast on bread & onion. Then on down Dow Creek to its Junction with Neosho— then up Allen Creek. sold \$5,00 worth of medicine. stoped at a house & took diner, After which Crossed Allen Creek & wandered up the Neosho,— Came to Americus— stoped few minutes— then on out to Croskeys⁹⁹ introduced myself— talked few minutes— then on to where I found an unocupied cabin— went in— took posession & slept in it all night.

AUGUST [1858]

SUN 1

Showery all day— very heavy rain in evening Left my camping place early & drove on about three miles when it commenced raining— stopped at a cabin, stayed till the rain stoped— got breakfast. then on, towards Duck Creek, made several calls, Crossed rock Creek & went up the West side of it.— stoped at the house of a Kentuckian & got diner of corn soup. Left that and on to Santafee road, Stoped at [Ingraham] Baker & left some medicine there— then on west to Council Grove, got very wet on the way— stoped at S[eth] M Hays & stayed all night.

[COTTONWOOD]

MON 2

Showery—sometimes very hot. Left the Grove & drove to Diamond springs on Cotton wood.¹⁰⁰ Left some medicine at Mr Harris, took diner of buffalo tounge & crackers, drove on down the Cotton wood, several mile— stoped all-night at a bachelors cabin.

TEUS 3

Fine— but rather too warm. On down the Cottonwood stoping at houses. stoped few minutes at Toledo.¹⁰¹ took diner

99. Robert Croskey was a farmer living in Americus township, according to the 1860 census.

100. This was four miles north of present Diamond Springs, Morris county, which is 17 miles southwest of Council Grove. The branch of the Cottonwood referred to is now called Diamond creek.

101. Toledo was in present northeastern Chase county, 11 miles east of Cottonwood Falls.

with a man named Beaver. reached Empori[a] about sundown. stopped at the Emporia house. stayed all night.

WED 4

Fine all day. Started for Burlingame, got to the Neosho— could not get accross. Lay up all day waiting for it to fall. Slept on the ground at night & fought musquitos.

THURS 5

Fine all day. Crossed the river this morning, and home, arrived about 6 oClock.

FRI 6

Fine & warm, good breeze. Wrote a long account of my trip to O G Hazen, mended up my harness.

SANTAFEE ROAD

SAT 7

Warm but good south breeze. Started this morning for Kansas city— drove all day— got to black-jack— Camped there & fought Musquitos all night.

SUN 8.

Very hot & sultry. Drove on— broke my sulky. Camped near the Baptist mission.

MON 9 .

Hot—hot—hot.— all day. Drove on to Westport— stoped and got my sulky fixed— then on to Kansas city— bought bill of drugs, & turned back homwards— got out to Baptist mision— camped all night.

TEUSDAY 10

Very—very Hot, Started very early and drove to Bryants, Camped.

[BURLINGAME]

WED 11

Dry & hot—sultr[y]. Drove home this morning, about 10 oClock, recieved a letter from A L Hazen.

THURS 12.

Warm & Sultry. Prepared medicine for starting out again. Slept in Bothels store room.¹⁰²

FRI 13

Very warm & sultry. Prepared medicine some— wrote two letters— one to O G Hazen & one to Wm Stewart

102. In 1857 A. R. and James Bothel had erected a small building on Santa Fe avenue, in Burlingame, where they operated a store.—A. T. Andreas and W. G. Cutler, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 1533.

— read some medicine, fiddled over at Brattons in evening.

SAT 14

Thunder— Lightning & little rain. Read some, was sick in forenoon.

SUN 15.

Good breeze— pleasant. Wrote— read & slept.

MON 16

Very warm. Sick Last night & this forenoon, Loafed & read in afternoon.

TUESDAY 17

Very warm & sult[r]y. Prepared for starting away, read some.

WED 18

Very warm & sultry. Read— wrote a letter to O G Hazen — recieved two— one from O G Hazen & one from J. H. Bushnell.

[NEOSHO]

THURS 19

Pleasant in the morning— very warm through the day. Left home this morning for the Neosho— stopped at Mickles for diner— then on,— reached Emporia about 6 oClock. Stopped short time— then on to Cottonwood— crossed & stopped all night at an unoccupied house,— musquitoes very bad.

FRI 20

Very fine— good breeze all day. Recrossed the Cotton-wood and went to junction of Neosho— crossed and followed down the Neosho on north side. took diner with a settler. made number calls— stopped at an unoccupied house, wrote some to O G. H[azen] Slept there all night.

SAT 21

Very fine day. Started out early this morning, traveled steady all day, made several calls. passed through Ottumwa— Forest Hill— & Florence.¹⁰³ Stopped at the house of a man named [Henry] Fry— stayed all night.

SUNDAY 22

Rainy all day. Stayed at Frys all day— read & wrote.

103. Forest Hill and Florence were in present Lyon county, seven and 10 miles respectively southeast of Emporia. Forest Hill was at the junction of the Neosho and Cottonwood rivers. Florence is present Neosho Rapids. Ottumwa is in Coffey county about six miles northwest of Burlington.

[COTTONWOOD]

MON 23

More or less rain. Left about 10 o'clock for Burlington, reached it about twelve— attended to my business and turned back toward the cotton-wood. traveled all afternoon in the rain. Stopped at a house in the evening and stayed all night, set up through the night and gave medicine to a sick man, wrote some— read some

"Honi soit qui mali pense."¹⁰⁴

TUES 24

Clouds & sun alternate. Drove on through Emporia, crossed the Neosho at Florence and came up the South side. Stopped at Mr Eckenberrys over night.¹⁰⁵

WED 25

Pleasant through the day, shower of rain & some hail in the evening. Passed through Plymouth— Toledo— and Diamond springs— camped on prairie.

THURS 26

Fine through the day— heavy wind storm and shower of rain in evening. Traveled on— passed Council Grove — stopped and took diner at Ingraham Bakers on Rock Creek— then on to Worthington [Withington] up [1]42 creek¹⁰⁶— stayed there all night.

[BURLINGAME]

FRI 27

Cool north wind. Drove on home this morning, recieved three letters & some papers, wrote to O G H[azen] history of my trip.

SAT 28

Cool all day. Wrote— read— Loafed round &C.

SUN 29

Fine all day. Rode up to Dr [Samuel] Shunks in the morning— talked a while with the Dr.— back home— read &C. balance of the day.

104. *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, "Evil be to him who thinks evil," the motto of the Order of the Garter, oldest and most illustrious of the British orders of knighthood.

105. William H. Eikenbery homesteaded on the Cottonwood, west of Emporia, in 1855.— Stotler, "History of Lyon County," *loc. cit.*, p. 5.

106. Charles H. Withington was the oldest settler in Lyon county. He established himself at present Allen, on the Santa Fe road and 142 creek, in June, 1854, having first come to Kansas in 1846, and his store was the headquarters for all immigrants in that part of the Neosho valley.—*Ibid.*

MON 30

Cool breeze. Mixed medicine— made pills— read in Bedfords disease of weoman & children.¹⁰⁷

[LECOMPTON]

TEUS 31

A little rain but generally pleasant through the day. Started this morning for Lecompton to attend Law suit. traveled all day— arrived at dark. Stopped at National hotel,

SEPTEMBER [1858]

WED 1

Fine and warm. Attended the Law suit between Mr Canniff & Old Polly. Left National Hotel this morning and put up at American house. Had good deal Lager to-day.

THUR 2

Cloudy & Cool. Lay round all day, attending trial.

FRI 3

Cool morning—warm afternoon. Read—Loafed &C all day.

SAT 4

Cool morning—warm day. Read & attended Law suit.

SUN 5

High wind Read CYClopedia of practical medicen¹⁰⁸

MON 6

High wind & dusty. Read principal part of the day. Had good mess of green apples & peaches to-day.— had thoughts of going to the gold mines,¹⁰⁹ played Whist in the evening.

TEUS 7

Windy in forenoon, rainy in the afternoon and night. Left Lecompton about noon for home. traveled on in the rain untill dark— stoped at a white house on the Prarie— but could not get Lodging— part of our party stoped in the wagon, I and two others went into the house and lay down on the floor and put over the night uncomfortably.

107. Gunning S. Bedford, M. D. (1806-1870), professor of midwifery, etc., in the University of New York, was the author of *Clinical Lectures on the Diseases of Women and Children* (New York, 1855).

108. *The Cyclopaedia of Practical Medicine*, edited by Drs. Robley Dunglison, Sir John Forbes, John Conolly and Alexander Tweedie (revised edition, Philadelphia, 1845).

109. Hundreds of persons from Kansas and other states and territories were drawn to Pike's Peak and the Rocky Mountains by the "gold rush." It had developed to such proportions in 1858 that G. W. Brown, editor of the *Herald of Freedom*, commented on October 9: "Almost every border paper we take up, notices the departure of large companies for Pike's Peak in search of gold. . . ." He later remarked that "not less than 1,000 persons will winter in the vicinity of Pike's Peak the coming winter, and it is possible the number will equal 1,500 or 2,000. . . ." The *Herald of Freedom* later had its own "Special Correspondent From the Gold Mines," and its columns were filled with news from the gold fields during the early months of 1859.—*Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, October 9, 23, 30, 1858; January 22 et passim, 1859.

BURLINGAME

WED 8

Cloudy & Cool all day. Started off this morning, very early, drove to Dr Woods— stopped and took breakfast— then on— reached home about noon, Read— slept — eat melon & C. ballance of the day.

THURS 9

Fine day.— cool morning & even. Read— Loafed & C.

FRI 10

Pleasant— Went up in the morning to McDonalds Claim with Row Bothel. dug some potatoes— got Load of wood— returned— me[nde]d Dr Sheldons harness. Read— wrote a letter— No 13 to O. G. Hazen—

SAT 11

Fine with good breeze. Read Meigs¹¹⁰ all day.

SUN 12

Fine all day. Read and wrote letter to O. G. Hazen.

MON 13

Fine & pleasant. Read Meigs all day played Eucher in the evening.

TEUS 14

Pleasant through the day— heavy rain & hail storm in evening. Read all day.

WED 15

Very fine day, mudy in morning. Read through the day— drove out to Bryants in the Sulky in the evening and got some melons.

THURS 16

Cool morning & warm day. Read some— received 4 letters, wrote two— one from O G Hazen— [wrote] Coz Mollie Thorn [wrote] Mary E Jack & J T M'millen.

FRI 17

Fine & warm & dry. Read all day— played whist in evening.

SAT 18

Very warm but good south breeze. Read in forenoon— attended trial at Squire Lords in afternoon between Bothels & Polly. attended meeting at school house in evening to nominate Delegates to county convention— was nominated as one myself.

110. Charles D. Meigs, M. D. (1792-1869), was the author of *Obstetrics: the Science and the Art* (first published in 1849), and other medical works.

SUN 19

Very fine Read— went to the woods in the evening and got Lot of Paw paws.

MON 20

Fine all day. Read Bedford all day.

TEUS 21

Fine all day Read all day.

BROWNVILLE

WED 22

Beautiful all day. Dressed up this morning in my Sunday goods & started in the Sulkey for Brownsville, had fine ride. Reached it before noon, was Delegate to Convention. the Convention was Called to order before diner, Committee on Credentials was appointed, I was Chairman, we met, received Credentials & ajourned for diner reassembled in afternoon, wrangled and quarled all afternoon, did not get through till midnight, started home and after a fine moon light ride of two hours arrived at home went to bed. Saw Mattie Boyce at Brownville sparked her some.

BURLINGAME

THURS 23

Very fine all day. Read Bedford all day.

FRI 24

Fine. Read Bedford— wrote a letter to O G Hazen No 14. Also one to — Sankey.

SAT 25

Fine— Read in forenoon— attended Caucus meeting at school house in the evening— had good time—thence over to Pollys— called him out of bed & groaned for him, then to Beer Saloon— got on bender— sernaded— yelled— fiddled — & played Eucher till two[?] oClock, *hell of a time.*

SUN 26

Stiff south breeze. Atended Church— wrote a letter to O G Hazen.

MON 27

Fine day— Read Druit on Surgery.¹¹¹

TEUS 28

Warm— good south breeze. Read Druit— wrote some.

111. *The Principles and Practice of Modern Surgery*, by Robert Druitt (1814-1883), was first published in Philadelphia in 1842.

WED 29

Fine & warm— good breeze. Read— took walk up to McDonalds back— received 2 letters in evening, one from O G Hazen & one A L H[azen].

THUR 30

Very warm. Wrote a letter to O G Hazen No 16. Read Druit.

OCTOBER [1858]

FRI 1

Fine— with south breeze. Read in forenoon— sat on jury in afternoon on case between Shirtfiff [Alonzo H. Shurtleff] & [Frederick] Farley at squire Drews.

SAT 2

Very warm and high wind. Read all day.

SUN 3

High wind all day— but warm Read nearly all day.

[LECOMPTON]

MON 4

Cloudy in forenoon— clear in afternoon— This is election day— Voted for G[eorge] W Holmens for Representative & Started for Lecompton to attend Law suit— traveled all day and arrived at Lecompton after dark— Stopped at Am[erican] hotel— Dr Brooke.¹¹²

TEUS 5

Windy but fine, Lay round all day reading.

WED 6

Very windy. Lay round reading Loafing &C.

THURS 7

A little frost on the bottoms this morn— first this fall. Loafed round— was witness before Grand Jury. Ball at Dr. Brooks this evening.

FRI 8.

Pleasant & warm. Left for home to-day without our trial having come on, arrived at home about 8 oClock at night. got letter from O G Hazen. took supper at Brattons.

BURLINGAME

SAT 9

Pleasant but windy. Mixed up medicine & made pills—

112. B. C. Brooke was proprietor of the American Hotel at Lecompton.

SUN 10

Cold & rainy. Wrote a letter— No 17 to O G Hazen.
Read some.

MON 11

Cloudy in forenoon. clear and pleasant in afternoon. Made pills and prepared for a trip down Neosho.

[COTTONWOOD]

TEUS 12

Cold in forenoon— warm in afternoon Started this morning for a trip down Cotton-wood & Neosho— Stopped in the evening and Stayed all night at Withingtons on 142 creek— santafee road.

WED 13

Cold in morning—warm in afternoon. Traveled all day and reached Middle Creek after dark and Stopped over night with Mr Boggs—an old Bachelor.

THUR 14

Clear with Strong breeze. Left Boggs & drove back as far as Harris'— stopped short time— then on down the Cotton-wood, Stopped at Toledo two or three hours— then down to Mr Eकिनberries, stoped there short time, on— tried to get stopping over night at several places but failed to do so untill 10 oClock at night— then stopped at a mans house by the name of McFadden— stayed all night.

NEOSHO

FRI 15

Started on early— reached and stopped few minutes at Emporia. Then on to Forrest hill,— thence to Florence — thence to Ottumwa— Stopped few minutes— thence to Mr Frys. Stopped all night.

SAT 16

Very windy. Went to Burlingington— then turned back and traveled hard all day— reached Forrest-hill Stopped at hotel all night.

SUN 17

Very Windy. Started for home this morn— Stopped for diner at Mickles of Waterloo— thence to Kansas Center— thence home, arrived about five oClock in evening.

BURLINGAME

MON 18

Pleasant to-day, but muddy. Tremendous heavy rain Last night. Worked at School house. Played Euchre in the evening.

TEUS 19

Pleasant all day. Worked all day for Row & Jim Bothel.

WED 20

Very fine day. Worked in forenoon for Bothels. Recieved three letters—one from Molly Jack— & two from O G Hazen. wrote one— No 18 to Hazen.

THURS 21

fine day. Worked for the Bothels. Read in the evening. fiddled some and had few glasses Lager beer.

FRI 22

Fine day. Worked some at School house in forenoon. Read & slept in afternoon.

SAT 23

Cloudy and a little rain. Read— settled with [Thomas] Playford— went up to Dr Shunks and settled with him — back home.

SUN 24

Very heavy rain Last night, rained all day to-day. Read — wrote &C.

MON 25

Cloudy and misty. Started this morning for Lecompton traveled till noon— took diner at Dr Woods— then on till dark— stoped and stayed over night at Judge Roberts.

LECOMPTON

TEUS 26

Rainy and muddy. Arrived at Lecompton this morning about 11 oClock stopped at American hotel, stayed there all day and all night. read Anatomy some.

WED 27

Muddy and rain. Started for home about one oClock— waded through water and mud until dark— arrived at Judge Roberts' stayed there all night.

THURS 28

Cloudy but no rain. Started on homewards, reached the Waka-rusa about 2 oClock had to camp and Lay there till the river fell sufficient to let us ford it.

BURLINGAME

FRI 29

Still Cloudy. Crossed the Wakarusa this morn took breakfast at Dr Woods. then on home— arrived about 11 oClock. wrote a Letter—No 19 to O G Hazen. recieved one from same.

SAT 30

Very fine day. Cut wood in forenoon, read & loafed in afternoon.

SUN 31

Rained hard Last night Rainy all day— very high water higher than ever known here. Read medicine up in Dr Sheldons new office.

NOVEMBER [1858]

MON 1

Cloudy and rany— muddy. Read Neil & Smith.¹¹³

TEUS 2

Cold & Cloudy. Read all day.

WED 3

Damp & cold. Read Neil & Smith.

THURS 4

Cold north wind. Read all day.

FRI 5

Cold and raw. Read all day.

SAT 6

Rather pleasant. Read all day.

SUN 7

Cold and snow storm— first snow this fall, Read all day.

MON 8

Cold & raw. Read through the day, attended Lyceum at night.

TEUS 9

Cold and raw. Read— call at Denisons in the evening and had some fun fighting cats.

WED 10

Cold and raw. Read some— wrote some.

THUR 11

Cold and disagreeable. Wrote some on debate, fiddled— read

113. Drs. John Neill (1819-1880) and Francis Gurney Smith (1818-1878) collaborated in writing a series of handbooks on chemistry, materia medica and therapeutics, anatomy, surgery, obstetrics, physiology, and the practice of medicine.

FRI 12

Cold north wind, heave [heavy] snow storm. read some
— loafed by fire.

SAT 13

Clear in forenoon— cold in afternoon. Read all day.—Anat-
omy.

SUN 14

Rather raw. Read all day—Anatomy.

MON 15

Cold— hard frost last night. Read as usual.

TEUS 16

Clear and sunny but cool. Read as usual.

WED 17

Real cold, but sunny. Read as usual.

THUR 18

The coldest day since last winter. Wrote a letter—No 20 to
O. G. Hazen. Read &C.

FRI 19

Some sun but still cool. Read and wrote.

SAT 20

Rather pleasant, snowing. Went out hunting in forenoon, wrote
letter in afternoon. Read some.

SUN 21

Three inches snow on the ground, Soft and thawing some.
Wrote letter for Miss Bell Crawford. Read in afternoon.

MON 22

Soft— snow still on ground. Read Drapers Physiology. at-
tended Lyceum in evening.

TEUS 23

Cold— snow on the ground. Wrote some— read Physiology.

WED 24

Still rather cold. Read— wrote a letter to O. G. H[azen]
No 21.

THURS 25

Variable— still cool, but changing Read Physiology.

FRI 26

Little rain— south wind. Worked at laying down floor in
my house— sold to Mcdonald some time ago.

SAT 27

More moderate. Read Draper's Physiology.

SUN 28

Rather cold and raw. Went up to Wilmington with three others in a wagon, stopped at Havana and got some brandy — got pretty well *set-up*. Got the mail for Burlingame at Wilmington,¹¹⁴ came home in the evening.

MON 29

Little snow— clear in afternoon. Sick in bed all day, attended Lyceum at night.

TEUS 30

Sunny & pleasant. helped Row Bothel haul wood in fore part the day. wrote & read in afternoon & evening.

DECEMBER [1858]

WED 1st

Little rain— windy. Finished reading Physiology and Com-
menced Materia Medica.

THURS 2

Strong north wind— growing cold. Read as usual, all day.

FRI 3

Two or three inches snow on the ground. The coldest day this fall. Read Materia Medica.

SAT 4

Very Cold & windy. Snowed some this afternoon. Read all day.

SUN 5

Sunny— 4 inches snow on ground. Read all day.

MON 6

Cloudy— moderating some. Read— wrote some.

TEUS 7

Very Cold & frosty. Read all day.

WED 8

Murcury 13° below zero. Read— recieved a letter from O. G. Hazen— answered it—No 22.

THUR 9

Sunny but still cool. Read all day—

FRI 10

Sunny— pleasant— south breeze. Took sleigh ride with Dr Sheldon this morning down to Superior, and back — Read— had venison for dinner. Wrote some.

114. Wilmington was in the southeast corner of present Wabaunsee county. Havana was on the Santa Fe trail, about half way between Burlingame and Wilmington.

SAT 11

Sunny— thawing. Read all day.

SUN 12

Rainy this morning,—muddy. Read & C all day.

MON 13

Cold in morning— more moderate in the afternoon. Went up to Cemetary with Rowe Bothel to dig grave for [A.] fetherlys child— did so— returned— read.

TEUS 14

Moderate. Read all day— Bedford.

WED 15

Very fine day— soft. Read faithfully all day.

THURS 16

Very warm & fine. Read Bedford all day— had meeting at night in school house to organize night school.

FRI 17

Pleasant— soft. Read— finished Bedford.

SAT 18

Pleasant— Read all day.

SUN 19

Cloudy. threatning change of weather. Read some. wrote some, made few calls.

[LECOMPTON]

MON 20

Cloudy— damp. Got up this morning at three oClock, eat breakfast at Brattons. Started with Schuyler & Canniff to go to Lecompton as witness on Law suit. traveled all day in mud. arrived at destination after dark. Stoped at Dr. Brook's Am[erican] hotel.

TEUS 21.

Threatned rain thawing. Lay around all day reading papers, Love yarns & C.

WED 22

Pleasant, muddy. The trial was commenced to-day. I attended it— was held in the Receivers office.

THURS 23

Fine day. Loafed around— reading— list[en]ing to trial & C. all day.

FRI 24

Fine. Attended trial.

SAT 25

Christmas. Fine day. Read all day.

SUN 26

Threatned rain. dident do it tho. Read, maid of Monterey.

MON 27

Damp. Was examined as witness this forenoon, the trial was ended to-day.

TEUS 28

Cloudy— and damp Started for home early— had a hard trip. did not get home— stoped at some strangers house on Wakarusa.

BURLINGAME

WED 29

Foggy in morning. Clear and pleasant through the day. Started on home— arrived about 9 oClock. Read— fiddled, wrote a letter to O G Hazen No 23 received one from same.

THURS 30

Pleasant— street dry. Read— fiddled &C.

FRI 31

Fine— very fine all day. Read some— wrote some— raffled some— fiddled some, slept some, attended Bachelors festival at night, had good time, danced nearly alnight.

NEW YEARS DAY [1859]

SAT 1.

Beautiful all day. Read principal part of the day.

SUN 2

A most beautiful day. Read all day.

MON 3

A most beautiful day. Read Meigs all day— attended Lyceum at night.

TEUS 4

Beautiful— south breeze. Helped haul wood for our family in forenoon, attended Taffy party at Geo Hoovers in the evening. had good time.

WED 5

Pleasant through the day—North wind in evening. Read— wrote a letter to O. G. Haz[en]

THURS 6

Very cold— blustery &c and some snow. Read some— Lay round the fire.

FRI 7

Cold all day. Read— Meigs obstetrics.

SAT 8

More moderate. Went out to McDonalds claim and helped survey a line from one corner to another of same, Stopped few minutes at Howards. Read in afternoon.

SUN 9

Very pleasant, snow melting. Read— wrote some.

MON 10

Fine day. Bought some lumber this morning and prepared to fix my house, read some in Druit— attended Lyceum.

TEUS 11

Pleasant but threatning rain. Worked some at house— read some.

WED 12

Stiff south breeze. Worked at house through the day— Wrote a letter No 25 to O G Hazen.

THURS 13

Little rain— south wind. Worked at house— received letter from Wm Scott.

FRI 14

Cold north wind— little Snow— some drops of rain. Read Druit on Surgery.

SAT 15

Cool in morning— more pleasant through the day— cool in evening. Worked at house, read Druit in the evening.

SUN 16

Beautiful. Read— wrote &C. all day.

MON 17

Beautiful. Worked at my house, read some.

TEUS 18

Beautiful. Loafed round doing nothing most the day, attended party at night at Dr Sheldons, had pleasant time.

WED 19

High south wind— but clear Read— wrote some— Took a ride down to Superior— visited the school.

THURS 20

Strong south breeze. Read all day.

FRI 21

Somewhat cold but pleasant Read— wrote some— attended a dance at Smiths in the evening.

SAT 22

Cold as blazes. Read all day— had a little dance at Brattons in the evening.

SUN 23

More pleasant. Read nearly all day— wrote some.

MON 24

Fine day. Sick in bed in forenoon. Read in afternoon— attended Lyceum at night.

TEUS 25

A most lovely day. Read as usual—Druit.

WED 26

Cloudy— hard rain in the night. Helped to haul wood in forenoon— Read— wrote letter in afternoon.

THURS 27

Mudy— clearing off. Read all day— attended party at [J. L.] Dodges in evening.

FRI 28

Cold and windy. Read Thayer on Infidelity.¹¹⁵

SAT 29

Pleasant. Cut fi[rew]ood for [W.P.?] Deming in forenoon— Read in afternoon. attended a very interesting meeting, of the Temperance League in evening.

SUN 30

Rather cold. Read Druit—finished it.

MON 31

Strong south wind. Worked all day, siding up my house. attended Lyceum in the evening— had good meeting.

FEBRU[A]RY [1859]

TEUS 1

Beautiful all day. Finished house today. Read some, in "Pro & Con," or Universalism confirmed.

WED 2

Very Cold and windy. Read all day Pro & con of universalism.

THURS 3

Pleasant all day, cold at night. Read— wrote received two letters— on[e] from O G Hazen one from M E Jack., sent one to O G Hazen.

115. Thomas Baldwin Thayer (1812-1886) was a Universalist minister. His *Christianity vs. Infidelity* was first published at Boston in 1836.

FRI 4

Cold & Windy. Read Chemistry—Drapers.

SAT 5

Cold & Windy. Read— wrote some.

SUN 6

Cold & Windy. Read Drapers Chemistry.

MON 7

Rather cold, pleasant in eve. Read Chemistry, attended Lyceum in the evening, was made President.

TEUS 8

Cold raw wind. Read all day.

WED 9

Little more moderate. Read— wrote two letters,— one to O. G Hazen No. 27[?] & one to C F McKillip. received one from McKillip. not well to-day.

THURS 10

Raw & Cold. Read & wrote.

FRI 11

Very cold—windy & snow. Sat by fire & read all day.

SAT 12

Sunny & pleasant but rather cool. Helped haul wood in forenoon, Read in evening.

SUN 13

Pleasant— stiff breeze. Read Woods Practice of Medicine.¹¹⁶

MON 14

Very fine all day. Worked at piling up some Lumber in forenoon— Read in afternoon.

TEUS 15

Beautiful day. Started off this morning on horse back for the Neosho Country, Reached Waterloo at noon— took diner at Mickles— then on to Forest hill— attended to some buisness there— then on down the Neosho to Florence— crossed the River and stoped at a farmers house all night.

WED 16

Beautiful— Cloudy & little rain in the evening & after dark. Started on early this morning— reached Ottumwa about ten o'clock,— remained there untill twelve— then turned towards home— traveled eight miles— stoped at a house and got dinner & horse fed— then on across the Sac & fox re-

116. George Bacon Wood, M. D. (1797-1879), was the author of *A Treatise on the Practice of Medicine*, first published in 1847.

serve— traveled on untill dark, got lost— wandered round an hour or two— got on the road again— reached home about 8OClock at night— having rode about fifty miles, got my Supper & went to bed.

THURS 17

Beautiful all day. Wrote four letters— one to Uncle Stewart — [one to] O G Hazen No [28?] [one to] Lizzy Harsh— [one to] Molly Jack.

FRI 18

Cloudy in forenoon but fine in after— Read some— attended Law suit between Dr Shunk & Henry Smith— Shaved my whiskers off— Attended large party at Henry Smiths at night— danced "heap"— had good time— got home about one OClock.

SAT 19

Cloudy & windy. Feel rather slim to-day— Read some— wrote some—slept some.

SUN 20

Beautiful day Read Woods Practice. Attended Church in the evening.

MON 21

Fine day. Read through the day. attended Church in the evening.

TEUS 22

Fine also. Read & Loafed round some.

WED 23

Fine— but strong south wind. Sold some lumber & got some filthy lucre— Read medicine

THURS 24

Rainy slowly all day. Read all day— played Eucher in even.

FRI 25

Clear with high wind, not bad. Read— wrote some.

SAT 26

Very fine day. Read in forenoon— went after a load of wood in afternoon. attended a lecture on Astronomy in evening — took Carrie Paddock to & home again ———

SUN 27

Fine day— little cool in evening. Read— wrote some.

MON 28

Clear with high east wind. Attended to having my house painted to-day.

MARCH [1859]

TEUS 1

Warm with high south wind— rained in the night. Read & through the day.

WED 2

Mudy— some little rain. Read & loafed— have notion of going to Pikes Peak this spring, think I must do so.¹¹⁷

THURS 3

Read some— went up to Lucian Fishs to look at pair of steers— with a view of buying them for the Gold mines, Back home— played Eucher in evening.

FRI 4

Beautiful day. Had my house painted— second coat — Read in evening.

SAT 5

Pleasant through the day— heavy rain at night. Read through the day— called to see Carrie Paddock at night.

SUN 6

Rainy nearly all day. In bed most the day—

MON 7

Cloudy & muddy. Read medicine— Played Eucher at night.

TEUS 8

Mudy but clear— Read all day— played Eucher in even

WED 9

Very fine— & drying. Read all day.

THURS 10

Warm with high south wind. Read some— Loafed round some, wrote some— fiddled some & thought good deal about Pikes Peak.

FRI 11

Beautiful— some wind. Loafed round good deal— strong notion of going to the Gold mines this spring. read some — attended public meeting at night, to hear report of delegates to Topeka— had *heaps* of fun & excitement. "Spotted" [Dr.] S A Fairchild & A Polly.

SAT 12

Beautiful all day. Worked a little in morning at bridge on Topeka street. Loafed round some— read some— attended meeting of temperance League in the evening, had good entertainment.

117. See Footnote 109.

SUN 13

Clear & sunny with strong south wind. Read— wrote some— had good deal of thinking about the Gold mines — took a walk in the afternoon up to Wrights— back home— read.

MON 14

Tremendous wind from N. W. Calmed down in evening, beautiful at night. Read all day. At night, attended meeting of Lyceum & heard lecture on "*Japan*" by Rev. Cordly.¹¹⁸

TEUS 15

Calm— Clear— & pleasant. Read— & Loafed round—

WED 16

Very pleasant, some south wind. Read some— attended Post-office, bought a Yoke of Cattle & waggon preparatory to going to Pikes-Peak.

THURS 17

Cold north wind— little rain. Read all day.

FRI 18

Strong breeze— but clear & sunny. Cut wood in forenoon — Read in afternoon.

SAT 19

Very fine— south breeze. Read some— wrote some— Loafed round good deal.

SUN 20

Clear & sunny— high wind in the evening. Read all day—

MON 21

Beautiful all day. Read— Loafed— fiddled & C. took "Crazy Kate over to Rice'[s] in the eve.

TEUS 22

Beautiful all day, flowers begin to dot the praries. Read— fiddled— Loafed— drank Lager— played Eucher & C all day. received a letter after night from Cousin Mollie Gailie.

WED 23

Beautiful all day. Read— Went down to Superior in the evening to church—home about ten oClock.

THURS 24

Very fine— some south wind. Read some— Loafed some, dressed up and went to Jim Bush's in the evening and saw Jim Bothel & Julia Putnam get Married— took tea there. Called

118. Dr. Richard Cordley (1829-1904), pastor of the Plymouth Congregational Church in Lawrence, 1857-1875 and 1884-1904.

to see the Deming family after night. Wrote letter in forenoon to Cousin Mollie Gailie— bought medicine & Chest from S A Fairchild.— The boys gave Jim & Julia a great surnading—Several adventure[r]s to the gold mines passed through town today. The Deer tounges are dotting the Praries already.

FRI 25

Very fine.— Calm. Read— Loafed round— &C.

SAT 26

Very fine— calm— warm. Read— Lofed &C. Wrote some — slept.

SUN 27

Rather cloudy— pleasant. Read— took a walk in the evening over to Rice's with [F. W.?] Mitchel[1], had good time with Kate & Agnes [Barcomb?], swinging &C— came back home after dark, stoped at school house— and stayed for prayer meeting— then down to the Saloon— had a "fast" time for an hour or two.

MON 28

Cold & snowey— very windy— quite a skift of snow. Read most the day— had a Lager Beer party at Denisons after night— got home about midnight.

TEUS 29

Clear but rather cool. Read some— sold my watch to Judge Schulyer.

WED 30

Pleasant— sunny. Read— wrote— played Eucher, fiddled &C.

THURS 31

Clear & pleasant. Read some— Loafed round good deal, made arrangements with Mr Wright to go to pikes peak together. determined to go. "Heap" people passing to day on their way to the Gold mines.

APRIL [1859]

FRI 1

Pleasant— rain after night Read— finished reading Woods Practice of Medicine. Loafed round— played Eucher &C.

SAT 2

Little muddy— pleasant. Read some— Loafed &C.

SUN 3

Rather cold & cheerless. Wrote— mended Clothes— Read &C.

MON 4

Clear & pleasant— cool in evening. Loafed round in idleness all day, attended lecture of Mr Shurtleff at School house in the evening.

TEUS 5

Cool wind. Loafed round all day, doing nothing. Read Pope in the evening.

WED 6

Very fine & warm with good breeze. Took walk up to Wm Curtiss', to buy some meat— did not get any— returned— stopped at Adaholts [F. W. Adenholt or W. F. Aderhold] — then on to [Moran] Beaches, stoped & took diner, sat & talked awhile, then on home— Loafed round ballance the day.

THURS 7.

Very fine, with high wind. Received letter from Uncle Stewart, traded my fine coat to Fred Schuyler— Loafed— played Eucher &C.

FRI 8

Warm & pleasant, cool in evening. Got possession of my team today. Read some, loafed &C.

SAT 9

Very warm, good breeze. Hauled load of wood, drank heap of Lager beer.

SUN 10

Warm, fine shower of rain. Read most the day, wrote some.

MON 11

Beautiful growing day. Worked a while mixing medicines in morning— Loafed, read— called on some Ladies &C in afternoon— attended Church at night.

TEUS 12

Beautiful all day. Made pills nearly all day, attended Church in the evening.

WED 13

Cold & stormy, just the other extreme of what yesterday was, little snow fell. Read good deal, mixed up some medicine, recieved a letter from O G Hazen, answered it at night, made up the mail, for J. Bothel.

THURS 14

Clear but cold— Read some— Loafed round— attended store for Bothels— Called to see Miss Julia Rogers & Mattie

Boyce, talked Long time with them. Got out my old diary & read long time at it.— attended Church at school house at night.

FRI 15

Cool & raw, hard frost at night. Loafed good deal, got tight, like a fool. Called to see Johnny Denison at night. Received a letter from Mary E. Jack.

SAT 16

Still cool & frosty. Read some— Loafed round some. The Boys had a *revival* at night

SUN 17

More pleasant— but still cool. Read— slept &C attended church at night.

MON 18

Most beautiful day. Loafed— read— played Eucher, drank Lager &C was at Church in evening. Had some good music to-day by a brass band on the way to Pikes Peak— Judge Schuylers family arrived to-day.

TEUS 19

Beautiful all day. Read Meigs—Obstetrics. Loafed &C.

WED 20

Beautiful— threatenng rain. Loafed— played Eucher &C all day.

THURS 21

Rained last night— Cold, & blustery this morning, heavy shower or Snow, cold all day. Sat by the fire reading all day.

FRI 22

Clear & pleasant but a little cool. Read most the day.

SAT 23

Very fine all day. Read some— helped Bothels shell some corn. attended meeting of Citizens to consult about the Liquor Traffic, was Chosen Chairman of same.

SUN 24

Beautiful all day. Read most all day— took a walk over to Dr Kerrs in evening— got into a job of hunting up a team to take Mrs Kerr down to Cedar Creek, run round and succeeded after a number of trials. Wrote some after night— also read in Obstetrics. took a walk over to Kerrs, home again & to bed.

MON 25

Very fine all day. Read principally all day. Streames of people rolling through to the Pikes Peak Gold mines.

TEUS 26

Very high wind— but warm. Read— Loafed round— had call from Ike Reno— Glad to see him— talked long time with him.

WED 27

fine all day. Read some— Loafed round some

THURS 28

Pleasant through the day, rainy after night. Worked at making a waggon sheet.

FRI 29

Fine all day. Worked at my Waggon, fixing up &C.

SAT 30

Fine, very fine, grass growing. Worked at wagon, tended store some for Bothel.

MAY [1859]

SUN 1

Rainy in forenoon. Clear & fine in afternoon. Read some— Slept some, wrote some, no profits to-day.

MON 2

Very wet— Large hailstone. Made some preperation for starting to Missouri river with team, bought pair of boots & some other things, attended Lyceum at night.

TEUS 3

Very fine and warm. Worked all day, hauling wood and getting ready to start to Kansas [City].

WED 4

Very fine all day. Started for Kansas [City] in company of Geo. Rogers & By Fairchild, traveled on and camped over night at Rock creek.

SANTAFEE ROAD

THURS 5

Very fine day. Traveled on— had good time. reached Black Jack, camped there.

FRI 6.

Pleasant— little rain in even. Traveled on all day, camped on the east side Cedar Creek.

SAT 7

Some rain, but still pleasant. Pushed on & reached Kansas City about 4 o'clock in evening, hastened and got loaded up & out as far as M'Gees addition camped there— Left Fairchild.

SUN 8

Exceedingly warm, today Traveled about 16 miles to-day. Camped near Indian Creek.

MON 9

Still very warm. Moved on, got as far as mail station east of Bull creek, sick to-day.

TEUS 10

Not so warm to-day. Sick all day, moved on and reached [illegible] camped.

WED 11

Little rain, not unpleasant. Reached Rock Creek, Camped, took supper at Walters'

[BURLINGAME]

THUR 12

Cool & damp. Got home about five o'clock, unloaded, worked around a little, slept with Uncle Joe Mc[donald].

FRI 13

Very wet & muddy. Made a good deal of preparation for Pikes Peak.

SAT 14

Still wet & muddy. Worked at fixing up wagon cover & C for trip to the Peak. Settled up with Mcdonald & Thomas.

SUN 15

Fine day this. Painted wagon cover,— made Lot of cartridges for Sharps rifle— wrote a letter to O G Hazen, also some in diary.

MON 16

Rainy— heavy storm, high water. Loafed round doing Choirs, in getting ready for Pikes Peak.

TEUS 17

Beautiful all day but muddy. Packed up for traveling, & C.

WED 18

Fine & warm. Loafed round writing reading & C.

THURS 19

Pleasant— Loaded up my wagon in company with Wright to go to Pikes Peak, slept in wagon—

FRI 20

Fine day. Got every thing in readiness for the trip to the mines.

[SANTA FE ROAD]

SAT 21

Shower in morning fine through ballance of day. *Rolled out this morning* for the *Gold mines*. made about fifteen miles— have heavy Load— took diner at Wilmington — stoped over night at Washers[?]

SUN 22

Very fine all day. roads drying off very fast. Moved on Leasurably all day, got set in mud twice— had to unload once— traveled about fifteen miles— Camped on prarie on west side of Bluff Creek.¹¹⁹

MON 23

Very high wind to-day. Got on as far as Council Grove — Came up with a Large company of Missourians on the way to Pikes Peak— joined there company and traveled with them till night— camped all together on west side of Neosho.

TEUS 24

Rather warm— Started out with the rest— rolled on all day— camped one mile & half west of Diamond springs.

WED 25

Rainy— roads bad. One of our waggons turned back this morning— bad news from the mines— spirits Low— traveled hard all day through mud and rain— camped on prarie east of Cotton wood.

THUR 26

Cold north wind all day & very dark and gloomy in forenoon. Pressed on this morning through mud & cold— reached Cotton wood about noon, stoped there and Lay in camp ballance of the day.

FRI 27

Beautiful all day. Started on this morning Leaving most of our company in camp— soon met a very Large train returning which threw shades over us all.— prostrating high hopes, & determined us to turn back, pressed on however a few miles further to see and kill some buffalo— reached "runing

119. In extreme northwest of present Lyon county.

turk., stopped and shot some buffalo turned round for home, camped on runing turkey.

SAT 28

Beautiful all day. Pressed on towards home this morning very much cast down, heard nothing all [day] but bad news, thousands returning from the outrageous humbug. built plans all day for the future, think I shall go to Missouri— made good days drive.

SUN 29

Wet— disagreeable, & muddy. Drove on this morning through rain and after a very uncomfortable time reached elm creek 7 miles west of Council Grove. Camped there.

MON 30

Very clear warm & fine. Roads very muddy, but drying fast Lay up at elm creek untill afternoon, started on and reached Neosho camped one mile west of Council Grove.

TEUS 31

Clear & fine— but roads bad & rivers very full the Neosho to full to cross. Had good camping quarte[r]s, and thought best to stop where we were untill the streams run down. Lay in camp all day, had visit from party of Kaw Indians.

JUNE [1859]

WED 1

Very windy. Rolled out this morning— crossed the Neosho & made a streit Line for Burlingame. Camped on East side of [1]42 Creek.

THURS 2

Very warm & fine. Pressed on— Stopped at Wilmington for diner— then on— stoped at Wrights claim, took tea at Loyds, stayed there all night.

FRI 3

Fine day— cool in evening. Divided our outfit this morning. Went down to Burlingame[e]. Stopped at Uncle Mc[donald]s.

BURLINGAME

SAT 4

Very fine & warm— Lay round all day doing nothing.

SUN 5

Fine & warm. Read some, slept some &C—

MON 6

Warm & pleasant. Prepared for starting out on an adventure
— Left my flour & meat in Uncle Mc— care—

TEUS 7

Sun hot— dusty— Started out this morning with my oxen
& waggon— for some other place of abode—had [D. B. ?]
McDougal, his wife, & sister-in-law Mrs. Sullivan [?] & John
Espy with me, traveled on to Rock creek— camped.

WED 8

Very warm— good breeze— Rolled on— reached Black
Jack.

[N. B. Pages 97-100 of the diary are lacking.]

[MISSOURI]

TEUS 21

Very warm & sultry. Rolled on all day.

WED 22

Rained Last night. Warm but muddy to-day. Crossed the
sharidan [Chariton] on ferry boat.

THUR 23

Warm— Rolled on— passed through Bloomington— county
seat of Macon Co. and on to near Macon City—camped $\frac{1}{2}$ a
mile north of town, took a walk up to the town in after-
noon— Looked round & surveyed things generally— bought
a hat & some other things— returned to my waggon— read
— fiddled & C.

FRI 24

Very hot all day. Lost my oxen, hunted for them good while,
found them in the evening, think I will go north to-morrow.

SAT 25

Damp in morning— clear & fine in eve. Took a north Course
this morn— traveled about 22 miles— Camped near La-
plata— a little town on the Line of North Mo r-r— in
north part of Macon Co— took walk into town in evening
— bought some Crackers & Lager & returned to camp— I
feel at a loss to-day to know where to go or what to do.

SUN 26

Very fine— south breeze. Lay in camp nearly all day.
Started on in evening, went about four miles— came to where
some men from Wisconsin were camped, and stopped with them.

MON 27

Threatened rain— Clear in evening. Rolled on all day— passed through Kirksville county seat of Adair County.

TEUS 28

Very strong south breeze. Rolled on— passed through green top & Lancaster— County seat of Schuyler County.

WED 29

Very warm— Traveled on nearly all day— crossed the Line into Iowa— passed through Savanna.

[IOWA]

THURS 30

Warm in forenoon— Cloudy in afternoon. Moved on north — think I shall go to Ottumwa— passed through Bloomfield— County seat of Davis Co. Camped in timber.

JULY [1859]

FRI 1

Very warm & sultry. Pressed on, and about 10 O'clock reached the Desmoine river, opposite Ottumwa, County seat of Wapello Co. Camped under a tree on the bottom. Washed up and went over the river in afternoon— Found my old friend Doctor Douglass— had a long talk with him— re-crossed the river and to my waggon.

SAT 2

Cool morning— warm in evening. Left my waggon & oxen this morn— and crossed the Desmoine— went up to Doc Douglass'— spent the forenoon with him— took a walk up on the Bluffs back of the town, drank some good Lager— over the river again to my waggon.

SUN 3

Quite Cool. Lay back— slept, read, & fiddled, had a call from Doc Douglass his brother Milt— & Uncle Sam, took a walk with them— also a call from some strangers— shot two very Large white Pelicans in eve.

MON 4

Very cool this morning but warm in afternoon. Went over to town this morning & up to Douglass's took walk, drank Lots of Lager— Went back over the Bluffs to witness sunday school celebration— returned to town— and in afternoon— crossed the river and hitched up my team and turned

towards the south west, think I shall return to Burlingame. traveled six or eight miles and camped.

TEUS 5

Cool morning— warm evening. Traveled on— passed through Blakesburg.— Camped near Moravia— made at Least 20 miles to-day.

WED 6

Cool morn— but very hot day. Rolled on— passed through Centerville— County seat of Apianoose [Appanoose] Co, a very prety town— also Bellair.

[MISSOURI]

THUR 7

Very hot all day. Rolled on— passed through Genoa — Crossed the Line into Missouri— Camped near St Johns.

FRI 8

Very warm & Sultry. Rolled on— passed through St Johns— overtook a family from Illinoise moving to Kansas— traveled with them.

SAT 9

Very very hot. Moved on— passed through Wyreka—

SUN 10

Still very warm. Passed through Trenton— County seat of Grundy Co. Crossed Grand river on ferry.

MON 11

Three very good showers today. Passed through James-Port— forded the West fork of Grand river & passed through Galliton County seat of Decatur [Daviess] Co.

TEUS 12

Fine weather, roads muddy in morn— Moved on south & reached Cameron on H[annibal] & St Jo R-R— Camped on south side of R-R. Left my company of movers to-day.

WED 13

A little rain in morning— Very hot in afternoon. Rolled on south to Plattsburg County seat of Clinton Co, took the road to Weston, camped near Plattsburg.

THURS 14.

The hottest day this sumer— Traveled on slowly all day, forded Platte river at Union mills.

FRI 15

Hotter than ever. Rolled on— passed through Weston — Crossed Mo river on Ferry— Lay up through the heat

of the day— traveled on down through Fort Leavenworth & Leavenworth City— and three or four miles out on to the Prarie, Camped.

KANSAS TER

SAT 16

Very warm but some breeze. Traveled on towards Lawrence— stopped through the hottest part of the day— traveled after night.

SUN 17

Exceedingly warm— Moved on early— reached Kansas river about noon opposite Lawrence Stopped untill evening— crossed on ferry— passed through Lawrence — Camped on the way to Burlingame three or four miles out of Lawrence.

MON 18

Still very hot. On towards Burlingame as fast as possible, had to lay up through the day.

TEUS 19

Hot as ever. Hurried on— got to Burlingame late in the evening, glad to get back.

BURLINGAME

WED 20

Very sultry. Made calls to-day— took diner with Bothels— comenced boarding at [J. B] Hubbels.

THURS 21

Warm— some breeze. Helped Uncle Mc to move a house in forenoon— Loafed in afternoon.

FRI 22

Warm & sultry. Wrote half the day— called to see & spend the evening with Carrie Paddock.

SAT 23

Pleasant— fine rain in evening. Went up to Havana with Row [Bothel] after hay rig— got home in evening.

SUN 24

Rainy— Read— slept & C all day.

MON 25

Heavy rain— muddy. Read papers. Lay round doing nothing.

TEUS 26

Some rain in forenoon. Did but little.

WED 27

Fine clear day. Loafed in forenoon— went out to McDonalds Claim in afternoon & cut some forks & poles for Shed.

THURS 28

Fine & warm. Went up with oxen & waggon after my forks & poles in morning. attended store in afternoon for Mc & Rowe.

FRI 29

Warm & good south breeze. Loafed some— read some — Kept Store— went up to Featherlys with Carrie Paddock in the evening.

SAT 30

Clouds & sun— bored holes for shed in morning— attended Law suit of Braton & Morse— Loafed— read & C.

SUN 31

Warm— Good breeze. Slept— wrote— read— went up to see Carrie.

[Part Four, August, 1859-November, 1860, Will Appear in the November, 1949, Issue]

Bypaths of Kansas History

WHEN AN EDITORIAL CUPBOARD WAS BARE

From the *Topeka Tribune*, December 31, 1859.

HARD UP.—S. N. Wood, editor of the [Council Grove] *Kansas Press*, after calling on his subscribers for corn, hogs, butter, eggs, wood, &c., and failing to get either, now proposes to take wolf pelts, buffalo chips, and old cast-off clothing.

INDIAN SOLDIERS

From the *Fort Scott Bulletin*, June 21, 1862.

PARADE REST.—Not long since, one of the new Indian regiments was formed for "Dress Parade," for the first time. The ceremonies progressed very well until the command "Parade rest" was given, when, with a unanimous grunt of satisfaction, the Indians seated themselves comfortably on the ground. They understood the "rest" perfectly, but the "parade" evidently has no place in their tactics.

From *Soldier's Letter* (publication of the Second Colorado cavalry stationed at Fort Riley), August 19, 1865.

In the 9th Kansas cavalry there is one entire company of Indians. They are mostly Kaws, and their head chief is one of the sergeants. Many amusing incidents are related of their early career as soldiers. The greatest difficulty to overcome was to make them dress as soldiers. In the heat of summer they would insist upon walking through the streets of Leavenworth in their drawers alone, and when forced to put on pants, cut out the seats for convenience.

THE PEDESTRIAN HAS ALWAYS BEEN FAIR GAME

From the *Leavenworth Evening Bulletin*, May 18, 1864.

FAST DRIVING.—How often it happens in the course of a man's peregrinations in the city that he barely escapes being knocked down by a team that comes dashing down a side street at a rate of ten miles an hour—the driver, as the wheel of his vehicle grazes the pedestrian, launching a curse at him by way of apology. Every man who drives thus fast in the streets violates an ordinance, and could be arrested and fined for it if any citizen thought it worth while to take up the matter. But no citizen wants to be bothered with petty litigation of that sort. Besides, he is so accustomed to hair-breadth escapes at the street corners, and the subsequent oaths and execrations of drivers, that he looks upon it all as inseparable from city life—as one of the nuisances which are a part of the price that we pay for the delightful privilege of living in town.

From the Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, March 28, 1865.

FAST RIDING.—The practice of fast riding and driving through our principal streets, is a matter to which we would call the attention of the police, for it is getting to be very dangerous. We are ashamed to own that this is allowed to be practiced in our city on Sunday, more than any other day. It is a common sight to see three or four, and sometimes more horsemen dashing through the streets, and frequently so drunk as to be totally regardless of the safety of those who chance to be crossing.

We call the attention of the proper authorities to this disgraceful practice, to take measures to stop it. Persons who have no respect, either for the Sabbath, themselves, or the good name of our city, ought to be brought to a realizing sense of their degradation by the application of some severe legal punishment. If their benighted minds can find no other amusement, and they must still persist in this horse-racing, let them go out to some lonely spot where nobody lives, and not insult and annoy citizens who have respect and decency enough to pass the Sabbath day in a becoming manner.

We hope to see this unlawful practice attended to at once.

TRADING WITH THE INDIANS

From the Leavenworth *Daily Conservative*, May 17, 1867.

Within the last sixty days buffalo robes to the number of 10,000, worth \$30,000, have been shipped by E. H. Durfee, No. 48 Main street. The value of furs and skins handled in the same house during the above time, reaches the handsome figure of \$100,000. Mr. Durfee has six posts in different parts of the West, gathering up furs, robes, etc., whose united operations will amount to half a million dollars this spring.

From *ibid.*, May 8, 1868.

DURFEE & PECK

THE INDIAN TRADE.

HOW IT IS CONDUCTED.

INTERESTING DETAILS.

Probably there is no business carried on in this country of which so little is known by the public generally as Indian trading. We yesterday had a very interesting chat with Mr. E. H. Durfee, one of the oldest and most widely known Indian traders who have ever been in the West. We are indebted to him for a great many interesting items about the business, which we have decided to lay before our readers.

Mr. Durfee came to Leavenworth in 1861, from Marion, Wayne county, New York, and has since then built up the immense and lucrative trade which he now controls.

THE SOUTHERN TRADE.

He is the sole proprietor of the establishment here, which is the headquarters for the traffic with the Southern Indians. The posts on the upper Missouri are owned by Durfee & Peck. The Southern Indians, or those south of the Arkansas, supplied, are the following, with their estimated numbers: Comanches, 23,600; Apaches and Cheyennes, 3,500; Osages and Kaws, 4,000. The larger tribes, as nearly everybody knows, are divided into bands, under various names, which we will not give here.

THE NORTHERN TRADE.

The Indians of the North with which they trade are all Sioux, numbering, it is estimated, upwards of 70,000. They are located in Dacotah and Montana. The Sioux are divided into twelve or fifteen bands. Some of their trade comes from the British Possessions, and the whole extent of it is from there to Texas. The only rival of Durfee & Peck is the Northwestern Fur Company. The competition is sharp, and is carried on with all the energy which characterizes the Yankee everywhere, whether in Wall street or in a log cabin a thousand miles from civilization.

THE POSTS, AND MEN EMPLOYED.

Durfee & Peck have employed at their posts, in all, about one hundred men. A large number of these are fitted out every season by them with arms and traps with which they get their furs and turn them over to their employers, receiving therefor goods, which they in turn sell to the Indians.

They have on the upper Missouri seven posts, at which are stored and kept for sale all kinds of goods which the Indians want to buy, and where they come in with their skins. The houses used are all built of logs, with mud roofs, saw mills being scarce up that way.

THE HUNTING AND TRAPPING SEASON.

The season in which furs and peltries are secured by the hunters and trappers is from October to February. After that time the shedding of the coat commences and the hair fades and becomes worthless.

The animals most sought for and which produce the most desirable skins are the following, placed in the order of value:

Otter, beaver, buffalo, wolf, elk, bear, fox, deer, and coon. Mink is considered too small game, among the Indian trappers in particular.

HOW THEY ARE KILLED.

The buffalo are killed mostly by arrows, as they are not only less expensive, but can be withdrawn and used again. These animals are generally hunted in the following manner: A large herd is surrounded and gradually driven in together. And here is exhibited a piece of strategy thoroughly Indian. The stragglers on the outside of the main herd are shot in the liver and will bleed to death internally in going four or five miles. The hunters still keep on driving them in, and the carcasses at the close of the chase are not scattered over so large an extent of ground as they would be if the stragglers were shot dead. When the circle is well closed in, the hunters begin to shoot at the heart. Their ponies are all trained and will not enter the herd, but keep

always around the outside, though the rider does not draw a rein on them after the main herd is reached.

The wolves are all poisoned in the following manner: A quarter of buffalo is either taken in a wagon or dragged over the prairie; at the distance of about 40 rods apart, numerous stakes are stuck in the ground, on the top of which is impaled a small piece of the meat, which has been poisoned with strychnine. The wolves strike the trail and follow it up, taking the pieces as they go. Next morning the hunters go along the line and skin the dead animals. They stretch the skins over stakes, with the inside up, and there let them dry. No salt or anything else is put on them. Sometimes as many as seventy or eighty wolves are killed with a single quarter of meat; of course an immense amount of strychnine is used. Mr. Durfee says they have sold as many as 1,200 bottles to one man. Each bottle holds one-eighth of an ounce, which is sufficient to kill five wolves.

The otter and beaver are trapped, various kinds of drugs being used for bait.

A few silver-gray foxes have been found up there, but they are very scarce. The skins of these animals are very valuable, bringing from \$50 to \$75 each. When taken, they are invariably sent to Europe, where they are used only by the wealthiest people.

DRESSING AND TANNING.

The Indians use the brains of the animal to tan it with. They first stretch the skin over a frame. They then rub on the brains, mixed with juices obtained from certain roots and plants. They are then scraped with various implements, hoes being used. They say the brains draw out the grease. After they are dry, they are painted and ornamented. The paint used is of the very finest qualities of Chinese vermilion and chrome yellow and green. These are imported by Durfee & Peck.

BRINGING IN THE SKINS.

As soon as the season is over the Indians put the hides and furs on poles, which are dragged by ponies, sometimes a distance of 300 miles, to the nearest trading post. The whole band generally comes in with them. At the posts are opposition runners, in the employ of the Northwestern Company and Durfee & Peck. They keep on the watch, and as soon as a band comes in sight they mount their ponies and start off to secure the customers.

Those with whom they decide to trade are compelled by custom to give the band a great feast, which lasts one day. Then business commences.

WHAT THE INDIANS BUY.

The articles most in demand by the red men are coffee and sugar, of which they are very fond. In dry goods they want blankets, cloth, prints; a few of them buy saddles and bridles. An ornament called an Iroquis shell, which is picked up on the seashore somewhere in Europe, is in great demand. Mr. Durfee says he has seen an Indian sell fifteen out of twenty buffalo robes for these shells.

"BIG CANOES."

The Indians know the boats which are loaded with goods for them by the tops of the smokestacks being painted red. They call them "big canoes," and

as soon as they get into the Indian country the news is carried ahead by runners, and they all know when the boat will arrive. They never molest them, and Durfee & Peck have never met with any loss at their hands.

"TWO BEARS."

This noted Chief has been employed by the firm as a runner, and being very widely known and popular among his people, is a valuable assistant. "Two Bears" was with Col. Leavenworth, the man after whom our Fort and city were named, when he died, and the Chief assisted to bury him many years ago.

On the 4th inst. old Jesse Chisholm, probably the oldest trader in the West, who came here from Tennessee sixty years ago, and who was fitted out last summer with about \$25,000 worth of goods by Mr. Durfee, died, away up near the mountains. Old "Two Bears" thought so much of him that he took from his own neck a gold medal which had been given him by President Harrison and placed it on Chisholm's neck, and had it buried with him.

The first time Mr. Durfee saw this old Chief, was during one of his trips up the river. The old fellow was pointed out to him as a leading Chief, and Mr. Durfee invited him on board, taking him directly to the ladies' cabin. Now it chanced that our red friend was not just then clad in his Sunday-go-to-meeting clothes, but on the other hand, looked rather dirty. As soon as he saw the ladies, he wanted to leave, and appeared very bashful. He then went away, and an interpreter told Mr. D. that "Two Bears" was ashamed of his old clothes, and had gone to dress up. Sure enough, in about an hour he made his appearance, decked off in all the gaudiness of a First Family Sioux, stuck all over with gewgaws and feathers, and mounted on a pony, which looked as gay as himself. Everybody on the boat went out to see him, and his wounded pride was healed.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Mr. Durfee has sent off one boat load of goods this season, per steamer *Benton*, which will be back in June, loaded with furs and peltries. She took up 250 tons. The *Big Horn*, which has gone up with Government freight, will also bring down a cargo. The *Benton* will make another trip this season.

The farthest that boats go up is 2,700 miles, by the river.

The proceeds of the stock to be brought down by the *Benton* this year, will be about \$150,000.

They have sutler's stores at Forts Sully, Rice and Stevenson, which are entirely separate from the Indian business.

Durfee & Peck handle yearly from 25,000 to 30,000 robes, which average about \$8.00 apiece. The furs are, of course, much higher, and the whole business comprises an enormous trade.

There is a popular idea that some of the buffalo robes which we find in market are tanned by white men. This is not so. The Indians do it all. White men have tried it, but failed.

Mr. Durfee has, during his various trips to the mountains secured a large number of pets; among them he has kept the following animals, which are at his New York residence: one bear, one antelope, one deer, one badger, a red fox and two American eagles. He had two buffalo but they died.

As a proof of how profitable the business is to the hunters and trappers, we will state that two young men were fitted out by Durfee & Peck, only a short time ago, who would realize about \$5,000 for their winter's work. Nearly all the goods traded to Indians by this firm are imported. Mr. Durfee went to Europe two years ago, and invested largely.

He has established an extensive post at the mouth of the [Little?] Arkansas, from which to supply the Southern Indians, and there are already upwards of fifty families located there.

Mr. Durfee related many interesting incidents of his experience, with which we could fill a page of this paper. We have endeavored, in this, however, to give all the more interesting points in the business, which must necessarily possess a great charm for men who like adventure mixed with profit.

THOSE MARCH WINDS

From *The Southern Kansas Advance*, Chetopa, March 13, 1872.

A gentle "Kansas Zephyr" was blowing yesterday. It turned over a stage coach on Maple street. Charley Davis, the only passenger, coolly stuck out his head and asked what station was called. The driver lay insensible for a while, but his head was soon level again.

INTEMPERATE IN THE ANTIDOTE

From the *Wichita Eagle*, July 24, 1873.

A young man by the name of Wolf, living some eight miles from town, was bitten by a rattlesnake on last Monday. Hurrying to town for relief, whisky was recommended as an antidote. He drank about two and one-half pints. That was in the forenoon. By night he was in an insensible condition, the exertions of two or three physicians failing to arouse him. Still continuing in a comatose or lethargic state, on Tuesday morning a galvanic battery, douching and the injection of ammonia were resorted to, which after two or three hours had the effect of arousing him, and yesterday morning hopes were entertained for his recovery. It will not be forgotten that whisky was what the matter was, and not the snake bite, although either are deadly enough.

A SHORT SHORT

From *The Globe Live Stock Journal*, Dodge City, November 18, 1884.

Our short hand reporter makes return of a case in police court last week thusly: Cowboys and some girls take supper at a restaurant. Nobody puts up for the supper. Restaurant man kicks. Row. Two of the c b knocked down. One makes his escape. Furniture smashed up. Thunder to pay generally. Cowboys go out doors and shoot in the windows. Cowboys on the range. Restaurant man arrested. Fined. Appeals. Case not ended.

KANSAS CORN

From the *Kiowa Herald*, January 8, 1885.

We find the following going the rounds of the eastern press: "A Kansas man climbed to the top of a corn stalk before retiring, to inspect the state of the weather. His foot slipped, and he fell into a neighboring tree top, where he was suspended all night trying to die, and couldn't breathe only thirty cents on the dollar. After his rescue he kicked himself all the next day and promised his wife and seventeen children that henceforth he would buy an almanac, and keep himself posted without resorting to such dangerous methods of ascertaining the weather probabilities." If the above had been published in the *Wichita Eagle* everyone would have accepted it as a fact. But coming as it does from an eastern paper, we don't believe it. If he had fallen out of the top of a corn stalk in a field of Barber county corn, the blades would have been so thick and strong that they would have sustained his weight and he could reach the ground as easily as walking down a step ladder, and not been put to the painful necessity of hanging all night in a tree top with only his suspender buttons between him and eternity.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Heinie Schmidt's column, "It's Worth Repeating," a series of historical narratives about early-day life in the vicinity of Dodge City, has continued to appear regularly in *The High Plains Journal* of Dodge City.

Recent articles in the series, "This Month in Kansas History," by Cecil Howes, published in *The Kansas Teacher*, Topeka, included: "General Forsyth at Beecher Island," September, 1948; "Starting the Health Crusade," a review of the activities of Dr. S. J. Crumbine when he was secretary of the Kansas Board of Health, October; "Thanksgiving—With Kansas Variations," November; "How Transportation Has Improved," December; "Mineral Springs in Kansas," January, 1949; "Kansas' Noted Divine and Author," a biographical sketch of Dr. Charles M. Sheldon, February; "Violence in Territorial Days," the experiences of the Rev. Pardee Butler in Kansas in the middle 1850's, March; "Herbs, Roots, Amulets and Nostrums," early-day remedies for illnesses, April, and blue-stem pastures, May.

A history of the pony express, entitled "The Pony Express Starts From St. Joseph," by Olaf T. Hagen, appeared in the *Missouri Historical Review*, Columbia, October, 1948. William H. Russell was the chief promoter of the pony express project. He persuaded his partners in the firm of Russell, Majors and Waddell to support the idea, and a new company was incorporated—the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company. The pony express went into operation on April 3, 1860, when the first pony and rider departed from St. Joseph for California. However, the income was not equal to the expense, and, beset by other misfortunes, the company soon met with financial failure, ending the venture.

"Boom or Bust in Southwest Kansas," is the title of an article by Oscar A. Kinchen published in the *West Texas Historical Association Year Book*, October, 1948. The boom settlement in the latter 1880's of the so-called "Dust Bowl" area of Kansas is the principal theme of Mr. Kinchen's article.

A report by Clarence Woodbury on the repeal of prohibition in Kansas, entitled, "What Happened to Kansas," was printed in the January, 1949, number of *The American Magazine*.

The January, 1949, *Etude* magazine of Philadelphia, carried a feature article, with a picture, of the late Oscar Lofgren, for many years dean of fine arts and head of the piano department of Bethany College of Lindsborg. The article stated that the story of Dean Lofgren's life is one of the most significant in the development of music in the Middle West. It related in detail many of his achievements and contributions to music during his years in Kansas.

Two articles by Arthur Conklin published recently in the Topeka *Daily Capital* were: "[S. D.] Flora Finds Topeka Weather Records Almost Old as City," January 23, 1949, and "State's Weather Records Older Than Kansas Is Itself," February 21. The oldest systematic weather records in Kansas were made at Fort Leavenworth, beginning in July, 1827. In Topeka the weather records date back to January, 1858.

"Kansas," by Roy Wall, was the title of an article on the game birds and animals of Kansas and their protection, in the March, 1949, number of *Sports Afield*, Minneapolis, Minn. The article presented a review of the history of legislative protection for game in Kansas, and a picture of the present game situation which has been objected to by some of our other state wildlife authorities. The first protective game legislation was enacted in 1861.

The editors of the Lawrence *Outlook* recalled in the issue of March 3, 1949, that it was in March, 1926, when the first issue of the *Outlook*, then titled the *Douglas County Republican*, made its appearance. In a two-column editorial Edwin F. Abels, editor, and Marie R. Abels, associate editor, reminisce about the paper's 23 years of existence.

Articles included in the March, 1949, number of the *Bulletin of the Shawnee County Historical Society*, Topeka, were: "Part I" of "First Congregational Church of Topeka, 1854-1869," by Russell K. Hickman; "The Ward-Meade House," by Lois Johnson Cone; "Col. Veale's Mansion: Social Center of Topeka," by Mrs. Wilber Galloway; a continuation of William W. Cone's "Shawnee County Townships"; "The Old Trail Through Topeka," by Paul Adams, and another installment of George A. Root's "Chronology of Shawnee County." On the outside of the back cover appeared the picture and a brief biographical sketch of the new president of the Shawnee County Historical Society, Homer B. Fink.

Among historical articles of interest to Kansans in recent issues of the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star* were: "Home Town Doctor Plan Gains in Kansas," by Ira B. McCarty, March 20, 1949; "A K. U. Student's Dream Led to Empire of Coal and Chemicals," Kenneth A. Spencer's life plan of 25 years ago now realized, by Kay Hildebrand McLeese, and "Old 'Gold Fields' of Kansas To Be Covered by Reservoir," a lake to be created by the Cedar Bluff dam will occupy the area in Ellis and Trego counties where prospectors worked a half century ago, by Cecil Howes, March 27; "Big City Restlessness Is Left Behind by a Couple [Ralph and Rosemary Haffner] on a 1,600-Acre Kansas Farm," by Hughes Rudd, "Shooting Lions and an Elephant With a Former Kansan [Roy Weatherby] in Africa," by Clarence N. Cook, "Out Through Kansas on the 'Tumbleweed Special'," a ride from Larned to Jetmore on a Santa Fe train that the troop train directors overlooked, by John T. Alexander, and "His Cast-Iron Uncle Sam Drops Pennies in a Satchel," about some of the coin banks in the collection of over 300 of Charles Holman of Topeka, April 17; "Girl Who Liked Microscopes at K. U. To a High Post in Children's Bureau," Dr. Leona Baumgartner has been made associate chief of the children's bureau at Washington, by Conwell Carlson, April 23; "Army Leaders of Western World Converge at Ft. Leavenworth," Command and General Staff college attended by 51 foreign officers, by Robert W. Reed, April 24; "A Housing Problem in [Hutchinson] Kansas Solved by Community Action," by Alvin S. McCoy, May 1; "The World's Champion Cowboy [Jerry Roberts] Was Born and Bred in Kansas," by John Alexander, and "Many Obstacles Are Met to Make Lake Elbo a Reality," Manhattan's first lake nears completion, May 8; "William Dean Howells Was an Exciting Dinner Guest of William Allen White," by Everett Rich, May 16; "The King's Horses From Vienna Now Cavort and Graze in Kansas," John Nolan of Garden City has purchased seven Lipizzaner horses which the U. S. army "acquired" during the war from the Spanish Riding Academy of Vienna, by Hughes Rudd, "His [E. C. Buehler] Tips on the Gift of Gab Help K. U. Debaters Win," by Howard Turtle, and "It Can Cost Your Life To Be the Law in Abilene, Kan.," recent deaths of Sheriff Davis and his brother recall that a similar fate befell Tom Smith, marshal in 1870, by Bill Barger, May 22, and "From Death Valley to the Far North, Fred Funston Always Found Adventure," by Everett Rich, June 6. Articles in the Kan-

sas City (Mo.) *Times* included: "K. U. Professor [George C. Hood] Who Made the First Dermatome Keeps Busy in Retirement," by Fred Kiewit, April 5; "Railroad Came to Kansas City Despite Civil War and Sterling Price's Raids," on August 1, 1864, the first train arrived in Kansas City, by Edward R. Schauffler, April 15; "Library [in Holton] Founded by Women in 1896 Now Has 15,000 Books," April 20; "Hannibal Bridge, First Across Missouri, Won in Sharp Contest With Leavenworth," recent difficulties with the bridge recall the rivalry between Kansas City and Leavenworth for the first bridge across the Missouri river, by Albert H. Hindman, April 23; "Oratory and Civil War Passions Rose High in Murder Trial of Frank James," by Edward R. Schauffler, May 5; "Harvesters From Many States Prepare for the Rush to Harvest Kansas Wheat," by Hugh Jencks, May 6; "William Reed Arthur Is 'Pop' to Judges and Others He Helped Through School," a biographical sketch of a former professor of law at Washburn University and the University of Colorado, now at the University of Kansas City, by Thomas D. Leathers, May 14; "'That Terrible Huebner,' Hard-Bitten Kansan, Takes Over From Lucius Clay," Lt. Gen. Clarence R. Huebner became U. S. military governor of Germany when Clay resigned, by Robert K. Kelley, May 19, and "Frosty Flora Is Willing to Leave Weather Forecasts to Kansas Farmers," an interview with the Kansas meteorologist who recently retired after forecasting the weather for 44 years, by Robert H. Clark, June 8.

Several stories of historical interest have been published in the Meade county papers in recent months. In a brief article in the Meade *Globe-News*, March 27, 1949, J. O. Keith described the Tuttle trail. According to Mr. Keith this trail followed the Jones and Plummer trail from Dodge City for about ten miles to a point on Mulberry creek; from there it went almost due south to Five Mile creek where it turned southwest, cutting across the southeast corner of Meade county and extending on through No Man's Land into Texas. The *Plains Journal*, March 31, and the Meade *Globe-News*, April 3, printed a story by Mrs. Essie May Novinger about the first school in the southern part of the county. The school was held in a sod house and taught by Mrs. Jake Kolb in 1885. Mrs. Novinger was one of the pupils. In another article, appearing in the *Globe-News*, April 24, and the *Journal*, April 28, Mrs. Novinger tells of the arrival in Meade county in the 1880's of her family and other settlers.

John E. King's "From Texas Longhorns to Thoroughbreds," a brief history of cattle raising in Texas from the days of Coronado through the period 1865-1880 when five million cattle were driven to shipping points in Kansas, down to the present, was printed in the April, 1949, number of *Southwest Magazine*, a supplement of the Panhandle (Tex.) *Herald*, April 15.

A series of articles by Richard W. Lewis on the early history of Home City began in the Marysville *Advocate*, April 14, 1949, and continued through June 2. A post office was first established near the present site of Home City in 1874, and the first postmaster was Gottlieb Messell, according to Mr. Lewis. For several years the post office was in the homes of the postmasters, and, as a result, the town became known as Home. Although a plat of the town was made and recorded in 1882, Home City was never incorporated. Mr. Lewis traced the Home City history up to 1905, when the town was almost totally destroyed by fire. Other Marshall county historical articles were printed in the *Marshall County News* of Marysville. On May 19, some historical information gathered by the late Mrs. A. B. Martin was printed. Brief historical sketches of Marysville, Blue Rapids, Axtell and Beattie appeared in the issue of May 30. A brief history of the Alcove Springs region is included in an article, published June 2, which enumerates reasons why the area should be made into a state or national park.

The Pratt *Daily Tribune*, April 29, 1949, briefly noted that Pratt had reached its 65th birthday. It was on April 29, 1884, that the first lots on the townsite of Pratt Center, platted by the Pratt Center Town Company, were put on sale. Eli P. Williams was president of the town company. The town was incorporated on October 9, 1884.

A brief biographical sketch of William F. Cody, by George J. Remsburg, appeared in the Leavenworth *Times*, May 8, 1949. Comments on the new book, *My Life With Buffalo Bill*, by Dan Muller, were also included in the article. Among recent articles by Harry H. Seckler in the *Times* was "Leavenworth's 95th Birthday Will Be on Sunday, June 12," which was printed June 5. On June 12, 1854, George W. Gist, John C. Gist and Samuel Farnandis staked off the townsite where Leavenworth now stands, and on the next day the town association was formed. In the summer of 1855 the town was incorporated and later that year the first city election was held, Thomas Slocum being elected mayor.

Special ceremonies in observance of the 91st anniversary of the Marais des Cygnes massacre were held at the site, northeast of Trading Post in Linn county, on May 15, 1949. John Pellegrino was chairman of the commemoration, and Gov. Frank Carlson was the principal speaker. A history of the massacre was published in the Pleasanton *Observer-Enterprise*, April 28, 1949. On May 19, 1858, about 30 Missourians led by Capt. Charles A. Hamelton arrested 11 Free-State men who were living in the vicinity of Trading Post. The captives were taken into a ravine and were lined up and shot. Five were killed, five wounded and one escaped injury. The site was later marked by two concrete slabs; in 1939 it was purchased for a park, and in 1941 the state officially accepted it as the Marais des Cygnes Massacre Memorial Park.

A brief historical sketch of Pittsburg was printed in the Pittsburg *Sun* and *Headlight* on the 73d anniversary of the city's founding, May 20, 1949. The original town plat was recorded at the office of the register of deeds on May 20, 1876. The sketch contrasts the one or two original buildings with the industry, educational facilities, railroads, churches and municipal improvements of the present city of over 25,000 inhabitants. Tentative plans are now being made for a diamond jubilee celebration two years hence.

The 75th anniversary of the organization of Rush county was celebrated along with the annual home-coming with a three-day program at La Crosse beginning May 26, 1949. The celebration was opened by an address by Gov. Frank Carlson. Also in connection with the anniversary, *The Rush County News*, La Crosse, published a 184-page diamond jubilee edition on May 19, one of the largest ever issued in Kansas. Besides the regular news, and greetings from President Truman, Governor Carlson, and Senators Clyde M. Reed and Andrew F. Schoepfel, over 75 articles, covering all phases of Rush county history, appeared in the jubilee edition.

A brief article on James M. Harvey and his family, by Mrs. Lucy Pottorf, was printed in the Manhattan *Tribune-News*, June 2, 1949. Mr. Harvey, governor of Kansas from 1869 to 1873, brought his family to Kansas in 1861 and took a claim in Riley county. The farm remained in the family until it was sold recently. Mrs. Pottorf, a Riley county resident for 50 years, died May 31.

Kansas Historical Notes

The seventy-fourth annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society will be held in the rooms of the Society in the Memorial building at Topeka on October 18, 1949.

The annual meeting of the Kansas Association of Teachers of History and Related Fields was held in the Memorial building, Topeka, April 29 and 30, 1949. Papers were presented as follows: "The Way of Democracy in Central and Southeastern Europe," Dr. Otakar Odlozilik, Prague (visiting professor of history at the University of Kansas, Lawrence); "The Effect of Populism on the Personnel and Policies of the Republican Party in Kansas," Dr. Karl A. Svenson, Washburn Municipal University, Topeka; "Liberal Concepts of Democracy in the United States and Britain in the Nineteenth Century," Dr. Alvin H. Proctor, Kansas State Teachers College, Pittsburg; "The Reverend T. A. Butler and the Irish Catholic Benevolent Union," the Rev. Peter Beckman, O. S. B., St. Benedict's Abbey, Atchison; "State Regulation of Certain Professions in Kansas," Deane Postlethwaite, Baker University, Baldwin; "History From Monuments and Museums," Prof. V. L. Damon, Sterling College, and "U. S. Loans to Peru, 1922 to 1930," Dr. James C. Carey, Kansas State College, Manhattan. The group was addressed at a luncheon by Dr. Dale Zeller, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, on "German Education." Newly-elected officers are: C. Stewart Boertman, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, president; George L. Anderson, University of Kansas, vice-president, and Ruth Friedrich, Washburn Municipal University, secretary-treasurer. John W. Heaton, Baker University, was the retiring president. Mr. Heaton, the Rev. Peter Beckman, Miss Golda Crawford of Kansas State College and Charles Onion of Fort Hays Kansas State College are directors of the association.

Several new historical markers have been erected by the Riley County Historical Association in recent months. On June 3, 1949, a plaque, to mark the birthplace of Damon Runyon, was officially received by the association from Paramount Pictures. It has been placed at the old Runyon home at 400 Osage, Manhattan. Other markers have been set up at Tabor Valley school, Rocky Ford, Deep Creek school, Pillsbury crossing, Wabaunsee and Ogden.

Sen. O. P. Dellinger was the featured speaker at a meeting of the Crawford County Historical Society in Pittsburg, June 8, 1949. He discussed the controversial issues before the 1949 session of the Kansas legislature.

A stone marker has been erected in Osborne county on the site of the old Kill Creek store and post office on the Russell-Bull City trail. The *Natoma Independent*, June 9, 1949, printed a picture of the marker and a brief history of the site, including the names of those who served as postmasters at Kill Creek.

Volume 2 of *Chase County Historical Sketches* was recently published by the Chase County Historical Society. The 454-page book features biographies of Chase county pioneers and present-day citizens, and gives detailed histories of the communities of Grandview, Bazaar, Cedar Point, Matfield Green, Strong City and Cottonwood Falls. The Chase county census of 1860 and a history of Camp Wood were also published. Volume 1 of the *Sketches* was issued in 1940-1941, and few counties now have as up-to-date historical records as Chase. Officers of the Chase County Historical Society are: George T. Dawson, president; Henry Rogler, vice-president; T. R. Wells, treasurer; Mrs. Helen P. Austin, secretary, and Mrs. Clara B. Hildebrand, chief historian. On the executive committee are: Claude Hawkins, Howel Jones, Henry Rogler, D. M. Smith and George Miller.

A study of *Early Kansas Churches*, by E. R. DeZurko, formerly assistant professor of architecture at Kansas State College, Manhattan, was published as *Kansas State College Bulletin No. 60*, issued April 1, 1949. The 71-page booklet reviews the history of some of the early Kansas churches having architectural interest which were built prior to 1876. Thirty-four pictures and drawings make the study especially valuable. Mr. DeZurko was the author of "A Report and Remarks on Cantonment Leavenworth," published in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. XV (1947), pp. 353-359.

Writing Local History Articles, by Marvin Wilson Schlegel, is the title of the May, 1949, number of *Bulletins of the American Association for State and Local History*, distributed by the secretary, Earle W. Newton, State House, Montpelier, Vt. Some of the steps in writing local history discussed by Mr. Schlegel were: train-

ing needed by the writer, subjects about which to write, sources of information (manuscripts, old-timers, archives, newspapers), taking notes, organizing the material and writing the article.

Kansas Rocks and Minerals, by Laura Lu Tolsted and Ada Swineford, is the title of a 56-page booklet issued recently by the State Geological Survey of Kansas at Lawrence. The publication featured the geologic history of Kansas with descriptions and illustrations of various kinds of rocks and minerals found in the state.

Tales of Western Kansas (Kansas City, Mo., 1948) is the title of a 152-page book, compiled by Amy Lathrop and containing a collection of stories of western Kansas in the early days as told by some of the early residents.

A second edition of *Scenic Kansas*, 16-page booklet by Kenneth K. Landes of the State Geological Survey of Kansas, Lawrence, first published in 1935, was reissued in February, 1949. All the photographic plates of the first edition were used in the present edition. Another pamphlet by the State Geological Survey, *Glimpses From Resource-Full Kansas*, first published in 1946, has recently been reprinted. The publication contains stories about the scenery, mineral fuels, deposits of industrial minerals, rocks, fossils and well water supplies of Kansas, by various members of the Geological Survey staff.

The story of William H. Russell, Alexander Majors and William Bradford Waddell has been told by Raymond W. Settle and Mary Lund Settle in their new 153-page book, *Empire on Wheels* (Stanford, Cal., 1949). The book describes the freighting, stagecoach, express and mail business handled by the company organized by Russell, Majors and Waddell. The partnership of the three men began with the signing of an agreement which became effective January 1, 1855. It ended when the company ran into financial difficulties and was sold in March, 1862.

"Yankee From Kansas" is the title of a chapter in A. Richard Crabb's recent book, *The Hybrid-Corn Makers: Prophets of Plenty* (New Brunswick, 1948). In the book, Mr. Crabb traced the development of hybrid corn from its beginning at the University of Illinois in 1896 down to the present day. The Yankee, Donald F. Jones, of Sterling, was one of those who contributed most to make hybrid corn possible. Jones, whose work was done at the Connecti-

cut Agricultural Experiment Station, was the first to produce a double-cross hybrid.

The story of how Kansas has organized in support of UNESCO—the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization—is told in *The Kansas Story on UNESCO*, prepared at Kansas State College, Manhattan, and issued by the U. S. Government Printing Office in March, 1949. Kansas first came in contact with the organization at the Mountain-Plains Regional Conference on UNESCO in Denver, May, 1947, where the Kansas delegates voted to constitute themselves a temporary committee to discuss plans for a permanent Kansas UNESCO council. In July the committee met at Manhattan and made plans for a Kansas conference, similar to the regional conference in Denver, for the purposes of acquainting Kansans with the work of UNESCO and establishing a permanent organization. The conference met at Wichita December 12 and 13, 1947, and the Kansas commission was established, with the following officers: Dr. Robert A. Walker, Kansas State College, chairman; Victor W. Haflich, Garden City, Mrs. P. A. Pettit, Paola, Father Thomas Ryan, Wichita, and F. L. Schlagle, Kansas City, vice-chairmen; Dorothy Lubber, Topeka, secretary, and Bert A. Hedges, Wichita, treasurer.

A summary of his experiences during the years he lived and worked with William F. Cody has been given by Dan Muller in his new book, *My Life With Buffalo Bill* (Chicago, 1948). When he was nine years of age Muller went to live with the Cody family, with whom he remained most of the time until Cody's death in 1917, 18 years later.



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THE COVER

"Sutler's Store at Fort Dodge, Kansas," a T. R. Davis illustration from *Harper's Weekly*, New York, May 25, 1867 (*see* p. 355).

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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November, 1949

Number 4

"Home on the Range"

KIRKE MECHEM

THE night Franklin D. Roosevelt was first elected president a group of reporters sang "Home on the Range" on his doorstep in New York City. He asked them to repeat it, and made the statement, so it was said, that it was his favorite song. Later he often listened to the ballad at the White House, and it was reported that at Warm Springs he frequently led his guests in singing it.

Stories of the President's approval soon made "Home on the Range" one of the country's hit songs. By 1934 it had moved to the top on the radio, where it stayed for six months. Everybody sang it, from Lawrence Tibbett to the smallest entertainer. Radio chains, motion picture companies, phonograph record concerns and music publishers had a field day—all free of royalties, for there was no copyright and the author was unknown.

At its peak the song was literally sung around the world. Writing from Bucharest, William L. White, son of William Allen White of Kansas, said:

They all know American songs, which is pleasant if you are tired of wars and little neutral capitals, and are just possibly homesick. And the nicest thing of all is that every one of them knows *Home on the Range* and for the equivalent of one United States quarter in the local money you can get them to play it over and over during the evening while you sprawl back on the soft leather cushions and drink beer and think about Chase County, Kansas, or your lost youth or some of the girls you used to know.¹

Even in the Antarctic, the penguins heard how the deer and the antelope play. When Admiral Richard E. Byrd was asked how he had passed the time during the six months when he was alone at the South Pole, he said:

1. John Lomax, "Half-Million Dollar Song," *The Southwest Review*, Dallas, Tex., v. 31 (1945), p. 3. Lomax is here quoting from the *Dallas News* of May 24, 1940.

For entertainment I took with me an old style Edison phonograph and a few favorite records. After I had read my instruments and had written up my records for each day during the early months of my stay, I gave myself daily concerts, always playing the song that tells about the land of sunshine where the sky is not cloudy all day. Later, when the cold grew more intense, my phonograph, operated by a spring, froze up and wouldn't go. I couldn't even play my favorite record, so I found myself breaking the loneliness by singing "Home on the Range" against the cold, bleak darkness of the South Pole.²

Such sudden and world-wide success was probably never equalled by another song. Then even more suddenly every radio station in the United States was warned to take "Home on the Range" off the air. A suit for infringement of copyright had been filed in the courts of New York for half a million dollars against 35 individuals and corporations, including the National Broadcasting Company and many large publishing houses. The suit was brought in 1934 in the name of William and Mary Goodwin of Tempe, Ariz. They claimed that Goodwin had written the words of a song entitled "An Arizona Home," and Mrs. Goodwin the melody, and that the copyright had been registered on February 27, 1905. This, they declared, was the parent of "Home on the Range."³

The song at once ceased to be published or recorded or sung by professional singers. The defense of the suit was taken over by the Music Publishers Protective Association. Samuel Moanfeldt, a New York lawyer, was employed to investigate the claimants and to discover if possible the origins of the words and music. This was an assignment that started him on a three-months' tour of nearly every state west of the Mississippi.

At the outset, Moanfeldt discovered that all popular versions of the song could be traced to 1910 and the researches of one man. This was John Lomax, whose experiences as a collector of folk music are as fascinating as the songs he gathered.

Lomax grew up in Texas near the old Chisholm trail and as a boy wrote down many of the cowboy songs. He attended the University of Texas, where an English professor once told him the songs were worthless. "Just another example of the crudity of America," the professor said. But later, at Harvard, their value was recognized and Lomax was given a three-year traveling fellowship. This confirmed him in his career. For 40 years he combed America for its native music: Through the cypress swamps of the South, in the Kentucky mountains, among sailors on the Great Lakes, in penitentiaries, saloons and lonely bunkhouses. The result is now in

2. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

the Library of Congress: 10,000 of Lomax's own phonograph records and another 10,000 which his example inspired, all available to the public at cost.

The first by-product of Lomax's work was a book printed in 1910, called *Cowboy Songs*. This, as Moanfeldt learned, was the publication which may have saved "Home on the Range" from oblivion. Lomax's account of how he recorded it was among his favorite stories. Writing in *The Southwest Review*, he said:

On a summer day in 1908 I walked into the Buckhorn Saloon in San Antonio lugging a heavy Edison recording machine. It was the earliest, crudest type of a dictaphone, requiring for its operation earphones and a large five-foot horn. The amazed German proprietor stared at my strange equipment and hastily put his hand under the counter where he was supposed to keep his arsenal of democracy. When I assured him I was looking for cowboy songs his face relaxed. . . . As I sipped a glass of beer, I noticed on the bar a stack of broadsides titled "Hell in Texas." . . . It turned out my friend had two hobbies: He was interested in ballads and on the walls of his saloon hung one of the world's largest collections of horns. I had come to the right place.

Lomax commented on the "Hell in Texas" broadsides, whereupon the proprietor told him an old Texas story, with a new twist. It was about how Gen. Phil Sheridan, when a young lieutenant stationed in San Antonio, had said that if he owned both Texas and Hell, he would rent out Texas and live in Hell. To which a Texan retorted, "Well, damn a man that won't stand up for his own country." Continuing his story, Lomax wrote:

Then . . . [the proprietor] told me of a Negro singer who ran a beer saloon out beyond the Southern Pacific depot in a scrubby mesquite grove. This Negro had been a camp cook for years and had made the trip up the Chisholm Trail half a dozen times. Moreover, he claimed to have cooked for Sam Bass's outfit. "He can give you a lot of cowboy songs if you can get him to sing," said my friend.

That same afternoon I found my man behind his saloon shack with his hat pulled down over his eyes, his head tilted back against a mesquite tree. When I shook him awake and told him what I wanted he muttered, as he looked at me with bleary eyes, "I'se drunk. Come back tomorrow and I'll sing for you."

I spent all the next day under the mesquite with this Negro. Among the songs he sang for me was "Home on the Range," the first time I had heard the melody.

From the record I made that day down in the Negro red-light district (they used stolen switch lanterns to advertise the trade), Henry Leberman, a blind teacher of music at the State School for the Blind in Austin, a few weeks afterwards set down the music. Leberman used earphones and played the record over and over again until he felt sure that he had captured the music as the Negro saloonkeeper had rendered it. This music, printed in the 1910

edition of *Cowboy Songs*, makes up the core of the tune that has become popular. . . .

For twenty years the song remained unnoticed among twenty-seven other cowboy songs, the music of which Henry Leberman also wrote out for my book. . . .

In 1925 Oscar J. Fox of San Antonio first put the song into sheet-music form. Five years afterwards David Guion of Dallas followed with another arrangement. During the next six years eight other publishers of music issued the song in a slightly different musical dress. All followed closely the words and tune and order of stanzas I first printed in 1910.⁴

This story, though it indicated that the song was known long before the Goodwin copyright of 1905, was not evidence Moanfeldt could take into court. News of the lawsuit, however, had brought in many letters, and among them one from a Chicago woman who stated that in 1880 the song had been sung regularly by the pupils of the Stanberry Normal School in Missouri, which she had attended.⁵ Since this was the earliest date so far ascribed to the song, Moanfeldt began interviewing the old graduates whose names she gave him. Several made affidavits that before 1890 "Home on the Range" had been sung at meetings of their Crescent society, without printed words or music, like a folk song.

These interviews convinced Moanfeldt that the ballad had originated in the cowboy country. He went to Dodge City, where he talked with ex-cowboys, ex-cooks of cowboy camps, ex-stagecoach drivers and old-time buffalo hunters. They gave him signed statements that it had been well-known in the cow camps prior to 1890, and he reported:

The number of people who furnished such statements satisfied me that we would have sufficient proof for the purpose of defense of this suit to defeat the action even at this point, and my next step was directed to establishing the author or authors of the verses and music of "Home on the Range." In this connection, the story of "Colorado Home" . . . became of importance. . . . I therefore went to Leadville, Colorado, which is three miles from Orro City, named as the locale where the writing of "Colorado Home" took place.

This song is one of the earliest examples of the plagiarism which "Home on the Range" has always inspired. It was published with music long before any other version. As late as 1945, Sigmund Spaeth, nationally known as the "tune detective," stated his belief that it was the original. A Colorado senator once had it printed in the *Congressional Record* as a product of the state. Spaeth's ac-

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 1, 2.

5. Moanfeldt, "Report." Samuel Moanfeldt's report to the Music Publishers Protective Association, a copy of which he presented to the Kansas State Historical Society. As an interesting example of the legal mind doing historical research, it is printed in full at the end of this article.

count of the so-called composition of this song appeared in the *Rotarian*. He wrote:

It was the late Kenneth S. Clark, Princeton's favorite musical son, who dug up the story under *Home on the Range*. In the middle '80s a group of prospectors, headed by C. O. ("Bob") Swartz . . ., lived in a cabin—which they called the Junk Lane Hotel—near Leadville, Colorado. All musical, they filled their evenings with friendly and often improvised harmony. On a night early in 1885 they worked out a melody and set words to it to create the song which the world now sings as *Home on the Range*. They, however, called it *Colorado Home*.

A letter from Bob Swartz to his "Dear Folks," dated February 15, 1885, describes the event and gives the complete words and music, which are almost identical with those of *Home on the Range* as it is known today. There are slight differences in the melodic line, and it was only later that the text acquired a definite cowboy slant. But the song is all there in the faded yellow letter which Bob's sister, Mrs. Laura M. Anderson, discovered among her belongings in 1930. . . .

Upon finding Bob's letter . . ., Mrs. Anderson sent him a copy of it. In his reply, dated November 14, 1930, he said he could still see "the whole gang setting around on soap boxes & on the bed, all trying to make the lines rhyme so they sounded like poetry. . . ."

Spaeth closed his article with this comment:

In its issue for July 30, 1945, *Life* magazine makes the rather astonishing statement that *Home on the Range* was written by a "Dr. Brewster Higley" in a Kansas cabin, in 1873; that Dan Kelley, of Gaylord, made up the tune on his guitar. I have seen nothing yet that would cause me to desert the Swartz story.⁶

Moanfeldt's account of his researches on "Colorado Home" take up over two pages in his report. This was not because he thought it the original but because it helped disprove the priority of "An Arizona Home." Already he had received many letters which pointed to Kansas. One of these was from a woman who owned a scrapbook containing an article which indicated that "Home on the Range" had appeared in the *Smith County Pioneer* in 1873. He went to see her and discovered that her article was a reprint. He then went to Smith Center, sure that he could locate one of the original copies. But it turned out that this issue, which would have settled all controversy, was missing from the *Pioneer's* files. Sometime after 1914, when the reprint was made, it had been lost or destroyed. A reward of \$25 was offered for a copy, but none has ever come to light.

To some, including Sigmund Spaeth, this 1914 reprint was suspect and never acceptable as evidence that the song antedated "Colorado

6. Sigmund Spaeth, "Home on the Range," *Rotarian*, Chicago, v. 67 (November, 1945), p. 27.

Home." But to Moanfeldt, the comments of the 1914 editor made it authentic, for he had written:

The writer well remembers when this song first came out and was well and intimately acquainted with the author. . . . Its cheering words helped to dispel the gloom of the "Grasshopper Days" and the writer can remember of humming the fascinating words while traveling over the desolate prairies and at the same time wishing there was some way of getting back to the pleasant Pennsylvania home we had so recently left, but the fates were all against us and we are glad of it now. . . . After a lapse of more than forty years we again offer to the readers of *The Pioneer* the good, old time song it first published in 1873.⁷

Other old-timers soon convinced Moanfeldt that he had at last found the home of "The Home." The part of his report where he describes the end of his search, is worth quoting:

A Mr. Reese who now resides at Smith Center and who is one of the oldest pioneers in the section stated that he came to Smith Center in 1872, about one month before the town of Smith Center was established, that he came in contact with Dr. Bruce Higley, who had a homestead about twenty miles away on the banks of the Beaver, near the Solomon River, in June 1872, and that the occasion of their meeting was an indignation meeting against the Indians, and that he met the Doctor frequently between 1872 and 1873. That some time in 1873, his friend, John Champlin was accidentally shot in the foot and that he called on Dr. Higley, who treated him and that thereafter Dr. Higley called several times a week at their Doby or Dugout to treat the patient, and that he remembers distinctly on one of these occasions Dr. Higley, while treating the patient asked him to read a poem he had written. It was on a foolscap sheet of paper and the Doctor stated that he had written it to while away his lonesome hours spent in his log cabin. That this was "Home on the Range" as it is now known, and that they all insisted that the Doctor get somebody to write the tune. That thereafter Dan Kelley supplied the tune and the Harlan Bros. Orchestra played it. . . . That he recognized the tune immediately, when it started to become popular on the radio.

A very interesting statement was furnished by one Clarence B. Harlan. Mr. Harlan was born in 1849, is now 86 years old, and came to Smith Center in 1871. He is the brother-in-law of Dan Kelley. . . . About 1874 he played the guitar and his brother Eugene Harlan, who was ten years younger, played the violin. They composed the Harlan orchestra. . . . That Dan Kelley, his brother-in-law, knew music and had a great voice and that among the songs they played was a song known then as "Western Home" which is now known as "Home on the Range." . . . That he remembers the words perfectly and after being requested by me he brought out his guitar and played and sang this song from memory, using the tune as he knew it in 1874 and ever since, and as it was composed by his brother-in-law, Dan Kelley. I procured a recording machine and made phonograph records of this rendition of the song.

At this point, it is interesting to know that he followed the words as ap-

7. W. H. Nelson, *Smith County Pioneer*, Smith Center, February 19, 1914.

peared in the paper in 1914, and that although Mr. Harlan sang this from memory he didn't miss a word. Mr. Harlan stated that the way the tune was made by Dan Kelley was that Dan tried several tunes to fit the words and after Mr. Harlan and his brother Eugene tried them on their instruments several were rejected until Dan captured the tune that is now used in "Home on the Range." That it was never written down but that he and his brother learned to play it on their instruments and after playing it at all celebrations and parties it began to spread all over and was the most popular tune and generally called for at all parties and celebrations. . . . Mr. Harlan is blind but I thought that it would be best to make phonograph records of his playing and singing of this song which I did, and the same are now in the possession of the MPPA [Music Publishers Protective Association].

During the years, Harlan no doubt had heard many versions of "Home on the Range" and knew that other persons had claimed authorship, though Moanfeldt does not mention it. The first plagiarism there is any record of occurred shortly after the Harlan "orchestra" was formed. This was in 1876 and fortunately it occasioned the earliest publication we have of the poem. The editor of the *Chief* of the neighboring town of Kirwin printed the verses on the first page, heading his story with the single word, PLAGIARISM:

The editor of the *Stockton News* has allowed himself to become the victim of an ambitious aspirant for poetical fame. In his issue of Feb. 3d., 1876, he publishes under the head of "My home in the West" a poem, purporting to have been written by Mrs. Emma Race, of Raceburgh, Rooks county, Kansas. The poem in question, with the exception of two words, was written by Dr. B. Higley, of Beaver creek, Smith county, Kansas, and first published in the *Kirwin Chief*, March 21st, 1874. We re-publish the article as written by Dr. Higley, and ask our readers to compare it with the stolen article from Raceburgh. Bro. Newell must look to his laurels, as he will find plenty of people who are willing to profit by the brain work of others.⁸

One of the curious things about "Home on the Range" is the number of persons who claimed authorship, or had it claimed for them. The most notorious attempt to profit by the song was of course the Goodwins' half-million-dollar lawsuit, which never came to trial, due to Moanfeldt's investigation. Other claimants apparently merely wanted a little easy fame. The story of "Colorado Home" is told in some detail in the Moanfeldt appendix to this article. Two of the claims are of interest because they show how the song was carried from Kansas to other parts of the frontier.

E. M. Baldrige of Kansas City, Mo., in a letter to the *Kansas City Star*, said:

I read there is a controversy over the authorship of the song, "Home on the Range." As a boy 10 years old I accompanied my father to the opening of the

8. The *Kirwin Chief*, February 26, 1876. It was not discovered till ten years after the lawsuit that this paper, which had been in the Kansas State Historical Society's files since it was published, contained the text of the song.

Gunnison country in Colorado in the winter of 1882. We joined a caravan of wagons at Gunnison City and went over the mountains to Grand Junction, arriving there soon after the Ute Indians had been removed.

About half-way there we encountered a soldier of fortune named John Teits, who had left some freighters when they turned off at that point. We took him—with his little batch of flapjack flour, bacon and a frying pan—on our wagon. This was miles from any homes. Through the day and in camp at night he would sing that song, asserting he was the author of it.

He had us singing it. There were three or four sour notes when we came to the line, "Where the deer and the antelope play." Otherwise the song over the radio these days is the same.

Until I heard the song on the radio about two years ago, I had not heard it since '82.⁹

A few days after the above was printed, the *St. John County Capital* carried a story about a Dr. W. D. Kirby who believed an old-timer by the name of John Trott was the author. He said that as a pupil of the "old Oak Creek school of Cheever township," north of Abilene, he used to sing "Home on the Range," though it was known as "Home Where the Buffalo Roam." He continued:

I have heard all the 18 or 20 pupils of our school singing the chorus on the playground. . . . Very few of us knew the entire song. I remember distinctly at one of our Literaries our teacher made this announcement: "We will now have a song by Dave Knisely entitled 'Give Me a Home Where the Buffalo Roam.' And I might add the writer of this song is John Trott. No doubt many of you know him." The Kirby family didn't know him as we were newcomers just arriving about a year before, but quite a number of our neighbors did. One old settler said he was a crazy old bachelor. His wife said all old bachelors were that way, if they weren't they wouldn't be old bachelors. A more musical neighbor woman told us she had met him and heard him play and she thought he was a natural musician, in fact she thought him quite a musical genius and told us he had written several quite good songs besides "Home Where the Buffalo Roam." Several of our neighbors said most any pleasant evening you would find him seated in front of his dugout playing some musical instrument. His claim was over in Mud Creek neighborhood.

During the years of the popularity of that song in our school, I know ten or a dozen young men all of our school district who went every summer to Arizona to work in the roundups. Several were somewhat musical. Dave Knisely was one of them, the first person I heard to sing that song. . . . [There is] no doubt in my mind that the author of that song is John Trott, at least he got credit for it in the north end of Dickinson county, where I lived from '82 to '91. How large the circle of its popularity I do not know. In all my wanderings since '91 I had never heard it till recently over the radio. I thought I was dreaming and back in old Oak Creek school house and Dave's voice had changed, although I know he had "gone to his last round-up" 20 years ago.¹⁰

9. *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, March 17, 1935.

10. *The County Capital*, St. John, April 4, 1935.

THE SONG AS RECORDED BY JOHN LOMAX

(From *Cowboy Songs* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1925))

Home on the Range

Oh, give me a home where the buf - fa - lo roam,

The first system of musical notation for the song. It consists of three staves: a vocal line in the treble clef, a piano accompaniment in the treble clef, and a piano accompaniment in the bass clef. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 6/8. The vocal line begins with the lyrics 'Oh, give me a home where the buf - fa - lo roam,'.

Where the deer and the an - te - lope play;....

The second system of musical notation. It continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are 'Where the deer and the an - te - lope play;....'. The piano accompaniment in the bass clef features a steady eighth-note bass line.

Where sel - dom is heard a dis - cour - ag - ing word

The third system of musical notation. It continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are 'Where sel - dom is heard a dis - cour - ag - ing word'. The piano accompaniment in the bass clef continues with the same eighth-note bass line.

Home on the Range—Continued

And the skies are not cloud - y all day.

This system contains three staves of music. The top staff is the vocal line with the lyrics. The middle and bottom staves are piano accompaniment. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The music features a simple melody with eighth and quarter notes.

REFRAIN

Home, home on the range, Where the deer and the antelope play;

This system contains three staves of music. The top staff is the vocal line with the lyrics. The middle and bottom staves are piano accompaniment. The key signature has two flats, and the time signature is 4/4. The music features a simple melody with quarter and eighth notes.

Where sel - dom is heard a dis - cour - ag - ing word

This system contains three staves of music. The top staff is the vocal line with the lyrics. The middle and bottom staves are piano accompaniment. The key signature has two flats, and the time signature is 4/4. The music features a simple melody with quarter and eighth notes.

And the skies are not cloud - y all day.

This system contains three staves of music. The top staff is the vocal line with the lyrics. The middle and bottom staves are piano accompaniment. The key signature has two flats, and the time signature is 4/4. The music features a simple melody with quarter and eighth notes.

As Dr. Kirby suggests, nothing in the history of the song is so remarkable as the way it spread from one singer to another until it was known everywhere on the Western frontier. One writer has said, "With neither printed words nor music, far out on the unsheltered plain, 'Home on the Range' became a song hit 1,500 miles west of Broadway!"

This was due to the special conditions existing on the frontier in 1873. Already the buffalo hunters were turning south from Kansas. The railroads, and the pioneers with them, were building west. Above all, the great cattle trails were expanding, and shifting to meet the railroads. Only the year before the song was written the Santa Fe reached Dodge City. Almost overnight the town became the largest cattle market in the world and the shipping center of the Southwest. The hunters who exterminated the buffalo here marketed several million dollars worth of hides and meat. Hundreds of wagon trains carried supplies to Western towns and army posts. By 1875, three years later, nearly all cattle trails led to Dodge; in 1884 Texas drovers alone brought 106 herds numbering 300,000 head.

It is perhaps more than a coincidence that the life of Dodge City as a great cattle market, from the early 1870's to the middle 1880's, approximated that of the first life of "Home on the Range." Like a broadcasting station, the town popularized the song through the channels that converged there.

An old-time buffalo hunter, John R. Cook, in a book entitled, *The Border and the Buffalo* (1907), claimed that the writer of the song himself went to Texas on "the big hunt." Although there is no evidence that either Higley or Kelley ever made such a trip, it would have been in character for Kelley. He was well known as a sportsman and had more than a local reputation as a crack shot. In 1876, matched against a Colonel May of Kirwin in a quail hunting contest, he won by 52 birds to 51. Another time, in a three-way shoot, he won by killing 51 birds with 52 shots.

Dr. Higley, on the other hand, in his one-room dugout on the banks of the Beaver, led a solitary life. Whether it was the life of a solitary drinker, as some have said, or that of a man self-isolated from his demon, is not known. More likely the latter, for he afterwards married again (for the fifth time) and lived normally with a family.

Whatever the private lives of the collaborators, critics who doubt that they could have written the famous song do so in ignorance

of their talents. Higley had long been a "writing" doctor. A poem still exists in manuscript, inscribed to "Dryden, Eng. Poet," nine pages long and penned in old-fashioned heavily-shaded script.¹¹ He wrote at least three other songs, one of which became popular at the close of the Civil War. And Dan Kelley, though not known to have written other music, "could play any kind of horn" and had a splendid voice and was extremely popular as an entertainer.

Of the two, Higley had the better education, and came from rather a distinguished family. According to *The Higleys and Their Ancestry*:

Brewster Higley, 6th, M.D., the third child of Brewster Higley, 5th, and Achsah Everts, was born at Rutland, O., November 30, 1823, three months after the decease of his father. On the decease of his mother he resided with his grandfather, Judge Brewster Higley, 4th, and afterward with his sister.

At the age of eighteen he began the study of medicine in the village of New Plymouth, O. His first medical practice was in Pomeroy, O. In the spring of 1848 he removed to La Porte, Ind., and formed a partnership with his uncle, Dr. Everts. From the medical college located at La Porte, he took his medical degree February 22, 1849. He also became a member of the Northwestern Academy of Natural and Medical Science. He practiced his profession in La Porte twenty-six years.

Dr. Brewster Higley married, October, 1850, Maria B. Winchell, who bore one child, born September, 1851, a son, who died a few days old. His wife fell a victim to a prevailing epidemic in May, 1852. August, 1853, Dr. Higley married Eleanor Page, who bore one son, *Brewster Higley*, 7th. His second wife died soon after the birth of this child. His third marriage was in 1857 to Catherine Livingston. From this marriage there were born two children—*Estelle*, born April 4, 1859, and *Arthur Herman*, born September 3, 1861, both living; but his wife met with an injury, of which she died, June 3, 1864.

In the spring of 1871 Dr. Higley removed to Smith County, Kans., where he married, March 8, 1875, Sarah E. Clemans. To them four children were born, viz.:

Sandford, who died in 1878; *Achsah*, born 1877; *Everett*, born July 26, 1880; and *Theo.*, a daughter, born September 10, 1882.

While living in Smith Center, Kans., Dr. Brewster Higley, 6th, was elected and served one term as clerk of the court of the fifteenth judicial district for his county.

The climate of Kansas proving too severe for his health, he sold his farm in 1886, and removed to Van Buren, Crawford County, Ark., where he now resides. He has retired from professional life, and is engaged in farming and fruit-growing.¹²

Another Kansan, John Brown, whose name is also connected with a famous song, has a chapter and a full-page steel engraving devoted to him in this Higley genealogy. Brown's father and mother were

11. Homer Croy, *Corn Country* (New York, 1947). One of the best chapters in this book is entitled, "The Amazing Story of 'Home on the Range.'" Mr. Croy's research included visits to Smith Center, Kan., and Shawnee, Okla.

12. *The Higleys and Their Ancestry* (New York, 1908), pp. 269, 270.

both great grandchildren of Brewster Higley, I. He and Doctor Higley, therefore, were related to the extent that Brown was fifth in line from Brewster Higley, I, and Higley was sixth.

There are several discrepancies in the above statement from the genealogy. They were discovered by Russell Hickman, a former member of the staff of the Kansas State Historical Society, who now lives in La Porte, Ind.¹³ Higley's first marriage was in 1849 and not 1850, and his third marriage was in 1858, not 1857. He did not practice in La Porte as stated, but probably began at the nearby town of Kingsbury, where he lived until 1852 when he moved to Union Mills. It is known that he practiced at Union Mills, which is a small town southwest of La Porte, and it appears from statements secured by Mr. Hickman that he stayed in that vicinity until he left for Kansas about 1871.

The principal discrepancy, however, is the omission of the fact that Higley was married to a fourth wife before he left for Kansas. She was Mrs. Mercy Ann McPherson, a widow, and their marriage took place February 28, 1866. At this time Higley was still practicing medicine at Union Mills, although he later moved to nearby Indian Point where the family lived in a log house. According to statements made to Mr. Hickman in February, 1949, by persons who remembered Doctor Higley, he and his wife were incompatible. It was recalled that he finally sent his children to relatives in Illinois and eventually left Indian Point for an unannounced destination.

How much Higley's addiction to liquor was responsible for the separation cannot be known. It seems clear that at the time he was a heavy drinker and a very poor man. One winter, according to a signed statement obtained by Mr. Hickman, the family lived chiefly on corn meal. "Dr. Higley was considered a very fine doctor, and a brilliant man," Mr. Hickman's informant stated, "but he let liquor get the better of him. After he left, his whereabouts were entirely unknown."

Nine years after their marriage Mrs. Mercy Higley got a divorce by default after three notices by publication in the Michigan City (Ind.) *Enterprise*. The decree was effective February 9, 1875. A month later Doctor Higley was married in Kansas for the fifth time. Although he sometimes drank to excess in Kansas he was apparently able to achieve a normal life after this last marriage. Perhaps this was due to the absence of the "discouraging words" which have been ascribed to his unfortunate fourth marriage. About

13. Russell Hickman, "Report." Mr. Hickman spent several weeks investigating Higley's life in Indiana before he came to Kansas. The report consists of letters, copies of records and signed statements.

the time of his Kansas marriage the dugout he was living in when he wrote "Home on the Range" was replaced by a log cabin. (This cabin still stands and is often erroneously referred to as the place where the song was written, but the original dugout is gone.) And a few years before he left Kansas Doctor Higley sent for his two children by his third wife and moved into a house a short distance north of Smith Center. Little is known about his subsequent life in Arkansas and Oklahoma. It may be presumed that he had found happiness with his fifth wife, for on the certificate of his death the attending physician stated that the contributing cause was "grief over the death of his wife."

W. H. Nelson, the editor who reprinted the poem in 1914, said that Higley was "rough and uncouth in appearance, but with a heart filled with . . . compassion for suffering humanity. As a doctor . . . no night was too dark or trail too dim to deter him from answering a demand for service and there are no doubt many yet living in Smith county who owe a debt of never ending gratitude for his timely medical attention. . . ."

Homer Croy in his book has an interesting account about Higley's immediate descendants. He quotes Harry Higley as saying that Doctor Higley "was Brewster Higley VII. My father is Brewster Higley VIII. I am Harry Brewster Higley IX and my son is Brewster Higley X."¹⁴ This is not in accordance with the Higley genealogy, quoted above, which stated clearly that the Doctor Higley who settled in Smith county, Kansas, was Brewster Higley VI.

The composer of the melody, Daniel E. Kelley, was born February 6, 1843, at North Kingston, R. I., the son of Sylvester E. Kelley, a carpenter, and Sarah (Cory) Kelley. At the age of 20 he enlisted in the 3rd regiment, Rhode Island cavalry. After a year as bugler in Company B, he was transferred to regimental headquarters as chief bugler to the noncommissioned officers staff. On September 1, 1865, he was made a sergeant major and on November 29 he was mustered out, having served a little over two years.¹⁵

When Kelley came to Kansas in 1872 he was 29. He settled at Gaylord and two years later married Lulu Harlan, of the neighboring village of Harlan, by whom he had four children, all boys. In the censuses of 1880 and 1885 he gave his occupation as carpenter. During his earlier years in the state, however, he was apparently

14. Croy, *op. cit.*

15. Waterloo (Iowa) *Daily Courier*, October 24, 1905; *Annual Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Rhode Island* . . . for 1865 (republished in Providence, 1895), p. 265.

a man of many devices. With his wife, and her two brothers who composed the Harlan orchestra, he was in demand for dances and celebrations over a territory that extended as far as Hays, a hundred miles southwest, a great distance in those machineless and almost roadless days.

In addition to being an entertainer and sportsman, Kelley was one of the leading businessmen of the community and something of a promoter. Items about him in the local papers of the period included the following: ¹⁶

. . . the contract for the building of the new hotel at Bradford has been let to Mr. D. E. Kelley.

Mr. Dan Kelley is the Architect of the town and has four buildings contracted for at present.

Dan came to this County . . . when the buffaloes and wolves held undisputed sway. . . . He now has one of the best farms on the Solomon Valley. . . .

Daniel E. Kelley was busy building a big glass front for a temperance billiard hall.

Mr. Daniel E. Kelley, of Gaylord, has built him a livery stable, size 28 x 50, with a good well of water, and a force hose to clean buggies. Dan also has one of the neatest cottages in town.

[D. E. Kelley was one of the petitioners for incorporation of Gaylord as a city of the 3rd class in the state of Kansas.] ¹⁷

On last Monday morning the following persons took their departure for . . . Wyoming Territory . . . H. D. Pratt, W. Henry Kelley; D. E. Kelley; [and a dozen others]. . . . They organized a mining company and intend to work what is now supposed a rich section of country.

[A Herald reporter found that the expedition had not succeeded and that two of the men had already returned to Gaylord. Apparently very little gold was to be found.]

[D. E. Kelley was delinquent on property tax in the amount of \$14.74.]

Daniel Kelley has sold his farm to Captain L. D. Frogge, . . .

Our ingenious friend, Mr. D. E. Kelley, has invented an entirely new and novel automatic car coupler which is intended to take the place of the old-fashioned coupling now in general use and which has been the cause of so many fatal accidents on our railroads. This coupler is entirely self-acting, and works as well on cars of different heights as on those of the same height. . . . Mr. Kelley has applied for a patent.

This car coupler and the melody of "Home on the Range" are

16. *Smith County Pioneer*, June 9, 1877, December 13, 27, 1878, March 21, and September 12, 1879; *Gaylord Herald*, February 26, April 8, and June 24, 1880; *Smith County Pioneer*, July 22, 1881; *Gaylord Herald*, October 20, 1881, and May 11, 1882.

17. Gaylord is about 12 miles south of Smith Center which is the county seat of Smith county. Higley's homestead in Pleasant township was about the same distance northwest. About ten miles east and three north of Smith Center is the geographic center of the United States, established by the U. S. Geological survey. Forty miles south, in Osborne county, is the continental geodetic center, the "primary station" for all North American surveys, established by the U. S. Coast and Geodetic survey.

the only examples we have of Kelley's inventive talent. So far as known, nothing ever came of the patent. As to the tune of the song which has since given pleasure to millions, there is no reason to believe Kelley ever wrote it down. When he composed it he was 30 years of age and Higley was 50. They never collaborated again nor had any thought that their song would be more than a local success. Both probably left Kansas without even being aware of the popularity it had achieved throughout the frontier. Higley lived in Kansas 13 years after the song was written and Kelley 16. Higley moved to Arkansas and then to Shawnee, Okla., where he died May 10, 1911, at the age of 87. Kelley moved to Waterloo, Iowa, in 1889, and died there October 23, 1905, at the age of 62.

The posthumous fame which "Home on the Range" has brought to Higley and Kelley might have been lost to them if the Goodwins had not claimed the song, for without Moanfeldt's research it is doubtful if their authorship would ever have been established. And without the lawsuit, the ballad probably would not have been made the state song of Kansas. It was Moanfeldt's affidavits that convinced critics the song belonged to the state. It required 12 years to make it official, but in 1947 "Home on the Range" was officially adopted by the Kansas legislature.

The verses which appear in the bill came from Mrs. Cal Harlan, who had written them out for a friend some years before. They differ only a little from the versions printed by the *Kirwin Chief* in 1876 and in the *Smith County Pioneer* in 1914 (reprinted from the 1873 issue). The "official" stanzas, referred to hereafter as the Harlan version, are printed below. All variations from this version, which may or may not have been what Higley wrote, are mentioned. While this may seem a little pedantic, it is of interest for the reason that from 1873, when the song was written, to 1910, "Home on the Range" was in fact a folk song. The origins of folk music are seldom known, but in this instance we have a song whose three earliest versions may be compared not only with each other but with a fourth version modified by 37 years of folk singing.

The Harlan version:

Oh, give me a home where the buffalo roam,
 Where the deer and the antelope play,
 Where seldom is heard a discouraging word
 And the sky is not clouded all day.

Chorus:

A home, a home where the deer and the antelope play,
 Where seldom is heard a discouraging word
 And the sky is not clouded all day.

Oh, give me the gale of the Solomon vale,
 Where life streams with bouyancy flow,
 On the banks of the Beaver, where seldom if ever
 Any poisonous herbage doth grow.

Oh, give me the land where the bright diamond sand
 Throws its light from the glittering stream
 Where glideth along the graceful white swan,
 Like a maid in a heavenly dream.

I love the wild flowers in this bright land of ours;
 I love too the wild curlew's scream,
 The bluffs and white rocks and antelope flocks
 That graze on the hillsides so green.

How often at night, when the heavens are bright
 With the light of the glittering stars,
 Have I stood here amazed and asked as I gazed
 If their glory exceeds this of ours.

The air is so pure, the breezes so free,
 The zephyrs so balmy and light,
 I would not exchange my home here to range
 Forever in azure so bright.

The title as it appeared in the *Chief* was "Western Home." The *Pioneer* called it "Oh, Give Me a Home Where the Buffalo Roam." The first stanza was the same in all three versions, except that in the third line both newspapers printed "never" instead of "seldom." The chorus was the same in all three, except that the *Pioneer* used "never" instead of "seldom."

In the Harlan and *Pioneer* versions the second stanza mentioned the Solomon vale, but in the *Chief* the second and third stanzas (as given above) were transposed, as were the fourth and fifth. The *Chief* gave "a gale" in the first line instead of "the gale." The second line was different in all three. The *Chief* gave "where the *life* streams with buoyancy flow," and the *Pioneer* gave "where *light* streams," etc.

In my opinion, none of the three was the line Higley wrote, and if this is true it indicates that neither newspaper printed the poem from an author's copy. Mrs. Harlan's version of course was from memory, after many years. The line as it stands in all three versions is a nonsense line, such as we find in many folk songs, the corruption resulting from learning the song by ear. In most folk songs it is now impossible to know or even guess at the original meanings of such lines. But in this case, I believe, it is clear that the line Higley wrote was "where live streams with buoyancy flow." Anyone familiar with the history of the prairies knows how often the pioneers referred to "living" water, meaning running water, and in

the case of very small streams usually meaning they were spring fed. To the homesteader on the plains where storms or spring rains frequently filled low places with stagnant water and where summer droughts often dried up creeks which at other times ran bank full, a stream that could be depended on for fresh "live" water was a necessity.

The living water Higley referred to in the last two lines of the second stanza flowed in the West Beaver past his homestead dugout. In all three versions these lines were the same. The last line, as Homer Croy says, "is surely the worst bit of verse a well-intentioned poet ever left behind. No wonder the old gentleman pulled for Oklahoma. Thank goodness, the people who later tinkered with the song threw out the poisonous herbage."

In the third stanza the *Chief* gave "land," not "the land," used "streams" and "dreams" (plural), and gave "the maid in her heavenly dreams." The *Pioneer* used "Throws light" in the second line, and in the last line, "her" heavenly. Some critics have objected to this stanza, claiming that there were never any wild swans in Kansas. A few, too, have stated that there were no buffalo, deer or antelope in Smith county in 1873 when Higley wrote the song. However, in 1876, three years later, the following items appeared in the *Pioneer*:¹⁸

Sportsmen will find in this county, in the way of feathered game, wild turkey, quail, grouse, prairie chickens; and in the fall and spring of the year millions of prairie pigeons, or snipe, cover our prairies, and the lakes and streams are alive with wild ducks, geese, brants and swan.

Antelope are plenty in the north part of the county. No buffalo have, as yet made their appearance this spring.

A small herd of buffalo are reported to be grazing in northwest part of this county, near the brakes of the Republican.

In the fourth stanza the first line was the same in all versions except that the *Pioneer* gave "these" wild flowers instead of "the." The second line was slightly different in all three. The *Chief* gave "I love the wild curlew's shrill scream," while in the *Pioneer* the line was, "I love, too, the curlew's wild scream."

The curlew Higley knew was probably the Long-billed Curlew (*Numenius americanus americanus*). According to Goodrich's *Birds in Kansas*, this species which once inhabited "the muddy flats and grassy plains of the slopes of the Rockies, . . . is possibly extinct over much of its former range. . . . This easily identified bird is considered a rare summer resident in western

18. *Smith County Pioneer*, July 27, June 9 and July 13, 1876.



DR. BREWSTER HIGLEY
(1823-1911)

Pioneer Smith county doctor who wrote the words of "Home on the Range." The picture was received through the courtesy of Bernard P. Higley of Columbus, Ohio.

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"Fearless

VOL. 3. KIRWIN, KANSAS, SATURDAY

WESTWARD THE MARCH

PLAGIARISM.

The Editor of the *Stockton News* has allowed himself to become the victim of an ambitious aspirant for poetical fame. In his issue of Feb. 23, 1876, he publishes under the head of "My home in the West" a poem, purporting to have been written by Mrs. Emma Rice, of Raceburg, Books county, Kansas. The poem in question, with the exception of two words, was written by Dr. B. Higley, of Beaver creek, Smith county, Kansas, and first published in the *Kirwin Chief*, March 21st, 1874. We re-publish the article as written by Dr. Higley, and ask our readers to compare it with the stolen article from Raceburg. Bro. Newell must look to his laurels, as he will find plenty of people who are willing to profit by the brain work of others.

Western Home.

BY DR. HIGLEY.

Oh! give me a home where the Buffalo roam,
Where the Deer and the Antelope play;
Where never is heard a discouraging word,
And the sky is not clouded all day.
[Chorus] A home! A home!
Where the Deer and the Antelope play,
Where seldom is heard a discouraging word,
And the sky is not clouded all day.
Oh! give me land where the bright diamond sand,
Throws its light from the glittering streams,
Where glideth along the graceful white swan,
Like the maid in her heavenly dreams.
[Chorus] A home! A home!
Oh! give me a gale of the Solomon vale,
Where the life streams with buoyancy flow;
Or the banks of the Beaver, where seldom it evers,
Any poisonous herbage doth grow.
[Chorus] A home! A home!
How often at night, when the heavens were bright,
With the light of the twinkling stars,
Have I stood here amazed, and asked as I gazed,
If their glory exceed that of ours.
[Chorus] A home! A home!
I love the wild flowers in this bright land of ours,
I love the wild curlew's shrill scream,
The bluffs and white rocks, and azure lake & caks,
That graze on the mountain's soft green.
[Chorus] A home! A home!
The air is so pure and the breezes so free,
That joydays go being and light,
That I would not exchange my home here to range,
Forever in azure so bright.
[Chorus] A home! A home!

I hear the tread of pioneers
Of paths yet to be,
The first low wash of waves where soon
Shall roll a human sea.
Behind the scared squaw's birch canoe,
The steamer smokes and raves;
And city lots are staked for sale
Above old Indian graves.

The rudiments of
Are plastic yet
The class of a mil
Is rounding, in
Each rude and jost
Its fitting place
The raw material
Its muscle and l

No portion of the west offers greater inducements to the farmer, merchant or mechanic, than is to be found in the Kirwin Land District. Good homesteads can yet be secured near all the towns, and the rapid increase in value, will insure a four-fold return of the expense of improvements. To those who intend seeking locations in the west, who want a healthy climate, good soil, good water, good schools and churches, and good society, we



HOMESTEAD SCENE IN THE

The Kansas Emigrant's Song.

Air—*And Long Syne*

We cross the prairies as of old
The pilgrims crossed the sea,
To make the West as they the East,
The homestead of the free.
Chorus—The homestead of the free my
The homestead of the free; [Refrain]
To make the West, as they the East,
The homestead of the free
We go to rear a wall of men
On Freedom's Southern line,
And plant beside the cotton tree,
The rugged Northern pine!
We're flowing from our native hills,
As our free rivers flow,
The blessing of our mother land
Is on us as we go.
We go to plant our common schools
On distant prairie walls,
And give the Sabbath of the wild,
The music of its bells.

Upbearing like the ark of old,
The bible in our van,
We go to test the truth of God
Against the trail of men.

No pause, nor rest, save where the
That feed the Kansas ran, [streams]
Save where our pilgrim gonfalon
Shall float the setting sun.

We'll sweep the prairies as of old
Our fathers swept the sea,
And make the West, as they the East,
The homestead of the free.

Call To Kansas.

BY LUCY LARSON.

Air—*Nelly Dey*

Yeomen strong, blither through'
Nature's honest men
We will make the wilderness
Bud and blossom again,
Bring the sickle, speed the plow,
Turn the ready soil!
Freedom is the noblest pay.

PHILLIPS COUNTY CONDENSED.

Phillips county contains an area of nine hundred square miles or 576,000 acres of land. The county was organized in 1872. Population in 1871, 1,500; in 1874, 2,500. The present population

FIRST PAGE OF THE KIRWIN CHIEF OF FEBRUARY 26, 1876, CONTAINING THE WORDS OF "HOME ON THE RANGE." THIS IS THE EARLIEST PUBLICATION YET FOUND OF THE POEM WHICH BECAME THE OFFICIAL STATE SONG OF KANSAS.



DANIEL E. KELLEY
(1843-1905)

Pioneer of Smith county as he looked about the time he wrote the music for "Home on the Range." Picture courtesy of Mrs. Frank Kelley of Waterloo, Iowa.

Kansas, and may be seen in migration in April and in October in other parts of the state." It is possible that Higley referred to the Eskimo Curlew. Of this bird Goodrich says, "Once rivaling the passenger pigeon in abundance, this species seems to have joined the pigeon in extinction. It is reported that cartloads of eskimo curlew were once shot daily during migration up the Mississippi Valley."¹⁹

Evidence that the curlew was considered a game bird in Higley's time appears in the following, taken from a story headed "Kansas Field Sports" which appeared in the *Smith County Pioneer*, October 18, 1878: "Curlew are quite common in season. As a whole, Kansas is a capital country for field sports, and the many sporting associations formed, show that the advantages are appreciated."

The third line of the fourth stanza was the same in all versions, except that the *Pioneer* gave "the bluffs of white rocks." In the fourth line the *Pioneer* gave "our hillsides," while in the *Chief* the line read "That graze on the mountains so green." How the mountains got into this one version in a stanza so obviously descriptive of Smith county in Higley's day, it is impossible to guess.

In the first line of the fifth stanza the *Chief* gave "the heavens were bright," and in the next line the *Pioneer* used "By the light," etc. In the third line the *Pioneer* gave "stood there amazed," and in the last line gave "beauty" instead of "glory."

The last stanza, except for the third line, was different in all three versions. The *Chief* in the first line gave "and the breezes," while in the *Pioneer* the line was "The air is so pure the breezes so light." In the second line the *Pioneer's* version was "The zephyrs so balmy at night." The only variation in the last two lines was in the *Chief*, which gave "azures" instead of "azure."

The third line, "I would not exchange my home here to range," was the same in all three, and probably may be accepted as the original. Sometime between 1873, when Higley wrote the poem in Kansas, and 1910, when Lomax got the verses from the Negro saloon keeper in San Antonio, this line was changed to the version which gave the song its present title. There can be little doubt that the improvement, "home on the range," was made by some obscure cowhand, who in broadening the meaning of the line to include all the range country, transformed it from a local ballad to one every Westerner could identify himself with. This simple change unquestionably had much to do with the song's acceptance as a typical cowboy ballad and its subsequent popularity.

19. Arthur L. Goodrich, *Birds in Kansas* (Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, June, 1945), p. 197.

The meaning of the word "range" as now used in the song has sometimes been misunderstood. Moanfeldt in his report (last paragraph) says that the word "evidently refers to a division of land running north and south through the County being about six miles wide," etc. It seems clear that Higley simply used range, the verb, as a synonym for rove. He was saying in poetical language that he wouldn't even leave Kansas for Heaven—not then being aware that in a few years he would lower his sights somewhat and leave for Arkansas. The noun, range, as used in the song today, has of course the meaning described in Webster: "That which may be ranged over; . . . esp., a sparsely populated and open region over which . . . livestock may roam and feed."

During the 37 years of the life of "Home on the Range" as a folk song there were remarkably few alterations either in the words or music of the original. Dozens of different stanzas, of course, were used from time to time, as in "Colorado Home," to describe special localities. But the tendency was from the particular to the general. In Lomax's version, which follows, all references to Beaver creek and the Solomon river are gone. It is true that there is a new stanza referring to the Red river but it is likely that this was a stray or a maverick, favored by the Negro singer who had picked it up on the Chisholm trail.

The only fundamental change was that the first line of the chorus had become two lines

Home, home on the range,
Where the deer and the antelope play

instead of

A home, a home where the deer and the antelope play.

Lomax's version, as printed in the 1925 edition of his *Cowboy Songs*, is as follows:

Oh, give me a home where the buffalo roam,
Where the deer and the antelope play,
Where seldom is heard a discouraging word
And the skies are not cloudy all day.

Home, home on the range,
Where the deer and the antelope play;
Where seldom is heard a discouraging word
And the skies are not cloudy all day.

Where the air is so pure, the zephyrs so free,
The breezes so balmy and light,
That I would not exchange my home on the range
For all of the cities so bright,

The red man was pressed from this part of the West,
He's likely no more to return
To the banks of Red River where seldom if ever
Their flickering camp-fires burn.

How often at night when the heavens are bright
With the light from the glittering stars,
Have I stood here amazed and asked as I gazed
If their glory exceeds that of ours.

Oh, I love these wild flowers in this dear land of ours,
The curlew I love to hear scream,
And I love the white rocks and the antelope flocks
That graze on the mountain-tops green.

Oh, give me a land where the bright diamond sand
Flows leisurely down the stream;
Where the graceful white swan goes gliding along
Like a maid in a heavenly dream.

Then I would not exchange my home on the range,
Where the deer and the antelope play;
Where seldom is heard a discouraging word
And the skies are not cloudy all day.

Home, home on the range,
Where the deer and the antelope play;
Where seldom is heard a discouraging word
And the skies are not cloudy all day.

All modern versions, published with and without credit in dozens of song collections, are based on the above original Lomax transcription. The song as we sing it and hear it today, however, is apt to be neither Higley's nor Lomax's. For some time a popular sheet music version has been Guion's arrangement published by Schirmer. The chorus is the same as the Lomax version, and the first, fourth, sixth and seventh stanzas are alike. The melody is also the same, except that Guion wrote a tune of his own for the stanza which begins "Oh, give me a land." This added melody has not met with any general acceptance.

Not all Kansans have approved the selection of "Home on the Range" as the official state song. Some say it is too mournful and others complain that it fails to "sell" the state and its products. In 1948 the Kansas Industrial Development Commission, apparently with singing commercials in mind, offered prizes for more up-to-date words. The following January, when Gov. Frank Carlson was inaugurated, these "snappier" verses were sung. Likewise, the music was jazzed to such a pitch that if the tune had been so played when first written all the deer and antelope would have been scared out of the country.

Following this indignity, an effort was made to persuade the 1949 legislature to supplant it with another song. It was even argued that Sigmund Spaeth was still right, that "Colorado Home" was the original and that the 1914 reprint and Moanfeldt's affidavits were not contemporaneous proof. This contention was disposed of by the discovery, already mentioned, that the State Historical Society possessed a copy of the Kirwin *Chief* for February 26, 1876, which contained a reprint of the original poem. When a photostat was sent to Spaeth he acknowledged that it settled any question of priority.

The public, however, needed no such proof. Letters to legislators and newspapers quickly indicated that "Home on the Range" was not a ballad to be tampered with. Although this protest may have been only a natural reaction against singing commercials, it is more likely that the song expresses emotions which go deeper than a desire for bigger business. Somehow, out on the lonely prairie, an obscure poet and an unknown singer created an artistic paradox: A perfect blending of man's nostalgia for home with his dreams of some far-away and fairer land. This ambivalent masterpiece has turned out to be the ideal expression of the love which Kansans feel for their unpredictable state.

REPORT OF SAMUEL MOANFELDT OF HIS INVESTIGATION

To Music Publishers Protective Association:

My investigation concerning "HOME ON THE RANGE" commenced on or about the 15th day of February 1935. In the investigation, I concerned myself with establishing the following:

1. That the song "Home on the Range" was in public domain by reason of the fact that it had been known and sung generally throughout the country in 1885 or prior thereto.
2. To establish the author and composer of the words and tune of this song, if possible.
3. To find, if possible, some printed record, whether same be an original document, newspaper article or any book or song book, in which the song is mentioned, or in which the words of the song or music thereof were contained.

Prior to the investigation by me, the MPPA had collected quite a lot of general information concerning this song and among such information was some correspondence from a Mrs. Gideon of Chicago, who stated that while she attended the Stanberry Normal School in 1880, this song was regularly sung by the pupils of the school. In the same correspondence was mentioned names of classmates of Mrs. Gideon who might remember this song.

I therefore thought it best to start with this information and run it down. One of the persons who attended the Stanberry Normal School was a Professor Jordan of the University of Missouri, and my first stop was to see Professor

Jordan, at his home at Columbia, Missouri. While Professor Jordan was absent, his sister, who was also a student at Stanberry Normal School, advised me to get in touch with Reverend Cleo M. Chilton, Minister of the First Christian Church of St. Joseph, Missouri. My next stop was to see Reverend Chilton, who after discussing this matter with me referred to Miss Mable White, who attended the Normal School between 1889 and 1891, and who was the principal of the Sherwood School at St. Joseph, and to a Mrs. Mattie C. Long, also of St. Joseph, Missouri. I interviewed both of these ladies and they advised me that while attending the Normal School prior to 1890, "Home on the Range" was generally sung at all the student gatherings and particularly every week when they had crescent society. That while they had no printed music or words, it seems that everybody knew the song and everybody joined in the singing of it. Both these ladies furnished written statements and stated that they had both recognized this tune when it was first heard over the radio, and that the words and tune were practically identical with the song that they knew at the Stanberry Normal School.

In order to show that this song was generally known and sung in various sections of the country and particularly in view of the fact that some people thought that this was a cowboy ballad, I directed myself to the cowboy country, and I went to Dodge City, Kansas. This city is known as cowboy country by reason of the fact that the Santa Fe and the Chisholm Trail meet there and it was a central shipping point for cattle coming from the southwest. There I interviewed a great number of people such as ex-cowboys, people who were employed as cooks in cowboy camps, ex-stage coach drivers and Buffalo hunters. A great number of written statements were procured by me from these people and they all agreed that this song was well known to and generally sung by cowboys and other people traveling through that section of the country in stage coaches prior to 1890, and that the lyrics and music were practically identical with those now generally used by radio singers and they all stated that they recognized the tune as soon as the same became popular over the radio.

The number of people who furnished such statements satisfied me that we would have sufficient proof for the purpose of defense of this suit to defeat the action even at this point, and my next step was directed to establishing the author or authors of the verses and music of "Home on the Range". In this connection, the story of "Colorado Home" which was published by Paull-Pioneer became of importance and I thought it best to really establish the facts contained in the purported letter containing the words of the song appearing in the publication "Colorado Home". I therefore went to Leadville, Colorado, which is three miles from Orro City, named as the locale where the writing of "Colorado Home" took place.

In Leadville, Colorado, I called on the editor of the local paper which is known as the Herald Democrat. After showing him the photographs appearing on the frontispiece of "Colorado Home" I asked him whether he could recognize Bob Swartz, who was supposed to be one of the writers of "Colorado Home". I also asked him whether he recognized any of the names of the co-authors who were mentioned as Bill McCabe and Bingham Graves and Jim. Mr. Butler, the editor of the paper, told me that he personally knew Bill McCabe and Bingham Graves and that several daughters of Bingham Graves still lived in Leadville. He thereupon directed me to the home of Mrs.

Florence Edgington, who is one of the daughters of Bingham Graves, and after advising her of my purpose, she told me that her father had very often spoken of Bob Swartz, with whom he had done some prospecting, and that her father had sung "Home on the Range" as a lullaby to all of the children ever since she could remember, and that the words and tune, as she heard it on the radio are practically identical with the words and tune as sung by her father at or about 1895-6. That Bingham Graves died in 1921, that Jim referred to in the Colorado Home story was probably Jim Fouts, her uncle, and that this song was sung and played by her father and her uncle since she could remember. In going through her father's effects, a photograph was located on which appeared her father and Bob Swartz as a young man, and there could be no mistake but the photograph of one of the men appearing there was Bob Swartz. I also spoke to one of the other daughters, a Mrs. George Jacobs, and thereafter to a son of Bingham Graves, who lives at Long Beach, California. Both of them confirmed the story as given by their sister and they all signed statements stating that they will be ready to give whatever evidence they can and in whatever form necessary, should this become necessary.

To further confirm and prove that some of the lyrics, as used today were written in 1885, I endeavored to locate the mountain chain referred to in the letter of 1885, as mentioned in the story of "Colorado Home", and after some effort, a photograph was taken of the very mountains that appeared in the photograph on the frontispiece of "Colorado Home". This again corroborated the story of the writing of some of the verses now used in "Home on the Range" and which are contained in "Arizona Home", as copyrighted by the Goodwins in 1904 or 1905.

While at Leadville, I also interviewed a J. B. McDonald, who was at Leadville, Colorado since 1887 and he confirmed the fact that he knew Bill McCabe and Jim Fouts, and that these boys were mining partners and that Bill McCabe sometimes wrote for the Herald Democrat and that they all prospected in California Gulch, and that he often had heard the song then known as "Oh Give Me a Home Where the Buffalo Roam" as contained in "Colorado Home", sung in the various vaudeville places and beer saloons in Leadville on or about 1887. He particularly made mention of amusement places known as Ben Loeb and Mike Goldsmith's and that he distinctly remembers the song being sung by one Mike Whelan. He readily gave me a written statement, as did Mr. Butler, the editor of the local paper, to the effect that Bill McCabe was the sort of person who could write poetry and verse. A statement to the effect that he heard Jim Fouts sing the version of the song as contained in "Colorado Home" since 1895 was given by one Jim Morrison, a personal friend of Jim Fouts, and to the effect that he also remembers distinctly that this was quite a favorite tune with him down to the time of the death of Jim Fouts. Jim Fouts was a friend of the family and Mrs. Morrison also stated in writing that she knew Jim Fouts since 1900 and that she heard him sing this song and play it on the mouth organ since 1900.

I also procured the death notices that appeared in the local papers when both Bingham Graves and Jim Fouts died, and Mr. Butler told me he attended the funeral of Bill McCabe, who died and was buried in Red Cliff, Colorado. That at the time of his death Bill McCabe was the editor of the Red Cliff Times.

As further proof that at least some of the verses that the Goodwins claim

to have written could not have been written by them, but were probably written as stated in the letter appearing in the story of "Colorado Home", I tried to identify the places mentioned in some of the verses of the song. Of course the references made to the hills and the ring of the drills and silver ore in the ground, the gulches and the gold and the mountain streams, there could be no doubt that this was a perfect description of Colorado and particularly the section in and around Orro City and Leadville. This particular section produced the greatest amount of gold and silver and lead, at or about 1885, and the references to the gambling places and dance halls certainly refer to Leadville, Colorado, where one found them in great numbers, at or about the time when these verses were supposed to have been written.

In verse four of "Colorado Home" a reference is made to the Hot Springs below where the sick people go and camp on the Banks of the Grand. A great many people seem to have been under the impression that the Banks of the Grand meant the banks of the Rio Grande. This, I have found to be quite erroneous.

The Grand River referred to in the song is not the Rio Grande but the upper part of the Colorado River, which was always known as the Grand River and I procured an official map showing the name to be Grand River. Information came to me to the effect that the name of the Grand River was officially changed by Act of Congress in 1925 or thereabouts to Colorado River. The Hot Springs referred to in the verses probably referred to Glenwood Springs, located not many miles from Leadville, Colorado. The old timers in and about Leadville also inform me that deer and antelope and buffalo were plentiful in the section particularly in Park County, only ten or twelve miles from Leadville, Colorado, and that the state of Colorado has a game preserve at the present time in Park County.

The sister-in-law of Bingham Graves whom I visited at her home in Bisbee, Arizona, furnished a written statement that she came to Orro City in 1861 and she knew Bob Swartz, Bill McCabe and Bingham Graves, the latter having married her sister, Mary Fouts. That these three were inseparable companions and that they mined and prospected together. That Jim Fouts played the mouth organ, Graves played the banjo, and McCabe made up verses and once in a while worked as reporter on the Leadville paper. After being shown the photographs of Bob Swartz and one of the mountain scene, she stated that she absolutely recognizes Bob Swartz and also the cabin marked No. 1, as one occupied by the boys in the 1880's, and that it stood just outside of Leadville near Colorado Gulch, and that she remembers distinctly the boys singing and playing the lyrics, as appears in Paull-Pioneers version of "Colorado Home". That when hearing "Home on the Range" on the radio she often remarked that fact to her grandchildren.

While at Dodge City, several of the people I interviewed insisted that they had heard this song or some of the verses of it much prior to 1885, and one lady insisted that a great many more verses were known to her than what appears in "Colorado Home". She wrote out from memory her recollections of the verses she knew much prior to 1885. This definitely seemed to point out that the song was much older than 1885, that what probably happened was that the boys who wrote some of the verses that appeared in "Colorado Home" took an earlier song and added the verses to particularly fit their locality and condition.

I therefore began to search for the date of writing and the author of "Home on the Range". While at Dodge City, I became acquainted with one of the reporters of the Dodge City Globe and I thought it would be a great help if some item in their paper would advise the public that we are seeking information on "Home on the Range", and accordingly, a front page item appeared generally stating about the law suit and about the controversy. I arranged that any information received by the paper while I was away should be forwarded to me. This item, after it appeared in the Dodge City paper was reprinted in practically every paper in the country through the Associated Press, and a great deal of information started to come to me about this song. There is no use in going into detail concerning some of the information, but whatever seemed plausible was investigated by me, and many of them rejected, but in comparing notes and the information received, things began to definitely point to Kansas as the place where the song originated and an item appearing in the Kansas City Star written by a lady by the name of Myrtle Hose, gave the definite information that in her scrapbook she had a newspaper article that appeared in 1914 referring to another article that appeared in 1873 in a Kansas paper to the effect that "Home on the Range" appeared as a poem in that paper in 1873. This information came to me the latter part of March and I immediately procured the scrap book from Mrs. Hose and then proceeded to Smith Center and the office of the Smith County Pioneer, in which paper this article appeared in 1914, and in which previously to that, the poem appeared in 1873. I found that the poem had appeared in the issue of the Pioneer on February 19, 1914 and that the poem was reprinted from an issue of the same paper in 1873 and that the editor of the paper stated in this editorial that he had known the author of this poem to be Dr. B. Higley, who was an early settler in Smith County. A photostatic copy of the paper was procured as well as a photostatic copy of the page of the scrap book of Mrs. Hose, also a photostatic copy of the Kansas City Star of January 30, 1914, where this very same article also appeared. Both of these photostatic copies were procured from the original papers on file in the Kansas Historical Society at Topeka, Kansas, and were properly certified by the Society.

While at Smith Center, I interviewed a great many of the old pioneers who personally knew Dr. Higley and they all furnished affidavits to the effect that Dr. Higley wrote "Home on the Range" as a poem and that thereafter one Dan Kelley supplied the tune.

A Mr. Reese who now resides at Smith Center and who is one of the oldest pioneers in the section stated that he came to Smith Center in 1872, about one month before the town of Smith Center was established, that he came in contact with Dr. Bruce Higley, who had a homestead about twenty miles away on the banks of the Beaver, near the Solomon River, in June 1872, and that the occasion of their meeting was an indignation meeting against the Indians, and that he met the Doctor frequently between 1872 and 1873. That some time in 1873, his friend, John Champlin was accidentally shot in the foot and that he called on Dr. Higley, who treated him and that thereafter Dr. Higley called several times a week at their Doby or Dugout to treat the patient, and that he remembers distinctly on one of these occasions Dr. Higley, while treating the patient asked him to read a poem he had written. It was on a foolscap sheet of paper and the Doctor stated that he had written it to while away his lonesome hours spent in his log cabin. That this was "Home on the Range" as

it is now known, and that they all insisted that the Doctor get somebody to write the tune. That thereafter Dan Kelley supplied the tune and the Harlan Bros. Orchestra played it on every occasion, settlers meetings, weddings, and all other celebrations and that he has heard it played and sung ever since. That he recognized the tune immediately, when it started to become popular on the radio.

A very interesting statement was furnished by one Clarence B. Harlan. Mr. Harlan was born in 1849, is now 86 years old, and came to Smith Center in 1871. He is the brother-in-law of Dan Kelley, and his father was John C. Harlan, who was the first elected probate Judge of Smith County, and that the town of Harlan, Kansas, is named after him. About 1874 he played the guitar and his brother Eugene Harlan, who was ten years younger, played the violin. They composed the Harlan orchestra which played all over the country at dances, reunions, parties and celebrations. That Dan Kelley, his brother-in-law, knew music and had a great voice and that among the songs they played was a song known then as "Western Home" which is now known as "Home on the Range". That he and his brother sang and played the song in 1874 and for many years thereafter. That he remembers the words perfectly and after being requested by me he brought out his guitar and played and sang this song from memory, using the tune as he knew it in 1874 and ever since, and as it was composed by his brother-in-law, Dan Kelley. I procured a recording machine and made phonograph records of this rendition of the song.

At this point, it is interesting to know that he followed the words as appeared in the paper in 1914, and that although Mr. Harlan sang this from memory he didn't miss a word. Mr. Harlan stated that the way the tune was made by Dan Kelley was that Dan tried several tunes to fit the words and after Mr. Harlan and his brother Eugene tried them on their instruments several were rejected until Dan captured the tune that is now used in "Home on the Range". That it was never written down but that he and his brother learned to play it on their instruments and after playing it at all celebrations and parties it began to spread all over and was the most popular tune and generally called for at all parties and celebrations. He stated that a great many people even thought that he was the writer of the poem and the tune and had written to him about it because of the fact that this song was so closely associated with him. He stated to me that he always advised these people that he was not the author of the song or tune and advised them who really was the author of same. Mr. Harlan is blind but I thought that it would be best to make phonograph records of his playing and singing of this song which I did, and the same are now in the possession of MPPA.

A great many other affidavits of old pioneers of the section were procured, all of which substantiate the story of the writing of the poem and the composition of the tune. Among those affidavits was one from the County Clerk of Smith County and one from the probate Judge of Smith County.

Several affidavits were also procured from old residents at Osborne, a town about twenty-eight miles distant from Smith Center and one of them from a Mrs. Parker who knew Dr. Higley and who advised me that Dr. Higley was the attending physician at the birth of her daughter, over sixty years ago, and that she knows that Dr. Higley was the author of "Home on the Range".

An interesting bit of evidence was procured from an adopted sister of

Clarence B. Harlan, when I called on her at North Kansas City, Missouri. She found for me the very newspaper article which appeared in the scrapbook of Mrs. Hose and also brought out an old faded foolscap paper on which appeared the song which she called the "Western Home". She stated that she had sung and played this song a great many times with Clarence B. Harlan and that the song was very popular with them at their home since 1874. The words were written by her on this sheet of paper on May 20, 1884, the date when it was written having been placed on another sheet of paper dating back some years before 1884 but that it had become torn and dilapidated and that she had decided to re-write it on the sheet of paper handed to me when I called upon her. This original piece of evidence together with the newspaper clipping which was also saved by her are now in the possession of the MPPA.

I also visited Mrs. Anderson at Parkland, Pa. which is just outside of Philadelphia, who is a sister of Bob Swartz, one of the composers of "Colorado Home". I interviewed her husband and Mrs. Anderson and they stated to me that the letter referred to in the version of "Colorado Home" as appears in Paull-Pioneers publications was received by Mrs. Anderson in 1885 and she exhibited to me the original letter. The appearance of the letter certainly bears out the fact that it must have been written a very great many years ago. She also exhibited to me the original photograph appearing in Paull-Pioneers issue. In order to be able to get her deposition, it will be necessary to have Mr. Mayer communicate with her and advise her to give such testimony. In view of the fact that she is so near New York, it might be advisable to have her deposition taken in New York City.

A great many letters have been received by me as a result of the newspaper articles appearing all over the country and as a result of letters to the editors which appeared in almost every paper in the United States, a great many letters were also received by the defendants in the suit as well as MPPA. All these letters are from people who know something about the song "Home on the Range" or "Western Home" and generally are to the effect that they either heard the song much prior to 1900 or they themselves knew and sang the song much prior to that date. All generously offered to testify should same become necessary.

I communicated with most of these people and on account of the fact that the correspondence is so voluminous, I suggest that all the attorneys have access to the original letters and affidavits taken by me in the course of my investigation and that a conference be called by all the attorneys, and a decision should be made as to what depositions should be taken in this matter. With respect to those people whom I interviewed all over the country, I am in a position to give a lot of helpful suggestions at such a conference which would help determine which of these people should be brought on should a trial become necessary and the people whose depositions should be taken immediately because of age or other circumstances.

I also have made a great many friends all over the country who helped me locate the people from whom either statements or affidavits were received by me and I can also offer helpful suggestions with respect to the taking of depositions should such procedure be decided upon.

Your investigator also deemed it of importance to investigate the general history and background of the plaintiffs in this case and has gathered some very interesting information which, for certain reasons, he does not desire to

include in this report but at a conference of attorneys, will be very glad to impart such information, but I can at this time state that I visited Tempe, Arizona, where the plaintiffs reside, and such information came from a reliable source.

A Mrs. Emmett residing in New York City communicated with the undersigned and she stated that she lived near Smith Center, Kansas in 1876 and that she has some knowledge of this song and would be ready and willing to testify should her testimony become necessary. She advised me that she will be in New York City until June 1st and then will go to Valley Cottage, New York, for the summer. If her testimony is desired I know where she can be reached in New York City.

Another gentleman of very high standing residing in Connecticut also communicated with me and indicated that he does not desire to have his name made public but would be very glad to have his deposition taken or testify at a trial and indicated that he would be glad to come to New York City to give such testimony.

I also communicated with Mrs. M. E. Harlan of Manhattan, Kansas, who is a widow of Eugene Harlan, a brother of Cal Harlan, and a brother-in-law of Dan Kelley, who is alleged to have composed the music for "Home on the Range" then known as "Western Home".

A reply was received from Hal E. Harlan, a son, who is now a practicing attorney in Manhattan, Kansas, and he states that his mother was one of the group who sang the song at the dances and celebrations at which the Harlan Orchestra played from 1878 to 1885, and that he personally was taught this song by his father as early as 1900. He also offered on behalf of his mother and himself to help in whatever way possible.

It is the opinion of your investigator that there is no basis whatever to the claims made by the Goodwins and that the plaintiffs in this case contributed nothing whatsoever either to the verse or tune of "Home on the Range" or "Western Home" as it was sometimes known.

Enclosed with each one of these reports you will find a newspaper article appearing in the Smith Center Pioneer on the occasion of my visit to that town and after my investigation therein had been completed, which newspaper incidentally, is the newspaper in which the original "Home on the Range" appeared in 1873.

The term "Range" as used in the poem evidently refers to a division of land running north and south through the County being about six miles wide, all property descriptions of Smith County refer to the number of the range in which the property is located. Dr. Higley who received a homestead Patent from the United States Government to property in Smith County, received a Deed referring to the range in which this property is located. Annexed to this report is a copy of a blueprint of the engineer of Smith County showing that the County is divided into ranges, such ranges being indicated by the letter "R."

Respectfully submitted,

MAY, 1935

SAMUEL MOANFELDT

The Pictorial Record of the Old West

IX. ALFRED R. WAUD AND THEODORE R. DAVIS

ROBERT TAFT

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ALFRED R. Waud and Theodore R. Davis were doubtless the most prolific illustrators of Civil War scenes. Both began as field artists for *Harper's Weekly* at the beginning of the war and both covered the war for its entire duration. At the war's close in 1865, the *Weekly* in a brief article paid tribute to its staff artists, naming Waud first and Davis second as the principal illustrators of that tragic period in the nation's history.¹ Even today there exist in the Library of Congress nearly 2,300 original Civil War field sketches of A. R. Waud and his brother William, many of which were redrawn on wood and published in *Harper's Weekly* during the period of 1861-1865.²

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* (New York, 1938), and *Across the Years on Mount Oread* (Lawrence, 1941).

Previous articles in this pictorial series appeared in the issues of *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* for February, May, August and November, 1946, May and August, 1948, and May and August, 1949. The general introduction was in the February, 1946, number.

1. "Our Artists During the War," *Harper's Weekly*, New York, v. 9 (1865), June 3, p. 339. This account listed a number of artists who had "gone through all the long and stirring campaigns of this war." In the opening year of the war (1861) the *Weekly* did not credit by name its staff artists, usually crediting them to "our staff artist," or "our special artist," so that it is not often possible to identify the illustrator. However, several accounts of T. R. Davis were printed during the year which enable some of his illustrations to be attributed; see the *Weekly*, v. 5 (1861), June 1, p. 341, and June 22, p. 397. *Harper's Weekly* (see the citations just listed) claimed that Davis accompanied W. H. Russell, the well-known English war correspondent, on a tour of the South which started just before the beginning of hostilities. According to Russell, however, there was no formal agreement with Davis about this trip. In fact, Russell presented a story that is almost a direct contradiction to the *Weekly's* claim; see William Howard Russell, *My Diary North and South* (London, 1863), v. 1, pp. 67, 90, 114, 115, 137, 286, 335, 336, 339. Russell in describing his experiences with Davis does not even mention him by name; see, also, the counterclaim of *Harper's Weekly* in the issue of July 20, 1861, p. 450.

Beginning in 1862, the *Weekly* credited the illustrator in most cases. Davis, it becomes apparent from his illustrations, traveled more extensively than Waud, and was present in the campaigns of the south and west (see, also, p. 358); Waud's illustrations, on the other hand, were pretty largely restricted to the operations of the Army of the Potomac and to Washington scenes.

2. The Library of Congress received these sketches by gift in 1919 from the late J. Pierpont Morgan. The Waud material also includes six letters and two photographs. With the exception of J. G. Randall, in *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York, 1937), this treasure trove of pictorial material has been scarcely used by historians. William Waud contributed extensively to the war illustrations in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, New York, in the first two years of the war but toward the end, his illustrations began appearing in *Harper's Weekly*. In addition to William Waud, Edwin Forbes, F. H. Schell, Henri Lovie and W. T. Crane were important Civil War illustrators for *Leslie's*.

Biographical data on William Waud is meager. There is a very brief sketch of his life in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 22 (1878), November 30, p. 947, which noted his death in Jersey City on November 10, 1878, and stated that Waud was not only an excellent artist but was a gifted writer and architect as well. Inquiry directed to the Jersey City Public Library brought the reply that no obituary of William Waud could be found in three Jersey City papers for the period November 11-16, 1878.

ALFRED R. WAUD

Unfortunately, examination of these original sketches revealed that none deals with Alfred Waud's later experiences which included several Western trips. As a result of these trips, however, there were published in the years after 1865 a very considerable number of Western illustrations signed "A. R. Waud" or, more frequently, "A. R. W." Many were probably imaginary, some were probably based on photographs or on sketches of other artists, but several of the illustrations are important, and as his name appeared so many times in the field of Western illustration in the period 1865-1875, he rightfully occupies a place in this series.

Of striking personal appearance, Waud attracted comment wherever he went. An English correspondent, G. A. Sala, who visited the Army of the Potomac in January, 1864, saw Waud in action and the picture he presented so impressed Sala that he described Waud in some detail. He wrote:

There had galloped furiously by us, backwards and forwards during our journey, a tall man, mounted on a taller horse. Blue-eyed, fair-bearded, strapping and stalwart, full of loud, cheery laughs and comic songs, armed to the teeth, jack-booted, gauntleted, slouch-hatted, yet clad in the shooting-jacket of a civilian. I had puzzled myself many times during the afternoon and evening to know what manner of man this might inwardly be. He didn't look like an American; he was too well dressed to be a guerilla. I found him out at last, and struck up an alliance with him. The fair-bearded man was the "war artist" of *Harper's Weekly*. He had been with the Army of the Potomac, sketching, since its first organization, and doing for the principal pictorial journal of the United States that which Mr. Frank Vizetelly, in the South, has done so admirably for the *Illustrated London News*. He had been in every advance, in every retreat, in every battle, and almost in every reconnaissance. He probably knew more about the several campaigns, the rights and wrongs of the several fights, the merits and demerits of the commanders, than two out of three wearers of generals' shoulder-straps. But he was a prudent man, who could keep his own counsel, and went on sketching. Hence he had become a universal favorite. Commanding officers were glad to welcome in their tents the genial companion who could sing and tell stories, and imitate all the trumpet and bugle calls, who could transmit to posterity, through woodcuts, their features and their exploits, but who was not charged with the invidious mission of commenting in print on their performances. He had been offered, time after time, a staff appointment in the Federal service; and, indeed, as an aide-de-camp, or an assistant-quartermaster, his minute knowledge of the theatre of war would have been invaluable. Often he had ventured beyond the picket-lines, and been chased by the guerillas; but the speed and mettle of his big brown steed had always enabled him to show these gentry a clean pair of heels. He was continually vaulting on this huge brown horse, and galloping off full split, like a Wild Horseman of the Prairie. The honors of the staff appointment he had civilly declined. The

risk of being killed he did not seem to mind; but he had no relish for a possible captivity in the Libby or Castle Thunder. He was, indeed, an Englishman,—English to the backbone; and kept his Foreign Office passport in a secure side-pocket, in case of urgent need.³

In April, 1866, *Harper's Weekly* announced that it was sending artists through the South to depict the results of war and to show "the rising of a new world from chaos."⁴

The artists sent, it soon became apparent, were none other than A. R. Waud and T. R. Davis. They did not travel together, but before they returned to the source of their pay checks both crossed the Mississippi and made pictorial exploration of the West. Davis went south through the Atlantic coastal states and then turned west; Waud headed for the Mississippi by way of the Ohio river and then went further south and west.

Both artists were allowed a freedom in reporting their travels that makes their work, at this late date, of particular value to the historian; for they were allowed to publish descriptive and signed notes in addition to their illustrations. In these notes they frequently identified the actual locality where sketches were made, or contributed information that throws considerable light on their activities and upon their illustrations. If such a practice had been universally employed, it would have saved much research and guess work for historians of the present day.

Waud's first group of illustrations on this Western trip were of Cincinnati, Louisville and Nashville. Although not Western towns according to present-day definition, they were "the West" of 1866. Concerning Louisville, Waud had the interesting comment:

A stranger from the East naturally wonders at the extensive interest which whisky holds in countries bordering on the Ohio. Here the people that distill the liquor are not at all ashamed of their business. The denizens of the more Eastern States have a sneaking consciousness that the distilling business is not compatible with respectability, and evince a cowardly spirit in fabricating excuses for their indulgence in the fiery juice. Now in the West a man takes his whisky "like a man" without reference to his doctor, a stomach-ache, or a cold. As churches are the prominent institutions in an Eastern town, so here the still-house overshadows all its neighbors and proudly takes the first rank. . . .⁵

Waud also noted, and the comment has a most familiar ring, that

3. George Augustus Sala, *My Diary in America in the Midst of War* (London, 1865, 2d. ed.), v. 1, pp. 302, 303. Sala does not mention Waud by name but the identity is proved from the description. This description of Waud is also used in an account of Waud and his work appearing in *American Art and American Art Collections* (Boston, 1889), Walter Montgomery, editor, v. 2, p. 836.

4. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 10 (1866), April 28, p. 259.

5. *Ibid.*, May 5, p. 286.

as a result of the war, Nashville and Louisville were "troubled with heavy rents and a scarcity of houses."

Waud continued down the Ohio to Cairo where the steamer *Ruth*, "one of the finest river boats," was taken to Memphis and there, after crossing the river, a journey was made to Little Rock, Ark. The trip into Arkansas—which was really in the trans-Mississippi West, be it noted—resulted in several interesting illustrations: a view of Little Rock itself; another was made of a group of colored volunteers of the Union army being mustered out and was sketched "standing before the office of Colonel Page, Quartermaster" in Little Rock (the volunteers created quite "a furor among the resident colored females, . . ." Waud observantly noted); and, of course, the series included an illustration of the famed "Arkansas Travelers," who were shown, Waud noted with some regret, without their fiddles.⁶

It is possible that on this trip Waud traveled into Texas and certainly he was in central and western Louisiana, as is shown by his notable illustration depicting the Acadians of Louisiana whom he sketched from life. They were, of course, the descendants of French Canadians immortalized by Longfellow in *Evangeline*. Other illustrations also are identified as western Louisiana. The illustration which is most typically "Western," however, is his "A Drove of Texas Cattle Crossing a Stream"⁷ (reproduced with this article). Unfortunately, the illustration was not accompanied by the comments of Waud himself as it was published some time after his return to New York.⁸ The note accompanying the illustration (the author is not credited) identified the locality as western Louisiana or Texas. Its importance lies in the fact that it is the first Western cattle drive illustration which I have found.⁹ The cattle drives

6. The illustrations noted above will be found in *ibid.*, May 26, p. 328; May 19, p. 308; November 10, p. 705. The notes by Waud on his illustrations of this trip appeared in *ibid.*, for the following dates: May 12, p. 289; May 19, p. 318; May 26, p. 327; June 2, pp. 345, 346; June 23, p. 398; June 30, pp. 411, 412; July 14, p. 442; July 21, p. 449; August 4, pp. 485, 486; August 11, pp. 508, 509; August 18, p. 526; September 8, p. 566; September 15, p. 581; October 13, p. 654; October 20, p. 670, and November 10, p. 706. There are, of course, Waud illustrations in all of the issues listed.

7. *Ibid.*, v. 11 (1867), October 19, p. 665. The Acadian illustration will be found in the *Weekly*, October 20, 1866, p. 657; see, also, the issue of December 8, 1866, pp. 769, 781. There is also an illustration specifically titled, "A Storm on the Prairies—A Scene in Western Louisiana," *ibid.*, October 6, 1866, p. 636.

8. Waud was back in New York by October 25, 1866, at least, for there is an illustration depicting an event of that date in Brooklyn in *ibid.*, v. 10 (1866), November 10, p. 713. Waud's Southern and Southwestern illustrations appeared, however, for several years after his return.

9. This illustration of Waud's and one of James E. Taylor, "Branding Cattle on the Prairies of Texas," in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, June 29, 1867, p. 232, which appeared shortly before Waud's, are the first of the illustrations on the Western cattle industry to be printed in the national illustrated press. Taylor doubtless deserves more than mention in a footnote in this series and I hope that enough material will be accumulated about him to make a more extended account possible. The chief source of information concerning him is an obituary in the *New York Tribune*, June 23, 1901, p. 9, which stated that he was born in Cincinnati on December 12, 1839, graduated from the University of Notre Dame at 16, painted a

from Texas, as is well known, had been carried on for some years but they did not begin to attract wide attention until after the Civil War. The note which accompanied this illustration is also important for the reason that the description, probably furnished by Waud, reads:

Vast numbers of these cattle are driven on foot to the Mississippi River, and, after crossing it, into the interior of the cotton States. . . . A drove of five hundred cattle is usually accompanied by a dozen men, drivers, cook, etc., mounted upon mustang ponies, a wild set, who plunge in and out of rivers, or rush in among stampeders in the most reckless way. . . .¹⁰

Notice that no mention of *cowboys* is made, for that word, with the connotation it now carries, was nearly a generation away from popular use.

Another illustration, in somewhat the same class as that of the cattle drive, is "Creasing' Mustangs in Texas."¹¹ Here the locality is identified as an area east of the Sakatcho mountains.¹²

The sketches described above in the text and notes included the important contribution made by Waud to the field of Western illustration in the several years following the close of the war. Most, if not all, were the result of direct observation.¹³ Waud continued to publish, however, in the years following his return from the South and West a considerable number of illustrations, based upon his familiarity with the region he had visited and supplemented by his imagination. One of the most interesting of this group was the illustration, "Pilgrims of the Plains."¹⁴ It depicted a large group of emigrants with their ox-drawn wagons pulling up into the familiar circle for the evening encampment. T. R. Davis, however, had an

Revolutionary War panorama by the age of 18, and enlisted in the Union army at the age of 21. He became a war correspondent and artist for *Leslie's* in 1863 and in 1867 went to the plains with the Indian Peace Commission. Some of his illustrations of the Medicine Lodge council (of the Peace Commission) appeared in *Leslie's* for November 16, 1867, p. 133, and November 23, 1867, p. 153. He must have painted many Indian pictures, probably in water color, for, according to the *American Art Annual*, v. 4 (1903), p. 145, he became known as "the Indian artist." He severed his connection with *Leslie's* in 1883 and became a free-lance illustrator. His death occurred in New York City on June 22, 1901.

10. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 11 (1867), October 19, p. 666.

11. *Ibid.*, v. 12 (1868), November 21, p. 741. The note accompanying the illustration is on p. 742.

12. Although I have examined several Texas maps that are nearly contemporary with this Waud illustration, I have not found the Sakatcho mountains. A letter directed to the State Geological Survey at Austin brought the reply that they were unfamiliar with Texas mountains of this name. If we may judge from Waud's travels, the "mountains" would have to be located in eastern Texas.

13. Waud made several illustrations of steamboating on the Mississippi which at least should be mentioned. One of the best of these was "A Mississippi Steamboat Making a Landing at Night," *Harper's Weekly*, v. 10 (1866), December 22, p. 801. Mention should also be made of his Texas illustration depicting a view across the Rio Grande river from the American side at Brownsville (*ibid.*, November 17, p. 732). The note accompanying this illustration is not by Waud and it seems doubtful if he ever got as far west as Brownsville. Not many issues after this sketch appeared, another illustration of the same general character, credited to a photographer, appeared in the *Weekly* and it may be that Waud used a similar photograph in preparing his illustration; see *ibid.*, v. 11 (1867), January 5, p. 12.

14. *Ibid.*, v. 15 (1871), December 23, p. 1200.



ALFRED R. WAUD
(1828-1891)

A photograph supplied through the *courtesy* of the
Library of Congress.



THEODORE R. DAVIS
(1840-1894)

Right

A photograph taken in his Civil War days. The
seated figure has not been identified with certainty
but he is probably James Walker. Photograph *courtesy*
of Mrs. C. W. Parmelee.



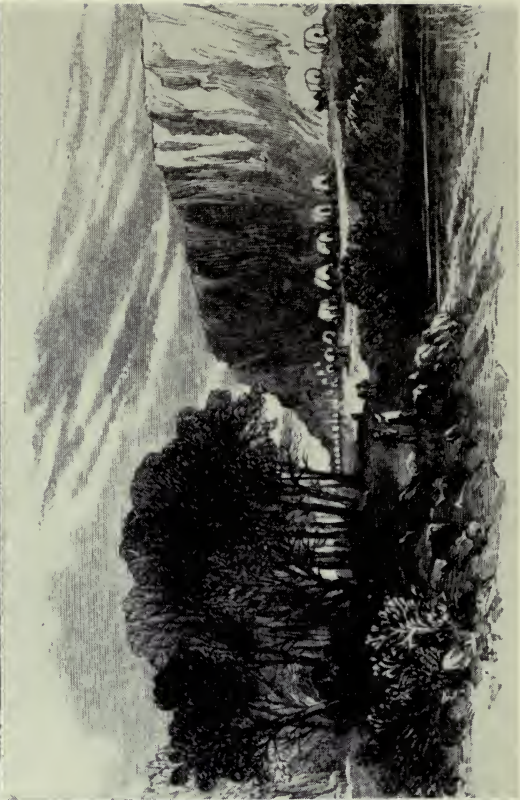
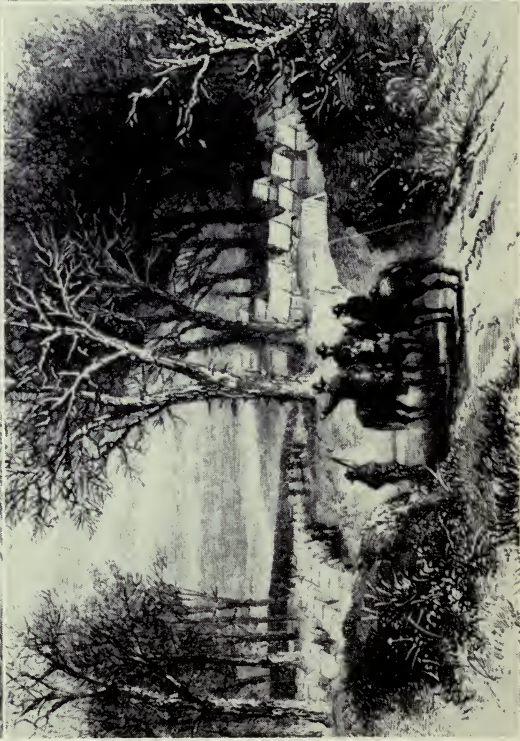


WAUD'S "A DROVE OF TEXAS CATTLE CROSSING A STREAM" (1867)

(NOTE: Unless otherwise stated the pictures accompanying this article are reproduced from *Harper's Weekly*.)



WAUD'S "BUILDING THE UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD IN NEBRASKA" (1867)
(Reproduced from A. D. Richardson's *Beyond the Mississippi*.)



"DEPARTURE FROM ATCHISON"
"FORT FLETCHER" [Ellis County]

"HERE THEY COME" [Logan County]
"POND CREEK" [Wallace County]

Davis drawings of Kansas scenes from *Harper's Monthly*, July, 1867.

illustration with the same title and theme and which on the whole is more pleasing than is Waud's sketch and Waud may have used the Davis illustration as the basis for his effort.¹⁵ Waud did show a colored teamster in his illustration which suggests that Waud may have observed some such scene on his Southwestern tour.

In possibly somewhat the same category as "Pilgrims of the Plains," is Waud's excellent sketch, "Building the Union Pacific Railroad in Nebraska," which appeared in A. D. Richardson's well-known book, *Beyond the Mississippi*.¹⁶

It is probable that Waud did not sketch this view "on the spot" but redrew it from photographs. The John Carbutt photographs, made along the Union Pacific railroad in the fall of 1866, were available to Waud and much of the detail in the illustration checks with that shown in the photographs. Waud, however, has produced a much more interesting and inclusive view than is shown in any of the photographs and it is the best view of early Western railroad construction that I have examined.¹⁷ (Reproduced between pp. 344, 345.)

Waud used this same material apparently to prepare another illustration that appeared in *Harper's Weekly* a few years later, "Railroad Building on the Great Plains."¹⁸

The note which accompanied the illustration discussed only the building of the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific but Waud has the legend "Northern Pacific" drawn on one of the freight cars. In many respects it is like the illustration in the Richardson book save that the observer sees the work at a somewhat different angle in the latter illustration.

It is possible that this last sketch was based in part upon direct observation. Waud was one of a number of artists employed in the

15. The Davis illustration will be found in *ibid.*, v. 13 (1869), June 12, p. 377.

16. *Beyond the Mississippi* (Hartford, Conn.) was published first in 1867; it was republished in many subsequent editions or printings. I have seen a printing as late as 1875 but the one I have used is dated 1869, "New Edition Written Down to Summer of 1869." The Waud illustration referred to above appears facing p. 567. The book is profusely illustrated and strangely enough for that day, each illustration is credited in the index to both artist and wood engraver. The list of illustrations reads like a roll call of the field artists of the Civil War: A. R. Waud, Wm. Waud, Edwin Forbes, F. H. Schell, J. Becker, J. R. Chapin, Thomas Nast and others. Forty of the 216 illustrations were by A. R. Waud. It is doubtful if any of the illustrations in the book were original (in the sense that they were sketched by the artist on the spot) but were redrawn from photographs or earlier illustrations appearing in the illustrated press. The topics included in the illustrations (all, of course, Western) range in time from 1857 to 1869 and from the Mississippi river to the Pacific coast.

The same illustration, "Building the Union Pacific Railroad in Nebraska," is reproduced in a collection of A. D. Richardson's writings by his wife, *Garnered Sheaves* . . . (Hartford, Conn., 1871), facing p. 393, under the incorrect title, "Building the Mississippi Valley Railroad in Kansas." It was "borrowed" by the publishers solely because Richardson was describing railroad construction of a line in eastern Kansas running south from Kansas City. The background is obviously not that of eastern Kansas.

17. For discussion and reproduction of some of the Carbutt photographs of 1866, see Robert Taft, *Photography and the American Scene* (New York, 1938), ch. 15.

18. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 19 (1875), July 17, p. 577. A note discussing the illustration will be found on p. 579.

preparation of the elaborate two-volume work, *Picturesque America*, edited by William Cullen Bryant and published in the early 1870's.¹⁹

Waud had a number of illustrations in this publication of the "Lower Mississippi" and also of the "Northwest" (Wisconsin, Minnesota and the Dakotas). One account of his work stated that the material for these illustrations was obtained on a trip to the South and to the West in 1872.²⁰

As the first volume of *Picturesque America* was published in 1872 it seems probable that the material for the "Lower Mississippi" illustrations was obtained before this date. The "Northwest" illustrations might well have been secured at this time. Still another trip to this region may have been made by Waud, for there appeared in 1880 and 1881 a number of his illustrations of Dakota territory, although here again he may have supplemented his first-hand knowledge of this region with photographs.²¹

After 1882, Waud's illustrations in *Harper's Weekly* and *Harper's Magazine* virtually disappear. In fact, the last decade of his life seems to have been spent in an effort to regain his health. He died at Marietta, Ga., on April 6, 1891, where he had gone to recuperate his failing strength.²²

THEODORE R. DAVIS

Davis had already acquired a considerable knowledge of the West by the time he and Waud were sent on their Southern tour of 1866. Not many months after the surrender of the last Confederate troops in the spring of 1865, Harper's sent Davis to Denver to report on the activities on the plains and in the mountains. The ambitious

19. *Picturesque America*; . . . (New York, v. 1, 1872, and v. 2, 1874). Among the artists who contributed to this interesting work, in addition to Waud, were Harry Fenn, R. Swain Gifford, James D. Smillie, Thomas Moran, F. O. C. Darley and Worthington Whittredge. Smillie is the only one of the group whose written description of his work appeared in this publication. He spent several weeks in Yosemite sometime between 1869 and 1872. Most of the illustrations—principally of scenery—are reproduced as wood engravings; a few are steel engravings.

20. *American Art and American Art Collections*, Walter Montgomery, ed., v. 2, p. 836.

21. *Harper's Magazine*, v. 60 (1880), March, pp. 529-535, May, p. 805; E. V. Smalley, *History of the Northern Pacific Railroad* (New York, 1883), and "Out on a Prairie in a Blizzard," *Harper's Weekly*, v. 25 (1881), January 29, p. 77.

22. Obituaries and biographical notes at Waud's death will be found in *ibid.*, v. 35 (1891), April 18, p. 279; Marietta (Ga.) *Journal*, April 9, 1891; Atlanta (Ga.) *Constitution*, April 8, 1891, p. 7; Orange (N. J.) *Chronicle*, April 11, 1891, and others. The biographical material given in these accounts varies considerably. One stated that he had no survivors; another that he had three daughters; several said that Waud was buried at South Orange, N. J., others in Marietta. A headstone in the Episcopal cemetery in Marietta settles the question, however, for it is marked, "Alfred R. Waud, Oct. 2, 1828-Apr. 6, 1891." The *Harper's Weekly* account stated that Waud was born in London and came to this country when 30 years of age. The first of his illustrations in the *Weekly* that I have been able to identify with certainty is in the issue of July 3, 1858, p. 429. Frank Weitenkampf in his *American Graphic Arts* (New York, 1912), mentioned Waud and his brother, William, and stated that A. R. Waud also illustrated for Demorest's *New York Illustrated News* during its life (1859-1864). A brief biographical account of Waud is also given in *The Cyclopaedia of American Biographies* (Boston, 1903), v. 7, p. 520.

attempt of D. A. Butterfield to establish rapid stage transportation from the Missouri river (the end of the railroad) to the bustling mining districts of Colorado territory, and the rumors of a rising tide of Indian troubles as Western immigration mounted and railroads advanced, were doubtless among the factors responsible for Davis' assignment.

Davis arrived in Atchison, the eastern terminal of the Butterfield Overland Despatch, in mid-November, 1865, and at 8 a. m., November 17, left Atchison in company with three other passengers who, with himself, as Davis said, were "four persons entirely innocent of any knowledge of the plains, . . ." ²³ (See picture facing p. 345.)

The members of this party included Gen. W. R. Brewster, vice-president of the Butterfield company; Lawrence Hasbrouk of Kingston, N. Y., and apparently Davis' traveling companion, and William M. Calhoun, probably a resident of Atchison.²⁴

The greenhorns of the plains rapidly became initiated to its wonders. Davis, the cook of the party, discovered that buffalo chips made a wonderful fuel; in fact, he affirmed "that there is no better broiling fuel than a perfectly dry 'buffalo chip'." Davis, too, although inured to the hardships of campaign life during the Civil War, found his ingenuity taxed in sleeping on top of the Concord coach, but this method he preferred to the cramped quarters inside the coach. He did not disclose, however, how he prevented himself from rolling off the top of the swaying coach as it lumbered along across the plains at night. His real test, however, was yet to come.

Two days before Davis and his party had started, a B. O. D. coach with L. K. Perrin, a correspondent of the *New York Times*, and one Fred Merwin, the company messenger, had left Atchison.²⁵ The third day out from Atchison, the Davis party met Perrin who,

23. T. R. Davis, "A Stage Ride to Colorado," *Harper's Magazine*, v. 35 (1867), July, pp. 137-150. Davis says that the party left at sunrise on November 17, 1865, and *The Daily Free Press*, Atchison, November 18, 1865, recorded the fact that the B. O. D. coach "left yesterday morning at 8 o'clock, for Central City [Colorado territory], with the following passengers: L. Hasbrouk, T. R. Davis, Gen. W. R. Brewster, Wm. M. Calhoun." The coach with these passengers reached Junction City at four o'clock the next morning, thus making about 120 miles in 20 hours, according to the *Junction City Union*, November 25, 1865, which identified Brewster as the vice-president of the B. O. D. The Butterfield service to Denver and Central City (in the heart of the mining district) had been under way scarcely two months when Davis made his trip, for the first coach had left Atchison on September 11 and had reached Denver September 22, being 12 days en route over approximately 600 miles; see *Atchison Daily Press*, September 25, 1865.

24. The identification of Brewster is made in Footnote 23; of Hasbrouk in the *Rocky Mountain News*, Denver, December 1, 1865, and the Central City (Colo.) *Daily Miners' Register*, December 15, 1865; Calhoun was back in Atchison by December 5, see *Atchison Daily Press*, December 5, 1865.

25. *Atchison Daily Press*, November 15, 1865. The identification of Perrin (also spelled Perine and Perrine) as the correspondent of the *Times* is made through *Harper's Weekly*, v. 10 (1866), January 27, p. 58, which quoted from Perrin's account of the fight (described later in the text) in the *Times*.

with others, had escaped when the Indians attacked the coach at Downer station still farther west. The messenger had been killed and the stock driven off.²⁶

After finding that the Indians were on the warpath, the Davis party returned to the nearest station, sent back to nearby Fort Fletcher (southeast of present Hays—see picture facing p. 345) for a guard and then camped for the night. A detail of five cavalrymen and a company of infantry joined them later that night. The next day the party and their escort passed Downer station and saw that the other coach and the station had been completely destroyed. About a day later the infantry turned back but the party was joined by a surgeon and four soldiers in an ambulance.

As the coach, ambulance and cavalymen reached another of the plains stations, Smoky Hill Spring, the quick eye of Davis detected a band of Indians charging down upon them. (See sketch facing p. 345.) But let Davis tell the story in his modest way:

The coach containing Gen. Brewster Mr. Hasbrouk, Mr. Perrin and Mr. Davis, of *Harper's*, was within a few moments drive of the Station (Smoky Hill Spring) when Mr. Davis saw a band of Indians charging on the coach, less than sixty yards distant. . . .

Mr. D., the moment that he gave the alarm, picked up his rifle and sent its contents at the most gaudily gotten up Indian, who not liking the dose ran off. On the other side of the coach, Gen. Brewster was peppering away at a white man, who seemed to be the leader of the party [possibly Bob Brent, a half-breed]. . . .

This reception the Indians did not like, so ran off. We had by this time reached the station with the coach, when we saw that another band of "red skins" had gone for the stock. Seeing this, one of the stock herders, a brave man, had made an effort to drive the stock toward the station. While doing this, one of the Indians had charged on him, driving arrows at him meantime. The Indian was within a few paces of the stock herder when Mr. Davis sent the interior arrangements of his Ballard rifle into Mr. Indian's back, causing a series of very curious gyrations on the part of the Indian who was tied to his horse, so saved his scalp. By this time there was not an Indian within a half mile of us, so we were at liberty to look about to discover what the next move was to be. . . .²⁷

26. The locality of the fight was at Downer station, one of the 59 stations of the B. O. D. between Atchison and Denver, which was in present Trego county, Kansas. A table of stations and distances west of Junction City on the B. O. D. will be found in the *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, September 22, 1865. The *Atchison Daily Press*, July 22, 1865, gave the first six stations west of Junction City. Frank A. Root and William E. Connelley, *The Overland Stage to California* (Topeka, 1901), p. 398, also listed the B. O. D. stations west of Junction City, varying somewhat from those given in the *Leavenworth Conservative*. In the discussion which followed their table, Root and Connelley became inconsistent. As these sources seem to be all that are available upon the subject, the exact distances and stations are uncertain. The total distance from the Missouri river to Denver is given as 588 miles in one account and 592 in the other. Accounts of Merwin's death will be found in the *Atchison Daily Press*, November 30, 1865, and in Davis' own story in *Harper's Magazine*, July, 1867.

27. The *Weekly Rocky Mountain News*, December 6, 1865. This account, only a small part of which is reprinted above, is dated "Denver Dec. 2, 1865," and is the continuation of a description of the early part of the trip by the occupants of the coach which Davis had described for the *Daily Rocky Mountain News* but is reprinted in the same issue of the

They soon discovered that the ambulance and four occupants, which had become separated from the coach, was in need of aid and the cavalymen went to their rescue. The ambulance was abandoned and the Indians soon had the mules and swiftly put fire to the vehicle. The combined party retired to the adobe station where they were besieged overnight by the redskins. The siege continued well into the next day but the travelers were finally reinforced the next noon by a large army detachment. The Indians fled and under strong guard the coach eventually arrived in Denver after 15 days on the plains.²⁸ "Cooper might have *his* Indians; we did not care for their company," was Davis' dry comment on his experience.

With such a wealth of experience, the sketchbook of Davis was well filled upon arrival in Denver and a number of these experiences found their way into pictures in *Harper's Weekly* and *Harper's Magazine*.²⁹ Unfortunately, the originals of all of these sketches save one have disappeared. In a small pocket notebook carried by Davis on this trip of 1865, there is the faded outline sketch of the "Interior of the Adobe Fortification at Smoky Hill Station."³⁰

Davis made Denver his headquarters for the next several months, taking side trips during his stay to the mining districts of Colorado in the neighborhood of Central City and to Santa Fe in New Mexico territory. He met with a ready and hospitable reception from the newspaper fraternity of the mountain West. Possessed of a buoyant and sunny disposition, he made friends wherever he went. No journey was too fatiguing to allay his interest in new sights and

Weekly as above. This earlier part is headed "HEADQUARTERS IN A 'DOBE' (*Indians on every side*), SMOKY HILL SPRINGS, Nov. 25, '65." Both accounts are signed "D." Davis also has a story of the fight in *Harper's Magazine*, July, 1867, and Perrin apparently wrote his own account (which is in agreement with the Davis accounts) for the *New York Times* which *Harper's Weekly* reprinted in part in its issue of January 27, 1866, p. 58.

The Smoky Hill station, the scene of this fight, was in present Logan county, Kansas.

28. The arrival of the party "this morning" is reported in the *Rocky Mountain News*, December 1, 1865.

29. Fifteen illustrations resulting from this ride across the plains will be found in *Harper's Magazine*, July, 1867, pp. 137-150, a few of which are duplicates of those which already appeared in *Harper's Weekly*. (Four of these original fifteen illustrations are reproduced facing p. 345.) The *Weekly* illustrations will be found in the issue of January 27, 1866, p. 56, "Council of War" on the Plains" (duplicated in part one of the *Harper's Magazine* illustrations); "On the Plains—Indians Attacking Butterfield's Overland Dispatch Coach" (duplicated one in the *Harper's Magazine* account although in the *Weekly* it was a full-page illustration), April 21, 1866, p. 248; "Exterior of the Adobe Fortification at Smoky Hill Station—Fighting the Fire," *ibid.*, p. 249, and "Interior of the Adobe Fortification at Smoky Hill Station," *ibid.* (The last picture is reproduced facing p. 352.)

30. In 1940 I secured from Mrs. Cullen W. Parmelee of Urbana, Ill., a daughter of Theodore R. Davis, a collection of letters, notes, photographs, etc., bearing on the Western trips of Davis. Reference to this material is hereafter made by the notation "Parmelee Collection." I am indebted to Mrs. Parmelee and her sister, Mrs. W. D. Pennypacker of Madison, Wis., not only for the privilege of examining this material but for personal recollections and other information concerning their father.

The sketch noted above is the only original Western drawing of Davis that I have so far found. The sketch appeared on adjacent sides of a notebook carried by Davis on his first Western trip; the notebook measured approximately 2 x 4 inches.

new experiences, and any danger lent added zest to all his numerous enterprises.

It was not long before the newspapers were referring to "our gay and festive friend," "a gentleman of an extremely happy turn of mind," and when he left Central City, a paper stated—"he has made hosts of friends, we are assured, and that his charming manners entitle him to them, we will not gainsay. He goes, and with him a full share of public esteem."³¹

With such winning ways to aid him, Davis had only to ask and the sights of the Western world were opened to him. The mines and ranches and many of the novel sights were recorded in picture and shortly these sketches were appearing in the weekly issues of *Harper's*.

Views of Denver, including one of Blake street (practically contemporary with the view of Mathews discussed in a previous number of this series), of Central City, of Santa Fe, of Navahoes weaving a blanket on the famous Maxwell ranch and others appeared in print.³² Probably there were many in Davis' sketchbooks that were never published.

Davis left Denver for "the States" on February 18, 1866. The return trip was again made over the Butterfield route but this time without the wild excitement of the out-going trip and only "five days and four hours" were necessary to make the crossing of the plains.³³

The next major assignment that concerns us was the Southern and Southwestern tour already mentioned in connection with Waud; a tour to determine the effects of war and the recovery from war. As already pointed out, Davis started his assignment by visiting Southern states along the Atlantic seaboard, but the part of the journey that is of interest to us comes from the fact that he turned

31. Comments on Davis' character will be found in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 38 (1894), November 24, p. 1114; *Rocky Mountain News*, January 17, 1866, and December 1, 1865; *Central City Daily Miners' Register*, December 19, 1865.

32. "Banking-House, Denver City, Colorado—Miners Bringing in Gold Dust" and "The Overland Coach Office, Denver City, Colorado [Blake Street]," in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 10 (1866), January 27, p. 57; "Central City, Colorado" and "A Gambling Scene in Denver City, Colorado," February 17, p. 97 (cover page); "Street View in Santa Fe, New Mexico," April 21, p. 249; "Indian Squaws Weaving a Blanket," September 15, p. 580. Probably the "Overland Mail-Coach," *ibid.*, v. 12 (1868), February 8, p. 88, also belongs to this period as a note on p. 87 of this issue identified the locality as Guy's gulch, "about thirty miles west of Denver." Davis made but two other Western trips (those of 1866 and 1867) and on neither of these is there any evidence that he reached Denver.

33. Davis' return to Atchison is noted in the *Atchison Daily Champion*, February 24, 1866, which reported that he arrived in Atchison on the 23d. He left Denver on the 18th (*Rocky Mountain News*, February 19, 1866). Other mentions of Davis made in the Colorado papers and not already cited will be found in the *Rocky Mountain News*, December 12, 1865; January 18, 1866; February 3, 1866 (comment on the first Davis illustrations on the Smoky Hill route to appear in *Harper's Weekly*); February 13, 1866 (notes Davis' return from Santa Fe the evening before; he had left for Santa Fe on January 17); Davis, in an account signed "Russell"—his middle name—described some of his New Mexico experiences in the *Weekly Rocky Mountain News*, February 21, 1866; *Central City Daily Miners' Register*, December 13, 15, 16 and 19, 1865.

west when he arrived in the deep South, stopped at New Orleans and then went on into Texas.³⁴ The Western illustrations included views of the cities of Houston and Galveston, and one particularly interesting, "The Dry-Goods Drummer on His Travels.—Scene on the Galveston and Houston Railroad.—'Here's Jeff, Fellows!'" It depicted a bar with an unreconstructed rebel lifting a drink to the defunct Confederate president—doubtless a sight particularly irritating to Davis, who had undergone the vicissitudes of a four-year campaign with the Union army.³⁵

Davis was given a breathing spell for a few months after returning from his Southern trip. But one day—April 2, 1867, according to Davis—he met Fletcher Harper on Broadway who, without further ado, asked, "Why are you not with General Hancock's Indian expedition?" Davis needed no other direction and inside half an hour—if we can believe Davis—he had gathered his "sketch-book, pet 'Ballard,' and a few minor necessaries" and was on his way West.³⁶

Indian troubles on the plains of Kansas and Nebraska were gradually becoming worse as the last half of the 1860's advanced. The westward tide of migration was rapidly rising as the railroads slowly but steadily forged their way into the hunting grounds of the Indians. Depredations on settlers, on stage lines and on railroad construction parties became more numerous as the Indian resisted

34. The first of these Southern illustrations to appear will be found in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 10 (1866), May 5, p. 285, and June 2, p. 345, and dealt with Virginia. Succeeding issues also contained other Southern illustrations. New Orleans sketches by Davis in considerable number appeared in the issue for August 25, pp. 536, 537, and then in the issue of September 1, p. 556, was a note from Davis in New Orleans.

35. The views of Houston and of Galveston (four in number) appeared in *ibid.*, October 27, p. 684. A descriptive note by Davis appeared on p. 686. The Galveston and Houston railroad view will be found in the issue of October 6, p. 637, with descriptive comment on p. 631.

36. The quotations are from Davis' article, "A Summer on the Plains," *Harper's Magazine*, v. 36 (1868), February, pp. 292-307. Actually there must have been some previous discussion and correspondence on the subject for in the Parmelee collection is a letter of General Hancock's dated: "Headquarters Department of the Missouri, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas March 10, 1867," to Davis advising him that he was "only waiting for a proper condition of the roads to enable me to transport my supplies to the proper points, before starting on a tour of a month or six weeks in the Indian Country.

"I propose going in the direction of the Arkansas and Smoky Hill, with 1200 men—possibly a few hundred more. I had intended to redress some outrages but the late action of Congress has been such that I shall now go for the purpose simply of displaying some sufficient force. To show the Indians that we are now ready for peace or war.— Leaving to the Indian Bureau the duty of investigating the facts and indicating the course to be pursued in reference to outrages of past date. Our visit may prevent an outbreak. If one is intended, it may precipitate it. The Indians threaten to stop travel over the Overland and Pacific R. R. We will demand peaceful dispositions and also will punish aggressions or hostile acts coming under our notice.

"I expect to be absent six weeks. You will best know whether it will afford you sufficient interest to accompany us. You will have time to join me by rail and overland at Fort Harker (Fort Ellsworth) after you see in the papers that I have started from here."

Davis' reference to Fletcher Harper is made as "the Commander-in-chief of Harper's"; as is well-known, Fletcher Harper was the directing officer of *Harper's Weekly*; see *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. 8, p. 281; *Harper's Weekly*, v. 51 (1907), January 5, p. 11, Henry Mills Alden, "Recollections of an Early Editor." Alden stated: "The man who originated the *Weekly* [Fletcher Harper] really conducted it as long as he lived. Every Monday morning he brought me the scheme of the illustrated pages of the next number of the paper, leaving to me the supply and adjustment of the text for all the other pages, except the portion occupied by Mr. Curtis's [George William Curtis] editorials."

this encroachment. The newspapers of the West clamored for greater and greater aid from the army and for the extermination of every redskin. ". . . Lo, his squaws and papooses, and his relatives and tribe, [will be found to be] a set of miserable, dirty, lousy, blanketed, thieving, lying, sneaking, murdering, graceless, faithless, gut-eating skunks as the Lord ever permitted to infect the earth, and whose immediate and final extermination all men, except Indian agents and traders, should pray for" was doubtlessly the nearly universal, if not humanitarian, opinion of the frontier on the Indian question.³⁷

Urged by the press and state officials, the army decided to send Gen. W. S. Hancock, commander of the Department of the Missouri, upon the plains early in 1867 with so large a force that it would either awe the Indians or precipitate an immediate Indian war. It was this expedition which Hancock invited Davis to accompany as already described in Hancock's letter of March 10 (see Footnote 36).³⁸

Since the Davis trip of 1865 to Kansas, the railroad had advanced to Junction City, about a third of the way across the state. In early April, 1867, he was in this town but found that Hancock was already out on the plains and reported to be camped near Fort Larned (near the present town of Larned). The Santa Fe stage was about to leave Junction City as Davis arrived and as it would take him

37. The quotation is from the *Topeka Weekly Leader*, June 27, 1867. A correspondent in the *Leader* a few months earlier (September 20, 1866), however, had written, "The Smoky Hill valleys [of central and western Kansas] were the Indians paradise, and to yield this great and glorious hunting grounds up to the pale faces without a struggle would be asking too much of the poor red men."

How *lo*, an interjection, came to be used as a proper noun, a synonym for *Indian* (as it is in the text above) has always intrigued me. Dictionaries ascribe it to Pope's famous lines in his *Essay on Man* with the sentence beginning

"Lo, the poor Indian! whose untutor'd mind
Sees God in clouds, or hears him in the wind!"

I have no fault to find with this ascription for it is undoubtedly correct, but who first started using Pope's introductory *Lo* for *Indian* is entirely a different matter and for some years I have been jotting down notes when I found *Lo* used in this manner. Horace Greeley was apparently one of the first to suggest its use in this manner in the United States as far as my researches on this molehill in the path of history go. In the *New York Weekly Tribune*, December 30, 1843, p. 2, is a column devoted to the discussion of Indian affairs headed, "LO! THE POOR INDIAN!"; and a number of times in the *Tribune* between this date and the early 1860's I have found it thus used, including a heading for one of Greeley's own letters (*Daily Tribune*, July 19, 1859, p. 6).

On the frontier itself it seems to have appeared in the press about 1865 in the shortened form, *Lo*. Possibly the casual reference of Edwin C. Manning in his paper, "The Kansas State Senate of 1865 and 1866" (*Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 9 [1905-1906], p. 363), to D. W. Houston, a member of the senate in 1865, may explain it. Manning wrote of Houston's fame by stating, as if it were common knowledge, that Houston made a famous paraphrase of Pope's lines in the state senate (presumably in 1865) which read

"Lo, the poor Indian, whose untutored mind
Clothes him before and leaves him bare behind."

Undoubtedly such a statement would tickle the risibilities of a generation well versed in the ordinary dress of the Indian and this circumstance may well have given the impetus to the very common usage of *Lo* for *Indian* in the frontier press. D. W. Wilder, however, in his *Annals of Kansas* (Topeka, 1886), p. 628, under date of December 31, 1873, stated "The word *Lo*, meaning an Indian, and in general use, Prof. Dunbar learns originated with Sol. Miller [editor of the *Kansas Chief*, of White Cloud and Troy]."

38. For an extended account of frontier Indian troubles of 1864-1867 in Kansas, see Marvin H. Garfield, *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 1 (1931-1932), pp. 140-152, 326-344.



DAVIS' "SHOOTING BUFFALO FROM THE TRAINS OF THE KANSAS PACIFIC RAILROAD" (1867)

DAVIS' "INTERIOR OF THE ADOBE FORTIFICATION AT SMOKY HILL STATION [KANSAS]" (1866)





DAVIS, "INTERIOR OF FORT DODGE, KANSAS" (1867)

to his destination, he secured transportation as the only passenger. The company messenger and the driver were the only other occupants of the stage but many mail bags containing public documents filled most of the available space. In fact so weighted was the vehicle with "Pub. Docs.," as Davis called them, that it soon stuck fast in fording the Smoky Hill river near Fort Harker. Help from the fort got them out but they had scarcely started on their way before a heavy late snow set in. By nightfall they were stuck in a snowdrift with the thermometer rapidly falling. After a council of war, it was decided that the driver should unhitch his mules and attempt to make the next station, leaving Davis and the messenger "to guard the treasure and the Pub. Docs." "On leaving us," reported Davis, "the driver gave vent to the longest, most emphatic, and unsurpassable bullwhacker oath that it has ever been my bad fortune to listen to. Coming, as it did, from a man who had nine chances out of ten of freezing to death before morning, it was simply horrible." The oath must have been a gem of its kind if Davis, after four years of war and several years of extended travel, could classify it as the "most emphatic" he had ever heard.

The two—Davis and the messenger—passed a bleak night alone in the coach with the only food "corn in two states: the liquid extract, bottled; and one single hermetically-sealed can of the corn in a solid state, half-cooked." Aid did reach them in the morning, however, and in due time Davis reached Hancock's command encamped near Fort Larned. Here a fruitless Indian council led to the decision to break camp and to march west some 25 or 30 miles until they were near a large Indian village. At this locality General Hancock with Generals A. J. Smith and G. A. Custer, who, with the Seventh cavalry, had joined Hancock's command, met Roman-Nose, the celebrated war-chief of the Cheyennes and halted near their village. Again the council with the Indians was unsatisfactory and Custer was ordered the next day to surround the village but found that most of the Indians had fled during the night. Upon receipt of news, however, that one of the stage stations had been burned and station men killed by Indians, Hancock had Smith destroy the village by fire.

Moving on, Hancock had further councils with the Kiowas and Arapahoes but all proved elusive or made unsatisfactory promises. The command was finally marched to Fort Hays (near present Hays) where Hancock left the Seventh cavalry under Custer to protect the frontier and the stage stations in this neighborhood.

Davis had been with Hancock during all these marchings and

counter-marchings and when Hancock left, Davis remained with Custer, his pencil continually busy.

Custer's command was called north early in June to stem further Indian depredations, and marches to Fort McPherson (about 100 miles west of present Kearney, Neb.) and up the Platte river were made.

On this trip Davis witnessed several Indian skirmishes with the Sioux under their chief Pawnee Killer, and he was with the command when they found the remains of Lt. L. S. Kidder and ten men who had been sent from Fort Sedgwick (in present northeastern Colorado) with orders from General Sherman to Custer. Kidder's detachment had been surrounded by Indians (in present Sherman county, Kansas) and destroyed. Custer reached Fort Wallace (in present Wallace county, Kansas) early in July where he decided to allow his troops a few days' rest after their extended campaign on the plains. He, himself, with a considerable detachment, left Fort Wallace and pushed east to Fort Hays, Davis accompanying the detachment. Any decisive Indian engagements seemed unlikely and as cholera had made its appearance in frontier posts, Davis decided to give up the Indian campaign and early in August left Fort Harker by rail, which the Union Pacific, "Eastern division," had reached during his travels on the plains.³⁹

The campaign, as far as settling the Indian problem went, was a failure and the frontier press was not reticent in calling attention to this state of affairs. "Gameless, scalplless, and . . . a stupendous imposition" the Westernmost newspaper proclaimed it.⁴⁰

The frontier was obviously expecting too much of our small regular army which had its own problems in plenty. There is little

39. In this resume of the Indian campaign of 1867 I have followed Davis' own account which, in general, is in agreement with the standard accounts (such as that given by Garfield, cited in Footnote 38). It will be found as "A Summer on the Plains," *Harper's Magazine*, v. 36 (1868), February, pp. 292-307. Davis also had several earlier notes in *Harper's Weekly* written from the field during the campaign. They will be found in the *Weekly*, v. 11 (1867), May 11, pp. 301, 302; May 25, pp. 328, 329; June 29, pp. 405, 406; July 6, p. 426; September 7, p. 564. In the last citation there is quoted in part a letter from Davis written at Fort Harker, August 3 (1867). The Union Pacific Railway, Eastern division, was opened as far as Ellsworth and Fort Harker by July 15, 1867, according to "Report of the Condition and Progress of the Union Pacific Railway, E[astern], D[ivision], for the Year Ending September 30, 1867 . . ." in *Speeches of Senators Yates . . . on the Pacific Rail Road Question*, p. 72, and the *Topeka Weekly Leader*, November 7, 1867 (adv.).

For the location of army posts, I have used Garfield, "The Military Post as a Factor in the Frontier Defense of Kansas, 1865-1869," in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 1 (1931-1932), pp. 50-62. A useful map of army posts in the West will be found in *Harper's Weekly*, June 15, 1867, p. 372. The Pacific railroad lines on this map, however, mark only the proposed routes. Additional light on the Hancock campaign is also furnished by the letters of H. M. Stanley in the *Missouri Democrat*, St. Louis, and reprinted in his *My Early Travels and Adventures* . . . (London, 1895), v. 1.

40. *Junction City Weekly Union*, August 17, 1867. Frontier towns and Western transportation companies, of course, were expecting far too much of the army as General Sherman harassedly pointed out under date of July 1, 1867: "Were I or the department commanders to send guards to every point where they are clamored for, we would need alone on the plains a hundred thousand men, mostly of cavalry. Each spot of every road, and each little settlement along our five thousand miles of frontier, wants its regiment of cavalry or infantry to protect it against the combined power of all the Indians, . . ."—*Report of the Secretary of War, House Ex. Doc. No. 1, 40 Cong., 2 Sess. (1867-1868)*, pp. 65-68.

doubt, however, that their tactics might have been improved. "H—l," a plainsman is reported to have said, "talk about regulars hunting Indians! They go out, and when night comes they blow the bugle to let the Indians know that they are going to sleep. In the morning they blow the bugle to let the Indians know they are going to get up. Between their bugle and great trains, they manage to keep the red-skins out of sight."⁴¹

Whatever the military value of the campaign, Davis had secured a first-hand knowledge of Western warfare as it was then practiced; an opportunity for observation that was almost unique in the annals of American illustration. From his summer's experience on the plains—nearly four months in the saddle, extending over a distance which Davis estimated as some 3,000 miles—there resulted many, many illustrations which appeared both in *Harper's Weekly* and in *Harper's Magazine*. Among the more notable of these illustrations we may list "The Coach in the Storm," "Lodges of the Chiefs in the Indian Village Captured by General Hancock," near Fort Larned; "Sutler's Store at Fort Dodge, Kansas" (reproduced on the cover of this issue), "The Indian War—General Custer's Scouts," "Buffalo-Hunting on the Plains by Officers of the United States Army" (some of the sketches in this group, Mrs. Custer related, were drawn in General Custer's tent at Fort Hays), "Camp Pets of the Seventh United States Cavalry," and a sketch of Davis himself in his buckskin uniform dated, "Fort Harker, August 3d '67."⁴²

41. Junction City *Weekly Union*, July 13, 1867.

42. These illustrations and many others not listed will be found in *Harper's Magazine*, February, 1868 (15 illustrations, although in general not as interesting as those which appeared in the *Weekly*); *Harper's Weekly*, v. 11 (1867), May 11, p. 301 (three illustrations), May 25, pp. 328, 329 (six illustrations; two of Fort Dodge reproduced in this issue), June 8, p. 357 (four illustrations; two possibly are after photographs), June 29, p. 405 (two illustrations), July 6, pp. 424, 425 (nine illustrations of buffalo hunting), August 3, p. 484 (four illustrations), August 17, p. 513 (two illustrations) and p. 516 (three illustrations), September 7, p. 564 (four illustrations); oddly enough a number of these illustrations have already been reproduced in the *Kansas Historical Collections*. Only two are credited to T. R. Davis, however, and no information at all is supplied concerning him; see Mrs. Frank C. Montgomery, "Fort Wallace and Its Relation to the Frontier," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. 17 (1926-1928), pp. 189-283.

It should also be pointed out that illustrations by other artists than Davis were published concerning the Indian war of 1867 in *Harper's Weekly*. Chief among these were several illustrations by Philip D. Fisher. They will be found in the *Weekly*, v. 11 (1867), April 27, p. 268 (shows the Hancock expedition encamped at Fort Harker on April 2, 1867, before Davis reached it); July 27, p. 468 (two illustrations). Fisher also had four illustrations of scenes along the newly-constructed Union Pacific, Eastern division (through Kansas), in the issue for June 15, p. 373. Fisher was a civil engineer employed by the railroad and his name occurs frequently in Kansas newspapers of the late 1860's. He was apparently a Civil War veteran and a native of Ohio; see mention in *Topeka Leader*, April 25, 1867; Junction City *Weekly Union*, July 27 and August 3, 1867.

The illustrations of J. D. Howland at the Indian peace treaty at Medicine Lodge in the fall of 1867 should likewise be included in the pictorial record of Indian wars. I hope to consider Howland later in this series.

Three illustrations after photographs and sketches of A. R. Calhoun and William A. Bell of the Indian war appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, July 27, 1867, p. 468. Calhoun and Bell were members of a surveying party of the Union Pacific. Calhoun was said to be an artist and correspondent for the *Philadelphia Press*; for Bell, see his book, *New Tracks in North America* (London, 1869). Mrs. Custer's reference to the Davis sketches at Fort Hays will be found in her book, *Tenting on the Plains* (New York, 1889), p. 610.

Five other illustrations, not connected with the Indian war, were undoubtedly made by Davis on his trip to the plains in the summer of 1867. One of these was a picture of a beaver dam on the Pawnee fork of the Arkansas river which Davis viewed on his travels of that summer; another was a sketch of buffalo shooting from the trains of the Union Pacific railroad (reproduced *facing*, p. 352) which Davis may have seen near Fort Harker; still another was the full-page illustration, "Prairie-Chicken Shooting in Kansas," also witnessed after Davis' return to eastern Kansas, and lastly, two farming scenes—plowing on the plains of Kansas.⁴³

In the next few years after Davis' return to the East, however, many Western illustrations continued to come from his pen. Not only did illustrations appear but Davis contributed two more articles on the West to *Harper's Magazine*: "The Buffalo Range" and "Winter on the Plains."⁴⁴

There is no evidence that Davis made other trips west of the Mississippi than those already described. Nevertheless, a number of illustrations of Indian troubles on the plains in 1868 credited to Davis appeared in *Harper's Weekly*. These must be regarded as fictitious for Davis was simply using his imagination and his past experience in producing them. These illustrations centered primarily on Custer's Indian campaign of late fall, 1868, and particularly on the battle of the Washita, which occurred on November 27, 1868. It is quite certain that Davis was in the East during this campaign and the notes which accompanied all of these illustrations carefully refrained from mentioning that the scenes were drawn by an eyewitness.⁴⁵

To my mind one of the most interesting of all of Davis' Western illustrations is his full-page view, "Pilgrims on the Plains." Although

43. In the order listed above these will be found in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 11 (1867), August 10, p. 500, December 14, p. 792, December 21, p. 805; v. 12 (1868), March 28, p. 196, May 9, p. 292. Davis also had an extremely interesting plowing illustration (locality identified as Illinois, however) in the *Weekly* for September 23, 1871, pp. 900, 901. The illustration depicting the buffalo shooting from the trains was atrociously engraved, in fact, the engraving in general of all of Davis' illustrations was poor; as a result, this illustration (buffalo shooting) does not possess the interest that is in a similar scene I have attributed to Henry Worrall (see No. 3 of this series) and which appeared in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, June 3, 1871, p. 193.

44. The first will be found in *Harper's Magazine*, v. 38 (1869), January, pp. 147-163, and the second, v. 39 (1869), June, pp. 22-34. The first contained 15 illustrations and the second 11.

45. The illustrations referred to above will be found in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 12 (1868), December 26, p. 825; v. 13 (1869), January 16, p. 41, and March 27, p. 204. In the *Weekly* for December 12, 1868, p. 788, is an illustration of a Philadelphia locality which is identified as the scene of a murder occurring on November 22, 1868. Davis made the illustration and made it after November 22 and before (several days to a week before) December 12. As the battle of the Washita occurred on November 27, 1868, I believe that the Philadelphia illustration rules out any possibility that Davis was on the Custer campaign. Still better evidence on this point is the lack of any positive statement that Davis was present. If he had been, the *Weekly* would have stated it. I take some time to labor this point as these illustrations have been used in "histories" of the Custer campaign as actual scenes in the campaign.

doubtless it depicts no actual event, Davis undoubtedly viewed similar scenes on his Western trips of 1865 and 1867. In fact, in his article, "A Stage Ride to Colorado," he stated: "Long trains of 'prairie schooners'—a name by which the plainsman designates the huge canvas-covered wagons used for the transportation of freight across this ocean of land—were passed so frequently as to become too familiar to occasion remark. The trains give a picturesqueness to the plains that greatly enhances the journey across."⁴⁶

True, Davis was here discussing the freight trains but undoubtedly emigrants and emigrant trains which his illustration depicted were seen many times. The illustration itself appeared shortly after the ceremony of the joining of the rails of the Central and Union Pacific railroads and supposedly called attention to a mode of travel that would soon be a thing of the past, once the transcontinental railroad began its regular operation. It was many years, however, before horse, mule or ox-drawn emigrant trains were to disappear from the plains.

One of the last of the Davis Western illustrations was his "Slaughter of Buffaloes on the Plains."⁴⁷ Here again, he was using his observations of earlier travels to draw the picture.

Davis continued to contribute to *Harper's Weekly* for some years after the buffalo illustration mentioned above but few, if any, were Westerns. His contributions to the *Weekly* ceased about 1884 and from this date until his death in 1894 he was engaged in free-lance work. About 1880 he moved to Asbury Park, N. J., and his studio on the beach became well-known. His Western experiences continued to interest him during his remaining years and in the last few years of his life he attempted to work up into two articles some of his recollections of those years.⁴⁸

His early career had indeed been adventurous. It is unfortunate that a complete biography of Davis has never been written. Even

46. *Harper's Magazine*, v. 35 (1867), July, p. 138. The illustration, "Pilgrims on the Plains," will be found in *Harper's Weekly*, v. 13 (1869), June 12, p. 377.

47. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 16 (1872), February 24, p. 164. There were a few Davis Western illustrations even after this date. For example, "Young Bucks on the War-Path" and "Young Bucks Returning With Spoils" in *ibid.*, v. 17 (1873), May 17, p. 413. Both of these were redrawn by Sol Eytinge, Jr.

48. Manuscript material in the Parmelee collection included two unfinished and unrevised pieces by Davis. These have recently been published in *The Westerners Brand Book 1945-1946* (Chicago, 1947), as "Henry M. Stanley's Indian Campaign in 1867," pp. 101-114, and "With Generals in Their Camp Homes: General George A. Custer," pp. 115-130. As is evident from their content both were written late in life; in the first he referred to the disappearance of Editor S. S. Conant (of *Harper's Weekly*). Conant disappeared in 1885 (*New York Tribune*, January 29, 1885, p. 1; February 9, 1885, p. 1) and therefore the article was written probably in the late 1880's. In the second article he specifically dated it in the text as "1890." It is well to remember therefore that both of these articles were recollections colored by the lapse of time and by the happenings of the years intervening between their writing and the occurrence of the events described by Davis.

in 1867 *Harper's Weekly* was able to give this brief resume of his career:

Mr. Davis has been a traveling correspondent of the *Weekly* since March, 1861. His first trip in our service, through the South with Mr. W. H. Russell, was made a short time before the commencement of the war, and is considered by Mr. Davis as the most dangerous journey he ever made. During the war Mr. Davis witnessed the capture of Port Royal; the battle between the *Monitor* and *Merrimac*; the conflict at Shiloh; the capture of Corinth; the first bombardment of Vicksburg by Porter; the battle of Antietam; the surrender of Vicksburg; the seizure of Morris Island; the battle of Chickamauga; the siege and battle of Chattanooga; the Atlanta campaign and the Grand March to the sea, and thence through the Carolinas. He was present at the laying of the Atlantic Cable; rode 2600 miles in a stage-coach across the plains; and for the last six [four] months has been roving over the plains with General Custer after the Indians.⁴⁹

And this brief summary of six most active years of Davis' life does not state that during the war he was twice wounded. On one of these occasions he is reported to have held off surgeons at the point of a pistol from amputating a leg!

Small wonder then that as the years advanced Davis cared to travel less and less. The effort of intense living in these six years may well have contributed to a relatively early death, for he died in 1894.

About his skill as a draftsman and artist we do not know a great deal as his original work is almost nonexistent. Many of the woodcut reproductions of his work are extremely crude but he, of course, was not responsible for the final appearance of his illustrations. He had some art training, according to one brief account of his life, under Herrick, presumably of Boston or New York. The work of American art historians, however, has been so meager and so poor that we have no knowledge of Herrick. Possibly he was H. W. Herrick, an illustrator whose work will be found occasionally in the 1860's.

It is probable, too, that Davis received informal art instruction from James Walker with whom he became well acquainted very early in his career. Walker, Davis' senior by some 20 years and familiarly called "Pop" by Davis, was achieving a considerable reputation as a battle painter when Davis first met him. A veteran of the Mexican war, Walker depicted on canvas the storming of Chapultepec, a painting which received wide acclaim in its day. Later he became still better known for two Civil War canvases,

49. *Harper's Weekly*, v. 11 (1867), September 7, p. 564.

"The Battle of Lookout Mountain" and "The Third Day of Gettysburg." It seems reasonable to suppose, considering the mutual interests of the two men, together with Walker's more extensive experience in the profession, that Walker would be an important influence on the younger man's career.⁵⁰

Davis was connected with at least one Civil War panorama, "The Battle of Missionary Ridge," either as designer or adviser. Late in life he wrote an account of "How a Great Battle Panorama Is Made." Born in Boston in 1840, he crowded into his 54 years experiences that few other American artists and illustrators could equal in number and variety.⁵¹

50. James Walker's connection with Davis was called to my attention by Mrs. Penny-packer, a daughter of Mr. Davis, now deceased. Information on Walker (1819-1889) has been secured from obituaries following Walker's death on August 29, 1889, and which appeared in the Watsonville (Cal.) *Pajaronian*, September 5, 1889, and the San Francisco *Call*, August 30 and September 4, 1889. I am indebted to the Watsonville Public Library and the California State Library for these accounts. A brief sketch of Walker will also be found in *Appleton's Annual Encyclopedia*, 1889, p. 651.

51. Davis died in Asbury Park, N. J., on November 10, 1894. The biographical notes given in the concluding paragraphs come from obituaries in the *New York Tribune*, November 11, 1894, p. 7, and a clipping from the Asbury Park (N. J.) *Shore Press*, November 10, 1894, furnished by Mr. Davis' daughter. Some biographical data is also given in *The White House Porcelain Service* (New York, 1879). (Davis designed this service in the spring and summer of 1879.) Letters from Davis also appeared in *Harper's Weekly* during the war and extend somewhat our knowledge of his life (see especially the *Weekly*, June 22, 1861, p. 397; June 20, 1863, p. 395; September 26, 1863, pp. 621, 622). He is also mentioned early in his career in the *New York Tribune*, July 21, 1861, p. 4.

The Civil war panorama Davis described in an article in the magazine *St. Nicholas*, New York, v. 15 (1886), December, pp. 99-112.

The Diary of James R. Stewart, Pioneer of Osage County

APRIL, 1855-APRIL, 1857; MAY, 1858-NOVEMBER, 1860
PART FOUR: AUGUST, 1859-NOVEMBER, 1860

BURLINGAME
AUGUST [1859]

MON 1

Beautiful all day— Read Obstetrics all day. A show—The Meyers family—exhibited in Burlingame to-night. I attended — was not much— took Mrs Denison to the show.

TUES 2

Showery— roads muddy. Read nearly all day.

WED 3

Fine all day— few drops of rain. Read some— made lot of pills— Called to see few sick folks— took a ride over to Rices— bought some onions— stoped to see Perrills,¹²⁰— home again— bought a town Lot from Nick Schuyler for fifty dollars— Commenced Baching this evening, traded off my shot gun— wrote this days diary.

THUR 4

Fine & warm. Read— wrote— & Loafed.

FRI 5

Fine all day. Worked short time in morning at cattle shed— Loafed— read & C.

[SANTA FE ROAD]

SAT 6

Very warm— good breeze. Fixed up this morning to start down to Kansas city. Started after dinner— traveled on till nearly midnight— had passenger with me.

SUN 7

Very warm. Rolled on all day— reached Marian.¹²¹

120. John Perrill and his three sons, John (or Joseph) Price, George W. and Nathan Auvil, at this time lived on their claim on Dagoon creek. John and John Price Perrill had come to Kansas in the spring of 1856, and the other two sons joined them in April, 1858. Price, the oldest son, surveyed the original townsite of Burlingame for P. C. Schuyler and S. R. Caniff.—Reminiscences of George W. and Nathan A. Perrill, in *Early Days in Kansas* . . . , C. R. Green's Historical Series (Olathe, 1913), v. 2, pp. [55, 56].

121. Marion was originally called Washington, and in the 1880's the name was changed to Globe. It was located on the Santa Fe trail in southwest Douglas county, ten miles west of Baldwin and 17 miles south of Lecompton.

MON 8

Still warm. Reached Union town¹²² to-day.

TEUS 9

Warm— warm, reached the old Quaker mission¹²³

[KANSAS CITY]

WED 10

Very hot & sultry. Reached Kansas City & Looked once more upon the banks & waters of the old Missouri. got my Load & turned homewards— came out about 6 or 8 miles.

[SANTA FE ROAD]

THURS 11

Still very warm. Reached Cedar Creek— camped on west side of same.

FRI 12

Warm— threatenng rain. reached Black Jack to-day.

SAT 13

Hard rain Last night,— Cloudy this forenoon— Clear & very warm in the afternoon. Reached Marian to-day.

SUN 14

Clouds & Sun alternate. Reached Burlingame late in the evening.

BURLINGAME

MON 15

Very warm & sultry. Loafed round— read &C.

TEUS 16

Still warm. Read— Loafed &C.

WED 17

Still very warm. Read— attended store for Mc[Donald] & Rowe [Bothel]. Bought a house & Lot from Antone Sutter gave in payment my team & Lot.

THURS 18

Warm as usual. Lay round doing but Little.

FRI 19

More pleasant. cool evening. Took a walk in morning up to Wrights— stopped to see Carri[e] Paddock on the way.— home again. read in afternoon.

122. The Uniontown referred to was in the southwest corner of Johnson county, about a mile north and east of present Edgerton, where the Santa Fe trail crossed Bull creek.

123. The Quaker mission to the Shawnee Indians of Kansas was established near the Methodist mission near present Kansas City. Buildings were erected in 1836 and a school was opened in 1837.

SAT 20

Clouds & sun alternate. Worked a little to-day making hay.
Read some— made pills &C.

SUN 21

Very warm— few drops of rain. Took a ride in morning up
to McDonalds Claim— back again Read— wrote— slept
&C ballance the day.

MON 22

Stiff breeze. Worked for Mc & Rowe helping get up hay.

TEUS 23

Good breeze from north. Worked at hay in forenoon. Loafed
during the afternoon.

WED 24

Fine day. Read all forenoon. went up to Howards in after-
noon with Bratton & [D.] Griswold to appraise some stray
Stock, received a letter from O G Hazen, answered it.

THURS 25

Fine & warm. Took a notion this morning to turn my atten-
tion to the Study of Law. Consequently went up to Rogers's—
got Blackstone¹²⁴— came back & commenced reading.

FRI 26

Stiff breeze through the day— some rain in evening— &
heavy rain after night. Read Blackstone all day.

SAT 27

Very mudy— cool. Read Law all day. attended meeting in
evening to organize Republican Club was appointed on com-
mittee to make constitution for same

SUN 28

Cloudy all day. Read Blackstone.

MON 29

A fine warm day. Read Blackstone all day.

TEUS 30

Fine all day. Read Blackstone all day.

WED 31

Rainy all day. Read Blackstone. Set up at night with Mil-
lissa Deming who Died about 4 OClock P M. "Tis a fearful
thing to see a human soul take flight in any shape." Another
Dear one is gone,— one more memento that all are mortal.

124. Sir William Blackstone (1723-1780), *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, first published in four volumes, 1765-1769.

SEPTEMBER [1859]

THURS 1

Fine all day. Slept in founnoon. Read in afternoon

FRI 2

Fine and warm. Read all day. The funeral of Millisa Deming took place to-day.

SAT 3

Cool in morning, warm in day Read Blackstone.

SUN 4

Cold & raw all day raining Slowly in the evening.

MON 5

Cloudy & sun alternate, little cool. Read all day. Law, went up to Featherly[s]

TEUS 6

Very pleasant. Read Blackstone. Played a big game of Eucher at night with [D. B. ?] Mcdougal— Fred [Schuyler] & Mitch[ell]

WED 7

Fine pleasant weather to-day. Read Blackstone— played checkers— & at night heard a speech from Judge Wakefield.

THURS 8

Stiff breeze— pleasant. Read Law— played stiff game of Eucher in the evening with Mcdougal— Mitchel & Fred Schuyler

FRI 9

Stiff South Wind all day. Read Law— heard an adress from Jim Lane in afternoon,¹²⁵ and one from A L Winins [Alfred L. Winans] after night, bought some apples to day and have eaten too many of them— feel rather badly.

SAT 10

Fine and warm but high wind. Read Law all day. Heavy Storm & rain after night. a little hail

SUN 11

Fine all day. cool in evening. Read some— slept heap.

125. At this time Jim Lane and his law partner, James Christian, had offices in the Duncan building in Lawrence and were advertising their services. "The Kansas struggles being over, Mr. Lane will devote himself *exclusively* to the practice, and trusts by strict attention to business, to receive a portion of the business of the people of Kansas." The italics are his own. However, the same editor who was paid for the advertising had this to say of Lane's legal career: "A short time since, Jim Lane retired from politics to private life. Since his return from the East, he has taken up political agitation and is once more a target for editorial criticism. We had no confidence that he was in earnest, then, and we are no less sure that he defends the villainous apportionment of the Wyandotte Constitution, because he hopes to reach the U. S. Senate. The Constitution must have been in a desperate condition to require Lane to bid good-by to private life."—*The Kansas Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, August 20, 1859.

MON 12

Fine all day. Read faithfully all day.

TEUS 13

Cloudy but warm. Read all day. attended Democratic at night— dident occur.

WED 14

Warm & fine. Read all day— played big Game of Eucher at night at Mcdougals.

THURS 15

Cloudy in fournoon— clear & very fine in the afternoon. Read faithfully all day.

FRI 16

Very warm— but good breeze. Read Law through the day. attended Republican club in evening.

SAT 17

Warm with stiff breeze. Was sick through the day. better at night, went to primary of Republicans to appoint delegates to County Convention, was chosen as one of them.

SUN 18

Cloudy & some rain at night. Not well. Lay in bed most the day.

MON 19

Rather Cool. Did but little.

TEUS 20

Pleasant but cool. Read some, Loafed round some.

WED 21

Very fine all day. Delegate convention met to-day. attended it as Delegate. a spirited meeting at school house in the evening, was chairman of same.

THUR 22

Fine all day. Loafed round— read & C

FRI 23

Beautiful all day— Read the Statutes of Kansas

SAT 24

Very fine all day. Read Statutes Laws of Kansas.

SUN 25

A fine shower. Very sick with fever all day.

MON 26

Warm— clouds & sun alternate Better today— read some.

TEUS 27

Fine all day with good breeze. Read mostly all day.

WED 28

Fine with good breeze. Did but little of any thing. Wrote some after night.

THUR 29

Fine through the day fine Shower at night. Read Law all day.

FRI 30

A little muddy this morn. beautiful and drying all day. Read some— Loafed round some, played checkers— and, after night, had a big game of Eucher of one hundred points, with Medougal— Mitch & Fred Schuyler. received some mail from New Castle.

OCTOBER [1859]

SAT 1

Fine and warm. Read— Loafed— played Checkeras, &C.

SUN 2

A most beautiful day. Read some wrote a letter to O. G. Hazen.

MON 3

Beautiful weather Read &C day.

TEUS 4

Beautiful all day. Sat as Inspector of election.¹²⁶ Received a letter from O. G. Hazen.

WED 5

Little cool this morning, north wind all day, pleasant in evening. Had chill to-day, sick in bed.

THURS 6

Fine fall weather. Did but little of any thing.

FRI 7

Very fine weather. Read,— played checkeras &C

SAT 8

Rather Cool. Read all day.

SUN 9

Pretty hard frost this morning. Cool through the day. Sat by fire all day & read Wrote a letter to O G Hazen.

MON 10

Pleasant all day. Worked at cleaning out my cellar. attended school meeting at night.

126. The Wyandotte constitution was ratified on this date by a vote of 10,421 to 5,530. A section safeguarding homesteads against alienation or forced sale, except for taxes and certain other obligations, was adopted by a separate vote, 8,788 to 4,772.—*Kansas Constitutional Convention, A Reprint of the Proceedings and Debates of the Convention Which Framed the Constitution of Kansas at Wyandotte in July, 1859* (Topeka, 1920), pp. 645, 671; "Proclamation" of Gov. Samuel Medary, November 1, 1859, in *Herald of Freedom*, November 5, 1859.

TEUS 11

Fine smoky weather. Read newspapers— Loafed round &C.

WED 12

Stiff south breeze— threatenng rain Read history— "Willards"— played Eucher at night.

THURS 13

A Very fine day. Read— attended store— Loafed &C.

FRI 14

Fine fall weather. Read history— Willards.

SAT 15

South wind— threatenng a change Read all day, papers— history &C.

SUN 16

Quite Cool. Strong wind. Sat by fire all day, & read.

MON 17

Still very cool. Sick, sat by fire.

THURS [TUES.] 18

Pleasant— but still little cool. Democratick convention met here to day— Judge Schuyler accepted the nomination for Councilman *horrible*— attended Convention as spectator.¹²⁷

WED 19

Cool wind but pleasant Moved s[t]ove et cetera into my house, preparatory to living there. Commenced with Mc[Donald] & Rowe to keep house at home.

THURS 20

Pleasant. Fixed up about the house, and read some. was very sick in afternoon. went after Load of wood with Rowe.

FRI 21

Fine & warm. Went over to Henry smiths after Load of wood, got it and returned— attend a most interesting meeting at night to hear Anson Burlingame speak, was most delighted with him.— Lik[e] him fine.¹²⁸ Read some in testimony of the rocks.¹²⁹

SAT 22

Beautiful all day. Sat in house nearly all day reading newspapers &C. received a letter from Molly Jack.

127. Schuyler was defeated by his Republican opponent, Chester Thomas, at the election on November 8 by a vote of 909 to 238.—D. W. Wilder, *The Annals of Kansas* (1886), p. 283.

128. "Hon. Anson Burlingame, of Mass., is in Kansas and will take the stump for Marcus J. Parrott [Republican candidate for delegate in congress who was elected on November 8]. Even his aid will not save the bastard Republicanism of Kansas."—*Herald of Freedom*, October 8, 1859.

129. *The Testimony of the Rocks; or Geology in Its Bearings on the Two Theologies, Natural and Revealed* . . . (Edinburgh and Boston, 1857), by Hugh Miller (1802-1856), Scottish geologist and author. The book dealt with the borderland between science and religion.—*Dictionary of National Biography*, v. 37, pp. 408-410.

SUN 23

Beautiful day. Fixed up for buffalo hunt.

MON 24

Beautiful all day. Lay round waiting for a start to the plains.

[SANTA FE ROAD]

TEUS 25

Beautiful all day. Started out this morning on a Buffalo hunt with Antone Sutter. traveled on Santafee road— west. Camped for the night on elm Creek¹³⁰— overtook and traveled with several others on a like excursion— from our own neighborhood.

WED 26

Cold & high north wind. Moved on— reached big John creek.¹³¹ Camped there over night.

THURS 27

Very Cold & windy. Started on— took chill, vomited severely — was very sick all day. reached Elm Creek 8 miles west of Council Grove. Lay up balance of the day & night.

FRI 28

Still quite cool but moderating. Feel better to-day— traveled on—passed Diamond Springs, & camped on prarie.

SAT 29

Quite pleasant. Rolled on all day— reached Cotton wood. Stopped here & camped over night, had some Buffalo meat for supper.

SUN 30

Pleasant. Traveled on— reached Runing turkey¹³²

MON 31

Fine with S[t]iff breeze. Rolled on west-ward all day. reached a place called "*big muddy*" made a big fire of Buffalo Chips. & camped over night.

"A little nonsense now & then, is relished by the best of men."

KANSAS PLAINS
NOVEMBER [1859]

TEUS 1

Beautiful day. Started out early— reached the Little Arkansas— Stopped for breakfast— then on to Jarvis Creek¹³³— Saw Buffalo to-day— one of our party killed a Bull.

130. In Waterloo township, present northeastern Lyon county.

131. Big John creek is in Morris county, about a mile east of Council Grove.

132. Running Turkey creek, in McPherson county, flows southwest and joins Dry Turkey creek about three miles southwest of Elyria. These two streams thus form the main body of Turkey creek, which in turn is a tributary of the Little Arkansas river.

133. Jarvis creek, in Rice county, about four miles east of Lyons, flows south to join Cow creek, which heads in northeast Barton county.

WED 2

Fine all day. Traveled north west from Santafee road— towards the head of Cow Creek— Camped on prairie & hunted Buffalo, saw numbers of them— killed one.

THURS 3

Pleasant all day. Killed a Bull to-day— left camp towards evening and moved on till we reached the timber on Cow Creek. Camped here over night not succeeding very well in our hunt — so far—

FRI 4

Beautiful day this Took a north west course this morning,— traveled 6 or 8 miles met some Kaw Indians— got them to kill us some Buffalo dressed & loaded up our meat. turned in the direction of home— went short distance— Camped on east side of Cow Creek.

SAT 5

Cold wind from the North. Traveled on— reached Santafee road about noon— stoped at Jarvis creek and got dinner— then on to Little Arkansas— camped here.

[SANTA FE ROAD]

SUN 6

Very high wind from south. Rolled on all day— camped on the Prarie between the two Turkey Creeks.

MON 7

High wind all day Rolled on as fast as we could. Crossed Cottonwood— and made about 8 miles on east side of it.

TEUS 8

Pleasant but a little cool. Moved on— reached west elm creek & camped there.

WED 9

Quite cool. Still on— passed Council Grove— reached [1]42 Cre[e]k. camped.

THURS 10

A little cool. Struck out this morning on foot in advance of the teams— padled on to Wilmington Stoped and got dinner — rested Short time— then home— reached home about sundown quite satisfied with Buffalo hunting

BURLINGAME

FRI 11

Pleasant day but stormy night. Sat by fire— reading newspapers.

SAT 12

A Skift of snow on the ground this morning & still snowing. The Coldest day we have had this fall. Sat by fire— most all day. did few Chores about the house.

SUN 13

Moderating, Little windy yet Read some— wrote a petition for Postmaster— Hubbel, mended Pants & C—

MON 14

Fine all day. Had a severe chill, very sick.

TEUS 15

A pleasant day. Not very well. Commenced to read Woods practice of medicine.

WED 16

Stiff south breeze. Read some— attended Store in the afternoon for Mc[donald] & Rowe [Bothel].

THURS 17

Rather a fine day. Read medicine, attended a meeting after night to listen to *Col. Vaughn* & M. F. Conway talking a while. Liked Vaughn firstrate.¹³⁴

FRI 18

Still pleasant. Read & Cut wood alternately. received a letter from O G Hazen.

SAT 19

Moderate. Bought a winter Coat this morning & some socks — Read Wood through the day— heard Gov— Medary make a speech at night— & shake his old head.

SUN 20

Damp— rained some Last night. Read & Sat by fire all day.

MON 21

Fine & rather warm. Read— Started a petition for having Judge Schuyler appointed Post-master— received a letter from O G Hazen— attended political meeting at night— heard John Martin & Mr Hawkens.¹³⁵

TEUS 22

Read all day— took a walk up to Dodges in the evening.

134. Martin F. Conway was the Republican candidate for representative in congress under the state organization established by the Wyandotte constitution. He defeated the Democratic nominee, J. A. Halderman, at the election on December 8 by a vote of 7,674 to 5,567. Col. John C. Vaughan, lawyer and newspaper editor, was a lifelong opponent of slavery, though a native of South Carolina. With his son, Champion, he had come to Kansas in 1857, and purchased the *Leavenworth Times*, which was supporting Conway's candidacy. Vaughan, Conway, B. F. Simpson and J. P. Hatterscheidt were scheduled to speak at several points in Breckenridge and Shawnee counties, and at Superior, Osage county, November 15-19.—*Leavenworth Daily Times*, November 15, 1859.

135. John Martin, Topeka lawyer, was the Democratic candidate for representative from Shawnee county. H. C. Hawkins, co-editor of the *Topeka Tribune*, was stumping the territory with him.—*Topeka Tribune*, November 26, 1859.

WED 23

Quite warm— rained at night. Read all day.

THURS 24

South wind— warm— cloudy. Read— attended political meeting at night.

FRI 25

Windy but still pretty good. Went after a Load of Wood in forenoon.—Wrote a letter to Molly Jack & read in the afternoon.

SAT 26

Fine all day. Went after a Load of Wood in morning— attended Demings Auction in the afternoon, wrote & read after night.

SUN 27

Fine fall weather— Read Some— attended church— hear Rev. Brant talk— also heard him at night.

MON 28

Beautiful day. Loafed round some— read Law— attended Lyceum after night. received a note from Carrie Paddock.

TEUS 29

A very fine warm day. Read Law some— Loafed round some — got possession of the Post-office, & settled up with Deming — attended to Post-office Went up to Dodges with Carrie Paddock & back again—

WED 30

Warm with strong South wind— Some sign of rain. Spent some time in the morning settling the Post-office affairs with Deming—and attending to the duties of the office— then read Law some— and New York Tribune, was busy nearly all day.

[DECEMBER, 1859]

THURS 1

Exceedingly Cold & windy. Sat by the fire & read Law all day.

FRI 2

Colder than ever— the Coldest day this fall. Sat by fire and read Law.

SAT 3

Cold & frosty but sunny— and moderating a little. In the Post-office most of the day— read newspapers some— Attended a Caucus in the evening and was nominated as candidate for Squire— also a meeting of Bachelors to take measures for a festival on New Years— was appointed on thier committees.

SUN 4

Cold & frosty. In the house reading Law all day.

MON 5

Freezing very hard— the coldest day and night we have had. In the house all day.

TEUS 6

Very Cold & frosty— This is election day to Elect a full board of officers under the Wyandotte Constitution— I was elected Justice of the Peace.

WED 7

Moderating but still cool— Read Law & Loafed all day.

THURS 8

Sunny & pleasant but cool wind. Went after a Load of wood to-day Choped some— read &C— wrote in the evening—

FRI 9

A most beautiful day. Had a light chill to day.

SAT 10

A most beautiful day. Read newspapers & cut wood. attended of course to my Post-office duties.

SUN 11

Fine clear & sunny— Atended Price Perills funeral.¹³⁶

MON 12

A most beautiful day. Atended to Post-office & Read &c.

TEUS 13

Fine but growing cooler— Read— attended Post-office & Store.

WED 14

A fine sunny day. Paid the school a visit— Read Post Laws— Cut wood attended store &C—

THURS 15

Fine warm weather. Read Post-offices Laws, & cut wood—

FRI 16

Still very good weather— Cook— Copic— Stephens— & others— the Harpers ferry insurrectioners are to be hung to-day¹³⁷— Read— cut wood— attended Post-office— & also a meeting at the school house in the evening.

136. John (or Joseph) Price Perrill, eldest son of John Perrill, was killed while returning from a buffalo hunt. He was looking for his strayed oxen when he was shot in the back, by whom it was never known. He was 24 years old.—Reminiscences by George W. and Nathan A. Perrill, in Green, *op. cit.*, p. [55]; James Rogers, "History of Osage County, Kansas," in *An Illustrated Historical Atlas of Osage County, Kansas* (Philadelphia, 1879), p. 10.

137. John E. Cook, Edwin Coppoc, Shields Green and John Copeland, Jr., were executed on December 16, 1859, for their part in John Brown's raid on the U. S. arsenal at Harper's Ferry. Two other members of the group, Aaron Dwight Stevens and Albert Hazlett, were hanged March 16, 1860.—Oswald Garrison Villard, *John Brown, 1800-1859, A Biography Fifty Years After* (Boston and New York, 1910), pp. 570, 580. Cook had been a clerk in the *Herald of Freedom* office at Lawrence in the winter of 1856-1857.—*Herald of Freedom*, November 26, 1859.

SAT 17

Pleasant— but growing cool— Read papers & Post Laws all day.

SUN 18

Cold & windy— freezing. Read & sat by fire all day.

MON 19

Very Cold— Read & attended to Post-office.

TEUS 20

Cold as ever. Read & attended Post-office.

WED 21

Cold— Cold— Read & loafed &C—

THURS 22

Still cold but moderating. Commenced fixing up my house for A Post-office— had Nick Schuyler helping me—

FRI 23

Moderating— Still working at Post-office

SAT 24

Pleasant— sunny Received 2 letters— worked at Post-office— Moved it to-day to my new room.

SUN 25

Christmass A Very fine day. Read & attended Post-office.—

MON 26

Fine all day, getting a litt[l]e cool in even. Read and in Post-office.

TEUS 27

A pleasant sunny day. Attended the Office & read newspapers

WED 28

Still pleasant Atended the office— Read

THURS 29

Growing Cold— In the Office all day.

FRI 30

Cold as blazes. In the office— attended Bachelors festival at night— had big time.

SAT 31

Cold all day. Attended office all day.

JANUARY 1860

SUN 1

Cold & Windy. Sat by the fire reading newspapers.

MON 2

Moderating— south wind. Worked at making out Quarterly returns of Post office

TEUS 3

Rather pleasant— Read some— & made up the returns of Post-Office.

WED 4

Still somewhat pleasant. hard frost at night. Read Life of Sheakspear.

THURS 5

Growing colder very fast. Read Sheakespear— The Tempest & attended Post-office. Mrs C D Bush was buried to-day.

FRI 6

Cold south wind & some rain in the forenoon— Cleared off in the evening very pleasant. Read Sheakspear through the day. Received & gave out a very large mail in the evening— received several letters— one from O G Hazen wrote two letters myself.

SAT 7

Cool & Very pleasant. Read "Merry Wives of Winsor." Wrote three or for letters to corespondents

SUN 8

Fine & warm. Read Laws of Kansas.

MON 9

Very fine indeed. Read— cut some wood— attended to duties of Post-office, &C &C.

TEUS 10

A most confounded cold change Read & sat by fire all day.

WED 11

Very cold & stormy. Read Kansas Laws— attended Church at night.

THURS 12

Moderating— much warmer. Read & attended the Office.

FRI 13

Quite pleasant. Read Laws of Kansas. received a number of letters & papers.

SAT 14

Very beautiful all day. Read newspapers all day. went up to Geo Hoovers in the evening.

SUN 15

Fine & pleasant all day. Read & Wrote letters.

MON 16

South wind— pleasant. Read Law. attended Post-office.

TEUS 17

Fine with south-west breeze Read Law, & in the Office.
Called at Geo Hoovers in the evening and courted *Agnes*
[Barcomb?].

WED 18

Beautiful weather. Read & chored about the house, not well
to-day.

THURS 19

A most beautiful day. Read & in the Office.

FRI 20

Beautiful—with south breeze. Read & in Office.

SAT 21

Beautiful— South breeze. Read Newspapers all day— in
the office Called at Geo Hoovers in the evening.

SUN 22

Lovely weather Read & C All day.

MON 23

Very fine weather— Read Law all day, made up the mail in
the evening.

TEUS 24

Change of weather— snow Read Law all day.

WED 25

Cloudy— Sleet— snow— rain. Read all day.

THURS 26

About one inch of snow, thawing little. Read Laws of Kansas.

FRI 27

Moderating— quite pleasant. Read & attended Post-office.

SAT 28

Thawing— roads muddy. Read Law— Newspapers & C.
Called at Geo Hoovers in the evening to see *Agnes*.

SUN 29

Pleasant— muddy. Read Laws of Kansas.

MON 30

Growing Colder— Read & attended Office— at Lyceum.

TEUS 31

Excessive Cold. By the fire all day.

FEBRUARY [1860].

WED 1

Moderating but still cold. Read Laws of Kansas.

THUR 2

A very fine day. Read in Kansas statutes.

- FRI 3
Beautiful— a little snow yet. Read & attended Post-office.
- SAT 4
Cloudy in forenoon— rainy in evening. Read Newspapers all day & in the office.
- SUN 5
Muddy— Read Statutes of Kansas.
- MON 6
Fine day. Read and attended Post-office.
- TEUS 7
Very fine day. Read & in office— attended meeting at School house in evening— object— condemn Thomas¹³⁸
- WED 8
Pleasant— Change after night. Read Laws of Kansas— attended Lyceum after night.
- THURS 9
Cold north wind. freezing. Read all day.
- FRI 10
Cold all day. Read all day.
- SAT 11
Quite pleasant. Read News all day.
- SUN 12
Pleasant. Read & wrote letters.
- MON 13
Growing colder. Read Law.
- TEUS 14
Valentine day. Cold North wind. Read & in office.
- WED 15
Moderating— Rode up to Wilmington in the morning & got a lot of mail matter for Burlingame— back home— & read & C balance the day.
- THURS 16
Plea[s]ant— rained after night. Read in the office— attended a Dance at night at Geo Hoovers.

138. A plan had been formulated to create a new county from the southern portion of Shawnee county and the northern part of Osage county. Also, the southern tier of townships of Jackson county was to be annexed to Shawnee county. These changes would place Topeka near the center of Shawnee county, while Burlingame would be the center and county seat of the new county. Citizens of Topeka and Burlingame of course favored the idea, but Chester Thomas of Auburn, councilman from the 7th district (Shawnee, Osage and Breckenridge counties), opposed it. Resolutions adopted at the Burlingame meeting stated that the people of the township had given him their votes upon his pledge to support the proposed changes, and called upon him to do so or resign.—*Topeka Tribune*, February 11, 1860. See, also, *Council Journal of the Legislative Assembly of Kansas Territory (Special Session)* . . . , 1860, pp. 553-555. The proposed new county never came into existence, but Burlingame subsequently became a part of Osage county when the Shawnee county boundaries were shifted to the north by a bill approved by Governor Medary on February 23, 1860.—*General Laws . . . of Kansas, Special Session, 1860*, ch. 46, p. 88.

FRI 17

Muddy— Went down to Superior in morning— bought a lot of Stamps from Hulbert— back— atten[d]ed Post-office.

SAT 18

Pleasant over head— muddy Attended Office

SUN 19

Fine day. Read all day— wrote Some letters.

MON 20

Very fine— Read— made up mail. &C.

TEUS 21

Beautiful in forenoon— wet in eve. Read— attended *Congress* at School house in the evening.

WED 22

Cold & Blustery. Read All day.

THURS 23

Cold but rather moderating. Read— played some Eucher.

FRI 24

Pleasant. Read Law. News of the new County of *Osage*, has been received to-night. ! Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah! Rowe Bothel was married at 20 minutes before twelve OClock to-night to Alvira Whitney at Brattons. only 6 persons witnessed the wedding.

SAT 25

Beautiful all day. Loafed round— Drank Egg-Nog. attended "*Joyful*" meeting at School house at night— heard Judge Schuyler tell us all about the doings of our Legislature — Rejoiced exceedingly at the event of getting a new County.

SUN 26

Fine & warm— Strong south breeze. Read &C all day.

MON 27

Beautiful. In the office. attended Meeting to take steps towards building a Court house in Burlingame, was appointed on committee to solicit subscriptions for that purpose.

TEUS 28

Little Coull. Went over to Dragoon Creek to get subscriptions for Court house. back about noon,

WED 29

A beautiful day. Read some— attended to getting more Subscriptions for Court house. Had an accidental meeting in the office at night, which resulted in a good deal of gas from Rambo — Playford & others— No blood spilt.

MARCH [1860]

THURS 1

Beautiful day Read— all day.

FRI 2

Strong South wind. Attended Law suit in forenoon. Read in afternoon. received & distributed mail at night.

SAT 3

A beautiful day. Read Newspapers & Law, all day.

SUN 4

High South wind. Read & wrote all day.

MON 5

Very beautiful, frogs *singing* Read— attended Law suit at Justice Drews, made up mail at night.

TEUS 6

Very fine day. Read— attended Congress at night.

WED 7

Fine all day. Read & talked with [Levi] Empie on Religious subjects all day. Attended School meeting at night.

THUR 8

High Wind— not Cold. Read Law— &C all day.

FRI 9

Fine & warm. Read Statutes of Kansas.

SAT 10

Fine & warm. Read News & Law, all day.

SUN 11

Fine day— Good breeze. Read— wrote a letter to O G Hazen.

MON 12

Cold North wind. Read & Studied Law. Made up the mail at night.

TEUS 13

A Very fine day. Read & Loafed.

WED 14

Beautiful all day Went up to Pollys timber and cut some wood in forenoon— Read in the afternoon.

THURS 15

Very fine & warm, Doors open. Read— attended Caucus at Judge Schuylers after night.

FRI 16

Beautiful all day. Read some— attended post-office. Received letters from Ebb Sankey & Molly Jack.

SAT 17

Fine all day. Attended Town meeting at School house to put in Nomination Town officers & Delegates to County Conventions.

SUN 18

Very Windy. Read all day.

MON 19

Beautiful Attended Delegate Convention at School house— had a very exciting time. Also Town meeting at night to nominate Candidate for Justice of peace. Got the nomination myself.

TEUS 20

Fine & pleasant. little Cool. Read all day.

WED 21

High wind but pleasant. Went up to Mr Pollys timber and Cut some wood— back to office— read some— Got team in the afternoon & went up to the timber and Got a Load of Wood — back home— read ballance the day.

THURS 22

North wind but pleasant. Read some— Took a ride up to see my wheat— sold it for fifteen dollars & C.

FRI 23

Fine day. Read— received the Lawrence mail & distributed. Received letter from Miss Carrie Paddock.

SAT 24

Growing Cold, still sunny. Wrote two letters. Read papers. Attended citezens meeting at the School house in the evening.

SUND 25

A little Cool. Sunny. Read all day.

MON 26

Windy—Sunny. Election day. was elected J P & C[ounty]. A[ttorney].¹³⁹ attended Post office.

TEUS 27

Still Cool— froze hard Last night. Read Newspapers & Law all day.

139. At this election, held after the reorganization of the county, Stewart received 162 votes for county attorney, N. P. Case seven and O. H. Braun two. Stewart was also elected justice of the peace of Burlingame township for one year, and D. H. Houston was elected for two years. In reporting the results of the township election to Governor Medary, the township clerk, George J. Drew, wrote: "There is a doubt about the Justices. Justice Drew whose commission is dated in 1857 was elected for five (5) years & he contends he is not out of office Justice Streit was elected last March & he thinks he is not out of office till next spring notwithstanding this township has been detached from Shawnee County & annexed to Osage."— Kansas State Historical Society, Archives division, "Territorial Election Returns, Osage County, March 26, 1860."

Stewart's failure to file bond and take the oath of office as county attorney caused the county commissioners to declare the office vacant on July 2, and to appoint W. H. theirs to fill the vacancy.—"Osage County Commissioners' Journal, 1859-1862," pp. 36, 37.

WED 28

Pleasant. Went up to John Dodges in morning, also to Drews & got Some Law Books. Read ballance the day.

THURS 29

Fine Day. Read as usual.

FRI 30

High South wind. Read— moved my bed up from Mcs & Rows store to my office. Went down to Superior in the afternoon to see the Commissioners canvas the votes of Osage County— home again.

SAT 31

Windy— Read Newspapers— Made out my Post-office returns.

APRIL [1860]

SUN 1

Moderating, quite pleasant in evening. Wrote a long letter to O. G. Hazen. also one to Governor Medary. Read Newspapers & statutes.

MON 2

Very Windy. Read & attended Post-office— Made out my Bond for Justice of Peace. Went up to Loyds in the Evening and "Sleeved" old Carrie Paddock.

TEUS 3

Exceedingly windy. Clouds of Dust. Read— handed my Bond to the Commissioners for their approval.

WED 4

Windy in forenoon— Calm in evening. Was Sworn in as Justice of Peace. Rec[eived] Streits Docket & papers. Read some. Attended fine party at Mr Lords in the evening.

THURS 5

Beautiful day. Read— made Bond for Absolem Hoover— bought Cook Stove of [E.] Timms.

FRI 6

Very beautiful. Read Blackstone— did some official buissness— Attended Post office.

SAT 7

Very Warm & fine. Read— Isued my first Summons as Justice of the Peace.

SUN 8

Beautiful all day. Read & wrote— Slept & C.

MON 9

Fine— Growing Colder in the evening. Wrote nearly all day, Issued summons & order of Attachment for J. T. Williams wrote Transcript of Docket for Winchell.

TUES 10

Pretty cool all [day], fire not uncomfortable Read & attended to my Post-office & Justice Buissiness.

WED 11

Still Cool. In the office— reading & Squiring

THURS 12

Very fine & warm. Not very well to-day. Read some.

FRI 13

Somewhat Colder. In my office all day.

SAT 14

Beautiful all day In the office— had a Law suit Parties M Parks vs J E Cowan.

SUN 15

Very fine— Shaved and washed & Dressed up to-day, and went to Church— Densmore & Lizzy Drew were married in Church.

MON 16

Clear & pleasant with high wind. Read Blackstone some, & attended to my official buissiness, made up the mail after night.

TUES 17

Still windy & dusty. Clear— warm. Read & C all day. took tea at Row Bothels, had some Brandy to day, enough to make the Drunk come.

WED 18

Very Pleasant— helped McDonald & Bothel move their store to-day, Read & C.

THURS 19

A little rain last night— windy to-day. Read— Called to see Miss Gillet at Titus's engaged her to go with me to a party, from which engagement she subsequently Squirmed out. Went down to Barns's after night and had a firstrate dance. Got home about one o-C at night.

FRI 20

Cool— wind— Read & attended to the Duties of my office.

SAT 21

Cool— threatning rain, a few drops after night. Read Newspapers all day.

SUN 22

Cold & rainy all day. Read &C all day.

MON 23

Pleasant but Cool. Read some— attended a good party at Mr Lords at night.

TEUS 24

Cool— Clear— sunny. This is election day. attended to holding the election, for County seat.

WED 25

Cool— Sunny. Read Blackstone all day.

THURS 26

Left Newcastle two years ago to-day. Clear and pleasant— but Cool. Read— Loafed round &C all day.

FRI 27

Fine— but windy. Read in forenoon— Went down to Superior in the afternoon and attended the meeting of The Board of Commissioners, back home.

SAT 28

High Wind— Read Newspapers.

SUN 29

Little Cool. Read &C all day.

MON 30

Pleasant— Read— had a trial before me— between E D Robison & J M Winchell.

MAY [1860]

TUS 1

Very high south wind. Made a Lounge to-day. Read.

WED 2

High South winds, dusty Read— wrote &C.

THURS 3

Very high south wind— warm. Read Blackstone— Called to see the Miss Schuylers after night— heard some good Piano music.

FRI 4

Very high South Wind. Warm. Read— &C. received letter from O G Hazen.

SAT 5

Very windy. threating rain. Wrote two letters, one to O. G. Hazen, & one to C W Stewart. Read newspapers.

SUN 6

Cool & windy. Read Blackstone all day.

MON. 7

Quite Cool— A little rain after night. In the office all day reading—

TEUS 8

Cool & very windy— Dust flying. Had Some Law buissness, Read &C.

WED 9

Windy— Growing warmer. In the office, reading &C. Bought some Lumber, & pair of pants.

THURS 10

Very fine— warm. Had Law suit to-day— Robison vs Winchell. Read &C.

FRI 11

Pleasant & warm. Read &C all day.

SAT 12

Terrible windy. dust flying. Had big Law suit to day between Wm. Cable & H[ollam] Rice, occupied all day.

SUN 13

Very Windy— Cool at night— Little frost. Read &C [all] day.

MON 14

Beautiful— Calm— Read— Went down to Aikens— Made up Mail &C.

TEUS 15

Clear warm & beautiful. Read &C all day.

WED 16

Growing Cool, threatning rain. Had Law Suit between Burdock [D. B. Burdick] & [Daniel] Rooks.

THUR 17.

Cool, a few drops of rain. Law Suit of Burdocks & Rooks Continued.

FRI 18

Very fine & warm. Law Suit of Burdocks vs Rooks continued all day. Mail at night, got through with Law suit about [illegible]

SAT. 19

Very fine calm & warm. Read newspapers all day.

SUN 20

Beautiful all day. Read all day, wrote some.

MON 21

Beautiful all day Read & attended to my office duties.

TEUS 22

Beautiful through the day, Threatning rain through the night. Had Law case to-day. Ter. of Kansas vs Julius J Wright— asualt & Battery.

WED 23

Very warm— some wind. Read and did some official buissness

THURS 24

Very warm, fine Shower after night. Some hail— the dust Laid. This is election day for County Seat— Burlingame is to be the place, was one of the Inspectors of the Election.¹⁴⁰

FRI 25

A ligh[t] shower of rain. Read all day.

SAT 26

Very warm, Clouds Read, Studied arithmetic.

SUN 27

Very windy. Dust flying. Read,— attended Church in morning. Heard Rev. Holliday talk flat nonsense.¹⁴¹

MON 28

Still very windy, threatning rain. Read, Loafed &C. attended citezens meeting at the school house in the evening to take steps to finish up our Court house.

TEUS 29

Windy— quite cool. Read some, wrote some, Loafed some.

WED 30

Very fine and warm. Read. went down to Aikens to take acknowledgement of Deed. bought Buffalo. Got Lot of Lumber from J B Fry.

THURS 31

Cloudy all day, and a gentle distillation of rain, weting the Ground sufficiently to Lay the dust. Glorious news this, we have had no rain of Consequence for 8 or 9 Months, promising more. Stayed in the office all day, reading, had company most the time, talked, told yarns, sang, had some Brandy and sugar, and a tollerably good time generally.

¹⁴⁰. "At the late election for the permanent location of the county seat of Osage county, the thriving town of Burlingame received a majority of over one hundred."—*Topeka Tribune*, June 9, 1860.

¹⁴¹. Rev. James F. Holliday, a Methodist clergyman of Auburn township, Shawnee county.

JUNE [1860]

FRI 1

Rainy in the morning, clear and pleasant in the Evening. Read &C. did a little Legal buissness.

SAT 2

Very fine, South breeze. Held Court in the School house, Case, Rogers vs Rice.

SUN 3

Very fine & warm. Went to Church in forenoon. Read &c in the afternoon.

MON 4

Very fine south breeze Read some, Married John Polley to Mary Flinn at Mrs Boyces at night.

TEUS 5

Very warm & fine. Read &C all day

WED 6

Fine— threatning rain but dident. Had Some Law bussness to transact to-day. Read &C.

THUR 7

Very fine & warm. Had big Law suit. Terr vs Tom Russell, took all day.

FRI 8

Wind Storm & few Drops of rain last night. Read & wrote all day.

SAT 9

A little rain Last night— also some this morning— Cloudy through the day. the Dust well laid. Recd Some Letters last night. Read to-day & attended to some Legal Buissness.

SUN 10

A Most delightfull rain, the heaviest Shower this spring. Read & wrote letters, two of them, one to O G Hazen & one to Eb Sankey.

MON 11

A Most Lovely day, things grow. Read wrote & C, all day.

TEUS 12

Fine and pleasant. Read Blackstone. had game Euchr.

WED 13

Threatning rain in morning, Fine & pleasant through the Day. Went out with the sundy school down the Merais De ceyene on a Pick nick excursion— had pleasant time.

THURS 14

A Very fine day. Finished reading 2d vol. of Blackstone In the office all day.

FRI 15

Very fine, Delightful Read & attended office.

SAT 16

Very Warm—fine. Commenced reading Bouviers Institutes.¹⁴²

SUN 17

A Most beautiful day Read Bouviers Institutes all day.

MON 18

Very warm— Read— wrote three or four letters.

TUS 19

Very warm & sultry. Read Bouviers Institutes faithfully.

WED 20

Very warm & fine. Read faithfully in Bouviers Institutes.

THURS 21

Fine south breeze. Read Law all day, had game of Euchre at night with [J. R. ?] Parrish, Canniff & J[udge] Schuyler

FRI 22

Very beautiful— Good breeze. Went over to 110 to Baxters to meet Committees to make arrangements for 4th of July celebration. Got home about 2 oC in afternoon.

SAT 23

Very Warm. Some breeze. Read Newspapers all day & Law.

SUN 24

Very warm. Dry & sultry. Read all day.

MON 25

Very Dry. Good south breeze. Read— made up mail at night.

TEUS 26

Still intolerably dry. Read— Loafed— took tea at Bothels.

WED 27

Exceedingly warm— threatening rain Took Bob Baird in with me to Bach. Read & C all day.

THURS 28

Very warm. Dry & dusty. Wrote all day making out my quarterly returns for Post-office. Bought new pair of pants \$6,00

142. *Institutes of American Law*, by John Bouvier (1787-1851), recorder of the city of Philadelphia and associate judge of the court of criminal sessions of that city, was published in 1851.

FRI 29

A most Delightful shower. Read some— Wrote nearly all day making out my Post-office Transcripts. Distributed the mail at night.

SAT 30

Very Warm— Threatning rain. Finished making out my Quarterly returns for Post-office— Read some— went over to Mr Rices in the afternoon to meet the Fourth of July Committee to select grounds on which to celebrate the fourth. Made the selection and returned home— Read, fiddled & C through the evening.

JULY [1860]

SUN 1

Very Warm with strong south wind. Read— attended church at school house.

MON 2

Very warm— strong south breeze. Read, made up mail in the evening.

TEUS 3

Strong south breeze— few drops of rain in the evening. Read some in forenoon, went over to Rices timber in the afternoon and worked at fixing up grounds for the 4th of July celebration.

WED 4

Very fine all day. flying Clouds, but no rain. attend the Celebration at Rices timber also had a Ball at night, took Supper at Bratton house. Took Flora Lord to the Dance.

THUR 5

The hottest day this summer Mercury up to 102. Read Boviers Institutes

FRI 6

Very Warm, nearly as warm as yesterday. Read all day.

SAT 7

A Very hot south wind— burning hot. Read in forenoon, attended an auction sale at Titus' in afternoon & evening— bought a Lamp & some books.

SUN 8

Very warm & sultry. Read all Day. Boviers Institutes.

MON 9

Strong *hot* south wind. Read all day.

TEUS 10

A fine & pleasant day. Dry & dusty. Read faithfully all day at Boviers.

WED 11

Warm, promises rain. Read. Rode over to A Hoovers— took dinner there, home again. had some Law buissness.

THURS 12

Cool & pleasant. No rain yet. Finished Reading Bouvier— & Commenced it second time. Took a ride in Buggy up to Mail Station in the evening with Will Ryus.

FRI 13

Very Dry warm & sultry. Had a Law suit between Laura L Rooks and D B Burdock. Recd Letter from O. G. Hazen.

SAT 14

A few Drops of rain Last night. Read some— had some Law buissness, &C. received Letter from Jim Bothel and order on McDonald for some money due the post office.

SUN 15

Very warm & sultry. Rode down to Henry Morells in the morning with Bob Baird to Look at some Land. home again, read & wrote two letters— one to O G Hazen & one to T A Parrish.

MON 16

Very hot— threatning rain. Read Law had some Law buissness

TEUS 17

Still very warm— Looks like rain. Read Bouvier.

WED 18

Good breeze but very dry & warm. Read all day faithfully.

THURS 19

Strong signs of rain— and dod[?] it did rain a few drops. Read all day. Got tight in the Evening up at Dock Sheldons. —damd fool

FRI 20

Intensely hot. A little shower of rain in the morning. Sick in forenoon— Read in afternoon.

SAT 21

Very Warm— Good breeze. Had Law buissness between Dan. Rooks & Burdock.

SUN 22

Cloudy more or less all day, no rain. Read— had tooth ache some.

MON 23

Very Dry & warm. Read Bouvier all Day.

TEUS 24

Good south breeze. Read all day. Got some money.

WED 25

Fine Shower last night. Started out this morning on the hunt of a pocket book Lost by Mr Moulton— rode 60 miles, to the Neosho crossing

THURS 26

Very fine pleasant day. Read & wrote— took a ride down to Victor McDonalds with Mr Harris in the evening— back home again.

FRI 27

Thunder all round, and rain in other places but only a few Drops here— Read Bouviers All Day.

SAT 28

A fine south breeze— appearance of rain but none Comes. Read Boviers in forenoon. went fishing in the evening, with Net. had Good Luck.

SUN 29

Very warm. Looking like rain. Read all day.

MON 30

Very warm & Sultry. Commenced working at fixing up my house, had Elisha Robison helping me.

TEUS 31

Very warm through the day. flying Clouds, and Looking very much Like rain. Came up terrible heavy wind & rain in the evening, rained more than all put together that we have had this season, Glorious Worked at my house all day.

AUGUST [1860]

WED 1

Very beautiful day. Worked at fixing up my house.

THURS 2

Very Warm with Strong hot wind. Worked at my house.

FRI 3

Threatning rain and a few drops fell. at my house faithfully all day.

SAT 4

Few Drops rain.—pleasant. Finished my house. got good warm room for winter. Got fine Lot fish to-day.

SUN 5

Warm & Sultry. Attended Church in forenoon. Read in the afternoon.

MON 6

Very Strong South wind. little rain in evening. Read all day. received letter from Eb Sankey.

TEUS 7.

A Very warm & sultry day. Read Bouvier all day.

WED 8

Warm and dry— as usual— Read Law all day.

THURS 9

Cool in Morning— looks like rain in eve. Had Law Case—
Davis vs Russell. Read &C.

FRI 10

Cool so as to be very pleasant all day. Read— had a Little
Law buissness—

SAT 11

Cool in the Morning— Warm in afternoon. Read— had
some Law buissness—

SUN 12

Cool all day. Read all day.

MON 13

Cool morning— warm in afternoon. Read. had some Law
bussines.

TEUS 14

Strong south wind.— warm. Read— Rode up to John
Dodges in forenoon to take acknowledgement of Mortgage—
back home— Read— was summoned as appraiser to assess
the property of J. G. Morell taken in Execution. walked down
to his farm— home— read, wrote a letter to D. S. Mc-
Intosh.

WED 15

Very Warm— Looks like rain this eve— Read & in my
office all day.

THURS 16

Very Warm— Little south breeze. Finished Reading Bou-
viers Institutes the second time.

FRI 17

Very Warm & sultry. A fine Shower after night. *Good.* Read
— Commenced Reading Blackstone for the second time.

SAT 18

Pleasant through the day. a Shower of rain after night. Read
all day.

SUN 19

Cloudy in morning, warm in eve. A little rain after night. Read
— took a walk up to Dubois in the evening— slept at George
Hoovers at night.

MON 20

Fine & warm— Read in forenoon— attended store for McDonald & Bothel in the afternoon.

TEUS 21

Very warm & sultry. attended Store all day.

WED 22

Warm & sultry. In the store. Read a little

THURS 23

Still warm & dry. In the Store.

FRI 24

Very fine day. South breeze. In the Store. Mc & Row came home after night.

SAT 25

Pleasant but very dry. Read Blackstone all day in my office.

SUN 26

Very warm. Some breeze. Had visit from Joe. Guildford. Read some.

MON 27

Good strong breeze but very warm. Read all day. Hall sued Bratton to-day.

TEUS 28

Very warm & scorching dry. Read all day. some little law buissiness

WED 29

Still very warm & dry. Read all day— received two letters — one from O. G. Hazen & one from Mary Jack.— wrote one in return for O. G. Hazen. good news.

THURS 30

Stiff wind spring up from the East, threatning rain, a few drops in the afternoon, A little Cool in the Evening. Read faithfully all day.

FRI 31

No rain yet. Warm. Read all day. received N. Y. Tribune.

SEPTEMBER [1860]

SAT 1st

Cloudy with gentle distillation of Rain in forenoon— scarcely Laying the dust. Read all day.

SUN 2.

Cloudy & sun altternate, good shower in Eve. Went up to the Wakarusa to attend Camp-meeting. Stayed till evening, then home the Crowd was small, no great profit.

MON 3

Fine warm day. Cloudy in the eve. Read— Not well to day.

TEUS 4

Stiff south breeze. warm— Read all day— bought a fine gold watch to-day from Fairchild—for \$100.⁰⁰/₁₀₀

WED 5

Warm South wind— very hot & dry. Read in forenoon, helped raise bridge across Switzer Creek in afternoon.

THURS 6

Very hot and dry, hot wind from south helped at bridge in morning. Read in the afternoon.

FRI 7

Still hot south wind. Read, rec[e]ived my first no. of N. Y. Tribune.

SAT 8

North wind, growing cold. Read Blackstone, Newspapers, & Tupper.

SUN 9

Cool in morning, warm in evening. Read all day.

MON 10

Warm— South Wind. Read finished Blackstone. Received a letter from Laura Sankey. bought fine watch chain. Called to see Halls at night. Played Eucher with him. Saw Thad Hyatt, Arny & Gen Pomroy.¹⁴³

TEUS 11

Cool. Kept up a little fire all day Cloudy & a very few drops of rain. Read the Code of Kansas all day.

WED 12

Warmer. Strong south wind. Read Statutes all day.

THURS 13

Very warm & strong south wind. Had some Law buissness. Read & C all day.

FRI 14

Cloudy— windy— some light showers of rain— a good heavy shower after night. Read Laws & N. Y. Tribune.

SAT. 15

Fine day. a little muddy. Read statutes. Read Tupper some in evening.

143. In 1860 the territory suffered from a severe drought which led to the organization of a relief committee to raise money and supplies in the East and ship them to Kansas. Thaddeus Hyatt of New York and W. F. M. Arny of Anderson county, who had been active supporters of the Free-State movement since 1854, took leading roles in the relief work. Hyatt secured contributions. Arny, as general shipping agent of the relief committee, forwarded them to Kansas, and Samuel C. Pomeroy, president of the committee, disbursed them from his headquarters in Atchison.—Topeka *Tribune*, August 18, September 8, 15, 29, 1860; *Kansas Historical Collections*, Topeka, v. 7, p. 203.

SUN 16

Beautiful all day. wind N. W. moderate. Took a walk over to Cabels in morning to see Jo. Gilliford, found him there, stayed all day, drank Sherry wine, had good time, home in eve.

MON 17

A fine Day, with some breeze. Read statutes all day.

TEUS 18

Cold North wind. few drops of rain. Had some Law buissness, reed. three letters, wrote one to O. G. Hazen. Read &C &C ballance of the day.

WED 19

Cloudy & little cool. Went out to work out my Poll Tax this morning, continued at [it] all day.

THURS. 20

Warmer.— White frost this morning— not heavy but Plainly perceptible. The first we have had this fall. Read some. worked out the ballance of my road tax to-day. Commeneced reading Bouviers Institutes again, had a little law buissness.

FRI 21

Very fine fall day. Read all day. had fine Water-melon.

SAT 22

Very beautiful calm day. Read &C all day.

SUN 23

Strong south wind. dust flying— hot. Went down to superior to attend Church in forenoon— came home in afternoon. Read &C ballance the day.

MON 24

Very fine warm & calm. Went over to Dragoon Creek with Row Bothel & wife to gather walnuts. got Lots of them, came home. Read some.

TEUS 25

Very warm & dry. Took a walk up to Mr. [Peter] Kirbys in morn and borrowed Some of his Law books. Chittys Pleadings.¹⁴⁴

Came home & commenced Reading. Read all day.

WED 26

Pleasant all day— Warm at night. Read Chittys pleadings, went down to [Victor] McDonalds in Company with Mitchell in the Evening for the purpose of setting up with him—being

144. Joseph Chitty (1776-1841), *Treatise on Pleading and Parties to Actions* (London, 1808). The eleventh American edition, in three volumes, was published in 1847.

Low in Consumption, found sufficient Company there, and returned home, promising to return on to-morrow night.

THURS 27

Very fine fall wether. Read Chittys pleadings. Went down to Victor McDonalds with Mitchell in the evening to set up as watcher. Stayed all night & returned home in morn

FRI 28

A few drops rain in morning, pleasant through the day. Read Some. Wrote some, had a little Law buissness, &C.

SAT 29

Fine day— some clouds, and at night a good rain. Read Chitty, and New York Tribune, attended the anual school meeting at night, and Elected a new board of officers.

SUN 30

Cloudy and a little distillation of rain at different times through the day. Rainbow in the Evening. Read Chitty, had Company talked, *and so forth* all day. some more rain after night. not a moiety yet of what we ought to have in order to wet the ground thoroughly and Raise the streams.

! OCTOBER [1860] !

MON 1

A most beautiful day. Read— wrote a letter to Eb. Sankey.

TEUS 2

A most beautiful day. Read— and in my office all day.

WED 3

Very fine and warm. Read some— had some Law buissness.

THURS 4

Lovely Weather. Read. Wrote a letter to Coon [or Coors?]

FRI 5

Still Delightful fall weather. Read all day. Victor McDonald Died to-day.

SAT 6

Still fine weather. Rode over to 110 with Bill Harris to take acknowledgement of Deed. got home about 2 oC— had Law suit in evening. Reed vs. Beer.

SUN 7

Fine— wind Changed round to the north in the evening. Had Joe Gilliford with me all day. Read in Eve.

MON 8

Still very fine weather. Cool nights Read some— got a tooth plugged Had heap talk with Empie about politics

TEUS 9

Delightful fall weather. Read & done some office buissness.

WED 10

Cool morning, fine day. Read a little, had some buissines.

THURS 11

Cool— quite Cool— Read a little— had a crowd in the office all day, in case of the Ter. against John Albach. put prisoner to bail untill next Saturday, played few games of Eucher at night.

FRI 12

Considerable frost this morning. Cool all day— fire feels good. Read faithfully all day.

SAT 13

Frost in morning, cool day. Had a law suit between the Ter. and John Albach, all day. some excitement.

SUN 14

Cool— sat by the fire all day. Read Chittys Pleadings.

MON 15

Still Cool— growing pleasant. Read— &C. Married Geo. W. Roe to Miss Nancy J. Roe on the Prarie by a camp fire after dark.

TEUS 16

Pleasant smokey weather. Read & wrote all day, had game of Eucher in the Evening.

WED 17

Fine pleasant day. Read &C. Recd a letter from J. R. Parrish. Wrote an answer.

THURS 18

Fine all day. Caucus in the afternoon.

FRI 19

Very beautiful. Loafed round, went down to Superior in the afternoon.

SAT 20

A most beautiful day. Count[y] Convention met at Burlingame to-day. Got Nomination for County Att. wont take it. als[o] got appointed delegate to the district Convention to meet at Ottumwa on the 24th Inst. had a meeting at School house in the evening, did nothing but fun at Mr Playfords & Canniff expense.

SUN 21

A most lovely day. Read some— slept some, walked some.

MON 22

Very beautiful all day. Read Some loafed round some, settled with Bob. Baird and parted Baching with him. attended meeting at school house in evening, had some excitement, got mad at Schuyler, blowed him up.

TEUS 23

Fine and warm. Loafed round in forenoon, got ready and started in Company with [G. H.] Kent & [Lewis D.] Joy for Ottumwa to attend the Convention on the 24th as Delegates, traveled untill evening, stopped at Onion Creek,— took supper, and Started on and traveled untill we reached the Marias Des Cygnes, where we camped for the night.

WED 24

A little Cool in the morning, warm through the day. Started on early, reached Ottumway about 10 o-C. attended the Convention, put Candidates in nomination had Considerable excitement.¹⁴⁵ Started for home in the evening, got as far as the Marias-Des-Cygnes— Camped there in Company with a number of others.

THURS 25

Strong south wind. Suny and warm. Started on early, traveled in smoke and dust all the way. reached home about 2 o-C P. M. washed up and Loafed at the best ease, ballance the evening.

FRI 26

Cloudy and a fine shower of rain. Some thunder and lightning. Read, wrote & hulled Walnuts.

SAT 27

Cloudy all day— little Cool. Hulled Walnuts all day, attended a public meeting at school house in the evening, had excitement.

SUN 28

Clear & Suny— fine Read N. Y. Tribune, took a walk over to see Preston.

145. Stewart was a member of the convention's committee on permanent organization. J. M. Winchell of Osage and D. A. Hawkins of Coffey county were nominated as candidates for representatives in the legislature, and both were elected on November 6. The "considerable excitement" mentioned by the diarist probably occurred after Stewart introduced a resolution "that this convention support no candidate for the Territorial Legislature for the session of 1861 who will not pledge himself unequivocally to the maintenance of the northern boundary of Osage county, and to the support of a bill for the change of lines in the south part of said county, and in Coffey county, similar to the one passed by the House and defeated in the Council last winter." The motion was laid on the table, and Stewart and G. H. Kent thereupon rose and left the convention.—Lawrence *Republican*, November 1 and 15, 1860.

MON 29

Cool very high south wind, dust flying. Went down to superior to see Mr. Winchell in Company with H. D. Preston. Spent nearly all day with him, in making political arrangements. Came home in the evening. met number gentlemen in Mr Canniffs office for consultation. got home about 10 o-C. All things Considered, to-day has been one of unusual diplomatic experience.

TEUS 30

Cool.— wind in the North. Hulled nuts & C. Mitchell came to live with me to-day, did Some little Law buissiness.

WED 31

Hallow-een Cold North West Wind— Sat by the fire all day, read some, received a letter from O G. Hazen, and answered it. Cracked nutts heap. did Some Law buissiness between Old Rooks & Dan. had long visit and talk with Mr. Empie. Political & Social.

! NOVEMBER [1860] !

THURS 1

Cold & Little fall of rain & Snow. Read Banner of Light ¹⁴⁶ all day, and Tupperts philosophy at night.

FRI 2

Snow on the ground this morning. Cool and muddy all day, little rain. Recd number of papers and a letter from Dr. Croughton. Read papers, all day.

SAT 3

Cool ra[in]y day. Sat by fire. Read Newspapers & wrote a letter to Dr. Croughton. had meeting after night at Hughes to make town ticket.

SUN 4

Pleasant. Read, Cracked nuts, talked & C. all day. heap excitement about our Charter Election.

MON 5

Cool & Cloudy. Charter Election in Burlingame to-day Some excitement over it.

^{146.} *Banner of Light; An Exponent of the Spiritual Philosophy of the 19th Century*, a spiritualistic periodical which was published in New York and later in Boston from 1857 to 1907. In the latter year it was advertised as "the oldest journal in the world devoted to the Spiritual Philosophy, General Psychic and Metaphysical Subjects, New Thought and Spiritual Healing."—N. W. Ayer and Son's *American Newspaper Annual* . . . (Philadelphia, 1907), p. 1256.

TEUS 6

Clear & sunny but little cool. General fall Election to-day. attended Polls all day as inspector.¹⁴⁷

WED 7

Wet and rainy all day. Read all day.

THUR. 8

Cloudy and muddy, not cold. Read in my office all day. attended a meeting at school house in the eve—to take measures to get some Charity provisions from Atchison— was appointed on Committee for that purpose.¹⁴⁸

FRI 9

Pleasant— drying up the roads. Read all day,— Law & newspapers.

SAT 10

Pleasant and fine. Read Some— Loafed some.

SUN 11

Beautiful all day. Took a walk up to Wrights place took dinner at McDougals, thence on to Loyds— stoped few minutes thence up to Howards, met Rogers and family there and the two Prestons, took tea there— thence home.

MON 12

Beautiful all day. Loafed round some— Read Some— engaged to teach the school at Burlingame for the comming winter.

TEUS 13

Still beautiful, threatning a change. Loafed round some Read some. Called to see Miss Willson at Titus'. wrote a letter to A. H. Snyder.

147. On November 6 Stewart was again elected to the office of county attorney (*see* Footnote 139).—Kansas State Historical Society, Archives division, "Territorial Election Returns, Osage County, November 6, 1860."

148. *See* Footnote 143.

[END OF VOLUME 2 AND END OF THE DIARY. FOR A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF STEWART SEE PAGE 4.]

Bypaths of Kansas History

A FEW REMARKS ABOUT TECUMSEH

From a copy of a letter from D. N. M. (not identified but probably a former employee of the Holladay Overland Mail & Express Co.) to Enoch Cummings, a division agent of the stageline, in the Manuscripts division of the Kansas State Historical Society:

Tecumseh Sep the 8 1867

Friend Cumons

Dr Sir yours of the 27 of Last month Came to hand and I am glad to Learn that you all are well my health is good I have Ben in the hay Buisness for the Last to Weakes have got all of Our hay up and have a small Contract for one of our Neighbors and that wil finish the hay Buisness But that dont let me out of work the corn has to Be Cut up for the Calves and then the potatoes has to Be Dug to fead the Babies on Not mine But my good looken Nieces I have Not got aney land yet the Potawatime land has Not come in to market and I am waiting for it or I would have Bought long ago for I am Not Satisfied with this plase for it is no plase for Stock and I am going to leave here in the Spring the K[ansas] S[tage] Co talked of opening a Road South But they are not aney Nearer the matter than they was this is a gay plase here there is 10 families in the plase and 7 of them is widowes and they have from thre to ten Children Each and want more So you Can se this is a good Stock Countrey Shawne County against the world for Babies if you want to Raise a large family for god Sake Come to Shawne Co and if you dont dont come near But come down and se a fellow we are poor folkes But we Can give you a little grub and a Blanket to sleep on if you Can get me a pup a Rattarrier out of Jack I wil come up let me [k]now my Compliments to Miss Cumons

[Signed] D N M

From the *Topeka Weekly Leader*, May 14, 1868.

PROLIFIC.—If you eastern folks don't believe that Kansas is a fast country, you have but to visit our part of the state and become convinced. Even old bachelors and old maids do well in Kansas.

The population of Tecumseh was increased by the addition of eight persons on Sunday night last. Eight babies in one night and the families not farther than eighty feet apart. And more than this, every happy mother produced twins.

Four pairs of twins, in one town, in one night and the families residing within a stone's throw of each other. Four families and eight babies, four of the babies in the same house.

The town of Tecumseh lies six miles directly east of Topeka, in Shawnee County, State of Kansas.

Seven girls and one boy. Mr. Aye, more fortunate than the rest, was blessed with a boy and a girl. And as the gentleman remarked to us, "it wasn't a very good night for babies, at that." . . .

Kansas History as Published in the Press

The story of Robidoux, a Missourian of French ancestry who was the earliest trader in western Nebraska, operating trading posts and blacksmith shops during the gold rush of 1849 era, is told in "Robidoux's Trading Post at 'Scott's Bluffs,' and the California Gold Rush," by Merrill J. Mattes, printed in *Nebraska History*, Lincoln, June, 1949. Mattes made an interesting discovery as a result of one of Dr. Robert Taft's articles in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*. Taft's story on Heinrich Balduin Möllhausen, appearing in the August, 1948, number, featured a picture of one of Robidoux's trading posts. It was the only known contemporary picture of a post he had at Scotts Bluff, and with this picture in hand, Mattes was able definitely to establish the site of the 1851 post in Carter canyon.

Articles of historical interest in the June, 1949, number of the *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science*, Lawrence, included: "Man's Disorder of Nature's Design in the Great Plains," by F. W. Albertson; "Research and Stripland Reclamation in Kansas," by Fred P. Eshbaugh; "Crustacea in Eastern Kansas," by A. B. Leonard and L. H. Ponder; "Lead-Silver Molds of the Osage Indians," by George E. Fay, and "Kansas Botanical Notes, 1948," by Frank C. Gates.

The life of Carry Nation was the subject of a stage production, "Cyclone in Petticoats," created and presented by Barbara Gene Corey of Topeka as her senior project at Bennington College, Bennington, Vt., where the play was staged in June, 1949. Miss Corey's story of the play was told in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, August 7, 1949.

A history of Morton county was published in the *Morton County Record*, Rolla, June 3, 10, 17 and 24, 1949. The *Record* reported that the first permanent settlement in the county was made in 1879 by the Beatty brothers.

The Johnson County Democrat, Olathe, June 9, 1949, reprinted from the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star* a brief historical sketch of Countryside addition in Johnson county. A stone and mortar wall, said to be the foundation of a house built by John Prophet, a Shawnee Indian who once held title to 2,000 acres in the area, still remains.

The addition was acquired about 20 years ago by Frank Hodges, Olathe lumberman, and is now covered by homes. An article on the Silverheels family, by Mrs. Tom Davis, appeared in the *Johnson County Herald*, Overland Park, July 28. Moses Silverheels, a Shawnee Indian, received land in present Johnson county under the treaty between the U. S. government and the Shawnee Indians concluded May 10, 1854. A packet of historical documents, including Olathe's incorporation documents of 1859 and 1868, was recently discovered in the Johnson county probate court.

Historical articles of interest to Kansans in recent issues of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* included: "Chautauqua Brought Cultural Life to the Middle West in the Last Century," Ottawa was the center of the movement in the Middle West, by Charles Arthur Hawley, June 14, 1949; "Hard Work Is Real Route to Success, Says a Woman Who Has Achieved It," the success story of Mrs. Olive Ann Beech of Wichita, by John Wheeler, June 20; "Amelia Earhart's Fate Still Debated Twelve Years After Her Disappearance," July 2; "Kansas City May See Its Own History in the Railroad Fair's Pageant," a description of the historical pageant "Wheels A-Rolling," by E. B. Garnett, and "The Once-Arid Plains of Kansas Now Are Dotted With Shimmering Lakes," with photographs, by Hughes Rudd, July 10; "Famous Points in Germany Visited by U. S. Children," under the direction of Fred L. Miller of Topeka, American children going to school in Germany are visiting famous places, August 7; "Mother Bickerdyke Helped Kansas After Heroic Service With the Union Army," by Louis O. Honig, August 19; "Saga of a Boilermaker—Harry Darby," by Richard B. Fowler, and "A Bottle-Throwing Bird Man [Ralph Ellis] Stirred Up Legal Row at K. U.," the story behind the court fight between Ellis' widow and the University of Kansas over 65,000 books on birds, by Alvin S. McCoy, August 21, and "In a Booming Season of Mid-Western Fairs, Abilene, Kas., Stages Its 80th Celebration," pictures of exhibits with brief comments, August 28. Articles in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* included: "Only Two Survivors of Quaint Dutch Windmills Which Ground Kansas Grain," Wamego and Smith Center have pioneer structures preserved as historical relics, by Margaret Whittemore, July 22; "Wing of Memorial on Oregon Trail Honors William H. Jackson, Pioneer," a wing of the Scottsbluff (Neb.) National Monument museum dedicated to honor Jackson, by Col. E. P. Gempel, July 27; "Little Remains of Town [Quindaro] Which Was an Outpost of Free-Staters," July 29; "Landmarks

Recall the History of Kansas in the Days of the Indians and Earlier," by E. B. Dykes Beachy, August 1; "Relic [saddle] of Sitting Bull Brings to Mind the Unsolved Mystery of Chief's Youth," by John Edward Hicks, August 4; "Nature Has Left Her Masterpieces Off the Main Highways of Kansas," unknown to many people some geological wonders exist in Kansas, by E. B. Dykes Beachy, August 23; "Radar Men Trained at Olathe Help to Make Flying Safer Around the World," by Roger Swanson, August 25; "'Another [Milton] Eisenhower' in Strong Position For a Major Political Office in Kansas," a condensation of a *Collier's* magazine article, by Holmes Alexander, August 26, and "'Empory in All Her Glory' Acclaimed Success of William Allen White Book," an elaborate reception staged forty years ago for the author of *A Certain Rich Man* when he returned from Europe to Emporia, by Everett Rich, August 27.

Historical sketches of several towns near Emporia appeared recently in the Emporia *Times*. Included were: Hartford, June 16, 1949; Miller, June 23; Dunlap, June 30; Saffordville, July 7; Admire, July 14; Neosho Rapids, July 21; Bushong, July 28; Americus, August 11, and Olpe, September 1.

The Atchison *Daily Globe* noted on June 19, 1949, that the oldest house in Atchison is now being restored by Mr. and Mrs. John M. Price. It was built in 1855 by Dr. J. H. Stringfellow. The Prices plan to furnish the restored building with antique furniture.

Early county-seat fights in Linn county were discussed by Douglas Gleason, Ottawa attorney, in the Mound City *Republic*, June 30, 1949. Mr. Gleason's information was from volumes 14 and 15 of the *Kansas Reports*.

The story of one of the first Russian Mennonite migrations to Kansas, including facts about the origin of the Bruderthal Mennonite Church, is related in "Bruderthal—Seventy-Five Years Ago," by Ray Funk, in *Mennonite Life*, North Newton, July, 1949. The settlement of the Bruderthal community was begun in 1873 by Peter and Jacob Funk. On December 26, 1874, the Bruderthal Mennonite Church was organized, but the congregation met in schoolhouses and homes until a schoolhouse was purchased in 1885 to be used as a church building.

A history of the Fred Harvey hotels and restaurants is told in an article, "The Fred Harvey System," by Charles W. Hurd, in *The*

Colorado Magazine, Denver, July, 1949. The first Harvey house, a part of the Santa Fe depot at Topeka, was opened in 1876.

Articles by Harry H. Seckler in recent issues of the *Leavenworth Times* included: "There Was Bustling Activity Along the City's River Levee Before the Turn of the Century," July 3, 1949; "The City Market-Masters Were Rough on the Cheaters," July 10; "Enacting City's First Laws Was Tough Job for Pioneers," July 17; "Pioneer and Modern Traffic Ordinances Very Much Alike," July 24; "Early Day Poll Tax of \$1.00 Per Head Made Voters Scream," July 31; "Vaccinated For Railroad Center But It Didn't Take," many of the railroads planned for Leavenworth failed to materialize, August 7, and "City's Old Timers Enjoyed [Iron] Moulders Annual Grand Ball," August 28.

The history of Augusta's historical museum on South State street was sketched in the *Augusta Daily Gazette*, July 5, 1949. The log building which houses the museum was built in 1868 by C. N. James and Leonard Shamleffer and used for a school, a church and a Masonic hall in the early days. The Augusta Historical Society acquired the building in 1938, made necessary repairs, collected antiques and relics representing Augusta's early history and officially opened the building as a museum in 1941.

A historical sketch of the Barneston Presbyterian Church was printed in the *Marysville Advocate*, July 7, 1949. The church recently celebrated its 60th anniversary, the first church building having been dedicated June 30, 1889, four years after the congregation was formed. "A History of Beattie" is the title of a series of articles by J. D. Stosz which began to appear in both the *Advocate* and the *Marshall County News*, Marysville, on July 14.

Three special sections were published by *The Phillips County Review*, Phillipsburg, July 7, 1949, on the occasion of the dedication of a new general office building at Phillipsburg by the Kansas-Nebraska Natural Gas Co. The special edition was devoted principally to the history of the gas company which was founded in 1936 by L. E. Fischer.

"Early Day History of Vernon Telling of Its Early Industries and Social Life," is the title of a four-column article by Elizabeth E. Clawson in the *Yates Center News*, July 7, 1949. Vernon first became a recognized townsite in 1888, and has become important as a prairie hay market and shipping point.

The life of Rex Stout was featured in "Profiles," by Alva Johnston, in *The New Yorker*, July 16 and 23, 1949. Stout was born on December 1, 1886, in Noblesville, Ind., and in 1888 his family moved to a farm near Topeka. He remained in Kansas until 1906 when he enlisted in the navy where he served two years. In 1916 he began organizing a thrift system for the saving of money by school children. By 1927 he had accumulated a substantial fortune, and he retired from business, taking up writing again. Shortly before and during the war years he engaged in propaganda work in favor of preparedness, lend-lease, the draft and the war effort. Since the war he has returned to his writing.

A historical series, "Neosho Valley Facts and Legends," by Audrey Z. McGrew, has been appearing regularly in the *Humboldt Union*, beginning July 21, 1949.

Included among articles by George Remsburg in the *Atchison Daily Globe* recently were "Atchison County Pioneer Wooded Sister of [Jesse] James," a biographical sketch of Thomas J. Payne, July 24, 1949, and "Looking Back on Atchison," August 25.

The history of Sedan was featured in the *Sedan Times-Star*, July 28, 1949. Included are sketches of the town's newspapers, churches and clubs.

A history of Poheta school, District No. 16, Saline county, by George H. Shier, was printed in the *Gypsum Advocate*, August 4, 1949. The district was organized on June 19, 1869, and now is being disorganized and the area divided among adjoining districts.

"Oscar Wilde Still Popular Abroad, But Leavenworth Didn't Like Him," was the title of an article by Charles G. Pearson in the *Leavenworth Times*, August 7, 1949. Wilde lectured in Leavenworth April 19, 1882.

"Last Indian Raid Here 81 Years Ago," is the title of a brief article which appeared in the *Beloit Daily Call*, August 12, and in the weekly *Call*, August 18, 1949. The last serious Indian raid in the Beloit area occurred on August 12, 1868, and, according to the article, three persons were massacred and two small girls taken captive by the Indians.

The story of the Leoti Old Settlers' picnic, held this year on September 12 and 13, 1949, was featured in the *Leoti Standard*, August

25, 1949. The gathering was first held in 1890 at Burr schoolhouse and was called the Harvest Home picnic. It was a Thanksgiving for the bountiful crops harvested that year.

A history of Marquette by James Lindstrom was published in the *Marquette Tribune*, September 1, 1949, in observance of the 75th anniversary of the founding of the town. The first permanent settlers were John Hughes and J. M. Claypool who walked from Junction City in the late 1860's. Mr. Lindstrom mentioned the names of several of the early settlers in the area, related a number of their experiences with the Indians and described the establishment of schools and churches and the progress of industries, businesses and agriculture in the community. The town, named for Marquette, Mich., was founded in 1874.

The *Kiowa News* published an 88-page diamond jubilee edition, September 1, 1949, in connection with the celebration, September 3-5, of the 75th anniversary of "the establishment of the first post office called Kiowa," which was located about five miles northwest of present Kiowa. The jubilee edition included historical sketches of Kiowa clubs, churches, schools, businesses and other institutions. Articles on some of the neighboring communities and ranches were also included.

Kansas Historical Notes

The Fort Scott Historical Society was reactivated under the title Fort Scott and Bourbon County Historical Society at a meeting on August 30, 1949. G. W. Marble, editor of the Fort Scott *Tribune*, was elected president of the society. Other officers named were: Bill Henry, vice-president; Mrs. J. R. Prichard, secretary, and Mrs. Goldie Cleland, treasurer. The board of directors includes the officers, the mayors of Bronson, Uniontown, Fulton, Mapleton and Redfield, and Orlando Cheney, Mrs. Glenn Maupin and Mrs. Emma Connolly. Among its activities, the society will maintain the historical museum.

Dr. Homer K. Ebright, on the faculty of Baker University, Baldwin, and a director of the Kansas State Historical Society, was the principal speaker at a dinner meeting of the Osawatomie Historical Society, at Osawatomie, June 13, 1949. Dr. Ebright's subject was "When the Great American Desert Blossomed." The history of the Old Stone Church of Osawatomie was given by Mrs. Pauline Gudger. The board of city commissioners has voted to convey this church to the society to hold as long as it shall be used as a place of public and historical interest. Alden O. Weber is the society's president.

W. W. Graves, editor of the St. Paul *Journal*, recently published volume 1 of his two-volume history of Neosho county. It is a 544-page book, printed in the author's own shop, and is devoted to early Neosho county history. The material to comprise volume 2 is now appearing serially in current issues of the *Journal*.

A 20-page pamphlet entitled, "History of Weather Records in Kansas," by S. D. Flora, former senior meteorologist for Kansas, was published in mimeographed form in June, 1949. According to Mr. Flora, weather records were first kept in Kansas in July, 1827, at the post hospital, Cantonment (now Fort) Leavenworth. The first civilian weather observers began keeping records in 1857 at Lawrence and Mapleton. Weather records have been kept at one time or another at 432 points in Kansas. There are now 240 stations distributed over the state.

Oil! Titan of the Southwest, published by the University of Oklahoma Press, is a new 467-page book by Carl Coke Rister. Chapter 3, "From Paola to Neodesha, Kansas," is devoted to the history of the early oil discoveries in eastern and southeastern Kansas. A company formed by G. W. Brown of Lawrence made one of the earliest attempts to find oil in that region. Drilling was started on the first well, near Paola, in June, 1860, but oil in paying quantities was not found.

The Lost Pathfinder—Zebulon Montgomery Pike, by W. Eugene Hollon, is the title of a 240-page book published recently by the University of Oklahoma. Pike, born in 1779 in New Jersey, is best known for his two Western expeditions in the period 1805-1807, on the second of which he discovered the mountain in present Colorado which bears his name. He was killed in action in 1813, during the War of 1812.

Addendum and Erratum, Volume XVII

The article, "Over Early Shawnee Trails With Olathe's Charley Hoge," mentioned on p. 202, line 22, was written by Frank Hodges.

Page 28, line 16, read "1855" instead of "1885."

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